The Arabic dialect spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district, northern Oman

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own, except where work which has formed part of jointly authored publications has been included. The contribution of the candidate and the other authors to this work has been explicitly indicated below. The candidate confirms that appropriate credit has been given within the thesis where reference has been made to work of others.

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"Porter, my story is astonishing, and I will relate to you all that happened to me before I attained this prosperity and came to sit in this place, where you now see me, for I did not attain this good fortune and this place save after severe toil, great hardships, and many perils. How much toil and trouble I have endured at the beginning! I embarked on seven voyages, and each voyage is a wonderful tale that confounds the mind, and eveyrhing happened by fate and divine decree, and there is no escape nor refuge from that which is foreordained!"

[*The Arabian Nights II*]

To my family

إلى أهلي في عمان

Acknowledgements

It is a hot Ramaḍān afternoon here in the village – outside it is 53 degrees Celsius – and everybody is now taking a nap, before the usual preparations for the evening. This last part of fieldwork is almost over and I have no idea of how long it is going to be before I will be back again. The window of my little room looks directly onto the entrance of the Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, I don't dare to open it, but as I look at the glorious mountains I suddenly feel very grateful, and ready to write these acknowledgements.

The realisation of this work has been possible thanks to many different people that supported me in many different ways throughout these past years.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisors, Janet Watson and Diane Nelson, who guided me with their expertise and their patient support in all these years. It's been such a pleasure and honour working with them, and especially with Janet, who constantly inspired me on this path. Thank you both, nothing of this would have been written without your constant advice and encouragement.

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There are things in life that sometimes happen by chance, without planning them, but that then lead you to spectacular destinations. For me, one of those things has been meeting Riccardo Contini on my academic path, my professor of Arabic Dialectology back in Naples. Riccardo has been such an inspirational mentor: he steered me towards Oman when I was only a naïve undergrad, almost ten years ago, always being a benchmark for me in the field. This work is also to your credit.

I can hear a few voices in the corridor now, everybody is waking up and starting to get ready for the *iftar*. Someone knocks at the door, "Rubī tnāmī?". "Lā, taww gāya".

In a minute I will join them outside, but first I need to express this… I will be eternally grateful to these people, the al-Kharūṣī family, to these wonderful and incredibly strong women that treated me as a daughter and a sister. They hosted me in their house, brought me round to weddings, mournings, births and parties of all sorts; they showed me around this beautiful piece of land, unveiling its secrets and its legends; they provided me with food and clothes and gifts… I arrived in Oman alone, but I am now leaving with a whole new family waiting for my return. Thanks to Zalḫa, Mama Sharīfa, Amal, Manal, Maymūna, Imān and all the others; thanks to Mama Rabʿa and Ikhlāṣ, who patiently sat with me listening to hours of recordings and helping me with transcriptions and translations. Thanks to Shiḫḫa, who took me around the wadi collecting plants and introducing me to their secrets. Thanks to Rašīd, their father, whose song is reported in this work and who passed away a few weeks ago.

Oman is an extremely beautiful country, inhabitated by amazing people and portraying spectacular sunsets… a piece of my heart will always be on its shores.

A few other scholars helped me with the analysis of the data presented in this thesis, and need to be acknowledged: Dr. Darach Lupton and Abdulrahman al-Hinai, who assisted me with the identification of dozens of local plants collected during my peregrinations in the region. And thanks to Simone Bettega, also a friend, who has been one of my benchmarks in the construction of this work.

Before going to prepare the *iftar*, I want to mention here a few other people that did not strictly help me with this research, but that nevertheless have been a huge part of all this.

My family… they might not always understand what I am doing and why I am doing it, but their support is perennial no matter what. To my parents, who built for us an insightful environment to grow up in, full of books and travels and knowledge. To my sister, my best friend, my rock, my strength, thanks for always putting me back on track.

To my companions, Serena and Maddalena, to Casa Morandi and all the nights we spent eating sushi and watching movies. To all the others, that made these three years such a fun and beautiful adventure.

To my friends of a lifetime, Anna and Ivana, never too far for me.

To the fantastic people I started this path with and that are now all around the world: Isidoro, Annie, Iole, Valentina, Ada and Nicole… we will meet again under the same sky sooner or later.

Finally, to Alistair, who entered my life when I was already on this path and has always been on my side since. Thanks for the serenity and happiness you bring to me, thanks for the presence, your smile, and the continuous support for my choices.

Ok, I think it's time to go now and hopefully I didn't forget anyone.

This PhD has been a great opportunity and an amazing experience, it showed me my limits and taught me how to overcome them. I enjoyed every single moment of the last three years.

فقط من القلب يمكنك لمس السماء (رومي)

al-ʿAwābī,
8th June 2018

The Arabic dialect spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district, northern Oman

This thesis describes the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of the Arabic variety spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman). This district played an important role in the history of the Ibadism and of Oman in general, especially in the period when Rustāq was capital of the Sultanate (c. 1600 CE). The prominence of the dialect spoken in this area finds evidence in the work *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Oman und Zanzibar* written by Carl Reinhardt in 1894, which constitutes the starting point of this thesis and material for comparison. Reinhardt's work was presented as a linguistic guide to German soldiers quartered in the Sultanate and in Zanzibar, when part of East Africa was a German colony. This thesis considers the lexical and grammatical core of Reinhardt's work and aims to reanalyse it considering the vernacular used by present-day inhabitants of al-ʿAwābī town and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. Chapter 1 offers an overview of the linguistic situation of Oman within the Arabian Peninsula and of the al-ʿAwābī district itself, including remarks on the fieldwork site and the methodology used for this research. Chapter 2 is an account of the phonological characteristics of the dialect spoken in the district, followed by the nominal and verbal morphology (Chapters 3 and 4, respectively), and the syntax (Chapter 5) of the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular.

