A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
SPOKEN DIALECT OF THE ḤARB TRIBE IN SAUDI ARABIA

A thesis presented to the University of Leeds
Department of Semitic Studies

by

ALAYAN MOHAMMED IL-HAZMY

for

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
April 1975

This dissertation has never been submitted to this or any other University.
The aim of this thesis is to describe and study analytically the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe, and to determine its position among the neighbouring tribes.

Ḥarb is a very large tribe occupying an extensive area of Saudi Arabia, and it was impracticable for one individual to survey every settlement. This would have occupied a lengthy period, and would best be done by a team of investigators, rather than an individual. Thus we have limited our investigation to two selected regions, which we believe to be representative, the first ranging from north-east Rabigh up to al-Madina (representing the speech of the Ḥarb in the Hijaz), and the second ranging from al-Madina to al-Fawwāra in al-Qasīm district (representing the speech of the Ḥarb in Central Arabia). We have thus left out of consideration an area extending from Ḍafān to Rābigh, where some members of the Ḥarb, particularly those of the Muḥammad, Bishr and Zubaid clan live. We have been unable in the northern central region, to go as far as al-Quwāra and Dukhnah.

However, some Ḥarbis from the unsurveyed area were met with in our regions, and samples of their speech were obtained and included.

Within these limitations, however the data collected are substantial and it is hoped comprehensive enough to
give a clear picture of the main features of the Ḥarb dialect.

Since this study has been based upon practical fieldwork I am greatly indebted to very many people who generously helped me during the various stages of my investigation.

In particular I am grateful to all my informants, and wish to acknowledge their assistance and help. I am particularly indebted to my brother Ali M. Al-Ḥāzmy.

Among people in England, I should like first to express my gratitude to Dr. B.S.J. Isserlin, Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Leeds, who supervised this study with stimulating advice and constant encouragement.

I am also grateful to Dr. M.J.L. Young of the Department of Semitic Studies, who has read most of the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks also go to Professor T.M. Johnstone, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who kindly extended his advice to me before I commenced my investigation. I should also like to thank Mr. J.L. Woodhead of the Phonetics Department, University of Leeds, who arranged for me to attend a course on Phonetics, and very kindly checked with me some of the terminology used in the chapter on Phonology. Among people in Saudi Arabia I have to thank his Royal Highness Prince
Abdulmuḥsin Ibn ʿAbdulʿazīz, Governor of al-Madina, and his Deputy, His Excellency ʿSaʿād an-Nāṣir as-Sidairi, for providing me with a recommendation for the local authorities to help me in the prosecution of my research.

My thanks are also due to the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, who arranged for me to have the use of a jeep during my fieldwork.

I am also grateful to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Attache, Mr. ʿAbdulʿazīz at-Turki, and to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Office in London.

I am also grateful to the following Shaiks of the Ḥarb and other administrative officials: Muḥammad bin Ḥṣain amir Badr, shaikhBakhtīn bin Nāṣir al-Binayyān, shaikhMrayyī bin Ḥṣain al-Ibaidī, Ibrāhīm al-Qādī al-Juhānī, shaikh Muhammad bin Marzūq as-Sihāmī, Muḥammad bin Hādī, shaikh Muhammad bin dhiʿār bin Sūlṭān, ʿAlī al-Jalūḏ and Shaikh Muhammad bin Nihīt.

I should like to thank Fahad bin Nusair al-Binayyān, and Braik bin Mabrūk as-Šubḥī.

It remains for me to express my deepest thanks to the Government of Saudi Arabia and the University of King Abdulaziz, for granting me a scholarship to carry out this work. Finally I should like to record my thanks to the staff of the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, the Staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, in the University of London, and to the staff of the Department of Semitic Studies, in the University of Leeds.
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I should like to thank Fahad bin Nūṣair al-Binayyān, and Braik bin Mabrūk aṣ-Ṣubḥī.

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A.M. IL.Hāzmy.
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"of terms for "neighbour and autumn" 7

"of terms of 'Now' 8

"of 'gy' variant of 'j' among the Ḥarb and the neighbouring tribes 9

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Distribution of the 'aa' variant of 'ay' among the Ḥarb and the neighbouring tribes 11
The transcriptions of consonants used in this study are generally based upon the IPA Chart.

Slight modifications, however, have been made regarding the two emphatic Arabic Sounds (\(\ddot{a}, \ddot{e}\)), which are here transcribed as \(\dddot{d}, \dddot{d}\).

The table below sets out these symbols in detail:

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**Vowels**

The short vowels are broadly transcribed as: \(\ddot{a}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u}\) and the long vowels as: \(\dddot{a}, \dddot{a}, \dddot{e}, \dddot{e}, \dddot{o}, \dddot{o}, \dddot{u}\). This was found sufficient for our purpose and avoids typographical difficulties.

**Notes**

The sign (\(\ddot{a}\)) over the symbol \(g, k\) indicates a prepalatal pronunciation, while the dot (\(\ddot{a}\)) below the letter \(l, r, b\) is used to indicate Tafkhim.
The consonant ḧim is a palato-alveolar affricate j, which occurs throughout this dialect. The symbol gy (g) indicates a hard palatal plosive, which is an allophone of j, and is mainly found among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb. The dy sound (a front palatal accompanied by affrication) also occurs as a variant of j' among the Ḥarbi Bedouin.

The consonant ḧaf is a voiced velar plosive, while q (a voiceless uvular) stands for literary Arabic (א). G (a voiced uvular) occurs as an allophone among the Northern Central group. The names of places, tribes and informants are transliterated in accordance with the conventional system used by Arabs.
## ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Works referred to by short or abbreviated titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title and Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abboud; P.F.</td>
<td>The Syntax: The Syntax of Najdi Arabic Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1964</td>
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<td>Bergstrasser; G.</td>
<td>Sprachatlas: Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina. ZDPV, 1915</td>
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<td>Fischer; W.</td>
<td>Die Demonstratven: Die Demonstratven Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte, the Hague, 1959.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>The Dosiri: 'Some characteristics of the Dosiri Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait.'</td>
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<td>Further: Further Studies on the Dosiri Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait</td>
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<td>Kofler, H.</td>
<td>Reste : Reste altarabischer Dialekte</td>
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<td>Sibawaihi</td>
<td>Sibawaihi, alkitāb, Cairo 1316 H.</td>
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<td>Socin, A.</td>
<td>Diwan: Diwan aus Centralarabien Leipzig, 1900.</td>
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<td>Wallin, G.A.</td>
<td>Über: Über die laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung, ZDMG, IX, XII, 1855-1858</td>
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Wetzstein, J.G.  Sprachliches: sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der Syrischen Wüste ZDMG, XXII, 1858.

(b) Journals and Series

AL'ARab  AL'Arab, Riyadh
AIEO  Annales de l'Institut d. 'Etudes Orientales d'Alger.
Ar. Ling  Archivum Linguisticum
BASOR  Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research. Baghdad, Jerusalem
BEO  Bulletin des Etudes Orientales
EI  Encyclopaedia of Islam
IA  International Affairs
IQ  Islamic Quarterly. London
ISJ  International Social Science Journal UNESCO
JAL  Journal of Arabic Literature. Leiden
JRAS  Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JSS  Journal of Semitic Studies
<table>
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<td>MEJ</td>
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<td>WZKM</td>
<td><em>Wiener Zeitschrift Für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</em></td>
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(c) **Other abbreviations and Symbols**

- `Anaz`  `Anazah tribe`
- Ḥar.  Ḥarb "
- Juh.  Juhaina "
- Muṭ.  Muṭair "
- ʕOt.  ʕOtaiba "
- RW    Rwala "
- Sham.  Shammar "
- Cl Ar  Classical Arabic
- P. fem. feminine
- HJ.    Hijaz, Hijazi group
- Imperf. Imperfect.
- Infor. Informant
- M. mağ. masculine
NC  Northern Central group
Pl.  Plural
perf.  perfect
S. sing.  Singular
<  arising from, deriving from
>  becoming, giving.
INTRODUCTION

Informants

The total number of our informants was 40; of these 26 came from the Ḥarb region in the Hijaz, and 14 from the Northern Central region.

In the selection of these informants priority was given to older people (aged above 35 years) since these were most likely to give good examples of traditional speech unaffected by schooling, radio and other modern influences.

While most informants were settled (Madar) quite a good number of nomads and full Bedouin were also included; but we were unable to obtain any female informants.

The technique

Since our material was orally collected and taken down on tapes, not all of it has been utilized for this survey.

We excluded all recitals of poetry and also some specimens of speech of Informant No. 14 (from the Hijaz) as well as Informant No. 32 (from al-Ḥanākiyya in the Northern Central region). These two informants tried to "speak up" and conceal their original dialect.

Similarly a complete tape from ar-Ḥāyis the harbour
of Badr has not been included. This tape contains some nautical terms and typical seamen's speech, which may well form a separate study of its own; though the characteristic features of this speech facies make it still apparently a Ḥarbi dialect.

Apart from these the gathered material has been transcribed phonologically on the basis of the symbols proposed by the International Phonetic Association's alphabet.

Slight modification, however, was made regarding some symbols (see p. 2). Moreover, the terminology applied in this study is fairly conservative and mostly based upon Johnstone's book Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies.

Abstract and the arrangement of the material

The material is arranged in the following order:

1. **Introduction**: in this chapter we give a brief account of the previous dialect study of the North Arabian area adjoining ours, followed by a plan, description of how we collected our present data, and description of the area. We proceed thereafter to give a sketch history of the Ḥarb tribe and some feature of their ancient dialect.

This chapter, also, contains introductory remarks discussing the main general features of the Ḥarb dialect as a whole, and the distinguishing elements which divide the Hijazi group from the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb
within this overall grouping. Similarly a brief summary of the influence of the Koine language on the traditional dialect is included.

(ii) **The phonology**: This chapter deals with the phonology of this dialect as a whole, without distinguishing the two groups (the Hijazi, and the Northern Central of the Ḥarb) from each other in separate discussions.

This is due to the fact that the phonology is not markedly different among the two groups of the Ḥarb; and we do not need to repeat items by discussing them individually.

However, during our description we shall refer to any differences among the two groups whenever they present themselves.

(iii) **The morphology**: In this in addition to the obvious basic description of the nouns, verb etc, several other points have been discussed, such as: The effect of the guttural sounds on the syllable structure, the non-appearance of the trisyllabic form in both nominal and verbal patterns and the common occurrence of the form ʼitil, ʼišal in the perfect verb.

New elements in the phonology have also developed, such as the occasional disappearance of the diphthongs aw, ay among some informants, and their replacement by oo, ee. These elements, however, are not very obtrusive dialectal variations, and do not in fact diverge strikingly from their
counterparts in Classical Arabic.

The elision of terminal vowels in the 3rd person masculine singular imperative of verbs with final (ya), as ḥiṣtar "buy".

The fusion of the imperfect verb forms of verbs with final (y, w) with each other.

All the nominal patterns, and the influence of certain consonants in attracting certain prosthetic vowels have been discussed.

The broken plural and its various patterns are listed. Similarly the numeration has been discussed at length, where we have given the different forms of the cardinal numbers, and the occurrence of the older classical system which enumerates the masculine nouns by numeral forms of the opposite gender, and vice versa, besides the appearance of the new system which makes no such differentiation.

The demonstrative, personal, and relative pronouns, particles and prepositions are also treated.

(iv) **Lexical features:** Here a list of certain words and phrases found in the Ḥarib dialect is given.

Additionally we show the regional differences between the HiJaz, and the NC group. Besides these we discuss the foreign words encountered in this dialect.

(v) **Syntax:** This chapter deals briefly with the forms of verbs and moods appearing in this dialect. Moreover,
we discuss the main modifications which have taken place, and the use of certain verbs as auxiliaries to express different moods. Finally we show the way of expressing the indefinite noun and the various types of sentences and clauses.

(vi) **Comparison and conclusion:** in this chapter a comparison of our dialect with the neighbouring dialects from the aspect of phonology, morphology, and lexical items is offered; in the light of this comparison we draw our conclusion, and determine the position of this dialect among the dialects in the vicinity and its relationship to them.

**Previous dialect studies**

Until recently the study of the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula has been neglected. Several factors have, perhaps contributed to this; the most important being the inaccessibility of Arabia and its lack of communications.

Apparently the first scholar to interest himself in the Arabian dialects was Wallin. As long ago as 1848 he made some observations of the affrication of the consonants k, g.

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Since then interest in these studies has grown steadily; many gaps, however, still require to be filled.

Some of the North-Central Arabian dialects can now be said to have been fairly comprehensively described and studied.

Quite a number of publications relating to these dialects and its subgroups appeared between the years 1900-1940.

These publications cover a wide area of Northern-Central Arabia, ranging from al-Qasim up to the Syrian desert and Iraq; they cover, in fact, a number of Arabian tribes, mainly the Anaza, its subtribes, the Shammar confederation, and other nomadic tribes of Northern Arabia, Transjordan, and the Syrian desert.

The Anaza dialect is generally known through Landberg's text, which was published in 1919.

The dialect of the Shammar tribe is mainly known from Montagne's publications between 1935-1945.

Jean Cantineau contributed greatly to Arabian dialect study. He studied the dialect of Anaza, Shammar, and other smaller nomadic tribes of the Syrian desert.

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2. de Landberg, C. Langue des Bédouins Anazeh. Leiden, 1919
His investigations extended from the Syrian-Arabian desert down to the Wādī Sirḥān; he included some samples of the spoken dialect of 'ar-Rass in al-Qaṣīm.

A collection of Central Arabian poems was gathered and published in 1900 by A. Socin in his Diwan aus Central-arabien. The same service was performed for the Shammar tribe of al-Jazira where Montagne collected certain poems of this tribe. However, the value of these anthologies in the sphere of language studies is rather limited; since the stylistic structure of the poetry is completely different from the spoken language.

The dialect of the Rwala (a subtribe of Anaza) of Northern Arabia can be reconstructed from Musil's book 'The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins' (New York, 1928). The same thing can be done for the Ḥtaiba tribe of Inner Arabia from Hess' book 'Von den Beduinen des inneren Arabiens' (Leipzig, 1935).

Although these two works are not exhaustive their contribution to Arabian dialect studies is of considerable value.

However, virtually nothing of this kind exists for the spoken dialects of the Hijaz and the Ḥarb tribe either there or elsewhere in Arabia.

1. op. cit. p. 127.
The only study from which the characteristics of the Hijazi speech can be inferred is the collection of proverbs published by Snouck Hurgronje in 1886.  

This collection, however doesn't accurately represent the Hijazi dialect of that time and the diversity of Meccan speech. E. Jobee in 1943 published A Tale from Hejaz originally narrated to him by a Hijazi woman, but he correctly stated that this tale 'doesn't represent the colloquial language as used by the common people in the true sense of the word'.

In spite of this disclaimer, a fair number of characteristic features of the Hijazi city speech may be found in Jobee's tale.

European ethnologists and travellers who travelled through Arabia and described the topography of the peninsula, and its inhabitants were not interested in dialectal differences in Arabic.

Such writers as Doughty, Burckhardt, and Burton who were chiefly interested in the Hijaz say nothing about the spoken language, except to mention a few Arabic words; these are quite insufficient to give any insight into the spoken idiom. However, Burton did make allusion to the

3. op. cit. p.21.
the pronunciation of the consonant q as hard q (this sound still occurs in the dialect of the Harb). More recently increasing interest has been shown in the Arabian dialects.

T.M. Johnstone has published several articles in BSOAS concerning the spoken dialects of the Eastern Arabia litoral. These articles have been published in the form of a book Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies 1967, London OP.2

The author concluded that these dialects represent a recent offshoot of the Canazi dialect group.

Additionally Professor T.M. Johnstone traced the sound change of j to y in the Arabic dialects of peninsular Arabia, where he assigned this sound change to specific areas.4

A descriptive article dealing with the syllable structure of the dialect of the town of Onaiza has also been published by Johnstone.5 In it he discusses the syllable formation of this dialect, and the occurrence of the vowel i in the open syllable instead of a, except in the vicinity of the guttural sounds and others.

1. Some of these articles were included in his Ph.D. thesis London University, 1962.
6. op. cit. p.4 ff.
P.F. Abboud has studied the syntax of the Najdi Arabic of the town Hayil using a generative approach. He has also discussed certain characteristics of the verbal system\(^1\) of Najdi Arabic.

In the Hijaz an-Nadwi has investigated the spoken dialect of the region of Ghāmid and Zahrān\(^2\).

G. Schreiber has published a study of the Meccan Dialect\(^3\).

Omar al-Sasi has studied the proverbs and other folk literature of Mecca\(^4\).

B. Ingham has published an article in BSOAS entitled 'Some characteristics of Meccan speech'\(^5\). This article is mainly based on extracts from dialogues taken from a Jedda television programme called (Mishgās). The work of Schreiber and Ingham contains some good observations, but they do not present a comprehensive picture.

Omar as-Sasi, a native speaker of Meccan arabic has published a critique\(^6\) of Ingham's work, in which he

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challenged many of the alleged characteristic features of Meccan dialect described by Ingham.

M.H. Bakalla investigated the morphology and phonology of Meccan Arabic using a generative approach.¹

The present study

Plan and methods:

The material of this study was collected over a period of time extending from the first of November 1972 to the end of January 1973, where different parts of the region inhabited by the Harb tribe in both Western and Central Arabia were visited.

In both Central and Western Arabia samples of speech including free conversation, talk and also stories related by various informants were recorded with a Grundig tape recorder at 3 ½ speed from the vast region belonging to the Banu Harb, and which extends from the Red Sea coast north east to Rabigh as far as the al-Fawwara settlement in the al-Qasim district.

It must be said that no sharp social division existed among my informants. In general they are all involved as members of the Harb family. Occupation, also, has no clear affect on their social status. Most of them are engaged in agriculture, cattle raising and grazing, honey making,

trading and other similar occupations; a few are Bedouins, but again I found no indication that socially the cleavage between settlers and nomads mattered much.

While, as we shall see, Ḥarb have on the whole a definite dialect of their own without many obvious traces of outside influence, it is noticeable that some element of Koine language can be traced in what is otherwise their traditional speech. This mainly occurs in the speech of some of the farmers and tradesmen who may perhaps have been affected linguistically during their contacts with outside urban centres, as wireless and television have not yet spread in these parts and so play no role as Linguistic influences.

Within these areas inhabited by the Ḥarb (Western and Central region) some samples of free speech from four informants belonging to the tribes of Juhaina, Otaiba and Muṭair, were also obtained. These specimens were included and utilized in the comparative chapter.

The area

Geographical position:

The region of the Ḥarb is not one contiguous territory. Their Dirā from which our survey was collected consists of two parts separated by al-Madīna.

In the Hijaz it extends inland from the coast of north Rabīgh up to al-Madīna.
It is a mountainous area crossed by two main roads, one being the ancient road (North-Eastern road)¹ which goes from Rābigh and pass either through Wādi al-ṣūrūṭ, Ḥbyūr al-Māshi up to Ḥbyūr ʿĀli, or passes through al-Ṣhayr and al-Qāha to al-Munsaraf (al-Misajīd)².

The second is the modern asphalted road leading up to Wādi as-Ṣafra and passing Badr and other places to al-Madīna. This vast region is barren except for a few cultivated oases and Wādies. Some of these Wādies are cultivated and watered from springs or pump wells, while others only provide rough grazing after rain for sheep or provide substance for honey gatherers. It includes a number of Wādies and some other locations such as Wādi ḏbwa³ (al-Khiraiba) Wādi al-ṣūrūṭ Wādi al-ṣārj, Wādi as-Ṣafra, Tāsha, al-Qāha, al-Ḥafa, Bīr al-ghanam, Wirgān, JibālʿAwf, Ḥbyūr al-Māshi al-Fiṣra. Various subtribes and clans of the Ḥarb live here.

The Banu Masruḥ branch of the Ḥarb and its various subtribes and clans is mainly found in the region along the ancient road. Other inhabitants from Banu Sālim⁴ branch

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¹. al-Batūni, M.L. ar-Rihla al-Hijāziyya, p.211
³. Ibwa is the local pronunciation for (al-ābwa).
⁴. al-Bilādi, A. "ash-Harū awdiyati ʿal Hijaz" al-ʿArab, Vol. 9,10, 1974, p.547
of the Ḥarb are also found in this region where they share territory with the Banu Mas'rūḥ or live in a place near to them. The home of Banu Salīm branch of the Ḥarb extends from ʿĀbyār¹ as Shaikh, Wādī al-ʿArj, Badr, Wādī ʿaṣ-Ṣafra and al-Fīgра, up to ʿĀbyār ʿAlī, beside some villages near Yanbo². The region along the old road is semi isolated while the land near Wādī ʿaṣ-Ṣafra which crosses the main road from Mecca, Jedda and al-Madina is much more in contact with the outside world and the big cities of Mecca and Madina.

On the contrary along the old road the chance of the inhabitants being affected by the urban is much more limited, although some of them do travel to al-Madina and Rabigh for trading.

Bīr Qaizi, a newly established settlement (Hijra) with a school and mosque and government office, is the centre for all people of al-Qāḥa as well as for places around it and the Bedouins of the mountain who come here for trading every Friday.

umm al-Birak has its small market place and school but has become less important.

In Wādī al ʿfuruʿthe village al-Faqīr has become of some importance, owing to the removal of the government

1. al-Makhzumi, M. ar-Ribla al-Hijaziyya, p.19,20
2. al-Jāsir, H. bilād Yanbo
office from al-Madhig to that place. Abu ḍhubār, and Umm al-Ciyāl have their importance also, with their own market places, and other facilities. On the otherhand, a number of well established centres are now found along the new road. These include not only Badr¹ which has of course been a locality of some local importance since the rise of Islam, and now serves as a capital for the Wādī as-Ṣafra region, but also al-Wāṣṭa which has become the second in importance. People come from all over the surrounding region to its market place to purchase and sell various articles. Generally speaking, the main activity of the inhabitants is cultivation of plants such as tomatoes, lemon trees, palm trees, water melons and other crops such as radishes, onions etc.

Sheep and camel stock rearing are mostly practiced by the Bedouin of this region. Honey making, ghee and other local industries are also practices by the Bedouins of the mountain who keep bee-hives.

However, the cultivation of plants which are watered from wells is becoming more important in this region.

The second region approximately extends on Wādī ar-Rumma from al-Madina as far as ʿOnaiza in al-Qasim district. It includes various settlements such as-Ṣuwaidera al-Ḥanākiyya, ʿArja, an-Nugra, ʿOglat as-Ṣugūr, ʿAbu Mughair, as-Shibaikiyya and al-Fawwāra. cf. map.

¹. see, for details the present writer's M.Phil. disseration A Critical p.3.
Most of these settlements are located along the main road from al-Madina to al-Qaṣīm excluding as-Shibaikiyya, al-Fawwara and Abu Mughair. ʿAṣ-Ṣuwaidera and al-Ḥanākiyya belong politically to al-Madina, while Arja, Ṣugur, abu Mughair, as-Shibaikiyya, and al-Fawwara belong to al-Qaṣīm. The inhabitants of this region are tradesmen, camel and sheep-rearers whereas the rainfall nomads move with their own stock about the region, and meet other members of northern and central tribes such as ʿAnāzā, Shammar, and ʿOtaiba.

Small cultivation is also found in Arja, and Ḥanakiyya.

The Banu Harb tribe

Their origin and history:

Ḥarbur is a large Arabian tribe which originally\(^1\) came from South Arabia (Yemen). The date of their emigration\(^2\) from South Arabia up to North Arabia (Ḥijaz) is not clearly stated in the Arabic sources. However, in the light of facts mentioned in Arabic literary sources it appears that two waves of South Arabian tribal migration took place.

Before Islam we find a conglomeration of South Arabian tribes who had moved up to the north of Arabia; some of them occupied the area along the western coast of the Red Sea while others went further inland as far as Syria and Iraq.

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2. Oppenheim, M.V. Die Beduinen Vol, II, p.365
Specific territories in some cases have been theoretically allocated to these tribes\(^1\).

However, the Ḥarb tribe is not mentioned among the tribes who migrated in this first wave.

A second wave of the Arabian tribal migrations appears to have taken place\(^2\) in early Islam when the tribes participated in military campaigns and fanned out from Arabia in the wake of the Islamic conquests.

Arabic sources do not indeed mention a mass migration of Arabian tribes from south to north or vice versa. Certain gaps, however, do exist in the history of Arabia and its inhabitants.

But it is more than probable that the Ḥarb tribe emigrated as part of the second wave in the second century of the Hijra if not indeed earlier.

Arab scholars of the third century of the Hijra mention the Ḥarb tribe and the places held by the tribe in their time when giving descriptions of the Arabian peninsula and its topography.

Al-Hamadānī 334H in his book Ṣifatu Jazirati al-ʿArab mentions the Ḥarb tribe as being neighbours of Muzaina, Juhaina, and Bili tribes\(^3\).

1. Rabin, C. Ancient West Arabian, p.14 (map no. 2)
   See also EI Vol. I, p.891 (map)
2. c.f Ibn Khaldūn; al-ʿIbar vol. II, p.529, 643
3. al-Hamadānī, Ṣifatu Jazirati al-ʿArab p.120, 130
Al-İstakhri 345 H states that a group of people came from south of Arabia bearing the name Ḥarb\(^1\) and took over the al-Faru'Was-Sa'ira village between Rabigh and al-Madina from the Ja'farīyyin (descendants of Ja'far Ibn abi ṭālib).

Nashwān al-Ḥimyari 573H refers to the home of the Ḥarb\(^2\) in a single line of his poem as the shore of Hawth (place in Yemen).

Al-Fākihi M. quotes al-Hamadānī (al-Iklīl) that in the year 300H the Ḥarb tribe entered Mecca and captured its ruler Ibn Mulahiż\(^3\).

A. Sprenger reported only that the Ḥarb came from Yemen\(^4\) in Muslim times, no specific date was assigned by him to this migration.

Ḥamad al-Jāsir recently backdated\(^5\) the entering of the Ḥarb to the Hijaz into the second century of the Hijra.

Perhaps the most authoritative source among all the above-mentioned is al-Hamadānī and more particularly al-Iklīl in which al-Hamadānī mentioned the history of Banu Ḥarb.

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1. al-İstakhri; Al Masālik p.22.
2. al-Ḥimyari, N. Shams al-Ọlum, p.29
5. fi shamāl qhrib al-Jazīra p.27
Over and above such merely general statements, data and information about the Ḥarb tribe are very scarce. Their ancient history is still to some extent memorized by their chiefs who sometimes give an account of their fights with the Hudhail, Sulaim and Juhaina, and other tribes.

This scattered information, however, is insufficient to establish a sound or systemic ancient history of this tribe. Therefore and in the light of the forementioned account of the Arab scholars of the third century of the Hijaṛa, we can say that the ancient territory of the Banu Ḥarb before Islam is in Yemen; and approximately fluctuated in Southern Yemen (bilad wīdā'a of Hamadan).

This approximation is strongly substantiated by the absence of a clear location of most of the ancient tribes of Arabia. On the other hand, the immigration of the Ḥarb into Central Arabia is a recent phenomenon. According to Oppenheim, it has taken place since the days of the first Wahhabi State. The Ḥarb arrived in 1815-16 with the Turkish-Egyptian army and stayed.

The Ḥarb tribe at the present day

Their home and division:

At present the Banu Ḥarb tribe occupies a fairly

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2. al-Hamadani, op.cit. p.135.
large part of Saudi-Arabia ranging from the Hijaz (where their territory is delimited to the south by a line extending roughly from al-Qunfuda on the Red Sea to al Madina; while in the north their habitations reach to the north of Hijaz proper) into Central Arabia (where they extend into the al-Qasim district, as at al-Quwara). cf. map. The Ħarb tribe is divided into Bedouin who carry on a nomadic life and Hadar living as cultivators in permanent villages like those found in Wādi aș-Ŝafra, Wādi al-furu', al-Figra, Osfān, Rabigh, and Badr etc.

Similarly most of the Ħarb tribe in Central Arabia have been resettled in the Ḥajar (small settlements) which were recently founded by the King Abdul-Aziz. However, within both Hijaz and Central Arabia one may also find members of the Ħarb tribe still carrying on a nomadic life; thus in the Hijaz they live in the al-Khabt outside the village and travel during the rainfall with their cattle.

Indeed until very recent times most of the Ħarb tribe were a semi-nomadic people.

Statistics on the total number of the Ħarb tribe are not complete, and should be regarded as a rough and provisional estimate. According to figures cited by al-Mūkhzumi (ar-Rihla al-Hijaziyya p.19,20) the total number of

1. Abu al-‘Ola; M.T. The geography of the Arabian Peninsula, p.15
2. al-Barakātī; Sh.A. ar-Rihla al-Yamāniyya, p.137.
But al-Barakātī has stated that the total number of Banu Ḥarb are 300,000 (ar-Riḥla al-Yamaniyya p.138). This is the available figure for the Ḥarb of the Hijaz. On the other hand, the total number of the Ḥarb of the northern Central (Najd) could be estimated as 29200. This figure is obtained by computing the total number of the houses given by (V.M. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen Vol. III, p.63 ff) by assuming that every house contains at least 4 persons. Cf. the number of houses given by Oppenheim:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banu Salīm</td>
<td>2900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banu `Amr</td>
<td>2900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banu `Ali</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The branches of the Ḥarb

Genealogically the Ḥarb tribe is divided into two main branches:

Banu Salīm and Banu Masrūḥ

The Banu Salīm is further subdivided into two branches:

Marāwiḥa (Hawāzim) and Maymūn

Each one of these two branches comprises a number
of subtribes and clans. Similarly the Banu Mūsrūḥ is divided into three branches:

\[
\text{Banu'Awf, Banu'Amr and Zibaid}
\]

under each of these three main branches come again various subtribes and clans. 

As in the case with other Arabian tribes the Ḥarb tribe does contain some element which belonged originally to other ancient Arabian tribes, or section of tribes, but who for some reason affiliated into, or entered into the Ḥarb tribe.

Thus Muzaina now is regarded as a section of the Banu Sālim of the Ḥarb but it was originally an independent tribe. Again Banu Husain (a group of Sharifian descent) has affiliated with Banu'Awf of the Ḥarb.

Political position

Since Ḥarb is a large tribe occupying a very important territory in Arabia, this has affected their position among the neighbouring Arabian tribes. Before the

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4. al-Hamadani; op.cit. p.130.

5. al-JāSir, H. Fi shamāl qharb al-Jazīra, p.179
unification of the tribes of the Arabian peninsula under the Saudi Arabian State, the Ḥarb tribe was semi-independent politically and economically (this largely applies indeed to most tribes of Arabia).

Ḥarb was a tribe engaged in rivalry and sometimes intertribal warfare with Muṭair, Otaiba, Sulaim, Juhaina, and Anaza.

In the Hijaz where the Ḥarb controlled most of the roads leading to the holy cities (Mecca and Madina) through which the pilgrim's caravans had to pass, a large sum of money was paid by the Turkish Government to this tribe, especially the Banu Salim branch, to ensure the safety of the Egyptian and Syrian caravans, officially as compensation for escort and other services.

Raiding between neighbouring tribes was, during that period, generally carried out in the drought season.

They were very powerful and never subject to any authority; their loyalty was in the hand of their chiefs who might (or might not) acknowledge and support the local leaders residing within their territory.

It is sufficient to mention the fact that during the period of tension or acute conflict in Arabia between

2. Burckhart at his time stated that 'before the Wahhabi invasion the Bani Ḥarb had never known a master, nor had the produce of their fields ever been taxed' Travel in Arabia, p.308.
the rival princes of the houses of Ibn Saud in Najd, the sharif of Mecca, and Ibn Rashid in Ḥayil, quite often there was an attempt to gain the controlling influence over the Ḥarb in order to have their support as a fighting force against others.