In addition to this core, a prominent part is dedicated in this thesis to the analysis of the rich cultural lexicon used in the district (Chapter 6): foreign borrowings, quadriliteral roots indicating plant and animal names, traditional medicine, clothing, accessories, etc., culminating in the compilation of a lexical glossary organised in roots (Annex 2). Annex 1 presents an overview of the history of the Sultanate, whereas Annex 3 inlcudes a traditional song, and local proverbs.

The Arabic dialect spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman)

List of tables and illustrative materials

Transcription

In the following tables, the reader can find the symbols used throughout this thesis for transcription of Arabic phonemes, including the Glossary in Annex 2, and Proverbs in Annex 3.

Consonants

Arabic	Symbol	Arabic	Symbol
ء	ʔ	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	ṯ	ع	ʕ
ج	ǧ/g	غ	ġ
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḫ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ḏ	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	š	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y
ة	a ~ e ~ t		

Vowels

Short vowel	Allophones	Long vowel	Allophones
Short vowel /a/	Short vowel [e]	Long vowel /ā/	
Short vowel /i/		Long vowel /ī/	
Short vowel /u/	Short vowel [o]	Long vowel /ū/	Long vowel [ō]
		Long vowel /ē/	
		Long vowel /ō/	

Other symbols

Symbol	Meaning
C	consonant
V	vowel
1234	consonantal root
'	stress
<	derived from
~	alternative form

Glossing System

The examples within this thesis are glossed in accordance with the following system:

- For nouns and adjectives, the English translation is given followed by gender and number, as in: *girl.FSG* or *girl.FPL*, *small.FSG* or *small.MSG*;

- Verbs present the English translation according to their tense, followed by the person, as in: *said.1SG* or *work.2MPL*;

- Personal and possessive pronouns are given without the English translation, but with only the person they refer to (e.g. *sister.FSG-PRON.1SG* for "my sister" or *book.MPL-PRON.3FSG* for "her books"; *PRON.1SG* for "I" or *PRON.3FPL* for "they (f.)").

- Demonstrative pronouns are given considering their deixis (i.e. proximity or distance) and gender, as in: *DEM.PROX.MSG* for "this (m.)" or *DEM.PROX.FPL* for "those (f.)".

Each example is also accompanied by the indication of the speaker who uttered it. This is glossed in accordance with the following system: [S(speaker) + number (as reported in the table 1.2) _ date of recording (i.e. month.year)], e.g. [S2, 6.2018].

Abbreviations

The following list shows the abbreviations used in this work, excluding the Glossary in Annex 2 and the proverbs in Annex 3.

AP	Active Participle
AW	al-ʿAwābī
BA	Bahraini Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic
CONJ	Conjunction
DEF	Definite article
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
DL	Dual
Eng.	English
EXIST	Existential
F	Feminine
FUT	Future tense
GA	Gulf Arabic
GEN	Genitive exponent
H.	Hindi
IN	Infix
M	Masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NA	Najdi Arabic
NEG	Negation marker
PP	Passive Participle
Pers.	Persian
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PRON	Pronoun
Port.	Portuguese
QA	Qaṭari Arabic
R.	Reinhardt (1894)
REL	Relativizer
Sans.	Sanskrit
SG	Singular
Sw.	Swahili
VN	Verbal noun
WBK	Wādī Banī Kharūṣ
YA	Yemeni Arabic

Introduction

In the past ten years I explored all works published on the Arabic varieties spoken in Oman, and from this first attempt, it was immediately clear that these previous studies dealt, on the one hand, with vernaculars of specific towns of Oman, and on the other, with a general classification of Omani Arabic. However, the difference that Arabists applied in the studies of the different Arabic dialects is striking. Due to unfavourable political and social conditions, access to the Arabian Peninsula has always been difficult for dialectologists, resulting in reduced attention given to the Arabic spoken in this area, compared to regions like North Africa and the Levant, for example. Admittedly, researching in the Arabian Peninsula has never been easy – especially for foreigners. This situation is mirrored in the lack of extensive linguistic and lexical studies in Oman, which also witnessed a long and autocratic government until the Eighties. In the Sultanate, the majority of these works dates back to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century (e.g. Reinhardt 1894; Jayakar 1889). The lexicon found in different areas of Oman is a rich source of archaisms, classicisms and foreign loanwords that all together create a unique system that absolutely deserves some attention. Not to forget that this country hosts a linguistic diversity not comparable to any other country in the Gulf region[1]. In recent times, a few more studies have been written about Omani Arabic (Holes 1989, 2008; Davey 2016; Eades 2009a/b; Webster 1991), although most of these works only focused on limited areas of the country. However, it needs to be acknowledged that Clive Holes provided the first and only attempt to individuate Oman as a separate dialectal area and to provide us with a clear frame still used as starting point for every dialectal study in the Sultanate.

The present thesis is born from the necessity of expanding our knowledge on Omani varieties, starting from the main works written in the last century and going beyond with new research findings. Hence, this thesis has two main aims: firstly, providing a linguistic analysis and description of the Omani vernacular spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman), based on the speech of 15 informants recruited throughout the area; and secondly, comparing these new data with the set provided by Carl Reinhardt in his *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar* (1894), which has always been considered to play a prominent role in Omani Arabic dialectology.

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[1] Twelve languages are spoken as main language in the Sultanate: Arabic, Baluchi, Lawati, Zadjali, Gujarati, Swahili, Qarawi (or *Shehret* or *Jibbali*), Mahri, Hobyot, Bathari, Hikmani, and Harsusi (cf. Peterson 2004: 34).