In Central Arabia the Ḥarb tribe was then an independent party who were not really controlled by any power, including the Sultan of Constantinople.

Sometimes, however, they acknowledged Ibn Rashīd. Again they engaged in tribal war with Otaiba, Muṭair and Shammar.

When the influence of Ibn Saud spread among those sections of the Ḥarb found in Central Arabia, they joined Ibn Saud in his campaigns, and fought on his side. Moreover some of them became followers of the Ikhwān movement, and indeed some still adhere to it. This is particularly the case among the inhabitants of the Hajar (a settlement established by King ʿAbdul ʿAziz for the Bedouins in Central Arabia).

On the other hand the Banu Ḥarb of the Hijaz recognised the sharif of Mecca as their lord. They sided with him in most of his campaigns against Ibn Saud.

1. Musil, A. Northern NeGd, p. 277
3. Rentz, G. 'Ikhwan' El vol, III, p. 1064 ff
But when the influence of Ibn Saud, and the creed of Muhammad Ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab gained a foothold in parts of the Hijaz, and the sharifs of Mecca began to lose their influence over the Hijaz and its inhabitants, then the Hijazi section of the Ḥarb tribe also surrendered to Ibn Saud.

Trading and Market Places

There is not much effective contact between the two groups of the Ḥarb, the Hijazi, and those of Northern Central. Their main outside relationships are linked with trade. Now those Ḥarb who live in Central Arabia, for trading, usually go to the Central Arabian markets such as Buraidā in al-Qāsīm. Some of them also who live in Suwaidera occasionally come to the market of al-Madīna, but their contacts do not go beyond this trading; and frequently they meet other northern or some central Arabian tribes in al-Madīna market.

The Ḥarb of the Hijaz attend their own regional markets such as the ones at Badr, al-Wāṣṭa, in Wādī ʾas-Šafra Bir Qaizi in al-Qaḥa, Saḥk as-Suwaig in Yanboʾ ʾAbu ʾdhubāʾ, in Wādī al-furuʾ or Rabigh, and that of al-Madīna. Most of their contacts are usually with one another and with their neighbouring Hijazi tribes such as Sulaim and Juhaina etc.

This fact obviously might have influence on the language as we shall see in due course.
The ancient dialect of the Ḥarb tribe

Owing to the scarce and unsystematic information about the ancient Arabian dialects it is difficult if not impossible to state to which Arabian dialect group the ancient speech of the ⲳarb should be attributed. Al-Hamadani in his book Sifatu Jazīrati al-ʿArab describes the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe as that of people who have Ḥimala in all their speech.

Rabin was uncertain what al-Hamadani meant by Ḥimala; he said: "Does Ḥamdani mean to say that they, contrary to other inhabitants of the province (Yemen) pronounced long (a) as (ae) or the like. Then he added 'But Ḥamdani may have meant something else by Ḥimala'. This is the only definite mention of the Ḥarb dialect in our sources.

Therefore one of the ancient characteristic features of the Ḥarb dialect is Ḥimala whatever the exact meaning of the term was.

General View

The main characteristic features of the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe

The characteristic features of the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. al-Hamadani, op.cit. p.135.
(a) This dialect constitutes essentially a non-ḥaḍāri dialect, which is as yet influenced neither by the Koine Language in general nor by any urban speech in particular.

The dialect of the Ḫarb also shares a large number of important features with the neighbouring (North Central Arabian) dialects, particularly with those of the ʿAnaza, Shammar and ʿOtaiba tribes. While this matter will be dealt with systematically later, we may here itemize some of the more outstanding points in order to provide a first introductory survey. We may usefully begin by turning to phonology and to certain features shared with the ʿAnaza, Shammar and ʿOtaiba.

i. These features are not shared by all the Ḫarb with all neighbouring tribes, but mainly by those of the Ḫarb who belong to the same Northern Central group as certain other tribes, especially the ʿAnaza, Shammar and ʿOtaiba, extending from as-Ṣuwaidera to al-Quwāra (cf. map), where there in general occurs the affrication of the sounds k, q into ts, and dz.

ii. Occasionally in the same region the consonant (j) is pronounced as (gy) g.

iii. The affrication of k, q into ts, dz, and the pronunciation of (j) as (gy) are found in the Hijaz among the Rubuga and Mishaʿūla clans of the Banu ʿAmr of the Ḫarb in Wādī al-Furūʿ, and among the Sihliyya of the ʿAwf (branch of the Ḫarb) in Wādī an-Naqīf south east of al-Madena.
Such features do not, however, appear universally among the Ḥarb of the Hijāz, but rather among those afore-mentioned families which are all connected socially with the Ḥarb of Najd.

(The sound (gy) occurs among the Anaza and Shammar tribes (cf. Cantineau, Études II, p.25,26). It has also appeared in the Otaiba dialect, as my own sample of the speech of this tribe shows.

(b) Features occurring in the dialect of the Ḥarb as a whole and shared by the Northern Central Arabian dialects

The dialect of the Ḥarb shows the following additional features which are also found in the dialects of the Shammar and Anaza tribes and the dialect of ar-Rass

i. A tendency to emphasize the consonant (b) in certain environments, such as ṣoṣal 'onion' for baṣal.

ii. The influence of certain sounds, such as the bilabial consonants, among others on vowel quality, as maṭar > moṭar 'rain', and gawi > guwi 'strong'.

(c) Features typical of the Ḥarb dialect are, however not all shared with those of their neighbours, or the greater part of them. These are:

i. The occurrence of prepalatal k', g'; this is

especially found among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group, and occasionally it appears among the Northern Central group.

ii. The occasional pronunciation of j as dy, as dyibal < jabal 'mountain'.

iii. The preservation of the diphthongs aw, ay, and the frequent replacement of ay and sometimes aw by aa.

iv. The frequent occurrence of c instead of the medial Hamza of the verb sa?al > sacal 'to ask'.

Morphology

In its morphological aspect our dialect shows the following interesting parallels with the Northern Central Arabian dialects (cf. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.6ff).

i. The influence of the gutturals on the syllabic structure. Thus the following classical Arabic forms have become:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Form</th>
<th>Our Dialect Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>facla</td>
<td>fcala</td>
<td>şxara rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afcal</td>
<td>facal</td>
<td>cawar one eyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafcil</td>
<td>mfacil</td>
<td>myarib evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mafcuul</td>
<td>yfacuil</td>
<td>myaluub conquered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yafcil</td>
<td>yfacil</td>
<td>ycarif he knows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yafcuil</td>
<td>yfacul</td>
<td>yhaṭub he collects firewood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii. The absence of the trisyllabic forms corresponding

---

1. Kay; S. Alan, states that sound dy instead of J occurs in the dialect of al-Madina, (as well as in some parts of Najd) 'Arabic Ziim' Linguistic vol. 77, 80, p.59.
to Classical Arabic \textit{facalat}, \textit{facaluu}, and \textit{facala}.

Thus the following examples occur instead

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{\textbf{h\textbar s\textbar alat}} it happened
  \item \texttt{\textbf{s\textbar rudaw}} they flee
  \item \texttt{\textbf{z\textbar banam}} they took refuge
  \item \texttt{\textbf{rguba}} neck
  \item \texttt{\textbf{x\textbar s\textbar iba}} piece of wood
\end{itemize}

iii. The presence of the vowel \textit{i} instead of \textit{a} in the open syllable in both verbal and nominal forms, except in words whose open syllable contains gutturals or \textit{r, l, n}. \textit{e.g.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{sikan} he inhabited
  \item \texttt{Jibal} mountain
  \item \texttt{sic\textbar i\textbar if} supporter
  \item \texttt{halab} he milked
  \item \texttt{\textbar sarad} he escaped
  \item \texttt{balah} dates
  \item \texttt{bana} he built
\end{itemize}

The dialect of \textit{Onaiza} shows the same features\textsuperscript{1}.

Features not to be found among the \textit{Harb}

i. The feminine ending of nouns in the dialect of the \textit{Harb} is (-\textit{a, -ah}) as \texttt{nxala}, 'palm tree', \texttt{x\textbar s\textbar ibah} 'a piece of wood' as opposed to (-\textit{ih}) in the dialect of \textit{Shammar}\textsuperscript{2},

\textsuperscript{1} Johnstone, T.M. \textit{Aspects}, BSOAS, vol. XXX, p.4ff
\textsuperscript{2} Cantineau, J. \textit{Etudes}, III, p.165.
and that of 'Onaiza'.

In this respect the Ḥarb corresponds with the dialect of the Ḍanaza and ʿOtaiba tribes, as well as with the EAD; (cf. Johnstone p. 7, 8).

ii. Compare also the personal suffixes of the 3ms, 3fs, and the verbal suffix of the I.C.s in our dialect (-ih, uh, u, -ha, ni) with those of Shammar (-uh, -ah, -an)¹, and those of Ḍanaza (-ah, -ha, -ni)².

As against such general features, the Ḥarb dialect displays, however, also some traits which divide it into two fairly well defined regional varieties - NC and Hijazi.

Features occurring only among the Hijazi group

i. The prepalatalization of k, g to k', g'.

ii. The replacement of the consonant m by n in the word alḥamd > alḥind 'praise'.

iii. The disappearance of Tanwīn (this trait excludes the Bedouin, who preserve the Tanwīn).

iv. The lengthening of the vowel of the imperative verb type baac as biic 'sell' and gaal guul 'speak'.

v. The occurrence of the particle kiid instead of the Classical particle gad.

vi. The use of the ba with the imperfect to indicate the intention, as in babica:aha, 'I am going to sell it'.

Features occurring only among the NC group

i. The affrication of k, g into ts, dz.

ii. The occasional appearance of gy instead of J.

iii. The preservation of the Tanwin (-in) without distinction of case.

iv. The imperative form of the Hamzated verbs, the Hollow, and the Geminate Verbs are CiC e.g. xid 'take', riḥ 'go', tigg 'knock', as against the Hijazi forms xud, ruuḥ, tugg.

v. The frequent occurrence of the form zabī, tabī, nabī 'to want', in contrast to the Hijazi zabā, tabā, nabā.

vi. The occasional use of the negative maahuub- as in maahuubulukum 'it does not belong to you'.

Other Features and General Observations

The dialect of the Ḥarb as a whole preserves a number of features found in Classical Arabic. Thus the pattern ficiil < faciil is still used to denote the passive participle e.g.

dibiḥ 'killed'  kisiir defeated
Several other patterns of nouns show archaic characteristics, as *dimi*, pl. *damm* blood, and *xfaaf* 'light' (adjective).

Similarly, the particle *gad* which preceds the perfect of verbs to indicate the accomplishment of an action, is still widely used among the Hijazi group (with modification in the pronunciation from *gad* to *kid/kiid*).

The verb *wadda* 'to wish' > *widdi* is used among the Hijazi and the Northern Central group as an auxiliary verb to express the idea of 'wishing'. This is again a somewhat archaic usage (cf. Qur'ān, 3-62). Sentences, expressing a wish, in a number of instances occur with the verb in the perfect, as in Classical Arabic, and with similar word order, particularly among the Hijazi group, and occasionally among the N.C. group — e.g.

*baarak alla'īik*  may God bless you  HJ
*taal umrak*  may God prolong your life  NC

However the imperfect is also used to express wishes in other phrases. But, in fact, this dialect is itself divided into two main groups,

(i) the NC group  (ii) the Hijazi group

The Northern Central group, which originally spread out around 1815-16 from the Hijaz, their original home, in their new homes acquired the affrication of *k, q* into *ts,*

---

dz as well as the use of some morphological and some lexical items (see p. 84, 100, 159).

This is due to their contact with the ānaza, Shammar, Muţair, and ātaiba tribes.

The Hijazi group, on their part, show some traces of contacts in a different direction, in the acquisition of features typical of the urban speech of the Hijazi cities, such as the lengthening of the vowel in the imperative of verbs of the type gaal, baac.

Similarly, certain lexical items of foreign origin have found their way into the Hijazi group (through the same urban contacts), as bayki, balki 'perhaps', barÚ 'also'. Despite all these differences, these two groups form essentially one dialect group, and share many important features distinguishing them from the ānaza and Shammar dialects (see p. 219).

Furthermore, a considerable number of lexical items very typical of the Ḥarbi speech, are equally well preserved among the two groups, (cf. p. 156).

Non-local speech

There is no outside element among the inhabitants of our dialect areas. All the settlements are of the Banu Ḥarb. Small groups of other Arabs, such as persons of Sharifian descent occasionally are found within the region of the Ḥarb in the Hijaz, particularly in Badr, but their dialect is not markedly different from the Ḥarb dialect,
since they follow the same pattern of life and intermarry with the Banu Ṣūbḥ of the Ḥarb.

Civil servants and teachers are mainly recruited from among the local Arabs of this area.

Teachers and medical servants from other Arab countries, such as the Sudan, Jordan and Palestine are occasionally found in our region, but their influence on the local speech is untraceable.

It is true that quite a number of the Ḥarb now live in the cities, particularly in the Hijaz, and do come into contact with others. In spite of this they still preserve their dialectal speech, and do not show the distinguishing features of the city speech, which may be described on the phonetic level as the change of the interdental consonants ϴ to t or s and ำ to d or z.¹

Up to the present the only words to show instability in this dialect are ٍ legality 'to cut the fruit of palm trees' and ٍ legality 'trunk of palm tree'. They were pronounced with (d) instead of (d̂ ) by some informants especially the Banu Ḥarb of the Hijaz.

Among the younger speakers the word ٍ legality 'beard' is frequently heard (for the older ḥiyāḥ), and this exhibits the change from (d̂̂̂ d̂ to d), but this is probably

---

¹ for details Cf. the present writer's M.Phil dissertation A Critical p. 15, 84f
an import: from city speech and not to be taken as a feature of the Harbi dialect.

The influence of the Koine language

This linguistic type appeared in the speech of some of my informants, particularly those who were exposed to contact with people from their area outside. They used certain speech elements which are easily recognised as non-dialectal (urbanized). These may be summarized as follows:

At the phonetic level the following Standard Arabic pronunciations are retained:

- j for y; k and g for prepalatal k' and g' or ts, dz;
- and n for m in the word ḥamd 'praise' e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialectal</th>
<th>Koine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masyid</td>
<td>masJid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caayiz</td>
<td>caaJiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riyaaJiil</td>
<td>riJaaJiil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sik'ka</td>
<td>sik'Ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suug</td>
<td>suug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzidir</td>
<td>gidir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warts</td>
<td>wark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥindella</td>
<td>ḥamdella</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphological patterns, however, are not greatly affected;
the perfect forms **ficil** and **fical** corresponding to Classical Arabic **facila** and **facala** are normally used e.g.

- **3.m.s.**  širib  he drank
- **3.f.s.**  širbat  she drank
- **3.m.s.**  šidag  he told the truth
- **2.m.s.**  šidagt  you have told the truth

But in the imperfect of verbs the first root letter of which is a guttural a reversion to Classical Arabic pattern is found in speakers affected by Koine e.g.

- nhalib becomes nahlib 'we milk' and
- ncarif becomes nacrif 'we know'

Similarly the trisyllable forms of Standard Arabic may be retained as in zaracuu instead of zracaw/sracam 'they planted', and gahwa for ghawa 'coffee'.

Nominal patterns are also affected. Thus the patterns **fical** and **ficil** have retained their normal Classical forms, e.g.

- **jamal** instead of the dialectal jimal 'camel' and
- sahiih for siihiih 'true'.

The nunation is no longer found in this type of speech except in some common words or phrases e.g.

- ahlan  welcome
- kullan  everyone
New phrases and lexical items frequently replace the previous old dialectal ones, as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dialectal</th>
<th>Koine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nicma</td>
<td>kašiir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawwas</td>
<td>yala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandar</td>
<td>suug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>cala kull ḫaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>mašalan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Syntax the order of the words is generally the same as in the dialect. Nevertheless, new analytical conjunctions have developed as: bacdeen 'thereafter', casaan/calasaan 'in order to', lajil 'because'.

Similarly literary conjunctions are occasionally inserted, such as ida 'when', cindama 'when, while' and kullama 'whenever'.

All this might be viewed as the influence of the Arabic Koine which is progressing in the Arab World.
PART I

The Phonology

The phonological system of the spoken dialect of the Ḥarb tribe will be treated here as a whole, i.e. by taking together the two different areas investigated (the Hijazi Region and the Northern Central Region between al-Madina and al-Qasīm).

This does not involve overlooking the regional differences and ignoring the linguistic facts, but in this way we shall avoid unnecessary repetition.

In making reference to the differences between the various speakers of this dialect, we give their number, their settlement or the name of their location and clan.

The speakers of the Northern Central Region clearly show some phonological features typical of the Northern Central Arabian dialects (see p. 55, 60f).

The occurrence of these elements is mainly due to the fact that the members of this second group (NC), although they spread out from the Hijaz, the original home of the Ḥarb tribe, acquired certain Northern Central Arabian linguistic features as a result of their contact with the tribes in the vicinity.

Quite a number of phonological features encountered in this dialect as a whole are possibly to be regarded as
archaic survivals of ancient Arabian dialects. Examples of these features are the replacement of the diphthong ay, and sometimes aw, by aal and the prepalatalization of k, g.

New elements in the phonology have also developed, such as the occasional disappearance of the diphthongs, aw, ay among some informants, and their replacement by oo, ee. These elements, however, are not very obtrusive dialectal variations, and do not in fact diverge strikingly from their counterparts in Classical Arabic.

1. Rabin; C. op.cit. p.65,
The Consonants

The table below illustrates the consonant system of the Harb dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>liquid</th>
<th>nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdental</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denti-alveolar</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>t̷</td>
<td>s̷</td>
<td>d̷</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-alveolar</td>
<td>s̷</td>
<td>j(γ)y</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k(k̷)</td>
<td>g(γ̷)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td>q̷</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td>h̷</td>
<td>c̷</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The glottal stop presents a number of interesting features. It is frequently either elided or replaced by another sound e.g. the pharyngeal sound c.

We here illustrate the varying behaviour of the Hamza. In the initial position it is frequently pronounced in both nominal and verbal forms, eg.

- axad (he took)
- abad (never)
- ibin (son of)
The last word is sometimes pronounced without the Hamza as bin 'son of'. Similarly, the proper name Ḥibraahīm becomes braahīm in this dialect.

In Bedouin speech i.e. the dialect of (al-khabt) the desert plains and the mountain dwellers, the Hamza of the nominal pattern Ḍafqal tends to disappear, especially in the contiguity of gutturals e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥāmar} & < \text{ḥāmar} \quad \text{red} \\
\text{ċawar} & < \text{ċawar} \quad \text{one-eyed}
\end{align*}
\]

The following words are commonly pronounced without Hamza:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bil} & \quad \text{for} \quad \text{ḍibil} \quad \text{camels} \\
\text{raad} & \quad " \quad \text{ḍaraad} \quad \text{he wills} \\
\text{raadt ḍalla} & \quad " \quad \text{ḍiraadatu ḍallahi} \quad \text{God's will}
\end{align*}
\]

Generally, the initial glottal stop in verbs and nouns is omitted when it is preceded by a conjunction, preposition or other particle. Cf. the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wibin} & \quad \text{and son of} \\
\text{biṭ ẓaan ḍalla} & \quad \text{by God's permission} \\
\text{maaxad} & \quad \text{he has not taken}
\end{align*}
\]

The imperfect Hamzated verb is often pronounced with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as a substitute for the Hamza, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaaxud} & \quad \text{he takes} \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{yaakel} & \quad \text{he eats} \quad \text{NC}
\end{align*}
\]
Hamza in this type of verb is retained only in the speech of sophisticated speakers who are affected by the literary language e.g.

\( \text{ya}=\text{xud} \)  
he takes

Initial Hamza in Hamzated verbs of the I and II forms (e.g. \( \text{alif to become familiar} \)), and their derivatives, become \( (w) \), e.g.

\( \text{alif} \quad > \quad \text{walaf} \quad \text{he get used} \)
\( \text{aliif} \quad > \quad \text{wiliif} \quad \text{associate, companion} \)
\( \text{ann} \quad > \quad \text{wann} \quad \text{to sigh} \)
\( \text{aniin} \quad > \quad \text{winiin} \quad \text{hum} \)

The Hamza of the following derived forms has become either \( (w) \) or \( (y) \) as:

\( \text{tiwannas for ta}=\text{annas to be amused} \)
\( \text{tiyassas} \quad " \quad \text{ta}=\text{assas it was established} \quad \text{HJ} \)

The passive voice of the perfect verb \( \text{waxad} \) is usually \( \text{wixid} \) 'it was taken' particularly in the Bedouin speech.

The following interrogative particle and conflated phrase show the sound \( (w) \) instead of the glottal stop:

\( \text{waan, ween} \quad < \quad \text{sayn} \quad \text{where} \)
\( \text{waas, wees} \quad < \quad \text{sayu sayin} \quad \text{what} \)

The glottal stop of the verb \( \text{sa}\text{al} \) 'to ask' is usually
replaced by the pharyngal sound (c), especially in the Bedouin speech, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sacal} & \quad \text{he asked} & \quad \text{HJ, W. Safra} \\
\text{isacaltooni} & \quad \text{if you would have asked me} & \quad \text{HJ, al-Quha} \\
\text{yasalk} & \quad \text{he is asking you} & \quad \text{NC, Fawwara}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, in the Hijazi group the interrogative yayyu 'which' has become cayyaat 'which one'.

In contrast to this the Hamza of the verb saDal is elided or replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This phenomenon frequently appears in the speech of the Banu Sālim of the Ḥarb of both groups (NC, Hijazi) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{inselt} & \quad \text{if you have asked} & \quad \text{HJ Badr} \\
\text{maasaal} & \quad \text{he has not asked} & \quad \text{HJ W.Safra} \\
\text{tisaali} & \quad \text{you ask} & \quad \text{NC Fawwara}
\end{align*}
\]

In the medial position the Hamza is no longer pronounced in the following nouns, but is replaced by glide e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diib} & \quad \text{wolf} & \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{yaas} & \quad \text{desperation} & \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{muumin} & \quad \text{believer} & \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{misaayil} & \quad \text{affairs} & \quad \text{NC} \\
\text{raayfa} & \quad \text{merciful} & \quad \text{NC} \\
\text{rayyis} & \quad \text{chief} & \quad \text{NC}
\end{align*}
\]
Final Hamza is frequently elided in both verbs and nouns, e.g.

\begin{align*}
n\breve{\text{is}}a & \quad \text{he grew} \quad \text{HJ} \\
m\breve{\text{a}}a & \quad \text{water} \\
\end{align*}

However, some speakers, including Bedouins of camel and sheep rearing preserve the final Hamza in these nouns and verbs as:

\begin{align*}
m\breve{\text{a}}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{water} \quad \text{NC, HJ} \\
w\breve{\text{a}}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{fealty, friendship} \quad \text{NC} \\
\breve{j}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{he comes} \quad \text{NC, HJ} \\
\end{align*}

The retention of the Hamza in the above examples generally occurs in the pausal position and with a stressed final syllable, otherwise in continuous speech the Hamza is not sounded.

In addition, the glottal stop may even be added in some particles and nouns, such as

\begin{align*}
\breve{l}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{no} \\
\breve{i}\breve{\text{n}} \breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{here} \\
\end{align*}

The bilabials consonants \( b, p \)

The pronunciation of the consonant (b) is similar to that found in modern literary Arabic, e.g.

\begin{align*}
\breve{\text{b}}\breve{\text{a}}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{sea} \\
\text{r}\breve{\text{a}} & \quad \text{people} \\
\end{align*}
The voiceless (p) does not occur in the Ḥarb dialect; in the case of foreign loan words it is normally replaced by the voiced (b), e.g.

The English packet thus became bakat, the Persian pandar became bandar 'market'.

On many occasions an emphatic (b) is noted among both groups of the Ḥarb (Hijazi, NC group), cf the examples below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>方言</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḍogar</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>HJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍosal</td>
<td>onion</td>
<td>HJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍorrosīd</td>
<td>IbnRashid</td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍiļbaal</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S. Moscati regards this sound (the emphatic b) as a new development which now occurs in many modern Semitic languages, including some modern Arabic dialects.

I have, however, not observed any sound which can be described as (p), not even in consonant clusters of the kind reported by Cantineau, in ṣāla 'onion' and others.

The replacement of b by m

The consonant (b) sometimes interchanges with the consonant (m) especially among the Hijazi group of the Ḥarb e.g. in the word mirzam 'type of star' instead of

1. Moscati, S. An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, p. 25, 26
   Jean Cantineau states in his book Etudes de Linguistique Arabe that the consonantal system of the ancient Semitic Languages was a triangular one (p, b, b). The plosive (p) is replaced by (f) in Arabic, see p. 16ff, 27ff.

mirzab. Such a replacement of the sound (b) by (m) was in fact an old phenomenon of some ancient East Arabian dialects.¹

The replacement of the nasal sound m by b

This again occurs among the Hijazi group e.g.

| biddat | < middat (muddat) | since |
| sbint | cement |

Liquid Consonants

The lateral (l) and the rolled (r)

The two liquid sounds l and r both possess an allophonic counterpart in this dialect.²

Mufakhamā l, r occur beside the normal l, r.

In common practice, the word ʿallah is usually pronounced with an emphatic (l) in isolation, but in the construct state the normal (l) appears e.g.

minfādílīlla "by the grace of God"

The emphatisation of (l) is usually heard in contiguity with the consonants (s, ţ) e.g.

¹. Anīs; I. al-lahajāt p.118. See also Kofler; H. Reste WZKM p.69ff.

². See ad-Dāni; al-Qirāʾat as-Sāhī (edit by Pretzl) where he discusses the treatment of (l) in the Warsh's reading p.5
ṣalla  he prays
ṣallat  he gave strength to overpower
ṭall  dew; he visited

In the dialect of Banu ʿAwf, and of some of the ʿIbida clan of Banu ʿAmr (both ʿA wf and ʿIbida) from the Banu Masrūḥ branch in the Hijaz, Tarqiq (diemphatisation) of the consonant (l) occurs, as in:

'gelt  I said
'gaal  he said

The Tarqiq of the consonant (l) seems to result from the slight imāla of the vowels (u, aa), a feature which is quite common among the Banu ʿA wf clan.

In both dialect groups (the Hijaz and NC group) the consonant (l) has become (n) in the following words:

Dismaaʿiin  < Dismaaʿiil   proper name
jibriin  < jibriil    angle name

Similarly, the verb lacan 'to curse' has generally become nicnubu 'curse to his ʿA ṭr.'

The rolled consonant r

The consonant r is pronounced as a rolled palato-alveolar e.g.

rabb  God
dahar  famine
Mufakhama (r) occurs on several occasions, as in:

yabaraaha he exculpates her infer. 23
garanaa we have read it infer. 21.

Tarqiq is rarely encountered among the speakers of this dialect.

Informants no. 21, 36 occasionally have muraggaga in:

piraii he was looking at him HJ
taraah well he is... NC

The consonants c, ð, d

In the Bedouin dialect of the Hijazi group, the pharyngal (c) has become a voiced velar fricative (ð) e.g.

Cumqaha > ðumgaha its depth

Similarly, the interdental (ð) has become (d) among the farmers of the Hijazi group in the following words:

jadd to cut the fruit of palm trees
jid trunk of palm trees

The dialect of the Banu Salim section of the Hijaz shows the replacement of (ð) by (f) in the word jëda grave jëdaf, in the following phrase:

malcuen >aljidaf the cursed nature or origin

But, aala 'the three stones supporting the cooking pot'
is widely used instead of a\\aaafi in the whole dialect of the Harb.

The consonant x > y

In the dialect group of the Hijaz the consonant (x) has become (y) in the word yabba/yiyabbi 'to hide' instead of xabba/yuxabbi.

The consonant s

It is regularly pronounced as a voiceless dentalveolar fricative. However, some few words show a replacement of (s) by the emphatic (ṣ). Thus the two groups of the Harb tribe (the NC and the Hijazi group) pronounce the following words with (ṣ) instead of (s) e.g.

\[\text{ṣuur} \times \text{suur} \quad \text{fence}\]
\[\text{ṣuur} \times \text{su\textbar}r \quad \text{remnant of food}\]

In addition, frequently in this dialect as a whole, the consonant (s) may become an emphatic (ṣ) when near the emphatic (ṭ) or velar sound (x) e.g.

\[\text{ba\textbariṭ} \quad \text{trivial}\]
\[\text{ṣaxaṭ} \quad \text{wart}\]
\[\text{ṣaxxar} \quad \text{he subjugated}\]

The following words show a dissimilation where the consonant (s) has become (ṣ) e.g.
These words, excluding ⵏⴰⵙⴰⵙ > ⵏⴰⵙ > ⵏⴰⵙ, are loan-words; sajjal, musajjil are probably borrowed from the cities of Hijaz; it is also to be noted that such dissimilation occurs only in the Bedouin speech.

The emphatic consonant ⵏ ⵝ and ⴡ ⵖ ⴡ:

These two consonants are entirely merged with each other; the sound (ḏ) (a voiced emphatic fricative) has replaced both (ḏ) ⵝ ⴡ and (ḏ) ⴡ ⴡ.

Several examples of the interchange of ⴡ ⴡ with ⴡ ⴡ with each other were long ago recorded by the Arab grammarians and philologists¹.

Compare the following examples, in which (ḏ) ⴡ ⴡ and (ḏ) ⴡ ⴡ are fused in our dialect.

| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | luck |
| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | noon |
| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | forenoon |
| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | suburbs |
| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | to be contented |
| ⴡ ⴡ ⴡ | to suck |

¹. Kofler; H. Reste WZKM. p.95f.
Nevertheless, very occasionally a sound which may be roughly defined as a voiced interdental plosive (between ď and ď) is observable among the Bedouin and the sheep and camel rearers of the Harb.

This sound also occurs in the speech of the al-Khabt people of Badr and Wadi aṣ-Ṣafrā; some speakers of the al-Khabt retain the sound (d) dʿ.

In the light of the additional newly collected material from this region we should like to state again that this sound is not completely identical with the ď of the Classical language, it is rather midway between (d) d; and (d) dʿ. Cf. the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yraad} & < \text{ayraad} & \text{things} \\
\text{araadi} & \text{alxaadar} & \text{lands} \\
\text{alxaadar} & \text{nickname of person}
\end{align*}
\]

**Palatalization**

The consonant ď does not vary considerably in its pronunciation among the Harb tribe. It is usually pronounced as a palato-alveolar affricate, ďj a sound which may be described as closely similar to the sound represented in the English judge, John etc.

In the NC group of the Harb, although the palato-alveolar affricate (j) is very prevalent a free variant

---

gy(g) also occurs among quite a number of speakers.

This sound may be described as a hard palatal plosive. It is neither like the Cairene (g) nor like the Yaminiyate (g), but is a sound lying midway between them. Moreover, a front palatal (dy), accompanied by affrication is widely found among the sheep and camel rearing Bedouin of the Ḥarb.

In what follows we shall examine more in detail the consonant (j) and its variant allophones in this dialect.

**Hijazi group**

In this group the consonant (j) is usually a palatoalveolar affricate in all positions e.g.

- rijac: he returned
- jimic: all
- xaraj: he went out
- rojjaal: man

Among the Bedouin sheep rearers of the Hijaz the sound (dy) for (j) is heard, especially in the initial position.

Cf. the following examples:

- dyimal: camel
- dyibaal: mountain
- waadyid: much
- dyimaa-atna: our people
- dyaaahil: young
The sound j is replaced by k among the Bedouin of the Hawāzim of Banu Sālim in the word ḍašnak, instead of ḍašnaj 'deaf'.

Similarly, among the fishermen of the Banu Ṣubḥ near ar-Rayis from the Banu Sālim branch, and members of the Zubaid branch in ar-Rayis harbour itself, we find the replacement of j by g in migdaaf for mijdaaf 'oar'. But the root of the same verb is always jaddaf / yijaddif 'to row'.

\[ j > y \]

The following words are commonly pronounced with y instead of j in the Hijazi group:

- masyid
- misiid (only among the Bedouin)
- caayiz
- siyara
- siyar
- riyāajiil

The Northern Central group

Similarly, the pronunciation of (j) as a palato-alveolar is generally encountered in this group, e.g.

- jarat
- min jay
- it happened
- from here
mijlaad sheep-skin full of dates
darja small round charge of gun powder

Frequently, and in all positions the sound gy is found among this group.
Cf. the following examples.

rigya< (riga<) he comes back again
agynaab (agnaab) strangers
algyiziira (al giziira) al-Jaziira (country of Shammar tribe)
gyaa> (gaa>) he comes
rigyaalin (rigaalain) man

The same sound also occurs among the Rubuga, Mishacaila of the Banu Amr, and Sihliyya of Banu Awf in the Hijazi group.

The sound dy (afront palatal, accompanied by affrication) is also noticeable in the NC group among the camel and sheep rearing nomads in the Suwaidera, Arja, Othaima, and Thadiq, e.g.

waadyid much
idyibaal mountains
idyiih he comes to him

y instead of j

This frequently occurs in the following words:
masyid mosque
riyaajil men (sic)
siyar trees
The consonants k, g

The pronunciation of these two consonants is not quite the same among the whole Ḥarb tribe; a number of allophones, corresponding to the Classical k, g, occur. Some of these are very common among specific subgroups, while they are not so among others.

Thus the Hijazi group (with the exception of the dialect of the Bedouin in the mountains and the al-Khabt people) mostly pronounce the (k) in all positions as a voiced velar plosive. e.g.

- karam generosity
- sikan he inhabited
- baarakALLAFIİIK may God bless you

On the other hand the Bedouin of the mountains, especially among the Banu Masrūḥ branch including the Āwāf, Sawācid, Laqāmīn and their neighbour the Şubḥ of the Banu Sālim branch, and the Banu Ayūb in al-Khiraiba (Wādi al-Abwāt) and cibida of Banu ʿAmr in Wādi al-Furu, show a prepalatal k as a variant of k.

This sound usually appears with Tarqīq and in the contiguity with the ultra-open Imalized a, i, u and aa, ii, ee. Cf. the examples below

- kenna we were
- sikka road
- makka mecca
- kees sack
miskaani my place
kiid < gad really, already

It occurs also in final position as:
ddrak he held
fakk he opened
mbayriik proper name
baraayik small palm trees

The prepalatal k is also attested in the speech of the al-Khabt people of the Banu Salim branch among the Hawazim, Ahamida, Mahamid and Subh, e.g.
keef how
kalb dog
kiwaayin fight
mikaan place
brayk proper name

But the prepalatal k does not occur in the contiguity of the vowels u, a, i when they are pronounced without Imala, as among the Bedouin of the Hijaz, examples:
bukra tomorrow
ki0ir much
bakra young she-camel
baakuur long curved stick

Compare also the following, where the normal voiced palatal fricative k occurs with the diphthongs aw, and their variants:
The prepalatal / appears occasionally among the camel and sheep rearers of the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb, i.e. among the Wuhūb Sīḥmān and the Fruda. e.g.

ka'tāra 'numerous' Infor. no. 30. Suwaidera
ruuḥāk 'your soul' Infor. 'Oglat aṣ-Ṣqūr
riik 'name of mountain' Infor. No. 35

The consonant /g/

The most common pronunciation of this consonant is realized as a voiced velar plosive among the Hijazi group as:

giṣṣa 'tale'
garya 'village'
garaa 'he has read'

In both groups NC and Hijazi the sound for (q) customary in literary Arabic (a voiceless uvular) occasionally occurs with those informants who are affected by the literary language through their various contacts, e.g.

qibaayil 'tribes'
qaal 'he said'

Similarly a voiced velar fricative (γ) a variant of (g)
is heard with some informants in the Hijazi and North Central groups as

\[ \gamma \text{ibaayil} \quad \text{tribes} \quad \text{HJ and Suwaidera} \]

\[ \lambda \text{yannicuh} \quad \text{he convinces him} \quad \text{Fawwara} \]

The bedouin of the mountains including the sheep rearers, the honey-makers of the Banu Masrūḥ, including the `Ibida, Bilādiyya of the Banu `Amr and the Ṣubḥ, frequently show the sound \( \dot{q} \). This sound \( \dot{q} \) may be described here as a prepalatal sound, similar to the one which is mentioned by Sibawayh in his grammar\(^1\).

Again, such sounds are usually found with the muraqqqaqa, and in contiguity with the vowels (a, i, u, aa) with strong Inaala.

examples:

- \( \acute{g} \text{amh} \)  \quad \text{wheat}
- \( \acute{l} \text{igi} \)  \quad \text{he found}
- \( \acute{n} \text{aaqa} \)  \quad \text{she-camel}
- \( \acute{w} \text{irqaan} \)  \quad \text{name of mountain}
- \( \acute{g} \text{iltlak} \)  \quad \text{I said to you}
- \( \acute{s} \text{irqaab} \)  \quad \text{necks}
- \( \acute{t} \text{agg} \)  \quad \text{justice}

In Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra and al-Figra this sound is also noticeable among the Banu Sālim of al-Khabt, including the Mahāmīd, Āḥamida, and Hawāzim. Compare the following examples:

1. \( \text{al-kitab} \) vol. II, p.404.
gem rise
'gaayla midday hot
cidg bunches of millet

But this sound is absent when near the vowels (u, uu, a, aa and i, ii) when they are not Imalized, e.g.

guwi strong
guul speak
haggat belonging to
gilili little

In the dialect of the Banu Ṣalīm in the Hijazi group, and only in the verb gatal, gattal 'to kill', the g has become k as kital, kattal.

The prepalatal g is occasionally met with in the Northern Central group of the Othayma Shibaykiyya, and Fawwara. Compare the following:

higg three year old camel
cirg vein
migbaas firebrand
ligi three year old young camel

The affrication of k, g

The affrication of k, g into ts, dz is undoubtedly the characteristic feature of the NC group of the Ḥarb. It is mostly noticeable in words with front vowels, aa, i, ii, and ee; e.g.
tseef       how
fatstsir    think
bowaatsir   sticks
bin tsimi   Bin Kimi (proper name\textsuperscript{1})
dzidir      pot
swaahiidz   name of mountain
midzfi      retreated
catiidz     proper name

The affrication of \( k, g \) also appears in contiguity with the vowels \( a, \) and \( aa \) e.g.

mclaadz    hanger
tsaaff      palm
\( \text{\textgreater} \)intsaan     if
braytsaan   proper name

The explanation suggested by T.M. Johnstone for the occurrence of the affrication of these sounds near the vowel (\( a \) and \( aa \)) depends in fact essentially upon the quality of the vowel\textsuperscript{2}. He accurately states that (\( a \)) and (\( aa \)) when near these affricated sounds are regularly fronted\textsuperscript{3} and this tendency seems in fact to be present in our afore-mentioned examples. Compare also the following examples where the affrication of \( k, g \) appears in the final position:

1. The chief of all the Banu Masruh branch for a time before the establishment of the Ottoman State.
3. ibid.
warts  thigh
firdz  group

The 2 f.s. suffixed personal pronoun is also pronounced with affrication among the N.C. group e.g.

waladats  your son
caleets  upon you

Among the variant sounds occurring in the N.C. group is the pronunciation of (g) as a voiced uvular (G), particularly in the verb gaal > Gaal 'he said'.

The affrication of k, g among the Hijazi group

The affrication of k, g into ts and dz is not one of the characteristic features of the Hijazi group of the Ḥarb. However, it does appear in the speech of the Rubuga, the Misacila of the Banu`Amr in Wādī al-Furu¹, and the Sihliyya of the Banu`Awf in Wādī an-Nağī². The social ties of all these families with the Ḥarb of Najd are in any case very strong.

Examples:
caraadziib  hamstrings  Rubuga
tsinna  we were  "
tsiilaab  dogs  Sihliyya
almitaaridza  chief from Muṭair tribe  "

¹. The original home of the Banu`Amr is Wādī al-Furu in the Hijāz, most of them emigrated to Najd, some of them still own palm-trees in Wādī al-Furu, and they come every summer to collect their dues from the persons who look after them.
Assimilation

Consonant assimilation is frequently found in the Ḥarb dialect. These cases of assimilation are usually of a regressive type.

In a number of cases, such assimilation occurs after the disappearance of short vowels which had originally separated the two consonants. The following examples describe such assimilations:

The Hijazi group

Verb + suffixed pronoun

- **dt > tt**  >  >acwadit  >  >acwatt  I became old
- **dt > tt**  >  šidit  >  sitt  I cough
- **dt > tt**  >  himidit  >  himitt  I thanked
- **dt > tt**  >  >axadit  >  >axatt  I took
- **ln > nn**  >  wišilna  >  wišinna  we reached
- **ln > nn**  >  hilna  >  ūhinna  we went searching for pasture
- **ln > nn**  >  yaakulni  >  yaakunni  it hurts me
- **nl > ll**  >  šubbinli  >  šibbilli  pour me
- **jz > zz**  >  yajzac  >  yazzac  he gets annoyed

Nouns including participles

- **tj > jj**  >  mutajawiriin  >  mijjaawriin neighbourings
- **td > dd**  >  mutaddayyif  >  middayyif  honoured as guest
- **ts > ss**  >  mutasannica  >  missannica  in good shape
Assimilation can also occur between adjoining words, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{min + m} & \quad \text{minmakka} > \text{mimakka} \quad \text{from Mecca} \\
\text{min + m} & \quad \text{minmaa} > \text{mimaa} \quad \text{from the water} \\
\text{min + l} & \quad \text{minluhuumi} > \text{milluhummi} \quad \text{from my relative}
\end{align*}
\]

**Progressive assimilation**

This type of assimilation is rarely found in this dialect. Compare, however, the following examples from the Hijazi group.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th} & > \text{ðh} \quad \text{dabbaḥahum} > \text{dabbaḥhum} \quad \text{he killed them} \\
\text{tt} & > \text{ṭṭ} \quad \text{xabaṭatu} > \text{xabaṭṭ} \quad \text{I strike} \\
\text{ṭḥ} & > \text{ṭṭ} \quad \text{wasaxḥaţ} > \text{wuşaxxa} \quad \text{its dirt}
\end{align*}
\]

**Assimilation among the NC group**

**Verb + suffixed pronoun**

Similar cases of assimilation are found among this group; the examples below give such cases:

**Regressive assimilation**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dt} & > \text{tt} \quad \text{nisadit} > \text{nisatt} \quad \text{I asked} \\
\text{dt} & > \text{tt} \quad \text{qiṣadit} > \text{qiṣatt} \quad \text{I recited} \\
\text{nl} & > \text{ll} \quad \text{fiṭinlahu} > \text{fiṭilleh} \quad \text{he comprehended his aim} \\
\text{nr} & > \text{rr} \quad \text{ṭinrahḥil} > \text{ṭirrahḥil} \quad \text{we start moving} \\
\text{jz} & > \text{zz} \quad \text{yajzaak} > \text{yazzaak} \quad \text{he rewards you}
\end{align*}
\]

Assimilation also occurs between the end of one word and the beginning of the next one.
min + m  minMutayr > mim'taar from Mu'tair
bin + r  binrasiiid > borrosiid  IbnRashid

Progressive assimilation

This has also, but rarely, occurred among this group e.g.

\[\text{\(\hat{h}h\)} > \text{\(\hat{h}h\)} \text{\(\text{sabbahhum}\)} > \text{\(\text{sabbahhum}\)} \text{ he raided them early in the morning}\]

\[\text{\(\hat{h}h\)} > \text{\(\hat{h}h\)} \text{\(\text{widba'hum}\)} > \text{\(\text{widba'hum}\)} \text{ and he killed them}\]

The assimilation of definite article

In the dialect of the Harb the assimilation of the \(\text{\(l\)}\) of the definite (\(\text{\(a\)}\)) is on the whole restricted to the so-called solar letters, as in Classical Arabic; however a few examples appear in our dialect where the definite article \(\text{\(l\)}\) has been assimilated to other letters like \(\text{x}, \text{q}, \text{m}\.\text{j}\).

Examples:

\(\text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)alxayyal} \rightarrow \text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)axxayyal} \text{ Cavalier}\)  NC
\(\text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)algawm} \rightarrow \text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)aggawm} \text{ enemy}\)  HJ
\(\text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)aljadd} \rightarrow \text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)ajjadd} \text{ cutting the fruit of the palm tree}\)  HJ
\(\text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)almisaddira} \rightarrow \text{\(\text{\(d\)}\)amisaddira} \text{ going out}\)  NC

Dissimilation

This is rarely attested in this dialect, and is usually found in some loanwords borrowed from city speech. Examples of this are given in p. 51. Compare also the following:
Vowel System

(a) Short vowels

In contrast to Classical Arabic, this dialect shows six short vowels, i, e, a, α, o, u.

i girba water skin
e This vowel has usually resulted from [a] rounded [a], as in
gelt I said
šecalaat ḫarb the nucleus of the ḫarb tribe
binteh his daughter

a rabće people

a fajer dawn

o It is frequently found instead of a in the contiguity with bilabial consonants and some others i.e., b, f, m, g, d, k, e.g.
hoşal onion
al-fowwara al-Fawwara

u xuwwah friendship

Cf. the following diagram indicates the approximate tongue position of the short vowels
b) Long vowels

Again there are six long vowels ii, ee, aa, aα, oo, uu. e.g.

ii  rii= mountain

This vowel also corresponds to the Classical Arabic dipthong ay e.g.

siidi  < sayyidi  my lord
sii   < say>  thing

ee  A mid-front spread vowel, usually corresponding to the Classical Arabic dipthong ay as:

deef  guest

aa  This vowel is front-open, with slight retraction
raah  he went

aα  This vowel is a variant of the dipthongs ay and aw, e.g.

saax  chief
daala  state
It is a mid-back rounded vowel, corresponding to aw or uu, in Classical Arabic cf, nooc type jaaboo they brought

This vowel usually occurs among the Hijazi group in the imperative of verbs of the type gaal as guul 'say'

The diagram below describes the approximate tongue position of the long vowels:
Diphthongs aw, ay

The diphthongs aw and ay are generally preserved in the Ḥarb dialect. Additionally, and very often, the diphthong ay, and less frequently aw, alternate with aa.

The latter variant is encountered in the speech of those who may fairly be presumed to be still unaffected by the Arabic Koine. However, the monophthongisation of aw and ay resulted in oo and ee; corresponds of course to aw and ay generally appears throughout the Ḥarb dialect, particularly in the case of those speakers who appear to have contact with speakers outside their own dialectal area, and who have been exposed to modern influences, including Koine Arabic.

But the aa variant of these diphthongs is still found in the dialect of this latter group, particularly in words derived from assimilated verbs with initial (w), e.g. maajuud 'existing' for mawjuud and maaluud 'new-born baby' for mawluud etc.

The following tribal names are generally pronounced with aa instead of ay in this dialect:

jihaana       Juhaina
mitaar       Muṭair
ictaaba       Otaiba

The word yawm, when used as a conditional particle with the meaning when, is generally pronounced yaam.
When it means *day*, it is pronounced either *yawm* or *yoom*.

Thus it can be stated as a general rule that the *aa* variant of *ay* is widely used in the Hijaz among the *cIbida*, *Rubiqa*, the *Bilādiyya* of the Banu *Amr* in the *Wādi al-Furuʿ*; and the Banu *Awwf*, including *Lihaba*, *LiQāmin* Ṣuwācid in *al-Qaḥa*, and the Banu Ṣubḥ in Jibal Ṣubḥ, and the Banu Ayub and the Banu Muhammad in al-Khiraiba (*al-Abwān*). It occurs also in the dialect of the Banu Salim branch in the region of Badr and Wādi as-Ṣafrā, Abyār aSh-Shaikh and al-Figra among the Ṣubḥ, Hawāzin, Mahāmmid and the Aḥamida.

However, *ee* is also found in the speech of the above-mentioned people, especially among those who have been exposed to contact with other speakers from urban centres, i.e. Madena, Mecca etc.

The Banu Ḥarb of the Northern Central group commonly use *aa* as a free variant of *ay*; this branch includes the inhabitants of as-Ṣuwaidera, Ḥanakiyya, ḌArJa, Naqra, ḌOqlat as-Ṣuqūr, Shibaikiyya, Abu Mughair and al-Fawwara.

The *ee* diphthong also occurs in this group.

The following are examples of the diphthongs and their variants:

**HiJazi group**
### aw and ay preserved

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dayn</td>
<td>debt</td>
<td>W. al-Furuc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fawz</td>
<td>success</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γayθ</td>
<td>cloud, heavy rain</td>
<td>W. al-Qaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂawm</td>
<td>fasting</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawm</td>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>Jibal Ṣubḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layl</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>Jibal Wirgān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂayn</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>W. aṣ-Ṣafrā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂawb</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### aw, ay > oo and ee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yoom</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>commonly heard in the speech of settled people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beet</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biir geeḍi</td>
<td>place-name in Wadi al-qāha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihbeela</td>
<td>trap</td>
<td>Wadi al-qāha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nooceen</td>
<td>two types</td>
<td>jibal wirgān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xeer</td>
<td>good things</td>
<td>wadi al furuc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ay > aa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xaal</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>wadi alqāha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saax</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baanhum</td>
<td>among them</td>
<td>wadi al Furu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baarag</td>
<td>flag</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laalak</td>
<td>your night</td>
<td>jibal wirgān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calaana</td>
<td>upon us</td>
<td>Wadi aṣṢafrā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laan</td>
<td>until</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aw > aa

maaluuud new-born baby al-Khirayba, Wādi al-Abwā
xaaf fear wādi alqāḥa
yaam when " al Furuq
ḥaaḍ water basin " aṣ-Ṣafra
daala state "

The Northern Central group

aw, ay preserved

gawm enemy Šuwaidera
＞aṣṣayf summer "
yawminaani another day Ḥanākiyya
θawbaha her garment "
sayl flood Arja
lawm blame Naqra
citayba ʿOtaibat tribe "
ḥawl year ʿOqlat as Suqur
ḥayd parallel ash-Shibaykiyya
bayt ṭalla house of God Fawwara
yawmgyaa when he came "

aw, ay > oo and ee

joozaha her husband Šuwaidera
beerag flag Ḥanākiyya
seef sword Naqra
been between 'Othayma

gdeemi dagger 'Oqlat as-Ṣuqūr

θoobaha her garment Fawwara

\( \text{aw, ay > aa} \)

myaar name of settlement Šuwaida ra

saaaxak your chief Ḥanakiyya

faasal proper name 'Arja

calaaha upon it 'Othayma

yaam when Nagra

raaḍa meadow 'Oqlat as-Ṣuqūr

xaar good thing Fawwara

Words derived from Hollow verbs (CWC) frequently retain the diphthong throughout the Ḥarb dialect e.g.

jawca hungry people NC

hawša quarrel HJ

' sawra honey gathering

Moreover, several place names preserve the diphthongs, CF. the following examples:

>alxayf HJ

>almiraybid HJ

brayda i.e. Buraida (town in al-Qasīm) NC

>alxisaybi NC
It will be seen from the above that the 'aa variant of the ay diphthong (and to a lesser extent of aw) is widely used among the Ḥarb tribe, irrespective of the dialectal area.

It is found in both groups (the NC, and the Hijazi), including those which have ee and oo as variants. This phenomenon is also present in the dialect of the Otaiba tribe, as recorded by Hess. Similar examples of this variant also appear in the samples collected from my Otaibi informant from Oqlat aṣ-Ṣuqūr in al-Qasīm.

The tribes of Mutair and Juhaina also show this characteristic feature: some samples of their speech were obtained in the Wadi al-Furu' from Mutairi and Juhani retainers (Khawi).

C. Rabin has noted that the Jewish colloquial of Central Yemen occasionally alternate 'aa with ay e.g. waan for wayn < ḏayn where.

It is significant that the tribe of Hamadan and its neighbouring tribes change ay to 'aa, as ḥawaalaa for ḥawaalay.

Arab grammarians state that the Banu Balḥārith (a south Arabian tribe) have 'aa instead of the diphthong ay.

---

2. Rabin; C. Ancient West Arabian, p.65
It seems highly probably that aa for ay is ancient and characteristic feature of some Arabian dialects.

Classical Arabic, which is based on the Northern Arabian dialects (represented by the dialect of Quraish) of course has ay and aw.

Accordingly, oo and ee are clearly secondary variants of aw and ay, and are probably to be associated with Middle Arabic, which developed outside Arabia.

These oo and ee variants are still not widely used at the present day among the Arabian tribes as we have seen, but they have begun to be employed by those speakers who are influenced by Arabic Koine.

Consonant Clusters

Two consonant clusters, due to the loss of short vowels, frequently occur in initial positions, especially where an unstressed short vowel is elided e.g.

Initial position

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-arif</td>
<td>you know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šxara</td>
<td>rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbaar</td>
<td>older people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three-consonant clusters are absent, since such clusters are always avoided by the introduction of an anaptyctic vowel after the second radical,

yadbihoon they kill
yasrudoon they escape

Similarly the preposition cind with the personal pronoun suffixes, is usually found with preservation of an anaptyctic vowel e.g.

<induh, <indeh he has
<indaha she has
<indak you have
<indik you have HJ
<indits you have NC
<indihum they have
<indihin they have

Gemination

The initial gemination of a consonant may occur in normal conversation as in

r-rjuu$ rain NC
c-<sar kind of desert plant HJ
š-syar trees both groups

Final geminate consonants do also occur in
ladd he turns back
damm blood

With pronominal suffixes the word damm is usually without gemination, as dimeh 'his blood', damk 'your blood'.
In contrast, in kull, kill the gemination is frequently retained e.g. kulluhum all of them HJ killeha all of it NC

Prosthetic vowels

This type of vowel is usually inserted in front of a word as compensation for the loss of unstressed short vowel. e.g.

intanassam we take a break HJ imbayriik proper name

Prosthetic (u) may be inserted only in front of the noun, e.g.

usbuur watchmen during the raid

note the s > θ

Stress

If the final syllable is CVVC or -CVCC, the stress usually falls on this final syllable, as:

śirhaan wolf
dibiìh killed
śacalt you have asked
zaract I have planted
The examples below show that the stress regularly falls on the second syllable, a feature which is of normal occurrence among the speakers of this dialect:

- kallamk: he has spoken to you
- srudat: she escaped
- rgubti: my neck
- zhara: blossom

Among the Bedouin too the stress usually falls on the second syllable, e.g.

- ḥnab: grape
- ḥfar: pits
- ʾataf: alley

The stress also sometimes falls on the definite article. Cf. the following words:

- ʿalbalah: date
- ʿalcarab: Bedouin, wife
- ʿannaxal: palm trees
- ʿaddaxal: income
PART II

The Morphology

The morphological system in its basic structure does not differ widely from the Northern-Central Arabian Dialects (Cf. Johnstone map 1, p. 3 EADS).

The base form of the verb shows vowel change where vocalization other than those of Classical Arabic occur (see p. 81, 84).

The effect of the gutturals on the syllable structure is apparent among this dialect.

Thus, the perfect of verbs which begin with a guttural consonant or where syllables contain the consonants r, l, n, retains the normal classical pattern, as in ḥafar 'he dug', ṣarad 'he escaped'.

But with pronominal suffixes of 3fs, 3m.pl. etc., the short vowel is elided, leading to a change in syllable structure e.g.

ḥfarat she dug
ṣrudaw they escaped

All forms corresponding to Classical Arabic are found, and no substitution is made between masculine, and feminine, whereas some urbān dialects mix two genders¹, or employ

1. Cf. the Meccan speech where the form yistaylu 'they work' is used for both the 3 m.pl., the 3 f.pl. Schreiber; G. op.cit. (text. p. 190).
the masculine instead of the feminine throughout. In common with most Arabian Dialects the dual form has already disappeared in this dialect. Only one informant, no. 33, from al-Hanakiyya used the dual form.

The passive voice for both perfect and imperfect verbs appears fairly commonly; from VII may also be used to express passiveness.

Prosthetic vowels (i, u) may develop in front of the perfect and imperfect of verbs, resulting from the elision of the unstressed short vowel, e.g.

\[ \text{incarif we know} \]
\[ \text{umsutat she combed} \]

These helping vowels are less frequent in the dialect of the Hadar and among sophisticated speakers.

Additionally the terminal vowel of the 3 m.s. imperative of verbs with final y may be elided; such phenomena are frequently met among the Bedouin in cases where the stress is shifted from the penultimate to the first syllable, e.g.

\[ \text{>im's go} \]
\[ \text{>istar buy} \]
\[ \text{xall leave} \]

Commonly, and in fact with a quite considerable number of speakers, the 3 m.pl. of the perfect verb facaluu has become (aw) as rikbaw 'they rode'. Sometimes, however (am) appears instead of uu > oo > aw, e.g.
ibhaam  they searched
rabacam  they had a good spring

Finally, the following verb patterns occasionally appear: in this dialect:

- fooocal  soolaF  he chatted  NC
- doobah   be became old  HJ
- tifieeal  timeezar he wrapped himself NC
- timeedax he pretended  HJ

The Strong Verb

The simple verb

a. Perfect tense

The most frequent form of the perfect tense of the simple verb is:

a- ficil  rikib he rode  širib  he drank
b- fi=al  dibah he killed  kitab he wrote
c- fa=al  šarad he escaped daxal he entered

Verbs with unstable patterns may occur in two alternative forms:

ficil and fi=il; giḍab "to hold" and giḍib.

The Bedouin usually has ficil beside fi=al. In contrast the Hadari type shows fa=al, e.g. nazal, qaḍab. The form facula of Classical Arabic has generally become ficil as:

kibir  he grows bigger
șiýir  he becomes less
The tabulation below gives the conjugate of the perfect verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>&quot;to ride&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>rikib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>rikbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>rikibt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>rikibti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>rikbaw, rikbam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>rikban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>rikibtu (rikbtum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>rikibtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>rikibna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>&quot;to kill&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>dibah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>dibahat, idbahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>dibahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>dibahati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>dibahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>dibahaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>dibahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>dibahitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>dibahitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>dibahna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the (uu) of the 3 m.pl. generally becomes (aw).
with pronominal suffixes e.g. idbahoooh 'they have killed
him'.

In quite a number of cases as shown in (p.81) an (am) variant of the 3 m.pl. ending (uu) occurs, e.g.

nzalam < nazaluu they alighted

form facial

This type of form appears with verbs whose first or second radical is a guttural sound or the
medial syllable contains (r, l, n). However, the
conjugation of this type of verb shows a tendency towards
the elision of short vowels.

Cf. the example below:

verb: ḫalab "to milk"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 m.s.</th>
<th>3 f.s.</th>
<th>2 m.s.</th>
<th>2 f.s.</th>
<th>1 c.s.</th>
<th>3 m.pl.</th>
<th>3 f.pl.</th>
<th>2 m.pl.</th>
<th>2 f.pl.</th>
<th>1 c.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫalab</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫlibat</td>
<td>ḫlabt</td>
<td>ḫlabti</td>
<td>ḫlabt</td>
<td>ḫlibaw</td>
<td>ḫliban</td>
<td>ḫlabtu(m)</td>
<td>ḫlabtin</td>
<td>ḫlabna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Imperfect tense

The pattern of the imperfect of verbs which have the base form ُ ficăl in the perfect is either ṣ yafçal like yadhāb 'he kills' or ṣ yaʃcīl as in yaktib 'he writes'. The imperfect verb of ُ fīcīl form is ṣ yafṣal as yaʃrāb 'he drinks', yarkāb 'he rides', yalḥadz 'he catches' (NC). But the imperfect of verbs which have the base form ُ fīcāl in the perfect is mainly ṣ yafṣul among the Hijazi group as ṣ taqṣud 'it remains, lasts', except in the Hijaz Bedouin of sheep rearers ṣ yafṣul may vary towards ṣ yafṣel in certain contexts as when near (r) e.g.

yamḥreg
namrēš

he enters
we strip

By contrast the Northern Central group has ṣ yafṣel instead of ṣ yafṣul e.g.

yadxel
yagṣed

he enters
he recites

However, occasionally the normal pattern is found in the following examples:

yangṣūṣ
yaglūṭ
yangnūṣ

it decreases
he comes, enters
he hunts

This could be due to the emphatic sound (ṣ, ẓ) which has prevented the Imāla of (u) to (e).
The table below gives the conjugation of the imperfect tense of the perfect form *ficai* and *ficil*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dibah</em></td>
<td>&quot;to kill&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>yadbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tadbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>tadbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>tadbhiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>radbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>yadbihuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>yadbihin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>tadbhiuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>tadbhiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>nadbah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kitab</em></td>
<td>&quot;to write&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>yaktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>taktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>taktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>taktibiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>raktib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>yaktibuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>yaktibin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>taktibuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>taktibin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>naktib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 2, 3 m.pl ending (-uun), and the 2 f.s. (-iin) are very frequent in this dialect; sometimes (-oon), and (-een) replaced (-uun) and (-iin).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>&quot;to drink&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>yāsrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>tašrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>tašrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>tašrobin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>ūašrab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>yāsrubuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>yāsrabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>tašrobuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>tašribin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>našrab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfect form of verbs of type caraf and ḫafar shows the elision of the unstressed short vowel of the performative. Such elision is usually due to the effect of the initial guttural consonant on the syllable structure.

An anaptyctic or prosthetic vowel may be added to resolve the consonant cluster.

Cf. the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>&quot;to know&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>yi-carif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>t-carif</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sophisticated speakers among the Hadari type, on the other hand, retain the old vowel preformative e.g. nahfir. This could be explained as the influence of the literary language.

The Weak Verb

Hamzated verbs

(i) Initial Hamza

The imperfect patterns of this type of verb are not identical among our dialectal group.

Thus the North Central group tends to have the vowel (e) instead of (u) in the second syllable.

Conversely the Hijazi group usually has yafCel; but among the Bedouin of the Banu'Awf, the Banu'Amr, and the Banu Sālim yafCel occurs, e.g. yāakel 'he eats'.

Cf. the table below for the conjugation of the verb ṣawād 'to take'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf.</th>
<th>Imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>ɗaxad’d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>ɗaxad’at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>ɗaxatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>ɗaxatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>ɗaxatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>ɗaxad’aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>ɗaxadan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>ɗaxattu(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>ɗaxadtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>ɗaxad’na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the assimilation in the (2 m.s., the 2 f.s., the 1 c.s.) of perfect.

The verb ɗata 'he has come' is not commonly used; the Bedouin of the Hijazi group among sheep rearers occasionally use ɗweet 'and he has come'.

(ii) Medial Hamza

This type of verb is very rare; in particular most speakers of this dialect tend to use the verb naaṣad 'to ask' instead of the otherwise common verb saa‘al. However the verbs saa‘al 'to ask' and raas 'to head' are sporadically heard.

This type of verb reveals several somewhat interesting features,

e.g.
verb sa>al > sa>al: 'to ask'

**perf**

3 m.s.    sa>al   W. aš-Ṣafrā
2 m.pl.   sa>altooni    W. al-Qāha

**Imperf.**

3 m.s.    yas>al   NC (al Fuwwara)
2 m.s.    tas>al   NC (Ṣuwaidera)
1 c.s.    nas>al   W al-Furuḍ

Also by elimination of Hamza and vowel lengthening sa>al > saal e.g.

**Perf**

3 m.s.    saal   W. aš-Ṣafrā
2 m.s.    silt   jibal Šubḥ

**Imperf.**

3 m.s.    yisaal   NC (al-Fawwara)
2 m.s.    tasaal   W. aš-Ṣafra
1 c.s.    tisaal   " "

The phenomenon probably occurs in the case of ra>as > raas "to head". The table below gives specimens of the conjugation of the verb ra>as "to head"

**Imperf.**

3 m.s.    yruus
2 m.s.    truus
On the other hand in the Hijazi group of the speech of the fishermen in ar-Rayis (harbour of Badr) among the Banu Ṣubḥ and the zibaid the verb yriis 'to direct the ship' is found. It is possible that the yriis like yruus is derived from ra-as > raas.