The comparison with Reinhardt's material is deemed even more urgent in the light of tracing the diachronic change the dialects of this area are currently undergoing. The process of "gulfinisation" of these dialects – i.e. their tendency to adapt to Gulf Arabic features – sped up in the last few decades, due to the perception of this Arabic variety as more prestigious, but also due to its use in the fields of broadcasting and, partially, education.

The aim of comparison with Reinhardt's material is also due to the weaknesses of his work, such as the pedagogical intent of the work, the lack of transcription *in situ*, the small number of speakers used and the lack of a syntactic analysis of the dialect reported. Thus, checking the reliability of his work was of urgent necessity.

As far as regarding the aim of description, this thesis is divided in six chapters and three annexes, providing an analysis of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of the vernacular spoken by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district.

The first chapter provides some background information on the Sultanate of Oman, the state of the art on Omani dialectology, and the linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula, narrowing it down to the al-ʿAwābī district in northern Oman. This introduction is required for those Arabists and dialectologists who might not be familiar with the sociolinguistic situation in Oman, and also to endorse the description of this dialect in its geographical context.

Chapters two to five deal with the actual description of the vernacular investigated, but they also provide material for comparison with Reinhardt's work, tracing the extent of the diachronic change this vernacular underwent.

The second chapter analyses the phonology of the vernacular spoken by my informants: in many instances in the course of the argument Reinhardt's notes are given and commented on the basis of new research findings.

The third chapter is devoted to the nominal morphology, analysing the noun in all its forms, the pronouns in use, the noun modifiers, and the form and use of prepositions. This is, perhaps, the chapter where comparison with Reinhardt's material stands out the most. The lexical core provided by the German author is abundant and Reinhardt is very scrupulous in providing us with the different patterns in use.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the verbal morphology: here I provide the conjugations of the verbs as performed by my informants, endorsing the argument with a prior analysis of the TAM categories – i.e. tense, aspect, and mood – and examples from my own data. These categories are then resumed in the discussion of the active participle,

which is of very common occurrence in the data and to which Reinhardt does not devote any part of his work (albeit they are common in his texts).

The fifth chapter deals with the analysis of the syntax, i.e. the construction of phrases and clauses, in the vernacular under investigation. This chapter is particularly important if we consider that Reinhardt's description of the same dialect lacks any proper analysis of the syntax. He only provides us with a few notes on clause structure, without going any further into the discussion. Thus, chapter five provides examples from my own data extrapolated by the recordings of spontaneous speech and elicitation notes.

After this core, chapter six introduces yet another aim of this work, which, however, is a combination of the first two: documenting the lexicon used throughout the district. This interest was born from the lack, to the present day, of a reliable glossary for Omani Arabic varieties and of a thorough analysis of the rich lexicon this area presents. The data shows an unusual amount of quadriliteral roots in the everyday speech of my informants, and also the presence of conspicuous foreign loanwords. This occurrence is even more interesting if we consider the history of the Sultanate of Oman, a country with a long-standing past of fishing, trading, and explorations in the Indian Ocean. The documentation of lexicon is, indeed, an element of novelty in this thesis, precisely in consideration of this gap in Omani dialectology. As a matter of fact, when I started looking at Reinhardt's lexical core during my bachelor's degree, I immediately realised the potential it was hiding. Reinhardt does not provide any analysis for its lexicon nor a systematisation which would enable the reader to understand it properly. The research on the lexicon formed a major part of my fieldwork. I was interested in the basic cultural glossary: local names of plants, insects and animals; the diseases cured through the traditional medicine of the wadi – *wasm*; the names of the different parts of traditional clothing, both for men and women; and the local names of utensils and parts of the body.

Glossaries of Omani Arabic varieties are scarce: Jayakar (1889) and Brockett (1985) are the two most valuable works on this matter. However, the first is outdated and relates exclusively to the area of Muscat, whereas the second is devoted to the agricultural lexicon of Khābūra, on the Bāṭina coast. Thus, the analysis of the lexicon provided in chapter six of this thesis is intended as a first step in the direction of a more thorough investigation of the Omani lexicon in general, and perhaps as a methodological tool for future studies on this matter.

In addition to these six chapters, this work consists of three annexes: Annex 1 traces the main phases of the history of the Sultanate of Oman, which are deemed appropriate for the understanding of language contact – exemplified in chapter 6 through the analysis of the foreign borrowings found in the district – and of language variation – considered in terms of age of the speakers recruited for this study. The Annex is intended as supplementary information for readers who might not be familiar with the history of the country and of the area under investigation.

Annex 2 consists of a proper systematisation of the lexical corpus extrapolated from the audio recordings and elicitation notes taken throughout the district. The glossary lists all the material collected during fieldwork and compares, whenever possible, individual lexical items with Reinhardt's, Brockett's, and Nakano's (1994) data. It also shows similar lexical forms in neighbouring dialects (i.e. Najdi, Yemeni, and Gulf), and provides brief descriptions of plant names or other items of sociolinguistic interest.

Finally, Annex 3 is a list of proverbs spontaneously given by my informants, and a traditional song collected in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. These were not originally part of the research, however after returning from fieldwork I discovered I had a robust core which was of great interest in a sociolinguistic perspective.

This thesis is aimed at Arabic dialectologists with a broader interest in the Peninsular dialects. In the course of the work, I will refer to other vernaculars of the Arabian Peninsula, such as Najdi, Bahraini, Kuwaiti, and Yemeni Arabic – albeit acknowledging that this nomenclature is not exhaustive since the same category includes many different varieties. Moreover, linguists may find some arguments interesting, especially the discussion of TAM categories with reference to Arabic dialects, and the use of participial forms.