In any case this verb conjugates as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 m.s.</th>
<th>2 m.s.</th>
<th>3 m.pl.</th>
<th>1 c.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yriis</td>
<td>triis</td>
<td>yriisoon</td>
<td>nriis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) **Final Hamza**

Hamza in this type of verb is no longer found as an morphemic component. It is reduced either to a zero element or replaced by lengthening of the preceding vowel. Two verbs of this type which are commonly used in this dialect are gara < gara>, 'to read', and mala < mala>, 'to fill'.

The Hijazi group (urban speakers) in particular sometimes uses the form II instead of I, thus mala 'to fill or to bring water' is replaced by malla yimalli.

The tabulation below illustrates the conjugation of the verb mala 'to fill'.

---

1 See Ibn Munẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 6, p.103.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perf.</th>
<th>Imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>mala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>malat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>malaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>malan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>maleena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is relevant to mention that the Hamza of verb *gara* 'to read' may be retained with some of our informants, but this phenomenon does not seem to be linked with any class of speakers or regional variation. It is rather due to the influence of the literary language.

### Verbs with initial (*w*)

The main characteristic feature of this type of verb is the occurrence of the vowel (*i*) in the stem of both perfect and imperfect verbs, e.g. *wisil / yisil*. Furthermore the 3 m.s., and the 3 f.s. of the imperfect frequently are vocalized as *yaafcal*, as in:

| yaasal | he arrives | NC (Nagra) |
| yaagaf | he stands firm | W. al-Furu' |  

This type of pattern is also found in the dialect of Badr and Wadi as-Safra, (Cf. A. Critical, p.35).

Sibawaihi states that 'some Arabs' use the 3rd imperfect masculine *yaajal* to be frightened. It is

1. Sibawaihi; *al-Kitab*, vol, II, p.409
very interesting to see that such archaic patterns are still found.

The table below gives the paradigm of the verb 
waṣal and wagaf.

verb wiṣil < waṣal 'to arrive'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perf</th>
<th>imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>wiṣil (woṣal)</td>
<td>yişil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>wiṣlat (woṣlat)</td>
<td>tisil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>wiṣilt</td>
<td>tisil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>wiṣlaw</td>
<td>yişloon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

verb wigif < wagaf 'to stand firm'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perf</th>
<th>imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>wigif</td>
<td>yigif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>wigfat</td>
<td>tigif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>wigfaw</td>
<td>yigfoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>wigfan</td>
<td>yigfin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs with initial (y)

The only current verb in this dialect is yibis < yabisa 'to become dry'. It is usually used by farmers; no other verb of this type was encountered. It conjugates as follows:

2 the form between brackets also occurs frequently among the speakers of this dialect.
Hollow Verbs

In Classical Arabic the Hollow verbs are vowelled in accordance with their second root letter w or y. For instance gaad 'to lead' has the pattern yaguud in the Imperfect, and gudtu for the 1 c.s. of the perfect; the verb saad 'to hunt' conjugates as yasiid and sidtu in the perf.

This rule generally is preserved in our dialect. Certain exceptions, however, present themselves. Thus, the imperfect of the verb baat 'to sleep' is ybaat instead of yabiit. Similarly the 1 c.s., and the 2 m.s., 2 f.s., of verbs of the type gaal 'to say' have the characteristic vowel (i) instead of (u) in the perfect among the speakers of the NC group. The Hijazi group on the otherhand put gult, gunna < qulna. But the Bedouin of the Hijazi group usually has the gilt pattern.

The following paradigm gives the inflection of the Hollow verbs;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb: gaal 'to say'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Northern Central group

verb raah \('to go'\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf</th>
<th>Bedouin</th>
<th>Imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>raah</td>
<td>yruuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>raahat</td>
<td>truuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>riht</td>
<td>truuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>riht</td>
<td>&gt;aruuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>raahaw</td>
<td>yruuhhuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>raahan</td>
<td>yruuhin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conjugation of the verb baat 'to sleep' is identical in both our groups, Cf. the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf</th>
<th>Bedouin</th>
<th>Imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>baat</td>
<td>ybaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>baatat</td>
<td>tbaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>bitt</td>
<td>tbaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>bitti</td>
<td>tbaatiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>bitt</td>
<td>&gt;abaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>baataw</td>
<td>ybaatoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>baatan</td>
<td>tbaatoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>bittu</td>
<td>tbaatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>bittin</td>
<td>tbaatin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>bitna</td>
<td>inbaat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Defective verbs

The conjugation of this type of verb has the characteristic vowel -a or -i in the imperfect. Verbs final w like yaza are usually terminated with -i (less frequently with -a, as saha / yasha 'to be awaken') instead of the Classical termination -u. The following examples give the paradigm of the defective verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>'to rebuke'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>naha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>nahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>nahayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>nahayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>nahaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>nahaytin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>'to come'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>ḍowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>ḍowat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>ḍowayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>ḍowayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>ḍowaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>ḍowan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>'to raid'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>yaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>yazeet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same type of conjugation is met with in the case of the verbs daca 'to pray' which becomes yadciih among the Hijazi group and yada 'to become' > tiydiil among the Northern Central group.

Verb șaha Classical yashu 'to be awaken'

This verb occurs among the Hijazi group. It conjugates as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf</th>
<th>Imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>șaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>șahat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>șaheet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>șaheeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>șaheet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>șahaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>șahayna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly the verb baya 'to wish' has become nabya, naba (the Classical paradigm is nabyi).

1. The verb nabya is used as auxiliary verb in this dialect. Cf. syntax.
Other variant conjugations of this verb are also met.

Thus the Bedouin of the Hijazi group has ꞏabday 'I want' with dipthong, while the Northern Central group uses ꞏabi, tabi etc.

But forms with dipthong e.g. yabay 'he wants' are found among speakers of al-Fawwara in the Northern Central group.

**Doubly Weak Verbs**

The verb jaa 'to come' is frequently used; it conjugates as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perf.</th>
<th>imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>jaa</td>
<td>yiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>jaat (jat NC group)</td>
<td>tiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>jeet</td>
<td>tiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>jeeti</td>
<td>tijiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>jeet</td>
<td>?aji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>yijoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>jan</td>
<td>yijin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>jeeta</td>
<td>tijoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>jeetin</td>
<td>tijin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>jeena</td>
<td>niji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the 3 f.s. is always shortened to jat among the NC group.
Verbs like \textit{wa\textasciicircum{c}}a 'to awake' are found in this dialect. The patterns of \textit{wa\textasciicircum{c}}a is similar to those of Classical Arabic. Sometimes the 3 m.s., and 3 f.s. are \textit{yaafcal, taa\textasciicircum{c}}al. Cf. the example below:

3 m.s. \textit{yaac\textasciicircum{i}} he awakes \ W. a\textasciitilde{s}-\textit{Sa\textasciid{f}}ra
3 f.s. \textit{taac\textasciicircum{i}} she awakes \ NC \ \textit{al-faw\textacircum{w}ara}
1 c.pl. \textit{ni\textasciicircum{i}} we awake \ W. al-\textit{Furu\textacircum{c}}

\textbf{Geminate verbs}

The conjugation of this type of verb is characterized by the appearance of the vowel (\textit{i}) in the imperfect, Cf. the table below:

\textbf{Verb} \textit{sadd} 'to depart'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>perf</th>
<th>imperf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>\textit{sadd}</td>
<td>\textit{yis\textasciicircum{d}d}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>\textit{saddat}</td>
<td>\textit{ts\textasciicircum{d}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>\textit{saddeet}</td>
<td>\textit{ts\textasciicircum{d}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>\textit{saddeeti}</td>
<td>\textit{ts\textasciicircum{d}di\textasciicircum{n}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>\textit{saddeet}</td>
<td>\textit{as\textasciicircum{d}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>\textit{saddaw}</td>
<td>\textit{ys\textasciicircum{d}du\textasciicircum{n}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>\textit{saddan}</td>
<td>\textit{ys\textasciicircum{d}din}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>\textit{saddaytu}</td>
<td>\textit{ts\textasciicircum{d}du\textasciicircum{n}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>\textit{saddaytin}</td>
<td>\textit{ts\textasciicircum{d}din}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>\textit{saddeena}</td>
<td>\textit{ns\textasciicircum{d}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Imperative

The initial preformative of the imperative of the strong verbs is (i) before (i) and (a) or (u) before (u) e.g.

**verb ḥafar 'to dig'**
- 2 m.s.  > ihfir
- 2 f.s.  > ihfiri
- 2 m.pl. > ihfiroo
- 2 f.pl.  > ihfirin

**Verb samiC>simic 'to hear'**
- 2 m.s.  > ismaC
- 2 f.s.  > ismicici
- 2 m.pl. > ismicicoo
- 2 f.pl.  > ismicin

**Verb gacad 'to sit'**
- 2 m.s.  > ugCud
- 2 f.s.  > ugCudi
- 2 m.pl. > ugCudaw
- 2 f.pl.  > ugCodin

Informant (no. 1) shows a variation in the vowel preformative of the imperative form of the verb ṼaCār 'to look' e.g.
- 2 m.s.  > undur
- 2 m.s.  > indur
The second example is not identical with the Classical rule.

Another type of variation involving transfer to a different category is shown by Informant (no. 21) who uses حركعي 'ride' (for the 2 f.s.) instead of حركعب.

Verbs with initial (w)

The imperative form of this type of verb is different from those of the Classical language e.g.

2 m.s. نَجَف stop
2 m.s. نُصَال reach
2 m.pl. نوعووف stop

Disagreement is found in our dialect between the Northern Central and the Hijazi groups in the ways the imperative of the Hamzated, the Hollow, and the geminate verbs are formed.

Thus the Northern Central group generally has the characteristic vowel (i) in the imperative of all these categories.

Cf. the following examples for the 2 m.s.

xiَد take
رَب go
سَبب light
ضِط put
تَيج knock
But the 2 f.s. of the Hollow verb, and the 2 m.pl. of the Hamzated verb have the paradigm cuuci and cucuu. e.g.

2 f.s. ruuhi go away Šuwaidera
2 m.pl. xudoo take Fuwwara

On the contrary, the Hijazi group usually retains the basic Classical imperative form of the Hamzated, and the geminate verbs e.g.

2 m.s. xud take
2 f.s. xudi "
2 m.pl. xudoo "
2 f.pl. xidin "
2 m.s. šibb light
2 m.s. huṭṭ put
2 m.s. tugg knock

But the imperative of the Hollow verb among this group is characterized by lengthening of the vowel.

Thus the Classical pattern cuc, cic has become cuuc and ciic e.g.

2 m.s. guul say
2 m.s. biic sell

However, this excludes the dialect of the Bedouin of the Hijazi group who have the vowel (i) throughout in the imperative of the Hamzated, the Hollow, and the geminate verbs. Cf. the examples overleaf.
Imperative of verbs final (y)

The imperative of this type of verb frequently occurs without the terminal vowel, e.g.

2 m.s. dǐms go NC
diestar sell HJ
ta<ass eat NC
xalli leave HJ

However, the Hijazi group especially among the Hadar may retain the terminal vowel, e.g.

2 m.s. dīsgi water
" dīrmi throw
" xalli leave

Passive Voice

The passive voice is frequently found; its structure, however, is dissimilar to the Classical pattern. Vowel changes present themselves. Thus the passive of the perfect verb has the pattern fɔil < fucila as ḏibih 'it was killed' < (ḏibiḥa), while the imperfect is yifɔal < yufɔalu as in yidkar< (yudkaru) 'to be mentioned'.
Classical patterns occasionally appear, especially with Hamzated verbs and verbs initial (w) e.g.

yuujad to be found
yuuxad to be taken

The examples below illustrate the pattern of the passive voice.

Perf.  dbih  he was killed
dibhat  she was killed

Imperf.  yidbah  to be killed
tidbah  to be killed
tidkar  to be remembered

from Hamzated verbs

Perf.

The initial Hamza has usually become (w) e.g.

wixid  it was taken
wikil  it was eaten

from Hollow verbs

ybaac  to be sold
ygaal  to be said
from Defective verbs

yisga  to be watered
yiska  to be persecuted

from Geminate verbs

yidagg  to be pounded
yişabb  to be poured

Quadriliteral verbs

The table below gives the most current verbs of this type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf.</th>
<th>Imperf.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laala.</td>
<td>yilaali</td>
<td>to shriek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hansal</td>
<td>yihansil</td>
<td>to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahdal</td>
<td>yibahdil</td>
<td>to annoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rafraf</td>
<td>yirafrif</td>
<td>to flap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derived forms

Not all the Classical forms of the derived themes seem to be present in the Ḩarb dialect. Some forms may take priority in usage over others. Thus forms II, VII, X, VIII and V are much used; while forms III and VI have become less frequent. Form IX has totally disappeared from this dialect.
Occasional interchange and replacement of one form by another was noted; such replacement does not normally give the same semantic significance as the form which has been replaced. However, in cases like the use of ṣaffar (II) 'to become yellow' for ḍiṣfarr (IX) no change of meaning need be assumed. Sometimes the replacing form extends the meaning of the replaced one by adding special shades of meaning or by intensifying the action conveyed e.g.

nikarrimuh (II) 'we honour him greatly' instead of nukrimuh (IV) 'we honour him'

ṣiftakkaw (VIII) 'they freed by force' instead of fakkuu (I) 'they freed'

Newly coined forms are also derived from nouns and adjectives e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>bayyaḍ</td>
<td>become white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sawwad</td>
<td>become black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>ḍaṣwad</td>
<td>become old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>tiṣabba</td>
<td>work as servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>tisaamal</td>
<td>went northward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that these newly derived forms are largely restricted to forms II, IV, V and VI. The Hijazi group applies these newly coined forms somewhat more frequently than the Northern Central group e.g.
Finally the imperfect preformatives of most of the derived forms are yi-, ti-, ni-, and c-. Exceptions, however, are met occasionally with some forms as in:

IV yadxilooneh they bring him  
X yastafzic he asks for support

In the following we shall list the basic forms of the derived themes which occurred in this dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perf.</th>
<th>imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>gaddad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>xaašar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>&gt;amsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>tahaddar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>tikaawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>&gt;inkisar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>&gt;iktaraḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This form seems to be not current in our dialect.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hijazi group particularly among the farmers uses form II instead as xaddar 'to become green' for >ixḍarr

X >istafzač yastafzic to ask for help

Additionally this dialect shows two forms i.e. foocal, tifeecal.
In a table provided by T. M. Johnstone for Eastern Arabian Dialects form foo-cal was listed as IIIa.

It is appropriate here to mention that the above forms are also found in the Ḥarb dialect; soolaf (to chat) is much used among the Northern Central group while the Hijazi group has doobah (to become old)\(^1\) Cf. the examples below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perf.</th>
<th>imperf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soolaf</td>
<td>ysoolif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doobah</td>
<td>ydoobiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timeezar</td>
<td>ytimeezar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timeedax</td>
<td>ytimeedax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominal patterns

The following discussion is intended to examine nominal patterns, and their syllable structure; including the verbal noun, the active and passive partic1Ps, and the plurals of nouns, and adjectives. In respect of nouns, both primitive and derivative nouns are found in this dialect.

As in the Classical Arabic some noun patterns tend to have specific meanings which are in turn related to the basic root.

Thus e.g. jammaal of type facał denotes a (habitual) or professional 'camel deriver'.

---

1. doobah also occurs among NC group in poetry from al-Fawwara e.g. doobahanna salliyaali the succession of nights 'have weakened us'.
Noun

A considerable number of noun patterns current in our dialect are still similar to those of the Classical Arabic; and they will be described, with references, later during our discussion of the various patterns of nouns. Other types, however, differ due to changes in vowel quality, or the elision of original vowels, or vice-versa, the addition of new ones.

Biconsonant nouns

The pattern of this type of noun has remained the same as the Classical Arabic, with only some occasional changes e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hābb} & \quad \text{grain of wheat} & \text{famm} & \quad \text{mouth} \\
\text{sāṭt} & \quad \text{half, part} & \text{damm} & \quad \text{blood} \\
\text{gann} & \quad \text{customary law} & \text{ṣamm} & \quad \text{uncle} \\
\text{ḥijj} & < \text{ḥajj} & \text{pilgrimage} & \text{ṣimm} < \text{summ} \quad \text{poison} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(with doubling of the second root letter)

Fac1

The Fac1 nouns show some degree of stability in their pattern. This is especially true for words which end with one of the following consonants, (b, G, k, ṣ, t) e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{darb} & \quad \text{way} & \text{kārs} & \quad \text{belly} \\
\text{rābc} & \quad \text{people, relative} & \text{warts} & \quad \text{thigh} & \text{NC} \\
\text{xābt} & \quad \text{desert, low tract of ground} \\
\end{align*}
\]
But the stability of facl is less with others. Two different paradigms one with and one without anaptyctic vowels are to be seen in the same word at the same time, e.g.

>ahl / >ahil relative, family
wasm / wasim brand, early rain

facl > facil

It may furthermore happen that facl is changed completely into facil through the addition of anaptyctic vowel (i). This occurs frequently with nouns ending with (l, m, and n) e.g.

samin ghee ūhabil rope
baṭīn stomach xaşim nose

facl > facets and facul

This is similarly due to the introduction of anaptyctic vowels (a, u). It is generally met with in words whose final consonant is (r) e.g.

facal facul
bahar sea gabur grave
šahar month fagur poverty
dahar famine wakur cave

The NC group may transform the facul into facal e.g.
fajer  dawn  caser  afternoon

tamer  dates  sager  hawk

facla

It is similar to the Classical Arabic in the following nouns:

sarha  kind of tree  badra  water skin
wajba  ration of water  darja  rounded gun powder
zarba  cattle pen  cadwa  raid

But facla usually is reduced to fcala (except with urban speakers). Such reduction is due to the effect of guttural sounds\(^1\) e.g.

shxara  rock  zhara  blossom
gla-a  castle  byawa  kind of tree
ghawa  coffee

ficil

This pattern is fairly like the Classical Arabic; ficil forms owing to anaptyctic are met in words which end with the consonant (r) Cf. the examples below:

ficil  ficil
bint  girl  dzidir  pot  NC
cirg  vein  sitir  protection HJ
wirc  small boy  dikir  reputation

ficla

The ficla form is identical with Classical Arabic, e.g.

ni=ma much, blessing sidra tree
xidma service sikka way
gişâ tale dzirba water skin NC

fucl

This pattern tends to become ficl among the Bedouin of NC and the Hijazi groups, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fucl</th>
<th>ficl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ğulc</td>
<td>ğilc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumh</td>
<td>rimh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şubh</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cumr</td>
<td>age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruṣṣ</td>
<td>rixṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xibz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the following examples have always the ficl pattern in this dialect

θîlθ one third
bi=ð farness

fucl > fucul

The fucul variant due to anaptyctic usually occurs with nouns terminating with (l, m, n, and r). Cf. the examples
below:

-suγul  work xuşum  appendix
-yušun  branch of tree juhuur  cave

fucla

Two different paradigms appear for this type of pattern: the normal fucla and fical as variant eg.

fucla

guţra  drop of water  hufra  whole
zubra  heap  rufga  friendship
xuţwa  step  hurma  women

fical < fucla

It is found in both dialect groups of the Harb, e.g.

yisra  left hand  dirwa  top of mountain
cirwa  handle  yitwa  lid

fical

Two different patterns occur: the Classical fical and variant:

fical

walad  boy  liban  milk
faras  horse  yiman  south
carab  bedouin  jimal  camel
facala

The pattern of facala has acquired three variant paradigms. Two patterns of this variant fcula and fcila are very frequent; while facla is occasionally met.

Such variants are again due to the effect of the guttural sounds on the syllable structure. Cf. the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fcula</th>
<th>fcila</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rguba</td>
<td>xsiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hruka</td>
<td>xzima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsuba</td>
<td>slima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

facla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>barka</th>
<th>blessing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hasna</td>
<td>good deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadga</td>
<td>charity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bisconsonantal nouns with pronominal suffixes

When pronominal suffixes are appended to biconsonantal nouns they usually lose the gemination of their last consonant in this dialect, e.g.

- damm 'blood' but dimi 'my blood'
- famm 'mouth' but famk 'your mouth'

The pattern ficl, fucl, facl, facal and pronominal suffixes

The patterns ficl, and fucl usually lose epenthetic vowels added to them when found in isolation e.g. rijil 'feet' rijli 'my feet', suxul 'work' suylak 'your work'.
The same rule also applies for the pattern facl e.g. xasim 'nose' xasmu 'his nose'.

By contrast, the pattern facal with 1 c.s., and 3 m.s. pronominal suffixes shows different structure e.g.

ulidi < waladi  my son
wilideh < waladahu  his son

faciil; faciila

The normal Classical pattern of this type of noun usually occurs in this dialect where the initial consonant is a guttural. e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>faciil</th>
<th>faciila</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γarioib</td>
<td>ḥafiira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γadiir</td>
<td>ᵇadiiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥasiil</td>
<td>ḥagiiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γasiin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally, however, fictil, fictila are found in words where the initial consonant is a guttural, e.g.

calgisim  Qasim  ḥiliila  wife
ḥiliib     milk     ḥigiiga  true

1. see Johnstone, T.M. EADS, p.6, 81ff.
But the **ficiil**, **ficiila** variant of **faciil** and **faciila** frequently occurs where the initial consonant is not a guttural sound, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ficiil</strong></th>
<th><strong>ficiila</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biciir</td>
<td>miliila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siciib</td>
<td>tiriiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sihiib</td>
<td>iciiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jimiiir</td>
<td>dihiiba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the Bedouin the second radical of **faciil** may be doubled, e.g.

- saadir          barley
- carriis         bridegroom

**ficaal**, **fucaal**

Furthermore these two patterns have been reduced to CCVVC all over our region. This resulted from the elision of the unstressed short vowels **i** and **u**, as in:

- hjaaaz          Hijaz
- kraac           feet

Occasionally, however, a prosthetic vowel may be added e.g.

- idhaan          grease
- ihwaar          young camel

**facaal**

It is similar to Classical Arabic in the following
words:

nahaar  day, and proper name
kalaam  speech

But it becomes ficaal or fcaal with elision of short unstressed vowel in cases of the following examples:

simaal  north
ysaar  left hand

facaala

It is generally similar to the Classical patterns e.g.

sahaada  martydom
karaaøa  name of tree

This pattern may, however, change into ficaala as in:

jimaaca  group, people
ṣijaaca  courage

fucaal

This pattern is rarely found in this dialect, most nouns of the type fucaal become fcaal e.g. yuraab > yraab 'raven'; only the word sabaah may have the variant subaah among the speakers of our dialect e.g.

ṣubaah  early fighting or raiding in the morning

In this case the emphatic consonant (s) may play some role
in changing the quality of the vowel from a to u

 ficaala

 siyaala name of tree
 kidaada name of tree

 faclaan

 qhaṭaan name of tribe

Note the effect of the guttural sound on the structure of the pattern.

 ficaan

 sirḥaan wolf
 wirgaan name of mountain

 facuul

 caruus bride

 furuula

 Two different patterns are found for this type of noun the normal one which is usually met with in the dialect of those who are influenced by literary Arabic e.g.

 ṭhukuuma government

The second pattern facuula is frequently used, as in:

 ṭakuuma government
Further other nominal patterns are found but not commonly used, and they describe names of trees, places, and other objects, e.g.

- saāhuug name of mountain
- ḏarbuun name of insect
- harmuuza name of tree
- yiëriyaana name of tree

The Hijazi group shows the use of the pattern fcaliyya, facliyya, and mfacliyya to express timing\(^1\), e.g.

- zhawiyya the time of the appearance of the yellow date
- caşriyya during the afternoon
- myarbiyya during evening

**Verbal nouns and participles**

The table below gives the pattern of the verbal nouns and participles commonly met in this dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal noun</th>
<th>active partic.</th>
<th>passive partic.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daabāh</td>
<td>daabīh</td>
<td>killer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏaxād</td>
<td>ḏaaxād</td>
<td>taker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yulb</td>
<td>yaalib</td>
<td>dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beec</td>
<td>baayīc</td>
<td>sellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaṭṭt</td>
<td>ḥaat</td>
<td>putter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mḥaṭṭuṭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This pattern also is used in Meccan dialect see Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Mekkanische sprichwörter und Redensarten*
The active participle of the feminine differs everywhere from the normal Classical pattern through the loss of the short vowel: e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{faasda} &< \text{faasida} \quad \text{decayed} \\
\gamma\text{aawya} &< \gamma\text{aawiya} \quad \text{lost}
\end{align*}
\]

The Northern Central group retains the normal pattern faacila only when pronounced with Tanwin, e.g.

\[
\text{saacirtin} \quad \text{poetess}
\]

Again the pattern faacily has become faacli with the attributive suffix as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saalmi} & \quad \text{from Banu Salim} \\
\text{m-aamri} & \quad \text{one who looks after the beehive}
\end{align*}
\]
The gender of nouns

The feminine gender

Most feminine nouns have the ending (ah/a) in the absolute state

\[\text{e.g. } \text{yazwa 'raid'} \text{ and naxlah 'palm tree'}\]

The feminine ending of Classical Arabic (aa) alif ma\(\text{s}\)\(\text{u}\)ra and (aa\(\text{ð}\)) alif mam\(\text{\=u}\)da generally merge presenting (aa) for both, e.g.

\[\text{\(\text{\=a=maa} / \text{=maa} \quad \text{blind}\)}\]
\[\text{\(\text{\=hamraa} \quad \text{red}\)}\]

As in Classical Arabic words may be in feminine gender without possessing a feminine ending. Cf. the following words which occur in our dialect:

\[\text{\(\text{n\=a}ar 'fire', \text{sams 'sun, rijil 'foot, cijuuz 'old woman', umm 'mother'}.}\]

Adjective

The following examples give some of the patterns denoting the adjective in this dialect:

(i) \(\text{\(\text{\=a}f\text{ca}l\)}\) as \(\text{\(\text{\=ah}mar 'red'}.\)

This pattern frequently becomes \(\text{\(\text{f}ac\text{al}\)}\) among the Bedouin as \(\text{\(\text{ham}ar 'red'}.\)

The feminine form of \(\text{\(\text{\=a}f\text{ca}l\)}\) is \(\text{\(\text{\=a}c\text{l}\text{aa}\)}\) as \(\text{\(\text{s}aw\text{d}a\text{a} 'black'}.\)

(ii) \(\text{\(\text{\(\text{f}a}c\text{iil}\)}\) and its free variant e.g. \(\text{\(\text{c}a\text{\=i}ib 'difficult', b}i\text{xil and bixiila 'mean'}.}\)

(iii)  faclaan as bardaan 'getting cold', fasgaan 'unthankful'

(iv)  fucaal > fcaal as kbaar 'great', xfaaf 'light'

(v)  mfawcal < mufawcal. This pattern is found only in the Hijazi group e.g.

    mrawgaṭ speckled snake

Dual

The dual in this dialect is usually formed by adding the morpheme (-een) to the singular, e.g.

    yoomeen two days
    leelteen two nights
    satṭteen two halves

The practice in replacing the dual by the use of the numeral dioneen and sinteen before the noun\(^1\) which is found in some Arabic dialects as in the Egyptian dialect\(^2\) is completely absent in the dialect of the Ḥarb.

The dual form is usually used when enumerating two objects, e.g.

    naagteen two she-camels
    ulideen two sons

Members of the body occurring in pairs like cayn 'eye', rijil 'foot' and yad 'hand' always appear in dual form as:

---
cayneen   two eyes
sim-teen   two ears
yideen    two hands

Confusion sometimes, however, is present through the use of the forms yideen and rijleen as a plural forms particularly with the addition of the pronominal suffixes (-hum, -naa) etc., e.g.

rijleenhum  their feet
ydeenhum   their hands
ydeenna    our hands

The plural form rjuul 'feet' nevertheless occurs; while nayaadi 'hands' is found only among the speaker of Hijaz especially the Bedouin, e.g.

induggu balaayaadi  we pounded it with our hands

A particular meaning may also be implied e.g.

alaayaadi  the hands (the helpers)

Diminutive

In the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin the 'diminutive' frequently occurs, e.g.

crayg     vein, side of the mountain
uleed     small boy
binaydig  small gun
Such a phenomenon on the other hand is rarely encountered among the Northern Central group. But the words grayyib 'very near' and siyayyir 'small' occur throughout our dialect.

The two groups of the dialect of the Harb also form a plural from the diminutive of nouns by appending the (-aat) morpheme to indicate plurals of paucity, e.g.

- ḏleecaat few small mountains
- ʾisnayyaat few pairs of palm trees
- ibdeeraat few small water skins

**Collective nouns**

This type of noun is usually distinguished by the fact that the suffix (-ah (a)) may be added to indicate individuals or whole. Cf. the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siyara</td>
<td>siyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bgara</td>
<td>bugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nxala/naxla</td>
<td>naxal/nixiil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cawsija</td>
<td>cawsaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Plural**

The speakers of this dialect tend to use the broken plural more than the sound plural.
However, we do meet with examples of the sound plural particularly those with the -in ending, e.g..

γααζιν raiders
mawjuudiin presents
mislimiin muslims

Examples of the feminine sound plural are found e.g.

γααφλαατ unaware women
myiiraat group of horses on attack

Note that the short i of the second syllable is elided.

It is of interest to note that the plural form of the facla (ذلا) nouns is faclaat, which is remarkably different from the Classical¹, e.g.

dabhaat killing
ṭalbaat appealing
kasraat kind of verse

The same paradigm is followed in the case of the word kalima 'word' which is pronounced kalma² in this dialect (plural, kalmaat 'words')

Broken plural

Although the Arab grammarians brilliantly formulated fixed rules for the many different paradigms of

1. The Classical usually inserts an a (facalat), but not when the second radical is w or y; for details see Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Vol. I, p.192, 193.
2. The pronunciation of kalima as kalma is reported in Classical see ibn Mālik' al-Fiyya, p.9.
broken plurals; yet they noted that certain patterns\(^1\) of nouns may show more than one form of plural. This may perhaps be due to the different dialects\(^2\) spoken by the tribes in Arabia before the codification of Classical Arabic.

Basically the system of the broken plural in the Ḥarb dialect is fairly similar to the Classical system. However, one should note that the unstressed short vowels (i, u) may be eliminated or reduced to ultra short vowels with some forms. Vocalizations other than the Classical ones also occur, and this could be due to the influence on the vowels of certain nearby consonants, e.g. avanaugh 'suburbs' for .Publish.

Occasionally some Classical forms may be replaced by others such as biibaan 'doors' for .Publish.

In the following we shall list the main broken plural patterns according to their frequency of appearance in our dialect:

a.  

The type .Publish is frequently used among the speakers of this dialect\(^3\). It is usually employed as a

\(^2\) sibawaihi, op. cit. p.175; Samarrā'ī, Ibrahim Sumer Vol, 16, p.25ff. Hūsan, A. al-lugha Wan-Nahw, p.64
\(^3\) This agrees with the finding of A. Murtonen in his statistical study Broken Plurals, p.1
plural of facl, fucl, ficaal, $afcali$. e.g.

- dayyam    days
- @lala@    quarters
- agtaar    lines of camels
- ajnaab    aliens

Instead of this type of plural, ficaal\textsuperscript{1} is used as an alternative, particularly among the Hijazi group as in

- biyaar    wells
- 'raad    things

Instead of dayyam 'days' the form dayyaamah\textsuperscript{2} occurs among the Northern Central group of as-Suwaidera.

Conversely the Hijazi group has dayyaamat especially in the Construct state, e.g.