CHAPTER 1

Oman: cornerstone of Arabia

The Sultanate of Oman is an Arab country situated on the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, at the entrance to the Arabian Gulf. It borders UAE to the north-west, Saudi Arabia to the west and Yemen to the south-west, and it shares marine borders with Iran and Pakistan. It has a population of almost 5 million[1], with a strong foreign presence.

The Sultanate of Oman is a member of the United Nations, the Arab League, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.

The country is divided into eleven administrative governorates (*muḥāfaẓāt*), and each one is subdivided into provinces (*wilāyāt*)[2]:

- al-Dāḫiliyya, the "interior", which has eight provinces and its main town is Nizwa;

- al-Ẓāhira, the "outer", which has three provinces and its main town is ʿIbrī;

- Šamāl al-Bāṭina[3], "North Bāṭina", with six provinces and whose main town is Ṣuḥār[4];

- Ǧanūb al-Bāṭina, "South Bāṭina", with six provinces and whose main town is Rustāq;

- al-Buraymī[5], with three provinces and whose main town is al-Buraymī;

- al-Wusṭā, the "middle", with four provinces and whose main town is Haymā;

- Šamāl al-Šarqiyya, "North Šarqiyya", with six provinces and whose main town is Ibrā;

- Ǧanūb al-Šarqiyya, "South Šarqiyya", with five provinces and whose main town is Ṣūr;

- Ẓufār[6], with ten provinces and whose main town is Ṣalāla;

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[1] http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/oman-population/. However, in the past few years, the Sultan started a policy of "omanisation" of the country, reducing residence permits for foreigners and replacing "expats" with Omanis.

[2] This division was made in 2011. Before then, Oman was divided into five administrative regions and four governorates (https://www.khaleejtimes.com/article/20111028/ARTICLE/310289925/1016).

[3] *bāṭin* indicates the "internal" part of the country, although this region constitutes the coastal strip (300 km) that links the west Ḥaǧar Mountains from the north to Sīb, in the surroundings of Muscat.

[4] In Arabic صحار; henceforth this town will be mentioned following the English name "Sohar".

[5] This governorate was created in 2006, before then it was part of al-Dāḫiliyya region.

[6] In Arabic ظفار; henceforth this region will be mentioned following the English name "Dhofar".

- Masqaṭ[7], the capital, with six provinces and whose main town is Muscat;
- Musandam, with four provinces and whose main town is Ḥaṣab[8].

Map 1. Governorates of Oman[9]

The country, however, is geographically and ethnographically divided into two parts. The north includes the Ḥağar Mountain range, which starts in Rās Musandam and reaches downwards to Rās al-Ḥadd (in the South Šarqiyya region), and whose peak is in the Jabal Aḫḍar[10] ("green mountain"), so called because of its extremely luxuriant and brightly green landscapes, especially during the rainy season; the capital area; and the coastal strip of Bāṭina, with its major ports and ship building towns. In this part of the country, among the Persian Gulf, the Ḥağar Mountains and the coast are located the

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[7] In Arabic مسقط; henceforth the capital city will be mentioned following the English name "Muscat".

[8] In earlier written sources, ancient Oman was divided into the following areas: "according to local native geography, Oman is merely one of five districts into which the principality is subdivided. A glance at the map will show that a range of mountains traverses the province from south-east to north, nearly parallel to the coast, throwing off in its course northward a branch or arm which extends to Rās el-Khaimah, on the Persian Gulf. The lowland on the eastern shore is called *el-Bāṭinah*, or the Inner; the opposite side of the mountain range, […], goes by the name of *ezh-Zhāhirah*, or the Outer; *es-Sirr* is the designation given by the Arabs and *Julfārah* by the Persians to the littoral on the west of the promontory, and to its extension, westward, […], including the ports of Benu-Yās. The midland district, from about the latitude of Makniyāt on the north to Semed on the south, and conterminous with el-Bāṭinah on the east and the desert on the west, is the district of *ʿOmān* proper; and adjoining Omān on the south and south-east is *Jaʾalān*. Sometimes a different nomenclature is adopted and the territory comprised within the upper district of ezh-Zhāhirah, es-Sirr, and Rūs al-Jabal – the rock promontory – is styled as *esh-Shamāl*, or the North; the north-eatsern portion of Omān proper, including the towns of Nizwa and Behlā, *esh-Sharkiyyah*, or the East; and the district of ezh-Zhāhirah as far as el-Bereimy, and westward even as far as Nejd, *el-Gharbiyyah*, or the West" (Ibn Razīk 1871: iv-v).

[9] www.dreamstime.com

[10] The highest peak in the range is Jabal aš-Šamm (i.e. 3018m).

major cities of the Sultanate (i.e. Sohar, Rustāq, Khābūra, Ṣūr, Nizwa, ʿIbrī, and Muscat). Geographically, the southern part of Oman is very different from the rest of the Sultanate: it consists of three main areas, i.e. the coast with fishermen and farmer settlements; the mountain range of Jabal al-Qamar, which benefits from the monsoon weather[11]; and the inner part, the vast desert of the al-Rubʿ al-Khālī[12]. This geographical division of the country is also mirrored in the linguistic variation Omani Arabic shows, at least as far as concerns the dialects for which we have documentation. In addition to this, the social configuration of the country, where tribal confederations have played – and continue to play – a prominent role in the national identity and in the sense of belonging, shapes the extent of this variation[13]. Nowadays, most of the tribes are located on the course of wadis or in the proximity of the *falaǧ*.

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[11] The monsoon season in Dhofar is known as *ḫarīf* ("autumn", but effectively "monsoon period"), and occurs during the months of late June, July, August and early September. During this period, the whole regions of Dhofar and eastern Yemen are covered in luxurious green and water flows from mountains and wadis. Moreover, the fog produced by the rapid movement of currents creates a unique ecosystem in this part of the Arabian Peninsula.

[12] Also known as "Empty Quarter", this is the largest sand desert in the world that extends in four countries (i.e. Oman, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and UAE). The northern border of the Empty Quarter is the mountain range of Ǧebel Ṭuwayq (in the Najd region, Saudi Arabia); its characteristic linear dunes can reach up to 400m in height. The name Rubʿ al-Khālī was unknown to the locals, who generally used the term *ar-Rimāl* ("the sands"), (cf. Thesiger 2007: 116-154). A term found in Arabic sources referring to the Rubʿ al-Khālī is *al-Aḥqāf* (e.g. al-Hamdānī uses it to indicate a valley between the Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra; al-Bakrī associates it specifically with Ḥaḍramawt; and Yāqūt describes it as a district of Arabia, between Yemen and Oman). Almost nothing is known about the inner portion of this huge desert area; some of the tribes living at the borders of the Empty Quarter are: al-Murra to the north-east; Banū Yās, Manāṣir, Rāšid and ʿAwāmir to the east; Saʿar and Bayt Katīr to the south; and Yām to the west (cf. King, G.R.D. 2012).

[13] On this point, Wilkinson (1987: 119) states that a prominent feature of tribalism in Oman is "the fact that all the main centres fall within the tribal orbit, but none normally falls within the power of any one single group". Moreover, he reports that "some centralisation of authority may occur internally through a degree of economic stratification (rationalised in terms of kinship distance and family status within the group), but the ethos of the tribesman tends towards a primitive democracy (in no ways to be confused with primitive communism) and all the mechanisms of political organisation are geared to minimising accretion of power, particularly the physical force which would permit subjecting members of the group" (Wilkinson 1987: 110-111).

Map 2. Physical Oman

The population is mainly made up of Arabs, but "16 percent of Oman's inhabitants are nonnationals, many of whom are engaged by the country's oil industry" (Campo 2009: 272). The majority of nonnationals are Baluchi[14], South Asians and Africans, but also Indians and Pakistanis.

The Sultanate of Oman is a Muslim country, with 75 percent of Muslims belonging to Ibadism, whilst the remaining are Sunni or Shii, or belong to the religious minorities of Hinduism and Christianity[15].

The history of the Sultanate is outlined in its major events in Annex 1 and here I provide an account of the phases and relationships Oman entertained during the centuries. This overview is important for the understanding of language variation and contact, which this thesis examines with regards to the al-ʿAwābī district. The political closure of the country in the initial decades of the last century made linguistic research in the Sultanate very difficult, preserving the language from influence by other varieties of Arabic, on the one hand, and keeping the changes that had already happened, on the other hand. As will be clear from the following sections on the state of the art on Omani dialects, the historical phases of the country are tightly linked to the extent of research on its dialects and languages.

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[14] Originally, the Baluchi came to Oman in the early centuries of Islam from an area named after them Baluchistan, which encompass parts of the current territories of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan.
[15] Campo (2009: 272).

1.1 State of the art on Omani dialects

On July 23rd, 1970, when Qābūs b. Saʿīd b. Taymūr ascended the throne of the Sultanate of Oman, a new policy course started, characterised, among other things, by opening up to the West and to rest of the Arab world. Thus, when we talk about the state of the art in Omani dialectology, we cannot ignore this specific historical phase of the country, especially regarding the access to sources, necessary for a thorough and accurate linguistic study.

The main studies on the language were the pioneering ones carried out between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Particularly, the Indian surgeon Atmaram Sadashiv Jayakar – who lived in Muscat between 1868-1900 – with his *The O'manee dialect of Arabic* (1889) analysed the dialect spoken by the sedentary population in the Muscat area. He also worked on maxims and proverbs (*Omani proverbs*, 1900), "essential to the philologist, to whom they are invaluable as a storehouse of the dialectical and linguistic peculiarities exhibited in the expression of thoughts, while yet the nation was only in an early condition of civilization, as to philosopher who can often trace in them the inner springs of human action" (Jayakar 1900: 9).

The distinguished Semitist Nicolaus Rhodokanakis (1876-1945), professor in Graz for decades and specialist in Ancient South Arabian, contributed to Omani studies with a monumental work (*Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Ðofâr (Ẓfâr), Bd. I: Prosaische und poetische Texte, Uebersetzung und Indices, 1908; Bd. II: Einleitung, Glossar und Grammatik*, 1911), focussing his studies on the Arabic lexicon used as a poetic vernacular in Dhofar.

This is one of the very few studies carried out in this area of the country, which is still considered remote and resistant to foreigners. Its proximity to Yemen makes this region isolated, in terms of both lifestyle and language. In the past, the area experienced violent rebellions, which were harshly repressed[16]. In more recent years, Dhofari Arabic was documented by Rick Davey in his *Coastal Dhofari Arabic: a sketch grammar* (2016). In this work, the author analyses the phonology, morphology, local and temporal relations, adverbs and particles, and syntax of present-day coastal Dhofari Arabic. The book also presents a final chapter on lexicon, following the semantic categories presented by Behnsted and Woidich (2011), although it does not aim to analyse it exhaustively.

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[16] In 1965, a revolt supported by Southern Yemen and Russia erupted and it lasted until 1975, when Great Britain and Iran intervened. The subsequent peace agreement was designed to promote economic and social growth in the region.