- dayyaamat-atturk at the time of the Turks
- dayyaamatataljahal at the time of childhood

b. ficaal (shortened to fcaal with loss of unstressed short vowel i). Usually from forms facl, facal, facla, ficla, e.g.

- klaab    dogs
- jmaal    camels
- rgaab    necks
- dyaar    villages

\textsuperscript{1} Sibawaihi reports in alKitab vol, II, p.179 that bi\textsuperscript{a}r may have the plural form ficaal.

\textsuperscript{2} See Bravmann; M. 'On the Case of the Quantitative Ablaut in Semitic' OR, Vol. 22, p.9, 10.
Note the unstressed short (i) is elided apparently without exception. In contrast to Classical Arabic the Hijazi group occasionally shows the form ficaala as in diyaaba 'wolves' for diaab. Short (i) is preserved here.

c. facaayil < facaa>il

Most nouns of form facila, some of form facuul and fu=1 have the facaayil plural e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{casaayir} & \quad \text{tribes} \\
\text{caraayis} & \quad \text{brides}
\end{align*}
\]

This type of plural may have the vowels i, or u in alternation e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gibaayil} & \quad \text{tribes} \\
\text{kuwaayin} & \quad \text{fighting}
\end{align*}
\]

d. ficlaan

The following pattern of noun usually have the plural form ficlaan.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sing. form} & \quad \text{plural} \\
\text{fucaal} & \quad \gammauraab \quad \text{raven} & \quad \gammairbaan \\
\text{facuul} & \quad \text{xaruuf} \quad \text{young sheep} & \quad \text{xirfaan} \\
\text{faciil} & \quad \text{sa<iiib} > \text{si<iiib} \quad \text{water course} & \quad \text{sicbaan} \\
\text{fa<1} & \quad \text{baab} \quad \text{doors} & \quad \text{biibaan}
\end{align*}
\]
e. **fuclaan**

Occurs as a plural for the patterns *facl*

> *afacl*, *facil*, e.g.

- *dubbaan* lizard
- *suudaan* blacks
- *yudraan* streams

This type of plural becomes **ficlaan** in the following cases, as:

- *ricyaan* shepherds
- *bildaan* farms
- *sidgaan* friends

f. **fucluul** for *fucl* as in *tsbuud* livers NC

An anaptyctic vowel may be added in the front as *guruun* > *igruun* lock of hair

g. **afaclul** It uses as a plural of *ficaal*, *facl* e.g.

- *adruc* arms
- *ashaur* months

h. **facaaliin** Usually from *ficlaan*, *facluul*, *fuccal*, *facil*. e.g.

- *saraahiin* wolves
- *darabbiin* kind of small worm
- *baacaariin* camels

1. The Northern Central group has *abaaacir* 'camels'
i. faciil from facl, fucla, e.g.
   - cabiid slaves
   - hariim women

j. facaailil As a plural of facal; e.g.
   - daraanib rabbits
   - bowaarig flags
   - biyaarig flags

k. facaaliil from fuccaal as in
   - sanaaniir kind of birds
   - riyaajiil men both group (sic)

l. mafaacil This has the variant mifaacil; it is the plural of mafcal, mifcaal, mifcal, e.g.
   - mahaamil camels-borne litter
   - maxaamil belts
   - misaayil river beds
   - midaafic canons

m. mafaaciil This also has the variant mifaaciil. It is usually used as a plural of mifcaal, e.g.
   - macaaqiir whirlwind
   - micaadiir excuses
n.  

fical for fical as in gšas 'tales'

Note the elision of the short i

o.  

fical for fical, e.g. zbar 'heaps'

p.  

tafaćiil  This has the variant tifaaćiil, e.g.  

tišaabihi  early raiding  
tiθaawiir  explosives

q.  

ficalaa < fu alaa> for singular fical, ḫumaraa  

'princes'

r.  

ficl for fical, e.g. cijz 'old women'

s.  

bafaćiil  This type of plural usually occurs  
among the NC group for the noun bacir as babaacir 'camels'.  
The Hijazi group also show this type of plural as in  

>bayaadi  hands  
>baraadi  lands

The Classical plural of Dard 'earth' Daraduun, see  

1.  

The Classical plural of ġard 'earth' ġaraduun, see

kitb  books
w. facla usually of faacil, faccil, e.g.

moota dead people
jooça hungry people

x. fucillun This is a very archaic type, and it is not widely used in the Classical Language.

However, Arab grammarians and lexicographers listed this pattern\(^1\).

The speakers of this dialect frequently used ficill as plural of damm 'blood', e.g.

dimiyy bloods

The following patterns of plural are commonly used in the Hijazi group.

faccaala for faccaal, e.g.

jammaala camel drivers
†ṭṭaaba wood fire collectors

facaaliyya for facaali, e.g.

†ḥaraamiyya robbers
jalaawiyya driven away people

Again the Hijazi group shows two forms of plural for
gunu < ginwun 'bunch of date' and dalu < dalwun 'bucket', e.g.

\(^1\) See Sibawaih; op. cit. p.190.
Ibn Manzur, Lisān, Vol. 14, p.258
al-Jawhari, Siḥāh, p.475
gnaah / giniyya  bunches of date

dlaah / diliyya,  buckets

Tanwin -an, -in

Nunation occurs generally in the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe but to a varying degree within our dialectal area. In fact the nunation has almost completely disappeared among the settled people of the Hijazi group, like those of Wādī ʿaṣ-Ṣafra, Wādī al-Qāḥa and Wādī al-Furuʿ.

Nevertheless, the nunation -an only in the accusative form occurs frequently in adverbs such as kullan 'every', yaṣban, jabran 'forcibly'.

Newly arrived forms with nunation -an as tagriban 'approximately' maṭalan 'for example, as', tabcan 'of course' are usually encountered in the speech of those people who are influenced by the literary Arabic, and Koine language through their contacts with urban speakers.

On the other hand the nunation occurs frequently among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group. These include speakers from al-Qāḥa particularly those occupied in sheep rearing and from Wādī al-Furuʿ as well as the Bedouin of al-Khabt in Wādī ʿaṣ-Ṣafra.

The case endings, (-un, -an, -in) are not distinguished among these speakers; (-in) is exclusively used throughout.
(Semi educated forms like maʔalan, jiddan are not used by them).

**Examples from the Hijazi Bedouin**

- ʤab-ciʔ Kibiir: big hyena
- ʧan cilmin moงa: matter had passed [after great difficulty]
- yimiinin billah: an oath by God
- γadiirin waʔhid: one stream

On the contrary the nunation form (-in) but not (-an, -un), is normally preserved among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb throughout.

The occurrence of Tanwİn follows certain rules. Thus in pause it is usually omitted; while in continuous speech it is retained in the middle of a breath-group. But distinctions of the cases (-un, -an, -in) are absent; (-in) is commonly used.

**Examples from the NC group**

- waʔhÎn daahya: a shrewd man
- saarat bintin leh tarwi: one of his daughters went to bring water
- fraydiyyin xayyaal: a cavalier from Furuda Clan
- faz-ciʔin liʔswehîl al-firm: as a support for Shiwaʔîl al-Firm
The Construct state

Both types of noun masculine and feminine whether they are singular, dual or plural remain unchanged in the construct state, except that in Classical Arabic the feminine ending of the singular noun like naxlat 'palm tree' > nxala retains the ending -at in the construct, Cf. the example below.

 kirimiin alasil of noble descent
 miteen xuruuf two hundred lambs
 diirat harb the Dira of the Harb
 yazwat alxfayr the raid of al khfayr

The dual nouns usually have the ending (-ee) not (-een) when the pronominal suffixes are attached, e.g.

 yideeh his hands
 rijleey / rijleeni my feet

The word ḥagg

The word ḥagg is frequently employed in this dialect particularly among the Hijazi, and occasionally among the Northern Central group to indicate a construct relationship between two nouns or to express possession; it becomes ḥaggat if referring to a feminine noun. But the plural is not attested in our sample, e.g.

 ṣassibal ḥagg algamh the ears of wheat
 ṣamra ḥaggat ṣat'atulc the fruit of the pollen
Comparison of adjective

**afcal**

The form **afcal** is always employed to express the elative of the adjective, e.g.

- Int kekaar minni you are older than I am
- yaani dinna kekaar minhum I mean we are more than them in number
- jaana kegwa minha we encountered stronger than her

The following words are widely used among the speakers of this dialect in the comparison of adjective:

- kekaar kskal 'more', kegall, kekuun 'less', as
- kekuun minha less than her

**Superlative**

The superlative generally occurs in the construct form Cf.

- abrak saaca the best moment
- kskal alqishas most of the tales
- kekaar siyyab arrubuga the most elder man among the Rubuga family

Concord in number and gender is normally absent in the comparison of adjectives, but the Classical feminine pattern **fucla** is occasionally met with:
The following form of comparison of the adjective occurs only among the Hijazi group:

- min >\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{abda}}} laykuun in better shape
- min >\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahsan}}} laykuun in best form

The numerals

Cardinal numbers from one to ten

Most speakers of this dialect agree in the form of Cardinal numbers from one to ten which they use. Some speakers of the Hijazi group may, in addition, employ the numeral form wa\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahhada}}} for the feminine of one. The form >\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahhad}}} someone (masculine), nevertheless, occurs in both groups. Cf. the following examples:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textbf{Mas.} & \textbf{Fem} \\
1 & wa\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahid}}} & >\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahhad}}} & wa\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahda}}} & wa\textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{ahhada}}} & HJ \\
2 & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{eineen}}, \textit{\textit{eineen}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{eintayn}}, \textit{\textit{einteen}}} \\
3 & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{alaa}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{alaa}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{arba}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{arba}}} & HJ \\
4 & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{arba}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{arba}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{xams}}} & \textcolor{red}{\textit{\textit{xams}}}
\end{tabular}

1. Note the two forms for the number eight in the fem.
Apart from the use of waahid and wahda to indicate an indefinite number, these are also used as adjectives, e.g.

- rijjaalin waahid: one man NC
- yadiirin waahid: one stream HJ
- naagtin wahda: one she-camel NC
- mara wahhada: one wife HJ

The Classical feminine form ḫāda 'one' appears in the modified form ḥada in the Northern Central group among speakers from Suwaidera as:

- cala ḥadayaalbiyaar: on one of the wells
- maca ḥada haal maḥaal: with one of those barren lands

The Numerals from 3 to 9

With regard to the Cardinal numbers from three to nine two types of numeral system occur in this dialect:

a- The old Classical system which enumerates the masculine nouns by numerals of the opposite gender, and the feminine one by the masculine numeral e.g.:

1. These forms are regularly heard in this dialect
2. The numeral ḥāhad is also used as an indefinite number in this dialect.
The other system which is also current in most of the Arabic dialects is the nondifferentiating system. That is to say the numbers from three to nine have only one form without any gender discrimination as is found in Classical usage.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arbaa ×irgaab</td>
<td>four necks</td>
<td>HJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xams liyaal</td>
<td>five nights</td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit ×ayyaam</td>
<td>six days</td>
<td>HJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Northern Central group also uses the feminine form as in the following example:

sabcit xayyaala seven
θalaa×itashur three months

Furthermore, the numerals from three to nine in isolation without mentioning the enumerated noun use the feminine form, e.g.

θalaaθa three
tisa nine

1. see Bloch, A.A. "Morphological Doublets in Arabic Dialect" Jss, Vol. XVI, p 53ff
2. op. cit. P.53 ff
The Cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 are given below

11  iḥda<ś  
12  θna<ś  iθna<ś  
13  θalaat<α<ś  
14  arba<ta<ś  
15  xamast<α<ś  
16  siti<ta<ś  
17  sab<ata<ś  
18  θamaant<α<ś  
19  tis<ata<ś  

Note that the sound appearing nearby is (ţ) not (t) and is used where indicated.

The forms given above are usually employed in isolation, without a following noun, but when the enumerated noun is mentioned then the form becomes c̣sar as against c̣ṣ e.g.

>θna<śsar rujjaal  twelve men
θamaant<α<śsar keela  eighteen kayla

The numeral 20 to 100

This is called by the Arab grammarians the half-score decade; it always ends with the iin morpheme in this dialect, as generally in modern Arabic.

20  c̣isrii̇n  
30  θalaat<ii̇n  
40  c̣arbcii̇n  
50  xamsii̇n  
60  sitti̇n  
70  sab<ii̇n  
80  θamaani̇n  
90  tisci̇in  
100  imyi̇a, imyah, miyya, maaya1

1. The form maaya usually occurs in the Bedouin speech of the Hijaz especially among the Banu saalim. It is also used in the dialect of al Fawwara among the Banu Sālim.
Numbers above 100

200  miiteen
300  @alaa@miit, miyat, miyya, maaya
400  arba$ miya
1000  alf
2000  alfeen
8000  amaantalaaf

Ordinal numeral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mas.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1$ awwal</td>
<td>$1$ awwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2$ aani</td>
<td>$2$ aanya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3$ aali$</td>
<td>$3$ aal$a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raabic</td>
<td>raabca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaamis</td>
<td>xaamsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2$ saatt</td>
<td>saatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saabic</td>
<td>saabca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2$ aamin</td>
<td>$2$ aamna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taasic</td>
<td>taasca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caasir</td>
<td>caasra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. It should be noted that $\text{haadi}$ is met with in this dialect especially among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group. Similarly the numeral $\text{alhaadi}^\text{\textsc{s}}$ occurs in al-$\text{Suwaidera}$ (NC group) as a variant of the Classical numeral $\text{alhaadi} \text{casar}$

2. Saatt also occurs in the dialect of $\text{Onaiza}$, Cf. Johnstone; T.M. \textit{EADS} p.66.
Personal pronoun

The table below gives a review of the personal pronouns occurring in the dialect of the Harb.

It will be noted similarly that the hinna pronoun of the 1 c.pl. is most frequently used among the speakers of this dialect. The hinna pronoun, however, is occasionally found in the speech of some younger people among the Hijazi group especially those who have been out of their region, and are affected by the type of dialect found in the cities of the Hijaz.

The singular

1 c.s.  ana com.
       aana com. in the Hijazi, rarely among the NC

2 m.s.  int com.
       inta in the Hijaz and Suwaidera of NC
       ant, anta NC group only

2 f.s.  anti NC group only
       inti Hijazi, NC group

3 m.s.  huu Com.
        huw Com.
        huwah HJ
        ihwah HJ

1. See the present writer's M.Phil dissertation A Critical p.65, 84 ehna is found in the dialect of Rwala Cf. Musil, A. The Manners p.533

2. op.cit. p.65
3 f.s.  

hi

ihyah

It seems appropriate here to state that the dual personal pronoun such as huma etc. is not attested in this dialect.

The plural

1 c.pl.  

hinna

Com.

2 m.pl.  

=intum  

NC

=intum  

HJ

=intu  

HJ, NC groups

2 f.pl.  

=intin  

Com.

3 m.pl.  

hum

Com.

ihmah  

NC suwaydirnak

3 f.pl.  

hin

Com.

The pronominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with noun</th>
<th>with verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 c.s.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.s.</td>
<td>-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.s.</td>
<td>-ik HJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-its NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.s.</td>
<td>-uh, u(ih)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.s.</td>
<td>-ha- a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. It should be stated that the Northern Central group frequently used ih. ih occurs only among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group.
The plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with noun</th>
<th>with verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 c.pl.</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m.pl.</td>
<td>-kum</td>
<td>-kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 f.pl.</td>
<td>-kin</td>
<td>-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.pl.</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.pl.</td>
<td>-hin</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative pronouns

The common form of demonstrative pronouns for near, and distance object are given below:

The Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>near object</th>
<th>far object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;this&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;that&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.s.</td>
<td>haada</td>
<td>hadaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.s.</td>
<td>haadi</td>
<td>hadiik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hadiits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the NC group affricates the k in the feminine form.

The Hijazi group has in addition the demonstrative da, and di used predicatively and also to qualify a noun CF the example below
near object

m.s.  da jibal  this is a mountain
f.s.  di xisiba  this is a piece of wood

sometimes di is pronounced with diphthong as diy, diyya

far object

m.s.  daak wirgaan  that is Wirgān
diik sarha  that is a tree

the plural

near object  far object

"these"  "those"

hadooli  hadooliik

It is used for both genders, mas., and fem.
The Northern Central group has also hadool 'these' and hadoolak 'those', used similarly without distinction of gender.
The feminine form dalli 'these' frequently occurs among the Hijazi group e.g.

albanaat dalli  these girls

The same form is also heard among al-Hanakiyya of the NC group as in the following couplet of verse.

dalli manaatsiif undalli myiiraat  these are returning
and these are attacking
The demonstrative haal and haak

This type of demonstrative constitutes an important feature of the Northern Central group; It is frequently employed e.g.

haarrajil this man
haalhamra this red she-camel
haakalwagt that time

On the contrary the Hijazi speakers usually use daak, diik and diyy e.g.

daak annahaar that day
diik=arriciyya that flock of sheep
diyya lmarkuuba this riding she-camel

Occasionally, however, haal and haak occur in the Hijazi group among the Bedouin from al-Qāha, Wādi al-Furu; and Wādi As-Ṣafra e.g.

haak alwagt that time
nharu=fihaalblaad we till in this land

On quite a number of occasions the demonstrative da, di and diyya follows the noun in the order. This is frequently noted among the Hijazi group, but only occasionally with the Northern Central group, e.g.

1. Cf. Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen p.85, for the occurrence of this type of demonstrative among the Anaza, and Shammar tribes.
This type of demonstrative frequently appears in the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin of the Banu Salim as:

haadahaani naxal  this is palm trees
haadi haani tagdab'alma  this is to hold the water

Demonstrative of place

The two groups of the Ḥarb dialect are identical in the forms of this type of demonstrative e.g.

near object     far object
"here"           "there"
  hina          hnaak
  hna, ihnaa    hnaak
  hinaa

Frequently the demonstrative hina 'here' appears with the diminutive suffix -iyya throughout the Ḥarb tribe e.g.

hinayya  here
ihnayya  here
There is a semantic implication in the above examples that the place indicated is very near. When hina 'here' and hinaak 'there' are preceded by the preposition min, the (h) is frequently elided and the forms shortened as follows:

- minna from here
- minnayya from here
- minnaak from there

The active present participle of the doubly weak verb jaa "to come" is used as a demonstrative of place in this dialect e.g.

- Jaay here
- min Jaay from here

The demonstrative yaadi 'there' occurs only in the Hijazi group among the bedouin, as in

- min yaadi from there

The demonstrative haadda, haadi, hina, with pronominal suffixes

The following examples are generally found in the Hijazi group e.g.

- haaddahu here he is
- haaddahi here she is
- hnahu there he is
- hnahi there she is
- hnahaan there it is

Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun is the invariable =alli.. It is employed indiscriminately for both genders and refers to nouns either in the singular or the plural. min 'who' and maa 'that' are very frequent in this dialect they agree in their employments with Classical use, see the Chapter of Syntax.

Particles

Preposition

The most current prepositions in this dialect are:

(a) fi 'in' bi 'in, with, by' li 'to'

Their short vowel (i) is usually replaced by (a) through assimilation to the (a) of the definite article (al) when these prepositions are employed before nouns with the definite article; but they are retained before proper names, and before nouns without the definite article, e.g.

billa by God
faljbaal in the mountain
fi=ijbaalah in it mountain (fawwara)
li=amru bin naahil it belongs to Amru Ibn Nahil

Frequently the Northern Central group, and to a certain lesser extent some of the Hijazi group especially the Bedouin may interchange the prepositions fi and
bil.

barric < farriic in the mountain NC
balyiman < falyaman in the south HJ
İfnafseh < binafsihi by himself NC

ka 'as, like' It is usually found among the NC group, e.g.

kaxiddaam as servants
kanaazil as dweller

The Hijazi group show no examples of this type of preposition, the words zay, miθl, miθil, kima are used by them instead e.g.

zay-annaas as the people
kimaahum as them

wa occurs in oaths, as in walla 'by God'

(b) min 'from' - the (n) may be assimilated to the adjoining consonant, as mimtaar < min mtaar 'from Muṭair tribe'

Øila 'to' may fuse with la; many speakers of this dialect have la instead of Øila e.g.

lal midiina to al-Madina
inhiil lalyiman we go southward

Cf. also Bergsträsser; Sprachatlas, p.38, and Grotfeld; H. Syrisch Arabische Grammatik Dialekt von Damaskus. p.72.
Occasionally ؤلا > ؤليا among both the Hijazi and NC groups e.g.

>ليا اسِبيِستييَّا to ash-Shibaikiya

>ُا ؤليا ؤملْياريِب until the evening comes

>ليا ؤالفرَايَّس until al-Fraysh

ليا ؤتالِات اسسَمَس until sunrise

بَيدوونَ، بَالا، بَلاَيَا "without" e.g.

بَيدوونَاها without it

بَهالاَل بَلايَا رَجَاال cattle without men

مِفْتَرَف، مِفْحِيد 'beside, parallel to', e.g.

مِفْحِيد وَادِي ارْرِيِّسَا beside Wadi ar-Risha

مِفْسَاذ 'beyond' as in مِفْسَاذ داْيْلِبَاال 'beyond the mountain'

فيِّ، مِفْلَاذ وَاشْمِ 'above, on top of' e.g.

مِفْلَاذ داْيْلِباال 'on top of the mountain'

مِفْبَتِن 'inside' مِفْبَتِن انِتَمُور 'inside the date'

مِفْجَامِب 'beside, next to'

(2) مِفْنِباَان 'between' مِفْنِد 'at' مِفْداْل 'instead of'

تَهَات 'beneath' مِفْداْر، مِفْاسِفَاال 'under' مِفْهَوْل، مِفْهَاالِلِ
yam, soob, tiwaali 'towards' e.g.

yam=al gaaٰha towards alQāha
soob=alhaٰdur towards the urban
tiwwali makka towards Mecca

farٰc, cilow, wasg 'above'
doon 'near to, before, instead of'

farٰc=alhamraa above the village of al-Ḥamraٰ
doon badur near, before Badr
fida doon ٰbayd=alla as sacrifice instead of ٰObaid Allah

cugb, baٰd 'after'
warā 'beyond'

yimkin, ٰimdiii 'perhaps' e.g.

yimkin=aljiimaٰca dooli perhaps these people
ٰimdiik ٰhafart biir perhaps you have dug a well

Note: ٰimdiii occurs only in the Hijazi group. It is usually followed by pronominal suffixes.

(d) calasaan, caٰsaan, lajil cala sibab 'because'; saagät, tiriig 'after' e.g.

ùtridi bsaagät ٰalgiٰuud and she ran after the young camel
misa tiriigehum he walked after them

yahkum, yٰhakum 'about' It appears only among the Hijazi Bedouin of the Harb, e.g.

cumri yٰhakum xamsiin caٰam my age is about fifty years
Adverbs of "time, manner, and place"

The following list gives the most frequent relevant adverbs used in this dialect:

- **dāhiin** HJ halhiin NC duwaan¹, dulwaan is more common among the Banu Salīm of both groups 'now'
- kull, kill + saaća², yawm, šahar, hiin, wagt, marra, 'every time, day, month, time, morning, year' bukra 'tomorrow'
- ñams 'yesterday' ñawal ñams 'the day before yesterday' HJ
- sălecammalawwal 'the year before last year' HJ
- ñaddaayra 'the coming year' HJ sălbaarîh 'last night'
- ñawwal 'first' ñatla 'last' ñalmarra aluxra 'the second time'
- ñalmarra aθaanya the second time HJ ñeeθ 'where'
- ñind 'at'

Additionally, the Hijazi group has the following:

- noob, nawba, noobaat 'sometimes' alhazzadî 'nowadays'
- daayim 'always' barçu, kamaan 'also' doobuh 'just now'

Conjunctions

(a) Conditional Conjunctions

The most common conditional conjunctions in this dialect are:

1. Cf. Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen. p.149 ff
2. Saaća in this dialect means moment, time
Additionally the Hijazi group has ṣin kaad 'if', and kinni, kinnak 'If I, you'.

Other compound conjunctions formed out of kull and baad etc + maa are also current in this dialect e.g.

- kullma 'whenever'
- baadma 'after'
- cindma 'while'

**Other Conjunctions**

- ẓem, ẓemeen 'and, after'
- wa, u 'and'
- aw, walla 'or'
- laakin, meer 'but'
- baadteen 'therefore'

**Interjunctions**

- caad 'well'
- bass, yeer, laayeer 'only'
- ḥaggalla 'by God'
- walla caad 'well, but'
- xalaas 'enough'

**Interrogative particles**

Several particles of Classical origin are still current in this dialect. Compare the following examples:

- kayf, keef 'how'
- kayf ḥalbišiira 'how do we find a solution?'
- mita 'when'
- mita jaakum ṣalmoţar 'when did the rain come to you?'
- ween 'where'
ween baayi where are you going?
kam 'how much'
bikam saraytahä how much did you pay for it?
wes 'how'
wes loon Ḥarb how have you found the Ḥarb?
wes kuθur al-ʔaṣal how much honey do you have?
gaddeeš 'how much'
gaddeeš tcasloon minha how much (honey do you obtain from the beehive?)
minhu 'which one'
cayyatt 'which one'
calaamak 'what is the matter with you?'
warah 'what is the matter with him?'
wešhi 'what is it'
leeh 'why'
leeh maatascal canni 'Why do you not ask about me?'
gatt 'ever'
gatt zaract Have you ever plant
maagatt ḥṣalat beenak ubeen Σḥad hawsa Have you ever quarrelled with someone?
Lexical features

The lexical features of this dialect do not vary widely from one group to another. Items covering various facets of tribal activity, such as agriculture, camel-rearing, etc. are to be found in both the Hijazi and NC groups. Indeed many elements of lexis commonly occur among neighbouring tribes (for comparison see p. 223f).

The occurrence of such identical items in the region under consideration and within the Ḥarb tribe and its various subtribes and clans is due to a number of factors; one of the most important of these is that the history and the social-cultural background of the tribe and its subtribes are synonymous. Moreover the social and economic conditions prevailing in the past within the tribe were shared by most of its clans and the neighbouring tribes.

Thus such lexical similarities as exist are largely due to those common historical and social cultural experiences1. In the words of ʿAbdās al-ʿAzzawi "most of the tribes and clans which are ethnically related to each other or have had close contact through living in the same region speak identical dialects2.

---

1. see Hertzler; J.O. A Sociology of Language p.102ff
The following is a list of some of the words and phrases commonly used by the members of the Ḥarb tribe:

**Verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fizaç</td>
<td>to go to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziban</td>
<td>to take refuge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayyan</td>
<td>to become a wahhabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawbah</td>
<td>to become old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haaz</td>
<td>to dare to attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakka</td>
<td>to slaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍuwa</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa cà</td>
<td>to awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawwid</td>
<td>to be still, calm down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cayya</td>
<td>to refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiig</td>
<td>to peep through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalla</td>
<td>to drive away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cazal</td>
<td>to put aside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galat</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxas</td>
<td>to know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gafar</td>
<td>trace the matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablas</td>
<td>to trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamm</td>
<td>to lift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahas</td>
<td>to be joyful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xásaar</td>
<td>to share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahrра</td>
<td>to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komax</td>
<td>to hit on the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaawan</td>
<td>to fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darrak</td>
<td>to hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lifa</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nouns and adjectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥiss</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>sıit</td>
<td>reputation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matn</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>wirç</td>
<td>small boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxa</td>
<td>generosity</td>
<td>hariid</td>
<td>lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sicliif</td>
<td>helper</td>
<td>ḥadiyya</td>
<td>share, gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darja</td>
<td>gun powder</td>
<td>mijlaad tamur</td>
<td>dates stored in a sheep skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niga</td>
<td>purity</td>
<td>şowiib</td>
<td>wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagb</td>
<td>offspring</td>
<td>rufag</td>
<td>friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bnaaxiīh</td>
<td>son of his brother or sister</td>
<td>nisaama</td>
<td>brave, good people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saayis</td>
<td>excited, nervous</td>
<td>kraac</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cimil, cmaal agreement       daayik       one who mixes things up

Phrases

wara albohuur          outside, overseas
kullubooha, killebooha   all of it
lihaalu, ilhaaleh       alone
siibiy = alharb          death
siwiid = alwajh          dishonest
haada tuul kraa=aha      it has died
saasin cala saas         old, of noble descent
bulyat jiwaabi            the essence or the core of the matter
biyaad= alwajh            honour

Certain items connected with tribal law also occur, but they cannot be fully discussed here. Cf. the following examples:

lizam                  guaranty
cawaani                protege
sadd = alwajh           guaranty for protection
yagra=                 to stop an avenger
dixiil                  supplicant
farg                   share paid for blood money

The words raaci, saahib, -ahl

These words are used among the Harb to give

1. The word raaci also occurs in the dialect of Iraq see Altoma, S.J. The problem of Diaglossia in Arabic p.102.
the meaning 'owner', the word raaci being the most frequently used. e.g.

raaci >annaaga
>ahl casal
şahib dukkaan
>şaḥaab mizaaric

owner of the she-camel
owner of honey
owner of shop
owner of farms

Compounds formed with šabu, umm

The most frequent examples of this type are:

>šabu seereen
>šabu kraac
>šabu milh
>šabu alḥṣayn
ummğrayn
ummḩamayd
ummfitiil

small snake
one-legged
salt water
fox
one-horned goat
palm tree
matchlock

Regional differences

It has been noted that certain words may not be found in part of the area under investigation, and that other words are used in their stead.

Such differences can be described as regional peculiarities. This type of difference is met with in our region where the inhabitants of the NC group use words
different from those found in the Hijazi group.

The following are examples of this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern Central group</th>
<th>Hijazi group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>şifiri</td>
<td>xiriif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gişiiir</td>
<td>jaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigaaşiraw</td>
<td>itjaawiraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fardaha</td>
<td>zmaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibiili</td>
<td>yalyuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xibz`</td>
<td>cays`</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiţin</td>
<td>diintibah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halhiin</td>
<td>dahiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidaalak</td>
<td>kamaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaad` &lt; şaydan</td>
<td>bûrdû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yimkin</td>
<td>yimkin, balki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarkid`</td>
<td>yajri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'awwar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şatţar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nankis</td>
<td>narjac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phrases

NC group

\[\text{taal cəmrak}\] may God prolong your life  \[\text{baarak alla fiik}\] God bless you

\[\text{maayxaalif}\] It does not matter  \[\text{maacaleeh}\]

\[\text{waraah}\] What is the matter with esbuh, calaamu him

---

1. The word \text{cays} > \text{cees} is also used in the dialect of Egypt, Cf. Willmore; J.S. The Spoken Arabic of Egypt p.112.
Foreign Words

It may be noted that Turkish loanwords occur in the Hijazi group to a greater degree than in the Northern Central group. This is partly due to the extended Ottoman rule over the Hijaz, during which many Turkish words crept into the speech of the people, and partly because the inhabitants of the Hijaz have had considered contact with people from other Arabic speaking countries such as Egypt and Syria, the dialects of which contain many Turkish words¹.

In addition, in both the NC and the Hijazi we encounter some loanwords of Persian origin, some of which at least probably entered Arabia through trading or other contacts. Newly adopted words of European origin are also to be found².