Finally, Carl Reinhardt's work, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Oman und Zanzibar*, also belongs to the late nineteenth century. He focused on the grammar, particularly on the phonology and the morphology, of the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular, spoken around Nizwa and Rustāq, but also among the elite of Zanzibar island. The main purpose of his work was to provide a linguistic guide for the German soldiers quartered on the island and in the Tanganyka region, which were at that time, and for short time, an imperial German colony. The material supplied by Reinhardt still plays an essential role for neo-Arabic linguistics and dialectology, since it constitutes the richest available description of Omani Arabic, although lacking a lexical repertoire.

Works of more recent times, i.e. the ones made between 1950s and 2000s, have emphasised either the dialectal variety of a specific town or population, or have outlined an overall classification and organisation of those vernacular dialects.

Particularly relevant is Adrian Brockett's *The spoken Arabic of Khābūra on the Bāṭina of Oman* (1985), essential for technical rural and agricultural terminology used by the al-Khābūra population – in the Bāṭina region – which also includes discussion of some phonological and morphological traits.

Clive Holes, emeritus professor at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Oxford University (UK), is one of the major scholars of Arabic dialectology. Although he focused his studies mainly on Arabic dialects of Gulf and Saudi Arabia, some of his works also dealt with Omani Arabic varieties. In "Towards a dialect geography of Oman" (1989), Holes suggests a first and clear framework of features shared by all Omani dialects, from the perspective of dialectal geography. This paper has been used as a starting point in order to outline each specific vernacular for which we have documentation in Oman and still plays a prominent role in the field. Relevant works by Clive Holes are also "ʿUman: modern Arabic dialects" (2000), mainly on the morphology of these vernaculars; "Quadriliteral verbs in the Arabic dialects of eastern Arabia" (2004), on this specific feature shared by Gulf and Omani dialects; and finally, "Form X of the verb in the Arabic dialects of eastern Arabia" (2005), on the behaviour of tenth derived form not only in Omani Arabic, but also in Gulf and Bahraini dialects. He also analysed linguistically some texts recorded in Ṣūr ("An Arabic text from Ṣūr, Oman", 2013). Lastly, particularly valuable is the glossary resulted from his collection of ethnotexts in Bahraini Arabic (*Dialect, culture, and society in eastern Arabia I: Glossary*, 2000), accompanied by a clear explanation of methodology and of a discussion on the major

languages of contact for that specific vernacular, some of which (Persian, Portuguese, Hindi, English) also left their mark on the Omani lexicon.

Domenyk Eades, during his teaching position at Sultan Qaboos University in Muscat, studied the dialectal variety of the Šawāwi community, in northern Oman ("The Arabic dialect of Šawawi community of northern Oman", 2009) and also some varieties of the Šarqiyya region, stressing the distinction, far from clear, between Bedouin and Sedentary varieties in Oman[17].

Janet Watson, in collaboration with Domenyk Eades, published a paper in 2013 ("Camel culture and camel terminology among the Omani Bedouin"), which analyses the specific camel-related lexicon among the Bedouin population of Oman, comparing the Omani camel terminology with the Mehri terminology used in Dhofar.

Lastly, the works of Roger Webster and Dionisius Agius filled in a substantial lexical gap in the Omani dialectological studies, although they have not been strictly considered for this work. Roger Webster contributed to the study of Omani Arabic varieties with "Notes on the dialect and way of life of the al-Wahība Bedouin" (1991), providing a detailed analysis of the lifestyle of this particular Bedouin population, but also of a part of its specific lexicon related to their pastoral way of life. Webster's work compares some specific semantic fields of Omani Bedouin lexicon with the same semantic field in the al-Murra tribe's vernacular (Saudi Arabia and Qaṭar).

Finally, Dionisius Agius's works, *In the wake of the dhow: the Arabian Gulf and Oman* (2002) and *Seafaring in the Arabian Gulf and Oman: the people of the dhow* (2005) researched a lexical area, little studied so far in this macro-region: nautical terminology. Ships and sea have always been a fundamental feature in the history of Oman, both for commercial and economic development of the country, and for shipping routes and geographical discoveries. Even nowadays, these two elements play an important role, since the major incomes for inhabitants result from fishing. Furthermore, Agius's monographies show the strong influence of English and Portuguese on the Omani nautical terminology. A work supervised by Dionisius Agius, "The use of stars in agriculture in Oman" (2011) by Harriet Nash from the University of Exeter, is also particularly important and innovative. It focuses on the traditional use of stars in the *falaǧ* system in the Omani agriculture.

What is clear from this state of the art is that all the studies carried out so far, despite some progress in the last fifteen years, are located in specific areas of the country,

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[17] More details on this distinction will be given in 1.2.

leaving others without any investigation. Moreover, the studies carried out by Clive Holes on dialectal diversification in Omani Arabic focus on phonological and morphological isoglosses, according to current dialectological practice. However, lexical diversification plays an important role as well, although it is less studied because of the absence of a reliable and comprehensive glossary for Omani Arabic.

1.1.1 Carl Reinhardt (1894): strengths and weaknesses

Carl Reinhardt's work – *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar*, dated 1894 – still plays a very prominent role in the linguistic and neo-Arabic dialectological field. The Omani variety that he describes is different both from the one spoken in the capital area (described by Jayakar, 1889) and the one spoken on the coast. In this subsection, I will explain how the strength of Reinhardt's work – which lies in being the only extensive description of an Omani dialect in the northern part of the country[18] – loses ground to its weaknesses.