Examples:

Hijazi group

Turkish loan words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish loan words</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanbal</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kussaan</td>
<td>decree, permission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3kasim</td>
<td>form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Willmore, J.S. op.cit. p.44
2. Cf. the present writer's M. Phil. diss. A Critical p.76ff
**Turkish loan words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gay</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duub</td>
<td>just now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barďu</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayki, balki</td>
<td>perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caťaś</td>
<td>1 gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumboxaan</td>
<td>ammunition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boya</td>
<td>paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanaka, tnuka</td>
<td>tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dasta</td>
<td>dozen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baasha</td>
<td>pasha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Persian loan words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hijazi</th>
<th>NC group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satil</td>
<td>satil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandiil</td>
<td>gandiil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juux</td>
<td>juux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šarhiid</td>
<td>cannon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 darbiil</td>
<td>2 darbiil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxsiis</td>
<td>binoculars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandar</td>
<td>tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baxat</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luck</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**European loan words**

| mitir³        | metre        |
| kilo          | kilo         |

1. ates in Turkish means fire cf. Hony; H.C. A Turkish English Dictionary p.22
2. In the Hijaz the word naaďuur is used instead
3. Although this measurement is widely used, the Hijazi group still use the old measurement draac gaama, etc.
Finally it should be mentioned that a fairly large number of foreign words relating to nautical terms are used in the harbour of ar-Rayis of Badr. A full discussion of these, however, falls outside the scope of the present dissertation.
PART IV

Syntax

The following chapter is an attempt to evaluate the main syntactical features comprising various types of sentences and clauses found in this dialect. It is based on the examination of a considerable number of texts and samples from our collected data undertaken in order to see to what degree the syntax in this dialect relates to or differs from Classical Arabic, and what are the major distinctive features that set it apart from other Arabic dialects. We may here summarize some of our main results in what may serve as introductory remarks:

(i) The absence of any disruption by an outside influence, such as the interference of other non-Semitic Languages, on the traditional word order, (such interference is found in modern Arabic\(^1\)). The non-occurrence of other dialectal forms belonging to other dialects, such as the typical Iraqi phrase \(\text{xoo}	ext{s} \text{naas}\)\(^2\) 'nice people'. This type of adjective \(\text{xoo}	ext{s}\) has found its way into the dialect of Eastern Arabia\(^3\). Similarly the word \(\text{xoo}	ext{s}\) has also crept into some type of urban dialect of Najd\(^4\).

---

2. AlToma; S.J. The Problem. p.78
3. Johnstone; T.M. FAADS p.145, 147
4. based upon my observation during a conversation with some educated people from Najd.
(ii) The construction of the sentences, on the whole, shows no complete departure from the traditional classical order; however many elements of 'high style' of the classical Arabic are no longer found. This is due to the occurrence of the analytical type of sentence instead of the synthetical one.

(ii) Many particles of Classical Arabic which had an important role to play when prefixed to the verbs, have either completely disappeared or been replaced by new ones, e.g. The sa and sawfa which were sometimes prefixed to the imperfect of verbs in order to express the future tense have been replaced by the verb nabya, naba or ba as in banyazi 'we are going to raid' sabi qasid 'I am going to recite a Qasida'.

(iv) Following the disappearance of end vowels in verbs several particles followed in Classical Arabic by subjunctive and jussive of verbs like an, lan and lam, lamma have gone out of use. It is thus impossible to find the subjunctive after kay, kayma etc., or the jussive after e.g. (li).

New conjunctions have developed in their stead to express the above mentioned types of moods e.g.

- casaan yjiib balah in order that he bears date
- min xoof tsiih In fear that she cries
- xallih yadxil let him in

(v) Fusion between the negative and the interrogative sentences may be expressed in maa + verbs e.g.

- maajaa he has not come
- maa jaa has not he come?
The distinction between the two sentences obtains only through intonation.

(vi) The occurrence of the Tanwin; form (-in) is used exclusively to mark the indefinite nouns as:

γaza ᵃḷa ᵃḷaṣṣin he raid some people

If the nunation is dropped the Classical order is maintained without any device to show the indefinite e.g.

naas min ᵃˡ₋ᵐⁱḏⁱⁿᵃ some people from al-Madena

Also bacḍ is occasionally used to indicate the indefinite e.g.

bacḍ ᵃʳжал some men

These are some of the prominent features given here as an introduction, full discussion of the syntax of this dialect will follow.

The verb

**perfect**

The perfect indicates an act happened in the past. It appears generally in narrating stories as:

jaani ᵃˡⁱḇ ᵃᶜᵃᵈᵃ ᵃˡᵃ ᵃˡʸᵃⁿᵃᵐ a wolf came and attacked the sheep

ligayt ᵃᵇʰᵃʳᵇ ᵃˡᵃᵃᵃᵃ ᵃ⇑ᵃ⇑ᵃ⇑ I found the ᵃʳʰᵃʳᵇ divided into three parts

Also in vivid narrating story the imperative may appear instead of the finite tense to express action in the past e.g.
uxud >arrum\h
uru\h libin-\h asim

and he took the spear
and he went to lbn 'Asm

In Classical Arabic the particle (gad) on occasion precedes the verb in the perfect to ascertain that the action has happened in the past. This kind of modification appears frequently in the dialect of the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin. The particle (gad) however, is modified in its pronunciation. e.g.

kid raahh  he has gone
kiid farr  he has run away

Note the lengthening of the vowel of kid < gid in the second example.

The perfect also occurs with several clauses such as the conditional and temporal clauses and the sentence expressing a wish (see p. 181f).

Imperfect

The imperfect usually indicates incomplete action which is in the process of happening either in the present or in the near future. In this dialect habit or continuous action is normally expressed by the imperfect. Cf. the following examples:

nazrac naxal unisgiih  we grow palmtrees and water it
namsi min Jidda leennisil >addiira  we walk from Jedda until we reach the village
uhuw yarkab cala miṭiyyitih and he rides his she-camel
yadfaḥa yaba ysallim cala pushing it forward wishing to
DALCIYAAAL.
>alciyaal receive his sons

Frequently a sentence expressing a wish has the
imperfect tense and its subject is always at the beginning
e.g.
balla ybaarik fiik may God bless you HJ
balla yṭawwil cumrak may God prolong your life NC

This type of sentence also occurs with the perfect verb where
the Classical Arabic order is retained. This is frequently
noted among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group and occasionally
among the NC group, e.g.
baarak >alla fiik may God bless you HJ
caaфаak >alla may God give you health HJ
taal cumrak may your age be prolonged NC

Way of indicating the future

We have already alluded on p. 164 to the absence
of the particles (sa, sawfa) which Classical Arabic used
to express the future.

However the future in this dialect usually occurs
after the auxiliary nabya > naba (or ba) e.g.
naba nazraq-duxun we are going to sow millet HJ
naba nyaziihan we shall raid them NC
baruuh lahali I am going to my family HJ
Imperfect + auxiliary verbs

A considerable number of auxiliary verbs are used before the imperfect to express certain moods and states. The occurrence of these auxiliary of course is contrary to the Classical rule; but these auxiliary verbs usually replace lost synthetic elements caused by the disappearance of inflectional endings to indicate the moods. Thus verbs like nabya, raḥ, are employed to indicate the intention e.g.

ṣabi ṣagṣid  I want to recite a Qaṣida  NC
raḥ yansid ḫorrosiid  he went to ask Ibn Rashīd

Similarly the active participle of nabya gives the same meaning as in:

baṣṭiini niṭṭi dihsa cirmāan  we intend to marry Dihsa to Imān

Conversely the active participle of raḥ does not occur in our dialect.

widd, gaṣd

widd, gaṣd are frequently followed by pronominal suffixes and both are used as auxiliary verbs to indicate intention. Widd is commonly used among the Ḥarb e.g.

widdih yyiir  he wants to attack  NC
widdi ʿawallim alghawa  I want to prepare the coffee  ḤJ

By contrast gaṣḍ occurs only among the Hijazi group particularly those of Banu `Awf and `Ibida e.g.

\[
\text{gaṣḍih yṣabbi cāla lwalad he wants to hide (the matter) from the son.}
\]

(Note the \( x > y \) in the verb xabba).

\textit{gaam, gacad and saar}

These verbs usually precede the imperfect to indicate the beginning of the action, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gaam ylaatsim} & \quad \text{it began to move} \quad \text{NC} \\
\text{gacad ytisabba} & \quad \text{he began to work as sheep boy} \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{saar yagnuṣ} & \quad \text{he started to hunt} \quad \text{NC}
\end{align*}
\]

Also the imperfect of these two verbs (gaam, gacad) conveys the same meaning, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uyagcud ytigahwa} & \quad \text{and he begins to drink coffee} \quad \text{HJ} \\
\text{wiyguum yhanniθ cāl-cinizi} & \quad \text{and the man from Anaza tribe started to swear an oath} \quad \text{NC}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{Subjunctive and Jussive moods}

The subjunctive and jussive moods are no longer extant in this dialect; as in other modern Arabic dialects most of the particles governing the subjunctive and jussive in Classical Arabic, such as \text{kay, lan, lam and lamma etc.}, are out of use. But in the subordinate clause \text{ṣin} it occurs in contexts which in Classical Arabic would have required the subjunctive with the normal imperfect, e.g.
urabbi natlubu din yjiibinna algay6 And we pray God to bring us rain

uhuw ytanaagad din yruuh and he feels ashamed to go

zin can be omitted, and indeed frequently is, in such sentences:

laayimtikin zahad yyazi-aleeh nobody dare to raid him

In subordinate clauses new elements to indicate purpose or fear have been developed to replace the Classical likay j li-sama etc: these are calasaan, minxoof; and they are frequently encountered in the Hijazi group, e.g.

casaan yjiib'balah In order that to bear date
min xoof tsiih In fear that she cries

The normal imperfect is always used in contexts which in Classical Arabic would have required the Jussive expressing prohibition e.g.

laayadxil not to enter NC
laayistirik not to share HJ

The verb xalli 'leave, let' is commonly used as auxiliary verb followed by the imperfect to indicate a wish or command e.g.

xalleh yadxil let him enter NC
xalloona nazbin let us take refuge HJ
cayya + imperfect

This is used to express refusal e.g.

\[ \text{cayya yi\text{\text{"}tirif} } \rightarrow \text{he refused to confess} \]
\[ \text{cayyat tasrah balyanam} \rightarrow \text{she refused to take the sheep for grazing.} \]

The active participle

The active participle may be used to express continuous action e.g.

\[ \text{huw jaay min makka} \rightarrow \text{and he was coming from Mecca} \]
\[ \text{u Jaayib alajnaab Tharb} \rightarrow \text{and you are bringing the strangers to Harb.} \]

Sometimes the active participle is used to indicate accompanying circumstances in the past. This usually occurs when the active participle functions as a predicate as in:

\[ \text{walabu caarif} \rightarrow \text{and the father knew that} \]

The passive participle

The passive participle is rarely employed to express the passive voice; but finite tenses in the passive are found in this dialect. Cf. the examples below with passive participle expressing the passive voice:

\[ \text{hiy may\text{\text{"}suuba} } \rightarrow \text{she was taken by force} \]
\[ \text{salbiir mahfuura min awwal} \rightarrow \text{the well was dug a long time ago} \]
Concord

verbs

The verb agrees in number and gender with its subject; such agreement is rigorously maintained irrespective of whether the subject precedes or follows it e.g.

\[\text{inta maatc rif } \rightarrow \text{algaah a} \]
you do not know al-Qa'ha

\[\text{gaalat yaawalad ween baayi} \]
she said oh man where are you going

\[\text{ubintih taaci} \]
and his daughter awoke

\[\text{kinna bidwaan} \]
we were Bedouins

\[\text{gaalaw wes } \rightarrow \text{alhiila} \]
they said what is to be done

\[\text{unisarhum } \rightarrow \text{alla} \]
and God had granted them victory

\[\text{anniswaan ysaayhin} \]
the women was crying they think he was dead

\[\text{yihsibinneh mayyit} \]

The use of the verb in the dual in concord with a dual noun is not attested in our dialect.

Negation of the verb

Both tenses, the perfect and the imperfect, are negated by the particles maa, and laa. In the case of the perfect; maa is used much in Classical Arabic, While laa with the perfect tends to be used where Classical Arabic employs lam with the jussive.

Cf. the following examples
maayada minha law haasi waahid na not a single young camel
had even been lost NC

laayimtikin =)ahad yislih no one dares to approach
him

maanazrae say yeeru we did not grow anything
else than this HJ

ulaasimi =)a kalaamuh and he did not appreciate
his advice HJ

When the negation is repeated after the conjunction
(wa, u) it usually appears with the negative particle laa
e.g.

maamoda ulaasaar caleena say nothing had happened or
come to us HJ

uradd laha haak alguuud calli and he gave her back that
young camel which cannot
be driven or led NC

laayinsagaugaayingaad

Frequently in the Hijazi group, and occasionally in the dialect
of as-Suwaidera of the NC group the negation is strengthened
by the addition of the word cumur +pronominal suffixes
instead of the classical gatt 'ever' e.g.

cumri maasiftu I have ever seen it HJ

yadbahnum dabhin He killed them in the
most merciless way
laacumra jaa which to my knowledge
ever happened

The noun

Indefinite noun

The indefinite character of noun may be indicated
by certain devices other than those used in Classical Arabic.
The word \textit{waahid, ۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸۸
The classical phrase which expresses the indefinite by
the grammatical device of using the indefinite noun
followed by the preposition min, with the same noun in the
plural but in the definite form, is frequently found;
it appears either with or without nunation, e.g.

naaga min ñanñaag a certain she-camel
leela min ñalliyaalin a certain night
fisanatin min ñassiniin a certain year
saaliftin min ñassiwaalif a certain tale

Noun
To express the idea of the whole or the part the
Harb dialect uses kull, bacḍ, e.g.

kull ñalcurbaan all the bedouins
bacḍ mṭaar some of Mutair tribe

Similarly, as in Classical Arabic, the use of kaafa is
found among the Harb e.g.

kaafat ḥarb all the Harb
kaafat masruuh all Masruh branch

Quite frequently kull may be followed by buu suffixed
with pronominal suffixes e.g.

kullubuuhum all of them HJ
killibuuha all of it NC

Sometimes the definite article al may be prefixed to the
word kull which is not attested in Classical Arabic e.g.

\[ \text{\textgamma } \text{kull} \text{ maaytacadda cala a66aani} \quad \text{every one will not attack the other} \]

\[ \text{walkull minhum yiictizi} \quad \text{every one of them tracing back his descent} \]

Noun and qualifying adjective

Concord is usually maintained and the qualifying adjective agrees in gender, number and definiteness or indefiniteness with the noun it qualifies.

It should be noted that the qualifying adjective occurs in the masculine form when it qualifies a singular masculine noun, whether this latter denotes something human or non-human creatures e.g.

\[ \text{ rijjaal kibiir} \quad \text{old man} \]
\[ \text{mukaan shihi} \quad \text{healthy place} \]

Compare also the following examples of the feminine adjective where it agrees with the noun it qualifies:

\[ \text{\texth ghtin tayba} \quad \text{good tree} \]
\[ \text{naagtin hamra} \quad \text{red she-camel} \]

An analogous distinction in usage fem. sing. or fem. plural prevails in the case of the feminine e.g.

\[ \text{\textd bhaatin tiwiila} \quad \text{long raids, fighting NC} \]
\[ \text{\textt baat tiwiila} \quad \text{long discussion (for settling the dispute) HJ} \]
But plenty of girls NC
this is one of the good brave girls HJ

The adjective qualifying the collective noun, which indicates the individual by the addition of the morpheme (h) usually takes the broken plural form e.g.

grab šyaar small water skin NC
yanam šyaar small sheep NC
šiyar kbaar tall trees HJ
jraad kbaar big locust HJ

The adjective denoting colour agrees with the noun which it qualifies in number and gender much as in Classical Arabic e.g.

saljbaal =alhumur the red mountains NC
yirbaan suud black ravens HJ

However certain broken plurals may be qualified by masculine or feminine singular adjectives. This is frequently found among the Northern Central group e.g.

siwaalfin waajid/waajda many tales
tišaabiḥ waajid/waajda many raids

Negation of the noun

The particle maa is frequently used to negate the
noun, and nominal sentences. laa is occasionally found, while laysa is completely absent, e.g.

-annisda maafiiba say asking is not harmful HJ
maahi xaabra she does not know HJ
maahum waajid they are not many NC

In the dialect of the Suwaidera of the NC group the negative form maahuub occurs only with informant no 28 e.g.

haada maahuublukum this is not yours

Otherwise such a type of negation has not been met with among the rest of the Northern Central group so far as our material shows.

The negative neither nor which is represented by maa - ulaa occurs in this dialect e.g.

>ana laani jammal ulaani samiir I am neither a camel-driver nor a prince

The same phenomenon is present in the common saying which is used among the Hijazi group e.g.

laani min>albaraamka ulaa >albaraamka minni I neither am a Barmacide nor are the Barmacides connected with me

Vocative

The particle of vocation is yaa for both near and distant e.g.
yaayiba          oh my father
The classical particle wa which is used to express sorrow
or pain also occurs e.g.

waakabdi     oh my heart   HJ
waamaali     oh my property   HJ

Sentence structure

There are three types of sentence in our dialect:

- nominal sentence
- verbal sentence
- zarfiyya sentence

Nominal sentence

As in Classical Arabic the structure of this type
of sentence consists of subject and predicate; normally
the subject comes first and is followed by the complement
e.g.

>ana saakin falgaaha I am living in al-Qa'ha
hadoola kbaar ḫarb those are the chiefs of
the ḫarb
>ummaha mṯayriyya her mother is from Muṯair

Casus pendens

It is quite common in this dialect to find a
sentence commencing with casus pendens or sentence inversion
leading to the subject being placed before the predicate

>alināa cruftu the woman had recognized him
>algamāh sīnaθorih the wheat we sow it
This phenomenon is reported in Classical Arabic, and may be explained logically in accordance with the general rule, but it has become one of the frequent features of modern colloquialism in general.

Verbal sentence

This type of sentence constitutes an important part of syntax. It attracted the attention of ancient grammarians as well as contemporary ones. Its structure begins (in our dialect too) with the verb followed by the subject e.g.

\[ \text{jat}^2 \, \text{ sabot } \text{ u-callimteh} \quad \text{she came to her father and told him} \]

\[ \text{hajj u-jaa } \quad \text{he went to pilgrimage and come back} \]

zarfiyya sentence (usually expressing to have and there is).

Most of the Arab grammarians did not classify this sentence as one of different type. They often included it with the nominal sentence.

In our dialect the zarfiyya sentence is generally used to express the English verb 'to have' or 'there is', especially when it is annexed to a prenominal suffixes e.g.


2. note the shortening of the vowel of jaat to jat which is one of the characteristic features of the NC group.

3. Ibn Hishām divided the sentence into three types: nominal, verbal and prepositional (zarfiyya) Cf. al-Mughni, Vol. II, p.376, this type of division has been criticized by modern linguistics Cf al-Makhzumi; Mahdi The Arabic Syntax Critique and Instruction Fīl-Nahw al-`Arabi nāḏūn watawjīh p.50 ff
Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are usually introduced by ḍın, ḍinkaan, ḍinkaad, kaanni, law, laa and ḍilyaa. (These are the commonest conditional particles in this dialect).

Ḍida, min<man are used less frequent; they occur occasionally among some Hijazi speakers who have been affected by literacy Arabic e.g.

wida ʂaahib faras tiēna <caleeh fassidaad and if he is owner of horse the horse will be held as ransom until he paid the due

ůmīn bidal >alhagg min nafseh >alla mīch and who gave the Justice voluntarily God will be with him

The conditional clauses introduced by (=in) 'if' usually have the verb in the perfect in the protasis e.g.

Ḍin hīyiina ʂalyoom hīna maanmuut baadeen If we survived today do we not die after or later on

Note In this case the verb in the apodosis is in the form of question beginning with the 1 c.pl. personal pronoun followed by the particle maa + the imperfect. Compare also
the following example in which the apodosis is a nominal sentence without the conjunction (fa) which is not found in this dialect e.g.

>in bayaytana hinna halk If you chose us we are your folks NC

(note >ahluka > halk)

The structure of the sentence is thus not in line with the Classical rules as seen, in e.g. Wright, vol. II, p. 345.

Moreover the apodosis may be in the form of command without (fa) e.g.

win bayayt ahalk tiwakkal cala alla, and if you want your tribe, go ahead NC

Similarly the conditional particle (>inkaan) 'if' is commonly used. It is followed either by the perfect or by the imperfect in the protasis. Rarely, however, the nominal sentence of zarfiyya occurs as aprotasis after (>inkaan) e.g.

>in tsaan lirjaal yasturuunni If I have men they will protect me NC

Compare also the following sentence which has the preposition (fii+h) in apodasis:

>in kaan tabya’ albayyinaat fiih If you want the evidence it is there NJ

(fiih here replaces something like fahiya mawjuudatun).

It is very interesting to note the occasional survival of the conjunction (fa) in the apodasis among the Hijazi Bedouin e.g.
Dinkaad, kaanni

These two conditional particles occur frequently among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group e. g.

wes liyya Dinkaad callamt balli radd albil what is my reward if I told you the one who saved the cemels (from the raiders).

kaani aba biicaha maabiicaha calayk if I want to sell (the she-camel) I will not sell it to you HJ

Occasionally (kaan) 'if' stands by itself as a conditional particle among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group, e. g.

kaan babiicaha abiiicaha cala waahid yigdiha
If I want to sell/I shall sell it to someone who looks after it.

Law

In this dialect the meaning of this particle is practically the same as that of (zin) 'if'. The verb used with (law) in the protasis is either in the imperfect or the perfect. Cf. the following examples:

law tihassil minha batin yiiak falbituun ahaaniya
If you have one child from her you would be satisfied and want no more from the others NC
law, however, also conveys the meaning of a hypothetical clause, e.g.

law jaatu simdiih tijannan  If she had come to him (the she camel) he would have gone mad

HJ

Note the particle simdiih 'then, perhaps' which occurs only among the Hijazi group.

lawmaa ydarrak tba'i ju utaaklu  If it had not been kept safe (the honey) they (the worms) would have dented and eaten it

HJ

lawmaahi sikka gaayma =ana =aruuih ma=ak  If it had not been a straight way I would have accompanied you

HJ

Note law in the hypothetical clause is always in our dialect followed by maa.

Quite commonly in this dialect phrase or clause expressing wishes or command may be preceded by (law) which is also reported in Classical Arabic (cf. Wright vol. II, p.9). Compare the following examples which appear in our dialect:

\[
\text{atna law casra blyuut} \quad \text{give us (recite) though even if it is only ten couplets,}
\]

\[
\text{laa walla sugtululaw tammih} \quad \text{by God kill it (the snake) even if you shoot it (with your gun).}
\]

\[
\text{la, silya <idia}
\]

This particle is rarely used in conditional sentences; occasional examples, however, occur e.g.
Temporal clauses

Most of the temporal clauses are introduced by one of the following particles: yawm, yaam, laa, Dilya, liya and laamin 'when', e.g.

 ulaaṭaḥDalmitar ritt, yammih When the rain falls I go to it. NC
Dilya talac sheel tacaal Disticid naddaraahim
when the pleiades appears come and you will be paid the money NC
liya caahidam maay-carfuun albawg when they give their convenant they never cheat

Occasionally, new elements of modern Arabic dialects such as the particle xalaas 'enough' may interrupt the order of the clause e.g.

Dilya digt milḥathum xalaas daxalt when you taste their food then you have entered (become an insider) (meaning they will not harm you
laamin jaa=alxeer yijiī nahal when prosperity comes (i.e. the rain) the bees will come

yawm and its variant as a particle introducing temporal clauses

The clauses introduced by this particle may have a nominal apodosis which usually commences with ula or wilya to give the meaning of the Classical ḍida e.g.
yoom jat ula walla حارجٌ ٍلَّا ناريِّجَال ٍتَأيٍّهَ٣ when she came she found the man lying down

Note the shortening of the long اَا of the verb ِهَا; one of the characteristic features of the NC group.

Similarly compare the following sentence which has the same order as Classical Arabic:

yawm ٍئاءُبْهٌ وِيِلَحٌ َهِبْغَدَاحٌ ٍهَااٍدٌا ٌتُوِلِ كِراكْا ٌحا when the morning came he found (the she-camel) in the rope with her legs outstretched (meaning she was dead).

On the contrary when the apodosis of a sentence commences with a noun plus a pronominal suffix with verb acting as a predicate, then ula, ؤِلْيَا are no longer used e.g.

yawm ِهَا ٍءَلَفٍْجِرِّ ٍوُبٌّيِنٍْتٌ ٍتاَ٣ when the dawn come his daughter woke

ّلماا، ّلماادین٤

Occasionally these particles occur in this dialect: the first one لماا appears among the camel rearer of the Northern Central group of اِسْـْ۪ـُوِيِّدٌعا e.g.

لماا ِهَا ٍءَلَمٍْيَاٍر٤٥ until the dusk came

لماا ِهَا ٍءَلْمَاا ٍيِ٤الِّ٤ until the water falls down

The particle لماادین٤ occurs among the Banu ٌسُّبَ٣ of the Hijazi group in Badr e.g.

لماادین٤ ٍيِّ٤ت٤ل٤٥ until it appears
teen, and ḥatta

These two particles denote 'until'. Both are widely used among the Ḥarb tribe; they are followed either by the imperfect or the perfect of verbs, depending on whether they refer to something accomplished or yet to come, e.g.

leen wįsil ḥarrazzaaza until he reached ar-Razzaza
ḥatta yakbar until it grows bigger

Temporal clauses also may be introduced by the conjunctions baṣḏmaa, cuğbmaa, cindmaa, and gabilmaa. The verb in the perfect usually follows the clauses commencing with baṣḏmaa, cuğbmaa in sentences describing an accomplished consequence, e.g.

baṣḏmaa fitahha after he opened it
(note the assimilation of -ha to ḥ)

yiftakoon abaaṣirhum cuğbmaa xadawhum and they get back their camels after they had raided them

On the contrary cindmaa, gabilmaa are used with the imperfect to describe something yet to be done, e.g.

inẖuṭtu ṣakwaam cindmaa yistiwi wepile it (the wheat) in heaps after it ripens

gabilmaa ysidduun before they depart

Relative clauses

As in other modern Arabic dialects the relative
pronoun used is normally ٍالله without change of gender or number; when referring to definite a antecedent as in classical Arabic. However a relative clause is annexed asyndetically to a preceding indefinite substantive, e.g.

\[ \text{haadi شمّر يابزالاها صبر} \quad \text{these are things which require patience} \]
\[ \text{li blaad hna متياب سريئ} \quad \text{I have a land (farm) which is down the mountain} \]

Conversely as we saw when the antecedent is definite then the relative clause is introduced by ٍالله e.g.

\[ \text{raah لكرال هرث ٍالله فلاذياظ} \quad \text{he went to the chiefs of the هرث who are in the Hijaz NC} \]
\[ \text{عصابلالاو FIGARIAATAH HAADI ٍالله} \quad \text{and they came in the morning to our village (this) which it is called abu ٍبةال NC} \]
\[ \text{تساا ٍبودهاي} \]

Occasionally the dialect group of the Hijaz especially among th farmers (al) followed by a negative sentence may be used instead of (ٍالله) with clause, e.g.

\[ \text{وال مااستوا نيبغىح} \quad \text{and what had not ripened we leave it} \]

Relative clauses introduced by (مین, ماء) appear frequently; their usage is similar to the one in Classical Arabic where (مین) always refers to a person, and (ماء) to things

Cf. the examples below:

\[ \text{جاه مين جاه} \quad \text{come to him who came NC} \]
\[ \text{WAXADAW MAAHASSALAW MİN YANAAYIM} \quad \text{and they took what booty they had won HJ} \]
Interrogative

Most of the particles used in this dialect to express interrogation have been discussed on p.153. However, we should add that the same sentence without any change in word order may be used to express both statement and interrogation. The difference between the two sentences is obtained only through intonation that is by raising the pitch of the voice e.g.

\[
\text{huw cind ahl ca}^t\text{a halhii}n: \quad \text{is he with the people of } \text{A}^t\text{a (settlement) now NC}
\]

\[
\text{\textasciitilde int maant xasaab:} \quad \text{are you not a honey maker} \quad \text{HJ}
\]

Conjunction

Quite a number of classical conjunctions are still used in our dialect without any change of meaning, such as \(\text{\textasciitilde eum} '\text{and,then}' \) and \(\text{aw 'or'} \) \(\text{laakin 'but'} \) \(\text{hatta 'even'} \). \(\text{wa} \) has become \(\text{(u)} \) while \(\text{fa} \) is gone out of use.

Other new conjunctions have been developed by combining several of the Classical particle, such as \(\text{\textasciitilde eemeen 'thenafter'} \) \(\text{walla 'or'} \) \(\text{ba\textasciitilde cdeen 'thenafter'} \). Similarly the word \(\text{(meer)} \) is used to express the meaning \(\text{(but)} \).
Comparison

This chapter is intended to offer an overall comparison between the dialect of the Ḥarb and those of its immediate neighbours. We shall examine what appeared to be the salient features of these dialects and note the main elements shared in past of cases as well as the absence of linkages in others, under the headings of phonology, morphology and lexis.

But since (as we have already, said p.6f) most of the dialects of Arabia are not fully known or are badly documented, a certain gap remains unfilled. Indeed we lack information about the dialect of Muṭair, Juhaina, Sulaim, Hudhail, and Qaḥṭān. Similarly the dialect of Ḍotaiba requires further investigation despite the useful remarks to be found in Hess's book (Von den Beduinen des Inneren Arabiens) and those of Johnstone in FADS and other articles.

On the other hand data about the Ānaza and the Shammar groups are relatively more plentiful. However, one has to be extremely careful in using them. This is due to the fact that part of them are contained in an anthology, or conversations or tales narrated and badly transcribed.

1. Cf. al Ansari, A. Banu Sulaim; the book is a record of the history of this tribe, some poetry and proverbs are included.

2. Socin; A. Diwan aus Centralarabien Musil; A. The Manners
The two invaluable articles which were published by Jean Cantineau in Études in 1935, 1937, and which mainly deal with the dialects of the nomadic tribes of the Syrian desert, and Northern Central Arabia (particularly the dialect of the Shammar and Anaza) are the most important source used here. Landberg's text Langue des Bédouin Anazeh was also found useful with certain qualification. Similarly Abboud's work the Syntax of Najdi Arabic (of Shammar) has been utilized.

During our survey of the dialect of the Ḥarb we collected some samples of speech from members of the ʿOtaiba, Muṭair, and Juhaina tribes. These specimens have been utilized also for this chapter.

Phonology

Consonants

On comparing the phonological system of the dialect of the Ḥarb with those of the neighbouring dialects certain important points emerge:

(a) Initial Hamza

The dialect of the Ḥarb usually preserves the initial Hamza of the verb type ḍaxad 'to take' (Cf. p.41). In contrast the Anaza, and the Shammar dialects normally drop the Hamza at the beginning of verbs ḍaxad, and ḏakal and assimilate these verbs to verbs with final (y) e.g.
xada 'to take'.

Our dialect, and the dialect of Juhaina frequently replace the Hamza of the passive of the Hamzated verbs by w e.g.

Juh- wixid it was taken
Har wikil it was eaten

Comparatives occur also in the dialect of Weld Ali as it was recorded by Wetzstein e.g.

wuxid it was taken

Similarly the interrogative particle ṣayna 'where' has generally become ween in our dialect, and in most Northern Central Arabian dialects. But feen variant of ween occurs in some types of the urban dialects among the Hijazi group who have been influenced by the Egyptian, and Syrian dialects through the cities of the Hijaz. A similar pronunciation feen instead of ween appears also in our own sample for the Juhaina dialect.

The dialect group of the Harb of the Hijaz usually replaces the Hamza of ḥayy 'which' by (c) e.g. cayyat 'which one'.

This replacement so far has not been found in any neighbouring dialects.

   Cf. also Landberg; Langue p.2, 5.
2. 'Sprachliches', ZDMG vol. XXII p.78.
3. Cf. the present writer's M.Phil. diss. A Critical p.81
(b) **Medial Hamza**

Among the Ḥarb the Hamza in medial position has generally lost its phonemic value both in verbs and nouns, (see p.44).

This phenomenon is found among the neighbouring dialects, particularly in nouns¹. Our own samples also show the disappearance of this type of Hamza among the Juhaina, and Muṭair, e.g.

Juh- baas harm
Mut- raas head

Considering the evidence on the Hamza as a whole there is thus found a good deal of similarity but not complete identity between the Ḥarb and its neighbours.

(c) **Final Hamza**

The final Hamza has generally disappeared from the Ḥarb dialect. This is a wide spread phenomenon shared by a considerable number of Modern Arabic dialects in general, and Northern Central Arabian dialects in particular. Thus the ānaza usually uses bada 'to appear' instead of bada².

Comparable forms occur in our own samples of the

---

¹ Cf. Landberg; Langue p.15 (for ānaza), and Abboud; F.F. The Syntax, p.40, 77. (for Shammar)
² Landberg; op.cit. p.2, 75.
Juhaina, Ötaiba, e.g.

Joh.  gara  he read
Ot.  bidaalhum  it appeared to them

The final Hamza may occasionally be retained in verbs and nouns in our dialect, especially in monosyllabic words e.g.

jaa>  he came
maa>  water

The same phenomenon also is reported for the nomadic dialects of Northern Arabia\(^1\).

The consonant \(b\)

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the consonant \(b\) is pronounced as a voiced bilabial plosive (see p.45). An emphatic (\(b\)) also occurs among them as in ñogar 'cows' for bagar. Similar pronunciation is found in the dialect of the Shammar, and ar-Rass\(^2\).

The voiceless \(p\) is absent from our dialect. Conversely the sound \(p\) is noted among the Shammar e.g. nesiib 'chance'\(^3\).

In the dialects of Eastern Arabia \(p\) occurs only in foreign words as in peep for English pipe\(^4\).

---

4. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.19
The \((\theta)\) variant of \((f)\)

In the dialect of Bani Sakhr, al-Jawf, and Weld 'Ali the consonant \((f)\) is frequently replaced by \((\theta)\) e.g. \(\theta\theta\theta\theta\) 'mouth'.

This phenomenon does not occur in the dialect of the Ḥarb. However, the word \(jada\theta\) 'grave' is used metaphorically to mean origin e.g. \(mala\theta\theta\theta\) \(\_\theta\hbox{aljida}\theta\) 'the cursed origin'. Also the word \(\theta\theta\theta\hbox{aaf}\theta\) 'the three stones supporting the cooking pot' has become \(\theta\theta\theta\hbox{aaf}\theta\) in the dialect of the Ḥarb throughout.

The interchange between \(c, n\)

We do not find in our dialect that the consonant \((c)\) is replaced by \((n)\) as in \(\hbox{\(\_\theta\)anta} 'toka' \) for \(\hbox{\(\_\theta\)acta}.\)

This phenomenon, however, is present in the dialect of the \(\_\theta\hbox{Anaza}\)\(^2\), and its subtribes like Weld Ali\(^3\). But it does not occur in the Eastern Arabian dialects\(^4\), nor is it to be found among Otaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair as our own samples show.

The consonant \(d, \dagger\)

There is a tendency among the Ḥarb to fuse the two consonants \(\dagger, \dagger\), though some distinction may occur (see  

2. Landberg; Langue p.4.  
4. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.19ff
Such fusion is met in the Eastern Arabian dialects\(^1\) and the dialect of 'Onaiza\(^2\). Similarly according to the samples which we collected for the Juhaina, and Otaiba tribes no distinction is made between \(\d\), \(\dd\), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Juh.} & \quad \text{bácaḏhum} & \quad \text{baḏahum} & \quad \text{some of them} \\
& \quad \text{dahar} & \quad \text{dahr} & \quad \text{back} \\
\text{Ot.} & \quad \text{urmoḏa pornstar} \quad \text{ramaḏa pornstar} & \quad \text{the month of fasting} \\
& \quad \text{doher} & \quad \text{duhr} & \quad \text{noon}
\end{align*}
\]

The consonant Jim

The consonant jim is commonly pronounced as a voiced palatoalveolar affricate (j) among the Ḥarb tribe. Allophones corresponding to this sound also occur, and they have been discussed on p. 53f.

In contrasting the pronunciation of the phoneme jim among the Ḥarb with the pronunciations of their neighbouring tribes, certain facts present themselves.

According to our own samples from the Juhaina, Otaiba, and Muṭair tribes the jim is usually realized among these tribes as a voiced palatoalveolar affricate (j). The normal Ḥarb pronunciation of jim thus corresponds with the one normally found among these tribes.

The dialect of the Ḥarb and that of Juhaina show the variant (y) instead of (j) in the following words only:

This aforementioned variant of (y) instead of (j) is not attested, among the Otaiba, and Muțair tribes either generally or for these words, though the broken plural riyaajiil 'men' is generally met among the Otaiba, Muțair, Juhaina, and the Ḩarb, but not among the Ānaza and Shammar. Comparable forms also occur in the Eastern Arabian dialects. Musil lists both yarbuuc, jarbuuc 'a smaller variety of Jerboa' for the Rwala subtribe of Ānaza.

It can then be said that among part, but not all, of the neighbours of the Ḩarb (y) may occur as an occasional variant of (j), but not necessarily in identical cases.

Further afield Cantineau states that in the dialect of Sirhan, Sardiyya, and al-Jawf the consonant (j) has become (y) e.g. ḥaayib 'eyebrow' for ḥaajib. This feature also occurs in the Hawtat Bani Tamīm near Riyadh as is indicated by Cantineau. Such a change of (j) to (y) is not confirmed by Cantineau to be a characteristic of the dialect of Shammar in Hayil; although it has been noted by Wetzstein.

1. Johnstone; J.M. EADS p.86
2. The Manners, p.28.
3. Cantineau; J. Études III p.137, 138
4. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.138
5. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.138
6. Sprachliches ZDMG vol, XXII, p.163
Similarly T.M. Johnstone in a footnote states that from his inquiries 'it would seem unlikely that this feature does occur in the dialect of Hayil'.

In Northern Arabian as a whole (y) for (j) is thus not prominent except in certain regions. The Ḥarb dialect in this respect ties in with its region. The replacement of (j) by (y) is, on the other hand, one of the main characteristic features of the Eastern Arabian dialects.

A somewhat different relationship between the Ḥarb and its neighbours is found where the realization of (j) as (gy) is concerned. The (gy) sound variant of (j) which occurs in the dialect of Ānaza, and Shammar is found among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb but not in the Hijazi group, nor among Juhainia either. However, our own sample of Ĉotaiba indicates the occurrence of the sound (gy) among them e.g.

\[ \text{gyaa he has come} \]

Their grouping thus overlaps with the one mentioned before, part of the Ḥarb being linked with Shammar, Ānaza and Ĉotaiba.

Taking into consideration all the variant pronunciations of jim therefore it can be concluded that the position of the Ḥarb is similar in various respects to the neighbouring tribes, but identical with none of them.

---

Ḫarb while generally to be placed with its neighbours offers a separate mixture of features which give it an identity of its own.

The consonant ḳ, ḡ

As we have seen (p. 56f) not all the Ḫarb tribe follow the same pronunciation of these two consonants.

That part of the Ḫarb which lives in the Northern Central area extending from as-Šuwaidera up to al-Quwara, and those in the Hijaz who are connected socially with them like the Rubuqa of the Banu Ḥamr, and the Sihliyya of the Banu Ḥawf (both families in the Hijaz) tend to affricate the ḳ, ḡ into ṭs, ḏz. (This type of pronunciation does not occur among the other members of the Hijazi group, the standard (k) and the uvular (ḡ) generally occur among them).

When we look for analogies for this affricated type of pronunciation among the Northern Central group of the Ḫarb and those connected with them, we may note first of all that the affrication of ḳ, ḡ into ṭs, ḏz is noticeable in our own specimens of the Ḫataiba and Muṭair e.g.

 Hath. tisinneh as if he
    ulaahadzdżirih and I do not look down upon him

Muṭ. (2f) sinnits you
    liḥidz he caught

In fact the pronunciation of ḳ, ḡ as ṭs, ḏz is one of the
characteristic features of the Northern Central Arabian dialects. This includes the Anaza, and the Shammar tribes, and various groups of the Anaza subtribe like Rwala, and Weld Ali.

Hence in this respect links again exist with the Northern Central Arabian dialects, and as regards this feature the Harb tribe is to some extent split into two division: the NC group of the Harb is much affected by its Northern Central linkage with the Anaza and Shammar while the Hijazi group is not.

Similarly, according to my own personal knowledge based on inquiries into the dialect of Juhaina who are residing in Yanbo, and on the evidence of recorded conversations of an official belonging to the Juhaina tribe in ar-Rayyan Wadi al-Furuc the affrication of \( k, g \) does not occur among the Juhaina of Yanbo. However, the sample which I collected from an illiterate (Juhani) from ar-Rayyan shows the affrication \( ts, dz \) e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>waadzif</th>
<th>standing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tseef</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is relevant to state that our own informant is not from those Juhaina who live in Yanbo. According to his own statement he was at home in the Northern Hijaz with the Bili

1. Cantineau; J. \textit{Etudes} III p.141
2. Cantineau; J. \textit{ibid} p.141
tribe and Anaza and thus he is connected socially with those tribes who have the affrication ts, dz as part of their dialect.

The Hijazi group particularly among the Bedouin shows more frequently prepalatal k, g as variants of k, g see p. 56. This type of pronunciation is met only occasionally among the NC group of the Ḥarb especially among the Wuhub, and some of the Banu Ṣālim. We find it rather difficult to parallel the prepalatal (k, g) pronunciations among the neighbouring tribes, since there is no evidence of their occurrence in our material for comparison.

The affrication of k, g into c, ĝ is completely absent from the Ḥarb dialect. It occurs among certain neighbouring tribes of Northern Arabia1. Similarly it appears among the Eastern Arabian dialects2.

It can now be concluded that in regard to the presence and the absence of the affrication ts, dz the Ḥarb tribe is split in two.

(i) The NC group which is mainly linked with the Anaza and Shammar groups by showing the pronunciation of k, g as ts, dz
(ii) The Hijazi group which on the other hand preserves the k, g in general, but the Bedouin tends to prepalatalize them (k, ĝ).

Assimilation

The dialect of the Ḥarb shows a good number of cases of assimilation (see p.63). Some types of this assimilation occur among their neighbours, while other cases seem difficult at present to trace among them, from the literature available.

Thus the dialect of the Ḥarb tends to assimilate the consonant (d) to (t) when these are part of the junction verbal or nominal stems with suffixes. Such assimilation is present in the dialect of ḌAnaza and ḌOtaiba e.g.

ḌAnaz. Sawwattana < sawwadtana you have¹ blackened our face (you brought shame upon us)

ḌOt. nisittu < našiidatuhu his poem

(the example for ḌOtaiba is taken from our own sample)

Similarly our own samples of Juhaina and Muṭair indicate the following assimilations which occur also among the Ḥarb, e.g.

Juh. 11 + ni > nni xallini > xanni let me
    n + b > mb janbuh > jambih beside him

Muṭ. ū + ha > ūha tadbahaha > tadbahha you kill her
    n + f > mf ḍanfaar > ḍamfaar persons

Assimilation can further take place between the end of one word and the beginning of the next one. Again there is

¹ Landberg; Langue p.2.
a tendency among the Ḥarb as well as Juhaina, and Muṭair to assimilate the consonant (n) of bin, min to (r) when this is the first consonant of the following word, e.g.

Har. mirraabiy from Rabigh
Muṭ. ḥorrissiid Ibn Rashid
Juh. birrifaada Ibn Rifaada

Additionally the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb assimilates the (-in) of Tanwin to (l, m) when it is followed by a word commencing with (l) or (m). In this they agree with the dialect of the Ḥotaiba and Muṭair tribes which present similar cases of assimilation.

The examples below appear among the Ḥotaiba, and Muṭair as our own samples indicate:

Ḥotaiba. caasgílnuh > åsgíllih became a lover of.
            xuuyaaninlihum > xuuyallihum their companion
            yeazíinîn mачum > yeazyimmácum raiding with them

The above type of assimilation is likewise absent among the Hijazi group.

Diphthongs aw, ay

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the diphthongs aw, ay are generally preserved. However, the oo, ee variants of aw, ay occur more particularly among those of the Ḥarb who are affected by urban speech (cf. p.69ff).
Somewhat similarly, the dialect of Anaza and its subtribe Weld Ali as recorded and studied by Landberg and Wetzstein, show examples of the retention of the diphthongs, aw, ay or their replacement by the oo, ee.¹

Cantineau states that the diphthongs aw, ay are principally kept in the dialect of Anaza, Shammar and Sardiyya while they are reduced into oo, ee in the dialect of Mawali, Bani Sakhr, al-Jawf, and ar-Rass². Our own collected samples from the Otaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair tribes show that aw, ay is preserved on a number of occasions e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Otaib</td>
<td>aljawf</td>
<td>al-Jawf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juhain</td>
<td>mawt</td>
<td>death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutair</td>
<td>sayn</td>
<td>ugly, bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However the oo, ee variant of aw, ay is also noticeable among them. But the most interesting feature is the appearance of aa instead of ay and less frequent for aw among the Ḥarb (Cf. p. 71f).

This phenomenon is present in our own samples of the Otaiba, Juhaina and Muṭair especially in the word cala with pronominal suffixes as:

calaak upon you calaahum upon them

Cf. also the examples

² Cantineau, Études III, p. 151, 152.
There is also an indication of the occurrence of aa instead of ay, perhaps rather more occasionally, in the dialect of Anaza and Weld Ali; thus Landberg and Wetzstein list the word maar 'but' for mayr\(^2\). Musil also includes raakaan (proper name) for raykan\(^3\). These examples (and perhaps others) bear witness to the existence of an aa variant of ay among the Anaza and its subtribes. The dialect of the Ḥarb and the Otaiba also have replaced aw by aa in the word ḥaad 'basin' for ḥawd\(^4\). But aa instead of aw, ay appears to be absent from the Eastern Arabian dialects\(^5\).

The ii instead of ay is very common among the Anaza e.g. șii 'things' for șay\(^6\). This feature occurred in our own sample of the Otaiba as in șii < șay. The dialect group of the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb presents similar cases where șay has become șii while the Hijazi group has șay. The ii variant of ay occurs

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1. Cf. also Hess; J.J. vonden Beduinen p.34,36,100,101,120 for more examples.
2. Landberg; Langue p.3, and Wetzstein op.cit. p.124, 144ff.
4. Hess; J.J. op.cit. p.120. for Otaiba.
5. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.25
among the Hijazi group only in the word siidi 'my lord' instead of sayyadi.

In conclusion it appears that the dialect of the Ḥarb is similar to that of the Ānaza, Shammar and Otaiba but more particularly to the Otaiba, in regard to the replacement of ay, aw by aa. But the dialect of the Ḥarb differs in respect of replacing ay by ii; the Northern Central group is more inclined to agree with the Ānaza and Otaiba tribes by showing ii instead of ay in 'sii' < 'say' 'thing'.

By contrast the Hijazi group has preserved ay in 'say' like Classical Arabic.

Conclusion

It appears from the previous analysis that the Ḥarb tribe as a whole shares a good number of phonological features with its neighbours. However as we have seen not all these features are proportionally prevalent among the Ḥarb. Thus while we found that the NC group of the Ḥarb tend to link themselves with the Ānaza and Shammar in certain aspects of phonology, such as the affrication of k, g into ts, dz, the occasional pronunciation of (j) as (gy); and the replacing of (ay) by (ii) in the word 'sii' < 'say' 'things', yet the Ḥarb, including the NC group in certain cases, replace the (j) by (y), a feature absent
from the Anaza and Shammar. In this respect the Ḥarb resembles the Juhaina and Otaiba and Muṭair who show similar features. The Ḥarb also shares with Otaiba the replacement of (aw, ay) by (aa). Links with the Otaiba and Juhaina seem thus more important than those with the Shammar and Anaza, since while we have seen that the Bedouin of the Hijazi group and occasionally the NC group have a prepalatal pronunciation of ḫ, ḡ: this is not attested among any of their neighbours at present.

Summing up, we can say that with respect to phonetic features the Ḥarb dialect shows a considerable linkage with its neighbours, but it is not identical, or near identical, with any of them.

(a) Morphology

Here we have to draw attention to what seems to be a very considerable amount of agreement between our dialect and those neighbouring tribes of the Anaza, Shammar, Otaiba, Muṭair and Juhaina on the one hand, and the Eastern Arabian dialects on the other. This agreement in fact is very striking and one may say that these groups are more closely related to one another in this respect than on the phonological side. However, some differences which separate to some extent the Anaza and Shammar groups from the Ḥarb are apparently present (cf. p. 30f). But we may begin by discussing those general features which link the related dialects with the Ḥarb.
(i) **The absence of the trisyllabic forms**

As we have already indicated in the morphological chapter, p.29f the trisyllabic forms of certain verbal and nominal forms are no longer found in our dialect (except for the hadari type of speech which retains this kind of structure). In this the dialect of the Ḥarb is parallel by the dialects of Anaza and Shammar\(^1\). Similar cases are also found in the Eastern Arabian dialect groups\(^2\), and the dialect of the Dawasir\(^3\), as well as the dialect of Onaiza town\(^4\). Such features are especially common among the Juhaina, Otaiba and Muṭair tribes as our own samples show. The examples below illustrate the position of these tribes in comparison with ours:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juh.</td>
<td>drubam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īOt.</td>
<td>kitbaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mut.</td>
<td>lihdzat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) **The influence of the guttural sounds on syllabic structure**

It has been mentioned on p.29 that in the dialect of the Ḥarb the gutturals exert a certain influence on the structure of some verbal, or nominal patterns e.g.

1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.165,166
2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.7ff, 42.
This phenomenon is widely spread among the dialect of the Anaza and Shammar groups. Comparable forms of the above structure also appear in the Eastern Arabian dialects and the Dosiri dialect.

Again our own samples of the Juhaina, Otaiba, and Muţair show that this feature is present among them e.g.

Juh. yxaţub he asks to marry
ghawa coffee

'Oto. yẖatub he collects firewood
 القضية the speech, dialect

Mut. nẖasib we count
hlima teat

(iii) The pattern of the perfect of verbs

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the basic forms of the perfect of simple strong verbs are fīţil, fīcal e.g. rikib 'he rode', dibah 'he kills', but the normal Classical form fīcal occurs only when the first root or the second root is a guttural e.g. xaraj 'he went' (Cf. p.30,83). Similarly

2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.6, 43.
the pattern *faical* is retained in our dialect with those verbs whose second syllable begins with r or l, as in *sarad* 'he escaped' or *malak* 'he owned, became king'.

This is generally true of the *Anaza*¹, and Shammar² dialects. Compare also Johnstone for the Eastern Arabian dialects where comparable forms occur among them³.

The dialect of the *Otaiba, Juhaina and Muṭair* again shows similar features. Cf. the following examples which are taken from our own samples:

\[ \text{Otaiba:} \]
- *nisad* he asked
- *cazal* he put aside

\[ \text{Juhaina:} \]
- *dībāḥ* he killed
- *xaraj* he went

\[ \text{Muṭair:} \]
- *kisab* he won
- *lihidz* he caught

(iv) The occurrence of the 3 m.pl. of the perfect ending *(aw or am)* instead of *(uu)* among the Ḥarb and its neighbours.

(v) The pattern of the Imperfect

In the Ḥarb dialect verbs of forms *ficil, fical* in the perfect have imperfects *yafcal* e.g. *yarkab, yadbah*; Only *kitab* < *katab* 'to write' shows *yaktib*. In this latter

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1. Landberg; *Langue* p. 1, 3, 4, 5, 73
3. Johnstone; T.M. *EADS* p.11, 12, 42ff.
respect the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe is identical with the Eastern Arabian dialects. But the dialect of the Ḥarb is split in regard to the appearance of yafcul or yafcel of the perfect formal into two groups. The Hijazi group (except the Bedouin) tends to retain the normal Classical pattern yafcul e.g. tag cupid. Similarly the dialect of the Juhaina (as our own sample indicates) uses yafcul e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yadxul} & \quad \text{he enters} \\
\text{yarbuj} & \quad \text{he calms down}
\end{align*}
\]

But the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb frequently employs the pattern yafcel as in yagṣed 'to recite a poem' (the Hijazi Bedouin is similar to them (Cf. p.84).

Occasionally the NC group uses the normal Classical pattern yafcul as in vagnus 'to hunt' (Cf. p.84). Thus the NC group is linked with the Anaza, and Shammar group².

The dialect of the Otaiba, and Muṭair is much more inclined to use yafcel e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Otaiba} & \quad \text{yangel} \quad \text{he carries} \\
\text{mut} & \quad \text{yagṣed} \quad \text{he recites}
\end{align*}
\]

However, Hess indicates the appearance of yafcul³ among the Otaiba e.g.

1. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.43.
yensur (yansur) to go for grazing

(vi) Verb with initial w

In the dialect of the Ŧarb as in those of the Otaiba, Bani Sakhr, Weld Ali, Hsana, Sba'a, al-Jawf, and Shammar the preformative vowel of the imperfect verbs with initial (w) is frequently lengthened to yaaṣal 'to arrive' Conversely the Eastern Arabian dialects show the form yuqṣal while the Dosiri has yuṣil.

(vii) The fusion of the verbs with final (u) with the verbs with final (i)

In our dialect the imperfect of the weak verbs of type yadcuu is fused with the verbs with final (i) e.g. yarji he hopes for yarjuu

This phenomenon is widely attested among the neighbouring dialects such as those of the Otaiba, Rwala, Dawasir and the Eastern Arabian dialects.

Examples:

Ot. yγazi he raids
RW yedci he calls

1. Hess, J. J. Von den Beduinen, p.156
2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.195
3. Johnstone; T. M. EADS p.48
4. Johnstone; T. M. The Dosiri, BSOAS vol XXIV, p.259
5. The example for Otaiba is taken from our own sample. CF also Hess; J. J. ibid., p.95
Musil; A. The Manners, p.33
Johnstone; T. M. The Dosiri, BSOAS vol, XXIV, p.261
Johnstone; T. M. EADS p.50 (footnote)
The dialect of the Shammar Abda presents a similar case. According to Cantineau on the authority of Montagne the verb yeza (yaza) has the imperfect iyaazi 'to raid'\(^1\). Our collected samples from the Juhaina, and Muťair tribes do not contain any examples of this type of verb. However the existence of this feature can not be ruled out and further investigation is needed.

(viii) The imperfect preformative

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the imperfect preformative vowel is usually (a) with the strong simple verbs, Hamzated, and weak verbs; while the geminate and the Hollow verbs have the preformative (i) e.g.

nisidd we travel nibiic we sell

The derived themes similarly show the preformative vowel (i) with most forms. However occasional retention of the normal Classical (a or u) preformative occurs (see p.106).

The situation among the dialects of the Otaiba, Juhaina, and Muťair is similar to the one prevailing in our dialect. Thus as we have seen the preformative vowel (a) is found with the strong, Hamzated and weak

---

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.190
verbs. Conversely the preformative (i) is generally met with the case of geminate, and the Hollow verbs, and with the derived themes. Cf. the following examples which are drawn from our own samples:

- **Mut.** tisidd she travels
- **Juh.** yiguum he stands up
- **Ot.** tiyarrabaw they went out of their home

Hess's samples, however, frequently show the preformative vowel (e) in the dialect of the Otaiba as in yeftah 'he opens'. This represents perhaps an Imala of (a), and not a change of (a) into (i). This phenomenon supports our finding as to the non-existence of the preformative (i) in the Otaiba dialect with the strong verbs.

The preformative (i) is a typical characteristic feature of the urban dialects, and it is universally absent from the dialects of the tribes of Arabia.

Landberg in his texts of the Anaza shows the instability of the vowel of the imperfect preformative, e.g.

- yibetsi to cry
- yoxbot to hit

But the preformative vowel (e) an Imala of (a) is frequently met in Landberg's text. This leads us to believe in the non-predominance of the preformative (i) in the dialect

---

1. *Von den Beduinen*, p. 62,
of the ānaza. Our belief is strengthened by Wetzstein who in his vocalized arabic text of the Weld Ali dialect (subtribe of ānaza) indicates the preformative vowel (a) as in tanzil; although in his analysis he shows the vowel (e) as in yelfi.

The dialect of the Shammar and the Dawasir are similar to ours in regard of the vocalization of the preformative of the imperfect of verbs. But the case is quite different with the Eastern Arabian dialects in these latter both (i and a) preformative vowels are present, showing a state of instability.

(ix) The imperative

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the initial vowel of the imperative of the simple strong verbs is either (i) or (u) e.g.

- ibfif 'dig'  uxrfj 'go out'

But the imperative of the verb with initial (w) is digif or dugaf 'stop' (which is, of course, in contrast to Classical Arabic. Similarly the Eastern Arabian dialects and the dialects of the Dawasir show the following forms

1. Sprachliches ZDMG, vol XXII p.74, 118.
2. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax. p.25,38
   Some features, p.157ff.
   Johnstone; T.M. The Dosiri BSOAS vol, XXIV, p.256.
The Hijazi group of the Ḥarb usually lengthens the vowel of the imperative form of the Hollow verbs, e.g. biic 'sell' guul 'say', while the Bedouin of the Hijazi group have biic and guil (occasionally guul). Our collected sample from the Juhaina agrees with the usage found among the hadari Hijazi group of the Ḥarb e.g.

ruüh  go

The NC group of the Ḥarb tends to have the form riḥ 'go' qim 'rise' with occasional use of form guum 'rise'. This latter group i.e. the NC group is paralleled in this usage by the Shammar dialect. The Eastern Arabian dialects are thus in this matter analogous to the dialect of the Hijazi group since they tend to lengthen the initial stem vowel of the Hollow verbs. The dialects of the Ḥarb and those of the Juhaina, and Otaiba are different from the dialects of the Shammar in the imperative of 2 f.s. The Shammar dialect pronounces the form with diphthongization of the final (i) e.g. guumiy 'get up'. This is also to be found in the dialect of the Onaiza. The Ḥarb, Juhaina, and Otaiba tribes have a clear (i) e.g. guumi 'get up'.

Johnstone; T. M. The Dosiri BSOAS vol, XXIV, p. 259
2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p. 196
Abboud; P. F. Some Features, p. 158
3. Johnstone; T. M. EADS p. 49.
In this they agree with the Eastern Arabian dialects.

The imperative of verbs with final (y)

There is a tendency among the speakers of our dialect, particularly the Bedouin, to elide the terminal vowel e.g.

\[ \text{istar} \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{sims} \quad \text{go} \]

This phenomenon is found among many of the neighbouring tribes Cf the examples below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sham.} & \quad \text{ems} & \quad \text{go}^2 \\
\text{C Ot.} & \quad \text{ta-ass} & \quad \text{eat}^3 \\
\text{Weld Ali} & \quad \text{tihts} & \quad \text{speak}^4 \\
\text{Rwala} & \quad \text{erc} & \quad \text{take care}^5
\end{align*}
\]

The nominal pattern

Although the pattern fac1, fic1, and ficl shows a fairly considerable degree of stability in the dialect of the Harb, certain nouns which end with consonants, l, m, n, r may have an anaptyctic vowel (i, a and u) inserted before them. In these cases fac1 becomes facil, facal or facul

1. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.49
2. Cantineau; J. Études III p.197
3. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.170
5. Musil; A. The Manners, p.532.
ficil > ficili
fucil > fucul (for details (Cf. p.109ff))

The dialects of the Otaiba and Juhaina show similar forms
Cf. the following examples which occur in our own samples:

Ot.

dahar < dahr famine
samin < samn ghee
fitir < fitr the mouth of Shawwal
cumur < cumr life, age

Juh.
sahar < sahr month

cagil < cagl brain
bikir < bikr virgin
gasur < gasr palace

The same phenomenon is present in the dialects of the
Anaza and Shammar and the dialect of the small nomadic tribes studied by Cantineau.

The structure of the pattern facal, faciil

In the dialect of the Ḥarb and those of the Juhaina, Otaiba and Muṭair the nominal pattern facal, faciil has generally become fical and ficiil. But when the first or the second radical is a guttural or the medial syllable contains (r, l or n) the normal Classical pattern is retained, e.g.

1. Études III, p.216f.
But the normal Classical pattern is retained in the following examples:

- Har. yiman south kibiira big
- C0t. sima sky nišiida poem
- Juh. nibi prophet nišiīha advice
- Mut. jimal camel gisiida poem

in this respect they agree with the dialect of the Onaiza.

The pattern facal plus the pronominal suffixes (-i, uh)

In our dialect when the pattern facal is linked with (-i or uh u, ih) the structure is changed. This change has resulted from the dropping of the first short vowel (a), and vowel harmony may be developed e.g.

ulidi my son
γnumuh his sheep

This phenomenon is found among the dialect of the Anaza and Shammar. Comparable forms occur also in the dialect of the Juhaina and C0taiba as our own samples show:

2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.201ff
Some other features which divide the Harb from the Shammar group

The dialect of the Harb is different in a number of respects from the dialect of Shammar; some of the differences have been discussed on the previous pages. We may here proceed to point to other features which are neither present among the Harb nor to be found among the Otaiba and Juhaina. These are:

1. Cantineau; J. Etudes III p.189
   Hess, J.J. op.cit. p.80
(a) The ending of f.s. nouns in the dialect of the Harb is (-ah or a) e.g. rtubah 'ripen date', šxara 'rock', while the dialect of Shammar\(^1\), and the dialect of the Onaiza\(^2\) have (-ih) against the Classical (ah). Our own samples of the Otaiba and Juhaina show the feminine ending (a, ah) e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Otaiba} & \text{marā} & \text{women} \\
\text{Juhaina} & \text{byalā} & \text{mule}
\end{array}
\]

(b) Where forms of the personal suffix of 3 f.s. affixed to the noun, and the suffix of l.c.s., affixed to the verb are concerned the dialect of the Shammar usually has (-ah) for (-ha) 3 f.s. and (-an) instead of (ni)\(^3\) l.c.s. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i}x\text{tah zeenih} & \quad \text{her sister is pretty}^4 \\
\text{allī} \text{ysuufan maa}ventionf & \quad \text{whosoever sees me won't recognise me.}
\end{align*}
\]

The same features are present in the dialect of the Weld Ali\(^5\).

By contrast, the dialect of the Harb has (-ha, and -ni) similar to the Anaza dialect\(^6\). The dialect

---

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.231
   Cf. also Abboud; P.F. The Syntax p.10
4. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax p.45, 42.
of the Otaiba, Juhaina, and Mu'tair are basically identical with the Ḥarb, and the Anaza in these respects. Our statement is based upon our own collected samples from the above tribes.

Some elements which separate the dialect of the Ḥarb from the Anaza

Again the dialect of the Ḥarb differs from those of the Anaza in regard to the form of the pronominal suffix of 3 m.s. Here the Anaza has (-ah)\(^1\) while the Ḥarb uses (-ih or =uh, u) Cf. 142).

The dialect of the Otaiba and Juhaina is similar to our dialect in this respect. Cf. the examples below which are extracted from our own samples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Otaiba</th>
<th>Juhaina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥarb</td>
<td>Ḥarb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summing up, we may say that while our dialect again agrees in a considerable number of points of its morphology with the neighbouring dialects; yet as in matter of phonetic features, such linkages are multilateral rather than unilateral. The NC group of the Ḥarb and the Hijazi Bedouin link with Anasa and Shammar in the tendency to replace the imperfect pattern yafcul by yafcel and in

---

forms of the imperative form of 2 m.s. of Hollow, Hamzated and geminate verbs. While by contrast the rest of the Hijazi retains the normal pattern of the imperfect yafcul and the normal form of the imperative 2 m.s. of Hamzated and geminate verbs. The Ḥarb is different from Shammar with regard to the imperative form of 2 f.s., the feminine ending of the singular noun, the personal suffix of the 3 f.s. and the verbal suffix of the 1 c.s. Similarly the Ḥarb is different from the ḤAnaza in the form of the personal suffix of the 3 m.s.