Reinhardt's biography (1856-1945) is interesting. He obtained a degree at a commercial school and then worked for several years at various trading houses as an accountant and correspondent for French, Italian and English. In 1881, he started studying Egyptology, History, Philosophy and Oriental languages in Berlin, Heidelberg and Strasbourg. In 1885, he obtained his PhD, and then moved to Egypt. In 1888, he was appointed *dragoman* ("interpreter") to the consulate in Zanzibar, where he resided until 1893. After a short journey back to Berlin, he started working at the consulate in Cairo in 1894. It must have been in this period that he collected most of his data and thought about writing his main work[19]. In the introduction, Reinhardt states that it took him five years of hard work to collect all the material presented in the book[20] and that – due to illness – he would have given up if his teacher Professor Theodor Noeldeke, the famous orientalist, not encouraged him to continue. According to Noeldeke, only Reinhardt's data provide a clear overview of Omani Arabic, despite the high value of Jayakar's repertoire.

The dialect described by Reinhardt is the one spoken in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, today in the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman). The people he employed as informants (ʿAbdallāh al-Kharūṣī and ʿAlī al-ʿAbrī from al-ʿAwābī) were natives of Oman who had lived in

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[18] Davey's work on Dhofari Arabic published in 2016 represents the other extensive description of an Omani dialect spoken in the southern part of the country in present time.

[19] Hoffmann-Ruf (2013).

[20] Reinhardt (1894: viii): " Mir kam, es lediglich darauf an, das grosse Material an Sprachstoff, welches ich in fünfjähriger schwerer Tropenarbeit gesammelt hatte".

Zanzibar for some time. Reinhardt tells us that ʿAbd Allāh al-Kharūṣī was an Omani from Rustāq, who worked with him at the consulate in Zanzibar, and knew how to write and read, and that whenever possible he consulted relatives and friends back in Oman. The second informant, ʿAlī al-ʿAbrī, was from al-ʿAwābī and was illiterate. Reinhardt mentions that he was very quiet and therefore it was very difficult to extrapolate suitable material from his speech (Reinhardt 1894: xii). Besides, the German author states that this vernacular was spoken, at his time, by the Omani court and 2/3 of the Arabs living in Zanzibar[21]. Thus, we can presume that it was so widespread as to require the writing of a practical and quick guide for German soldiers quartered on the East African colonies.

Reinhardt's work is divided into four parts: 1. Phonology; 2. Morphology; 3. Remarks on the syntax and 4. Texts and stories (including some war songs). The feature that distinguishes this book from other teaching material is the fact that it is almost exclusively written in the Latin alphabet, mainly for space issues (Reinhardt 1894: viii). Reinhardt, admits that he is not an expert Arabist and that his aim is only to present the vernacular in the clearest possible way[22]. Of these sections, however, the one which poses issues to the reliability of this work is the relative lack of reference to syntax. Reinhardt deals only marginally with the syntactic features of this dialect, examining superficially noun phrases and verbal clauses (i.e. interrogative, relative, copulative, conditional, and hypothetical clauses), with no examples or further analysis.

One of the weaknesses of Reinhardt's work – that he himself admits[23] – is the lack of transcription, made by the author only afterwards and not during his stay in Oman and Zanzibar. This is one of the reasons why the data reported by Reinhardt are not always reliable from a phonological point of view. Moreover, he clearly states that he is expecting some criticism because he tried to present examples that can captivate the students. Thus, his aims tend more towards a pedagogical intent of the work, rather than a descriptive one, which make the entire work weaker for the broader field of Omani Arabic documentation than it could have been.

Another weakness of Reinhardt's data lies precisely in his informants. The two people he employed were too few in number and they were working for him, thus creating a

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[21] Reinhardt (1894: vii): "[…] dem Lernenden geordnet vorzuführen und ihn an der Hand einer reichen Sammlung von Beispielen mit den Regeln dieses herrlichen Dialekts bekannt zu machen".

[22] Reinhardt (1894: viii).

[23] Reinhardt (*ibidem*): "Diese immerhin verdienstvolle Arbeit habe ich jedoch aus dem Grunde nicht benutzen können, weil sie die Eigenheiten des Omani-(Maskat)-Dialekts nur oberflächlich streift und, abgesehen von manchen Irrthümern […]".

relationship that is not ideal for a linguistic study[24]. Finally, he did not have any means of double-checking the data back in Oman, trusting only the knowledge of his two informants.

While, on the whole, appreciating the usefulness of Reinhardt's work, the reviews published by experienced Semitic scholars and Arabists such as Theodor Noeldeke (1895, 1895a) and Karl Vollers (1895) pointed out a few obscure points in his description. Vollers (1895) devotes the first part of his review of Reinhardt's work voicing some doubts on the reliability of the book because of its educational rather than descriptive purpose. He also reports an indigenous classification of the territory very similar to the Ibn Razīk's one (see footnote 8 of this chapter)[25], according to which the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular described by Reinhardt is the one spoken in the *'Omān* area by the sedentary rural population. On the contrary, Reinhardt states that his Omani variety is Bedouin and not Sedentary, which is opposite both to the statements of his informants and to Vollers' (1895: 491) idea of this vernacular being an isolated and conservative Neo-Arabic dialect of Southern Arabia[26].

Nevertheless, Reinhardt gives us some interesting information about the Omani social and linguistic environment he worked in: he states that whilst in Egypt, Syria and Algeria it was sometimes easy to find a local who spoke at least one European language, in Oman – and especially in Zanzibar – this was impossible.

About the work, Reinhardt (1894: viii) states that his grammar was born thanks to the huge amount of material he managed to collect: the texts are translated as literally as possible into German, and some of these translations are supported by verses extracted from the *diwāns* of Ḥarīrī and Mutanabbī, who were very popular in Oman at that time.