On the other hand the Ḥarb and the ḤOtaiba and Juhaina are linked with each other since they agree in the imperative form of 2 f.s. and the feminine ending of the singular noun; 3 m.s., 3 f.s. of the personal suffixes and the verbal suffix of 1 c.s. Furthermore, with regard to the imperative 2 m.s. of Hollow verb the Hijazi group is tied with the urban speech.

Again therefore there are clear linkages with Shammar and ḤAnaza but also, and perhaps at least as importantly with Juhaina and ḤOtaiba and again some features cannot be parallel in either group. The Ḥarb dialect is thus also morphologically related to, but not quite identical with, the dialects of its neighbours.

**Comparative vocabulary**

The following list is intended to give an overall comparison of some of the lexis found in the Ḥarb
dialect, with the vocabulary found in neighbouring dialects; this should help us to determine the degree of the relationship between our dialect and its neighbours, and also the main cases that have brought it closer to, or further away from, these neighbouring dialects.

In fact there are always difficulties found on inquiries of this kind, and indeed the study of comparative lexis in Arabian dialects is still a little worked field. However, as far as can be ascertained, the Arabian tribal dialects share a high percentage of their vocabulary. In addition many Classical words are still used both in our dialect and among the neighbouring tribes without any considerable shift of meaning e.g.

Har., ‘Ot. nidaa dew
Har., RW. wasm early rain
Har., ‘Anaz. yaarat attacked

These in fact are good examples of linguistic conservatism.

As a concise selection of lexis to be investigated had obviously to be made, the following procedure was adopted in order to find the similarity or dis-similarity in the use of vocabulary among our tribe and those dialects in the vicinity. It was decided to give priority to lists

1. Landberg is one of the comparatively few scholars who devoted themselves to the investigation of comparative lexis see bibliography; Johnstone; T.M. provides an excellent summarized short list of comparative vocabulary of the Eastern Arabian dialects cf EADS p.16f.
3. Musil; A. The Manners, p.16.
4. Landberg; Langue p.4.
of words denoting parts of the body, articles related
to daily life, and those concerning social activities -
including, in particular, words connected with camel-
breeding, and warfare. Items concerned with tribal law
have also been utilized throughout; set phrases and
expressions were also included (all examples in this
chapter from the Juhaina and Muţair are taken from our
own samples).

(i) Words commonly used among the Harb and its neighbours
to help, to support fīzāc fīzāc fīzāc fezāc yefzācwan
Har. Juh. Muţ. 2'Anaz 1. RW 2

to take refuge zbān zbān zbēn zbēn
Har. 2'Ot 3 RW. 4 2'Anaz 5

1. Landberg; Langue p. 54
2. Musil; A. The Manners p. 50
3. The example from our own sample CF. also Hess; J.J.
Von den Beduinen p. 93 for the noun from this verb.
4. Musil; A. ibid. p. 563
5. Landberg; Glossaire de la Langue des Bédouins 2'Anazeh
p. 25.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to come</td>
<td>lifa</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lifa</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lifa</td>
<td>Muṭ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lefa</td>
<td>c‘Anaz$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to mark</td>
<td>wisam</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wosam</td>
<td>Muṭ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wisem</td>
<td>c‘Ot$^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wasom</td>
<td>Weld Ali$^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be afraid of</td>
<td>ḏaal</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḏaal</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḏaalleh</td>
<td>c‘Anaz$^4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protege</td>
<td>cawaanii</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cawaanii (c‘aani)</td>
<td>c‘Ot$^5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cawaanihih</td>
<td>RW$^6$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Landberg; *Langue* p.3.
2. Hess; *J.J. Von den Beduinen*, p.81
3. Cantineau; *J. Études* III, p.194
4. Landberg; *Langue* p.3.
5. Hess; *J.J. Von den Beduinen*, p.101
to, toward  
yamm  Ḥar.
yamm  Juh.
yamm  Muṭ.
yamm  Weld Ali
lamm  Sham.

(ii) Words to be found among the Harb, and the Otaiba, and Shammar.

to slaughter  ḍakkāa  Ḥar
ṭekkāa  Ot

to ward off (or obstruct) an avenger  garac  Ḥar
garac  Ot

to like  yadnaa  Ḥar
ydaani  Sham

very  bālḥayl  Ḥar
bālḥayl  Sham

3. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.117
4. Hess; J.J. ibid. p.94
5. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.38.
6. Abboud; P.F. ibid. p.29.
(iii) Words used among the Ḥarb and partly among its neighbouring tribes but not among all of them

to ululate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭyaṭrif</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭyaṭrif</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etzegret</td>
<td>Sham¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tzayrít</td>
<td>Weld Ali²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzayratat</td>
<td>Ḍanaz³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to kiss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ysallim</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thib</td>
<td>Weld Ali⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yehabhibuh</td>
<td>Ḍanaz⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

neighbour

<table>
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jaar</td>
<td>Ḥarb of the Hijaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaar</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisirir</td>
<td>Ḥar of Najd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasıir</td>
<td>Ot⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasıir</td>
<td>RW⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

breast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dees</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayd</td>
<td>Sham⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deyd</td>
<td>Ḍanaz⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əadi</td>
<td>Hadadin, Mawali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bezz</td>
<td>Sirhan¹⁰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. Cantineau; *J. Études* III p.188
2. Wetzstein; *J. Sprachliches ZDMG*, vol. XXII, p.97
3. Landberg; *Langue* p.7.
4. Wetzstein; *J. Sprachliches ZDMG* vol, XXII p.77
5. Landberg; *Langue* p.10
6. Hess; *J.J. Von den Beduinen*. p.94
7. Musil; *A. The Manners*, p.267
8. Cantineau; *J. Études* III, p.218
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wedding</td>
<td>jwaaz</td>
<td>Ḥar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>juwaaz</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guwaaz</td>
<td>c. Ot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cirs</td>
<td>Sham²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>famm</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>famm</td>
<td>Juh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>famm</td>
<td>Mut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fom</td>
<td>RW, Weld Ali³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eθem</td>
<td>Sham⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lung</td>
<td>saḥar</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saḥar</td>
<td>Sbaca, RW⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>riya</td>
<td>Rass, Sham⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maclaag</td>
<td>Rogga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faase</td>
<td>Al-Jawf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small leather</td>
<td>cukka</td>
<td>Ḥar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag used for</td>
<td>cokkeh</td>
<td>c. Ot.⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeping ghee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zarf, nahw</td>
<td>RW⁸</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words *zarf* and *nihu* are also found in the ⁷Otaiba dialect (Cf. Hess p.119).

1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.134
2. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.35
3. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.217
5. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.222
6. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.221, 222
7. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.119
The following paragraphs give the name of the camel from the moment of its birth until it reaches seven years of age, among the Ḥarb, Rwala, and the Otaiba tribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Ḥwaar</th>
<th>Ḥwaar(^1)</th>
<th>Ḥwaar(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥarb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maxluul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwaar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mafruud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwaar(^1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mafruud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwaar(^2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maxluul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥaṣṣa</td>
<td>hidzdz</td>
<td>hezz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣiḍi</td>
<td>lidzi</td>
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**Phrases**

'May God whiten your or his face.' A phrase to be said when a person does a good deed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bayyaḍā} & \Rightarrow \text{Allah wajhak} & \text{Ḥar.}\ \\
\text{beiyḍā} & \Rightarrow \text{Allah weghek} & \text{Ot.}\(^3\) \\
\text{bayyaḍā} & \Rightarrow \text{Allah wagheh} & \text{RW}\(^4\)
\end{align*}
\]

---

1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p. 73, 74
2. Musil; A. The Manners, p. 333
The following phrases of invocation are commonly used among the Ŧarb and ʿOtai iba:

- yaamaal Dalcama may you be blind ʻHar
- yaamaal elguuc may you die of hunger ʻOt
- casaak lalmawt may you be dead ʻHar
- casaak lelgoom may you be in the hand of the enemy ʻOt

The foregoing discussion indicates that many words used by the Ŧarb are commonly found among a large portion of its neighbours. On the whole, the ʿOtai iba, and Rwala share a high percentage of their lexis with the Ŧarb. But it seems that the Ŧarb and the ʿOtai iba in particular are closely related, since many similar words and phrases are found among both tribes.

1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.168
2. Hess; J.J. op.cit. p.168
Summary and conclusion:

From the foregoing comparison the overriding questions which emerge are (1) what type of dialect does the Ḥarb tribe speak? (2) what is the relationship of this dialect to its neighbouring dialects? and (3) to what group is it most closely related?

The dialect of the Ḥarb represents one of the non-urban dialects spoken within the general area extending from the Western province of Saudi Arabia to al-Qasīm (Cf. map no. 1). It has close links in many respects with the dialects of Arabian tribes found in the vicinity of this area as we have shown in our comparison above.

We have also shown on p.27,29,206ff that many features in the dialect of the Ḥarb parallel some of the basic characteristics of the spoken dialects of the present day non-urban population of Northern and Central Arabia. There are however differences in respect to some features (Cf. p.30, 219ff ) which clearly divide the Shammar and Anaza groups from the dialect of the Ḥarb, while on the other hand a number of features (Cf. p.221ff ) link the Ḥarb with its other neighbours Otaiba and Juhaina.

Certain features of the Ḥarb dialect (Cf. p.28, are peculiar to itself, and taking these in conjunction with the characteristics notices above we conclude that the speech of the Ḥarb must be regarded as a separate dialectal entity.
At this point, another important question has to be considered. We have shown that the dialect of the Ḥarb can be divided into two main groups, namely the Hijazi group and the Northern Central group, and we have also shown that the Northern Central group inclines towards the Anaza and Shammar a linkage not shared by the Hijazi group. This being so, the question must now be asked whether we are really entitled to talk of one Ḥarb dialect with sub-dialects, rather than of two dialects with some common features.

In view of the evidence adduced, the answer to this question must be that this division is of secondary importance only, since it mainly concerns questions of phonology, while the morphology, lexis and syntax are very similar in both groups. Furthermore, the phonology of the Ḥarb speech as a whole in spite of the variants noted above shows common features which mark it off as one dialect, e.g. the pronunciation of (j) as a palato-alveolar affricate and the occasional occurrence of a front palatal (dy) accompanied by affrication or the replacement of (j) b- (y) in certain words (cf. p. 53ff); similarly both groups of the Ḥarb show a prepalatal (k', ɣ') and the tendency to replace the diphthongs (aw, ay) by (aa). These and similar features set out in Chapter 1 in fact exhibit the unity of this dialect.
In morphology we have shown that the Ḥarb are distinguished in regard to a number of important features from the Shammar and 'Anaza, such as the preservation of the initial Hamza of the perfect اَصابُ 'to take', and in the feminine ending of the singular noun, the personal suffixes of 3 m.s. and 3 f.s. and the verbal suffix of 1 c.s.

In their vocabulary all the Ḥarb use many words not shared by their neighbours, such as ta.ḥarra 'to wait', hawwid 'be still', yāṣda 'look alike', xaasār 'to share', saxa 'generosity' etc. (See Chapter III).

These features all suggest that the Ḥarb dialect is essentially one, even though the Northern Central group shows some influence from the Central Arabian dialects.

This recalls the basic problem which we set out in our introduction, namely that part of the Ḥarb separated from its original stock in circa 1815-6, and migrated to a different environment, where it was likely to be affected by linguistic influences from its new neighbours. We can now show that for this emigrant group - the Northern Central group - many such influences are indeed attested especially on the phonetic side, but they are marginal and have not yet led to a complete linguistic divergence, perhaps because ties of relationship still link both parts of the Ḥarb. It is instructive to note how much or how little divergence can be traces during a period of circa 150 years, since dateable dialectal variations in tribal
Arabia are unfortunately rare. Similarly the Hijazi group tends to use certain morphological features typical of urban speech, resulting from their contact with the urban populations of the Hijazi cities, but again the basic features of their original dialect have remained substantially unchanged.

The dialect of the Ḥarb within its two main groups and the above-mentioned urbanized subgroup, is still on the whole a very conservative dialect which has not been subjected to any major influence; even those of the Ḥarb tribe who lives in the cities of the Hijaz, such as Mecca or Jedda, do not show the characteristic features of the spoken dialect of those cities, such as the replacement of the interdental ð, ð by t, s, d, z and other features. This is due to the fact that the emigration of the Ḥarb to the cities is a very recent phenomenon, having occurred only since the formation of the Saudi Arabian state, and their ties even now with the other populations of Mecca and Jedda are not very strong; they tend to live in a district of their own, and their dialect is preserved intact without any great influence from their neighbours, quite apart from any acquisition of non-Arabian linguistic features.

1. For details Cf. the present writer's M. Phil. diss. (1972) p.84ff.
Hijazi Texts

Transcription I

Informant no 23, from Wadi al-Furu'c

?actirilak if middat jaddi imrayyic >abin imbaarak yaza
imtaar usammoonaha yazwat >alxfayr miicnih harb min bini camr
umin cawf uyawm wislaw >almilh wilya >an halaal ibla rjaal
qasar qarrjaal gidbawluhum >almaa> yadiirin waahid maayeeru
maa >laawaraah ulaaduunuh yusama >alxfayr waxdaw >alhalaal
min sifaa laagaac uyaam jaa >aadjuhur udaabihhum >a>omaah uhum
cala alyudraan win gawmuhum giddaamuhum utimaadoo uhi>il
 dah yttarrax winkisar jaddi fiiaa. usaar jaddi mac sittiin
walad min biniixiih wicyaalih immacah cind >algimssaan cind
abadalla salgray waxadaw >arbiiciin yawm ujaw ildiirathum
ubacad sana uhuh yyaizihum fisfaana usaax >almitraan ifdaak
salwagt yusama haamid bin zhaymiil >arrihaymi yaam jaa
>assobaah uhum caleehum ufawwal talag ytiih haamid bin
zhaymiil dibiic wicligi yaalbindig fiihum ugaamaw yadbihoon
fimigfi winkisar >al-abadili ujaddi urabcih gaamaw balfawz
wanno>ra waxadaw maahasslawh min kisaayib min halaal wislaah
ujays ulaasaar al-cabdili daak >anahhaar fiitha laaxd.
ulaaca>taa.
I will relate to you an event which occurred at the time of my grandfather Murrayic\(^1\) son of Mubarak; who had carried out a raid on the Muṭair tribe. The raid was called the Riad of al-khifair. With my grandfather were some Ḥarbi members of the Banu Āmīr and Ḥawf.

Arriving at al-Milḥ they found cattle without men who they had taken possession of the only stream at that place; as there was no water in the vicinity which is called al-khifair. Thereupon they (the Ḥarb) took all the cattle and by noon they arrived very thirsty at the stream, and were confronted by their enemies. Violence ensued between the Ḥarb and Muṭair, and the extent of the slaughter which resulted is worthy of recording. My grandfather was defeated.

Another time my grandfather went to al-Qimshān to ĀbdAllah al-Qray accompanied as a precautionary measure by sixty men who were his kinsmen and his sons. They stayed forty days and then returned to their villages. After one year he raided them (the Muṭair) in Šfaina. The chief of the Muṭair at that time was Ḥāmid son of Zhai̇mil ar-Rhi̇ai̇mi. The attack by the Ḥarb took place in the early morning, and at the first shot Ḥāmid son of Zhai̇mil

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\(^{1}\) i.e., chief of 'Ibida of the Banu Āmīr of the Ḥarb.
fell dead. The Abdali were defeated and my grandfather and his people successfully took what booty of cattle, arms and horses which they found.

1. i.e. Banu `AbdAllah branch of the Mutair
Informant no: 25 from Wādi aṣ-Ṣafrā

yoom jaa ʿaalmyarib uhinna nazrug ʿalglaca haadī yawm jiīna walaahum maasīin ʿatturk minha raayhiin win-awwid laθaanya maça ʿaṣṣxuur waletaf yoom jiīna wala maafiiha saḥad unalga ʿatturki waahīd naaṣib unamsuku unaaxud saalbindig immuwinbayyitu cindana falglaca lasṣubḥ wasṣobḥ mayyalnaah laṣṣiriif gult ween cataš gaal ihna cataš wamsi micīh walaah daasaha faṣṣxara wamsakhwa waaxuḍha wamsiibuh laacind xiwiyyi falglaca wimbaat washarna minaljoo walaa yideeh ʿacuud billah mayyit marrah wisīilluh ḥamla cindu gay jumbxaan wacṭaytu tamra ʿaṣṣaytu bayyatna lasṣubḥ jibnaah laṣṣiriif saal ʿalhamla diiha micīh sanduugayn jumbxaan macaadilha cala matnuh winjiibu laṣṣiriif uyoom intihawna bowaariyya galaw wiṣiīna ṣaṣṣiriif gaal caawidoo haadda laayiyyi riddooh kaanoh turki xallooh yruuḥ cind xooyaa winkaαa ṣaami haatu baayi ʿaaxud ʿclumu raaḥlawluh gaalaw turki
Hijazi Texts

Translation II

When evening came we hastened to a castle which we found had been abandoned by the Turks. Going on to a second castle through the rocks and gullies, we encountered nobody; but found one of the Turks remaining in the castle. We held him and we took his gun and he spent the night with us in the castle until the morning—whereupon we took him to the Sharif, and I asked: 'Where is the gun and the ammunition?' he replied: it is here. I walked with him and saw that he had hidden it in the rock. I took it and I walked back into the castle to my companions where we spent the night. We could not sleep because the Turk, God preserve us, was very weak and hungry. He was carrying ammunition and had a rope. I gave him dates and food and we spent the night together; in the morning we brought him to the Sharif. He carried the load of two boxes of ammunition which he had on his back.

On our way to the Sharif some of our gunmen met us and said: 'We approached the Sharif and he ordered us to go back and not to bring the man if he was a Turk, letting him go back to his companions. But if he is a Syrian bring him in I want to question him.

They told the Sharif that he was a Turk.
Hijazi Texts
Transcription II

Informant no 12 from Wādi al-Ḳāḥa

marra ḍaday ṭalī ḍilib waana minsidihi cala ṣifiiḥa yoom laddayt win ṣaliyam ḫafla ifraacan ṣana ṣalla walsiliim binni ṣanamsaxxin uminsidi ṣiḥaṣṭ li ḥaṣa cindi yawm laddayt win ṣaliyam ḫafla rifacta raasi yoom rifacta raasi ṭaar ṣnaami wana ṣarfaq raasi ṣaguum waagif win ṣaḍdiib ycadii maṣaliyam daaxil maça ṣaliyam yam wisla kabbayti ṭaagif leen wisla ṣaliyam cindi winnuh walla亚马 ṭarah diik ṣarruxla yoom ṭarah ṣanacaja wana ṣahadif bawwal ṭbuga ṣahadif baṭṭaaniya baṭṭaala baarabaca ayyat tiij calaah sawwat ṭabbaḥt cindiḥ giribt waḥadfu min grayyib leen ṣalla gaddar caleeh ṣaḍrub idbiik ṣaṭṭbuga ṣīḥt caad larricyaan walsīzb ṣalgrayyib ḥinna cīzb faḍḍīlaa ujaw winnih kiid farr.
Once, I was attacked by a wolf as I was reclining on a flagstone. I turned my head to look at the sheep, and seeing that they were frightened for some reason, God knows I had also been feeling feverish I was lying down, placing small stones beside me and seeing the fear of the sheep, I got up on my feet and saw the wolf running amongst the sheep. I hesitated until the sheep drew near to me, but the wolf had attacked a ewe. I threw a stone at him, then a second, and a third, then fourth, none of which hit him. I jumped near to him and took aim from nearby, where thanks be to God, I hit him with a stone.

Calling some nearby shepherds, who were companions in the mountains, they came, but the wolf had escaped.
Informant no. 28 from aș-Suwaidera

ihdaram wala mayar ḍaddiwiba minawwal ṣabu myaar woḥdaram ṭarb ṣala ḍaddiweybi yaam ṣabbaqam falgiṣiim uyjuun imṭaar uyadxiluun ṣala ṣabu myaar yaam innihum dxalam ṣala ṣabu myaar udṛubuh ḍassayf urrabbaq uhum yadxiluun caleeh ula ihna ṣaadirtin marah ygaallaha ṣaljidciyya tagsid jat waarda zamalaha ṣala ḍadya lbiyaar wiṭridawah gaalat laatridoonni yaamtjejer ṣan ḍadd ḍaddiwaybi haada maahubluqum ḍaha xalloo zamli taṣrab min ḍard ḍalmiṭaariyyaat utirtic ifniqmit ṣalla gaalaw ṣabdan ruḥi ḍanti waddiwaybi walla maṭirtiinuh gaamat tagsid ṣaṭar jat ḍalgiṣiida ḍaddiwaybi uhwah ifṭaraf ḍalgiṣiim gaal yaallah yaaḥarb ṣahl ḍalyanam wahl ḍarridiyya yamsoon ṣalla mahalhum wahl ḍalxayl walbil ytawkkiloon ṣalla uyawm gyaa isbuuc baqadamente ḍalgiṣiida uhuw yṣugg ḍalfajur uhuw waariḍ ṣaleeh wilya imṭaar ḍalxayl warriyaajiil witsiir ṣalmacrika wiḍbaḥum ḍayf ṣalla ḍaddiwaybi ṣatla laayguul walla waḥid yaam ẖribeh bassayf sin ilsaanex ylaali ujiṭṭiteh baadziya ṣala ḍahr ḍaddiluul.
Northern Central Texts

Translation I

They went down - abu Mughair was a dwelling place of the Dhiwiba\textsuperscript{1} from time immemorial - the Ḥarb went down to the Dhiwaibi\textsuperscript{2} when they were spending the spring in al-Qasīm. The Muṭair tribe came and entered abu Mughair. When Muṭair entered abu Mughair; it was springtime, and so they stayed.

There was at that place a poetess called al-Jidciyya. She came with her camels to one of the wells of abu Mughair to water them. The Muṭairi people drove her away. She said: 'Oh Muṭair, do not drive me away from the place of adh-Dhuwaibi; it is not yours; please let my camels drink and graze on the grass which God had provided\textsuperscript{3} like the Muṭairi women.

They said: 'no! clear off, both you and Dhiwaibi!'

She thereupon started to recite Qasīda. (text of Qasīda recorded by the present writer).

This Qasīda spread all over the region and it reached the Dhiwaibi, when he was camping on the borders of al-Qasīm. He said: 'Let us go oh Ḥarb, men with awkward beasts may travel slowly, while men with horses and camels may go on ahead.

\textsuperscript{1} A clan of Banu‘Amr of the Ḥarb.
\textsuperscript{2} i.e. dhaif Allah the chief of the Dhiwiba
\textsuperscript{3} Lit. 'gift of God'.
A week had passed after the reciting of the Qasīda, when the Dhiwaibi and the Ḥarb arrived at break of day at the encampment of the Muṭair. They found the Muṭair both horses and men. Then a fight started and dḥaif Allah adh-Dhiwaibi fought and killed all the Muṭair.

At the conclusion he said: 'By God, the tongue of one of the Muṭair was still shrieking in the air while his body had been left on the back of his she-camel.
Information no 35 from an-Naqra

اغول مهسین الامير يغول شبعان فيه الآلت يعيش الجل
النبي معدين ان رأي الجبال ياوم داهية ان رأي
الجبال سابع يلاع يفلكارت ولياً الميمييرا خلالة جال
والنارك الالتارالا وانا واسيحة فيلسهم ياوم ساغو
ليحسبين وعلي ميتي اس在床上 ميتي ديس ساطاير. جال
والنار يقال مثاار يفلكير يفلكير وفاشال الامت لوقس
كفه يقاumuت حرب ريسها ياماهسین الامير اسماوالافي وقائد.
عيسى التباج الاملربود الاميردي اسمم وكتببا
 ويمتير حرب ياوم تيغالةحاب مثبهاو يماعد ثاحرين
اللوارغ يقالا وس الالهلا جال الالهلا يندي عانا
ماهي ينكاوم سانتوم ياالا وس الالهلا جال الالهلا
عانا تاسانيككم تارااح وعلي يغولو الاميربجاد وقائد وقائد
فرايدى مين يمايكاتنا.
I say: 'Miḥsin al-Firm relates that Faiṣal ad-Diwīsh carried out a raid on us. Miḥsin relates: 'I was walking with the man who was looking after the camels to the near pasture. I intended to escort him to the other shepherds. Suddenly I saw the raiders were upon us. I rode my horse towards them and shouted at them. When they saw me they thought I had a sword in my hand but what I really had was a hawk's hood'. Miḥsin exclaimed: 'God has overcome the Muṭair and they have suffered defeat'. Thus Faiṣal ad-Diwīsh had been defeated and Miḥsin al-Firm had saved (the cattle) and defended the honour of the Ḥarb.

Such tales are numerous.

And there's the tale of Bijād al-Marbūd al-Firaidi and Shammar, Otaiba, Muṭair and Ḥarb; when their camels were failing on their way to Iraq, they said: 'What's to be done? Bijād said: 'I know what we should do'. They asked: 'What?'. He replied: 'I'll tell you' this was Bijād talking, one of our Furaidi clan.

1. i.e. chief of the Banu Ali of the Ḥarb.
2. i.e. chief of the Muṭair
3. used in hunting
4. i.e. from the Fruda clan of the Banu Ali of the Ḥarb
Northern Central Texts
Transcription III

Informant no 39 from al-Fawwara

min siwaalif ḥarb ʿalmicizzaat ḍaddifeeri ḍabin cfeesaan xāṭar jay min makka min bayt ṣalla ḥajjaj uxaṭar cind cabdalla bin ḥawwaas ḍībīn tsiheelaan min ʿalbiṣaariya min bini saalim ugayyad ẓiluuleh balciṣb yabaaha tašhar balciṣb itsaaḍih-liya ḍaṣbah itmajjiduh almīrwaah imṣaaziibih uyawm ḍaṣbah wilyaahi ibzaydaha haada ṭuul ikraacaha cind imṣaaziibih laaycarfu ulaayicraf uhuw yiji jaayib irsinih yanglih gaal es cilmak maalgayt ḍaddiulul masruuga gaal ṣabdan laawalla ḍadiluul mayta yxalifha ṣalla yaamcazzibi gaal ẓif haṣṣfraa ḫett risank fiiha wirkab calaaha dawwir icyaalak gaal ṣalla yazzaak xeer meer cint min ṣant gaal undur ilwasmaha wilya jawk ḥadrat al-raag ʿallī faaydell-raag min ḥarb uwasmuhum miol wasmaha callidzhum iyyaah.
Northern Central Texts

Translation III

Among the glorious tales of the Ḥarb is the tale of az-Zafīrī, son of Ḥifāṣān: on his way back from Mecca after performing the pilgrimage, he stayed with Ṣaḥab b. Šāfiʿī, son of Ḥawwās, son of ʿAbd al-Aʿl b. al-Samīrī of the Bishāriya family of the Banu Salīm. He tethered his she-camel on the herbage he wants her to eat her fill, so that she would be of service to him when he set off on his journey to his family.

When he awoke in the early morning he found the she-camel with her legs out stretched among people to whom he was a stranger, and with whom he was unacquainted.

az-Zafīrī came carrying his halter.

al-Bishrī said: 'What is the matter, have you not found the she-camel?

az-Zafīrī answered: 'No, by God. The she-camel is dead. God will give something better in its place, oh my host!

al-Bishrī replied: 'Look! Do you see that yellow she-camel? Put your halter on her neck and ride her to your family.

az-Zafīrī exclaimed: 'May God reward you with good; but who are you?' al-Bishrī replied: 'Look at the brand

1. from az-Zafir tribe
2. i.e. means it was dead
which is on the she-camel, when any men of Ḥarb who are on their way to Iraq pass you, and their camels bear a similar brand to the one on this she-camel, give it to them.
Informants

(a) from the region of the Hijaz

1. Salim bin ʿOdhAlla
   age 55 years
   shepherd
   Wādī Ibwa, al-Khirayba (al-Abwa)

2. Salama bin Ḥsain al-ʿIbaidi
   age 45 years
   illiterate
   al-Khiraiba

3. Conversation with ʿIwayyid bin DikhilAlla
   age 65 years
   Bedouin
   Umm al-Birak

4. ..............
   age 60 years
   Bedouin
   honeymaker

5. ..............
   age 50 years
   Bedouin
   Abyār ash-Shaikh

6. Conversation with a shepherd
   age 38 years
   Wādī al-Qāḥa

7. Himaid bin ʿAtiyya
   age 50 years
   farmer
   Bīr Qaizi, Wādī al-Qāḥa
8. Binayya bin Dikhil Alla
   age 40 years
   Bedouin
   honeymaker

9. Ḥamdān bin Silaiman
   age 30 years
   farmer
   Wādi al-Qāḥa

10. Salim bin Fādhil
    age 67 years
    Bedouin
    Shepherd
    Jibal Ḍawf

11. Rizeeq bin Dikhil
    age 38 years
    shopkeeper
    Bir Qaizi

12. Ḥiteehit bin Ātiyya
    age 45 years
    Bedouin
    Wādi al-Qāḥa

13. Conversation with Sallūm
    age 40 years
    Shopkeeper
    Bir Qaizi

14. Mbayrik bin Ḥisain al-Ībaidi
    age 50 years
    Farmer
    Wādi al-Qāḥa

15. Matir bin Ḥwaid
    age 45 years
    Bedouin
    Bir al-Ghanam
16. 'Abd ar-Rahman as-Silaihibi
   age 35 years
   trader
   Jibal Wirgān

17. Simran al-Luqmāni
    age 43 years
    farmer
    Wadi al-Qaḥa

18. Conversation with Salman bin Jahil about
    honey-making
    Jibal Șubḥ

19. Mibairīk bin Åhmad
    age 45 years
    farmer
    Bir Qaizi

20. Conversation with Misaifir and others
    age 65 years
    farmer
    Wādi al-Qaḥa

21. Mibairīk
    age 70 years
    Bedouin
    al-Ḥafāh

22. Conversation with a Camel rearer
    age 50 years
    al-Ḥafāh

24. Shaikh Mrayif al-Ībaidi
    age 45 years
    farmer
    'abu dhba', Wadi al-Furuć
24. Bin Rbaiq
   age 60 years
   farmer
   ar-Rayyan, Wadi al-Furuq

25. Conversation with Ahmad bin Hamdan
   age 70 years
   al-Wasṭa, Wadi as-Safra,

26. ar-Ruwaibi
   age 65 years
   Wadi as-Safra

(b) The following informants are from Northern Central group

27. 'AbdAllah bin Sāād
   age 40 years
   Camel rearer
   as-Suwaidera

28. Shaikh Mhammad bin Marzuq as-Siḥaimi
   age 48 years
   as-Suwaidera

29. Msaad bin Mislim
   age 38 years
   as-Suwaidera

30. Conversation with a Bedouin
   age 60 years
   as-Suwaidera

31. ............
   age 55 years
   al-Ḥanākiyya

32. Conversation with......
   age 40 years
   al-Ḥanākiyya
33. Bin Ribaig
   age 52 years
   al-Ḥanākiyya

34. Conversation with a Bedouin Shepherd
   ‘Arja

35. A Camel rearer
   age 50 years
   ‘Othaima

36. Shaikh Mḥammad bin dhiār bin Sulṭan
    age 45 years
    an-Nagra

37. Miṣliḥ
    age 38 years
    retainer
    ‘Oglat as-Sugur

38. Conversation with a Camel rearer
    as-Shibaikiyya

39. Conversation with a group of informants
    al Fawwāra

40. ..............
    Bedouin
    age 50 years
    al-Fawwāra
Distribution of the Pre-Potlacs...
Distribution of the affection of "K.9" into tribes...
not known at present

not occurring

occurring

...the Hird and the neighbouring tribes...

Distribution of the "qa" variant of "ay" among...
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