The last section of the book is devoted to folkloristic stories, 200 proverbs and a few war songs. The stories tell about daily routines and common events; the proverbs are among the commonest in use, according to Reinhardt; the war songs are usually preceded by an explicative comment and all of them come from ʿAlī al-ʿAbrī[27]. The only issue with the last section of Reinhardt's work is the fact that some of the

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[24] Reinhardt states that he paid "100 Mark" to ʿAbd Allāh al-Kharūṣī for his services, whereas ʿAlī al-ʿAbrī was more a sort of butler than an actual consultant for him (Reinhardt 1894: xi-xii).

[25] cf Vollers (1895: 487-488).

[26] On this, Vollers (1895: 491): "Um so weniger kann ich verstehen, warum R. [Reinhardt] im Widerspruche mit der Aussage seiner Gewährsmänner (VII) diese Sprache eher für beduinisch als für ḥaḍari halten will […]".
More details about the dialectal distinction between Bedouin and Sedentary and are given in 1.2.

[27] Reinhardt (1894: xiv-xv).

grammatical features he reports are not common at all in the texts (e.g. the use of genitive exponents; the use of the *bi*-prefix).

In conclusion, Reinhardt's work is an invaluable piece of study for the field of Omani dialectology. However, the premises to the work itself, the time that has passed since its publication, and the issues examined in this section make *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar* in need of reinterpretation and a more detailed analysis of the type of Arabic spoken nowadays in the al-ʿAwābī district.

1.2 Linguistic diversity in the Arabian Peninsula

The work of T.M. Johnstone (1967), *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*, is one of the pioneering attempts to describe the linguistic situation in the Arabian Peninsula and an unparalleled account of the "eastern Arabian dialects" spoken in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qaṭar, and the Trucial Coast (i.e. Dubai). In this work, Johnstone (1967: 1) classifies Omani Arabic as a separate variety from all the others. His sources, at that time, were Reinhardt (1894) and Jayakar (1889), who describe two sedentary dialects spoken in the northern part of the country. Johnstone's decision, in fact, is not surprising: years later, Holes (1990: xii) will mention in the introduction to his Gulf Arabic grammar that "the sultanate of Oman is excluded from the main body of the description, since the Arabic spoken in the settled areas of this country […] is considerably different from that spoken in the Gulf states proper."

We still do not know exactly to what extent this "difference" ranges, as Eades and Persson (2013: 343) state "most studies reporting on this divide have dealt with the phonology, morphology and, to some extent, lexis. Little is known, however, about the degree to which these dialectal groups differ from or correspond to one another in grammatical structure." Investigating the reasons behind this marked difference is beyond the scope of this work, and still deserves some attention in the literature. However, we will try to provide some analysis in regards with Oman.

Admittedly, for a long time, the Arabian Peninsula has been proved to be difficult to access for foreign researchers, and the tough geographical environment did not help explorations[28]. This partial isolation of the Peninsula from external influence ensured the retention of more "conservative" linguistic features in its dialects "that distinguish

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[28] cf. Watson (2011a: 855): "The Arabian Peninsula has for various political, social and administrative reasons held on to its secrets for far longer than dialects spoken around the Mediterranean."

them, as a group, from non-Arabian Arabic dialects" (Holes 2006: 25)[29]. Among these, Holes (2006: 26) specifies:

In nominal morphology:

- the retention of a form of *tanwīn*, which is almost completely lost in other Arabic vernaculars (and in Oman as well);
- the retention of verbal nouns of forms II, III, and V;

In verbal morphology:

- the retention of verb form IV, especially in Gulf dialects, whereas in Oman this is completely lost except for a couple of standardised forms[30];
- the retention of final *-n* in the 2FSG (i.e. *-īn*) and 3PL (i.e. *-ūn*) persons in the imperfective form;
- the retention of feminine plural forms;
- the retention of the apophonic passive;
- the absence of imperfect pre-formatives to mark tense distinction (especially in Najd).

In the syntax, the main "conservative" features are:

- the retention of VSO word order;
- the relative pronouns *allaḏi, illaḏi* alongside *illi*;
- the negation of equational sentences with *mu, muhu, muhūb*, and *mahīb*;
- the retention of modal and presentative particles *gad*, *jid, kid, čid*;
- the absence of the analytic genitive (only valid for Najdi dialects).

Some of these features, as we will see in the course of this work, are also shared by some of the dialects spoken in Oman for which we have documentation.

When approaching the analysis of any Arabic dialect, a fundamental distinction applied by the Arabic dialectological literature is between Sedentary (henceforth, S) and Bedouin (henceforth, B) dialects. This distinction is based on morphological and phonological features which distinguish the two groups. However, nowadays this distinction is much more blurred and not to be taken literally, since clans and tribes that are still nomadic are rare and urbanisation is a widespread phenomenon all over the Peninsula, especially in the past few decades. The "sedentary" and "Bedouin" labels belong to the set of traditional classification tools that Arabists have used for a long

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[29] cf. also Watson (2011a: 852): "The dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula are by far the most archaic. The depth of their history can only be guessed. […] Isolated from the innovations caused elsewhere by population movement and contact, their ancient features were mostly preserved […]."

[30] For more details, see 4.7.

time in classifying Arabic dialects – not only in the Peninsula. These labels constitute now an old-fashioned and simplistic means of classification, which cannot be applied thoroughly in this part of the Arabic-speaking world at least[31]. Amongst the "conservative" traits of B-dialects, Watson (2011a: 869) lists:

- the retention of CA interdentals *ṯ and *ḏ;
- the retention of the internal passive;
- the retention of CA diphthongs *ay and *aw;
- the retention of CA vowels *a, *i, and *u;
- the retention of gender distinction in plural pronouns and verbal inflections;
- the retention of verb form IV;
- the retention of the construct to express genitive relation;
- the partial retention of nunation;
- the tendency to show a VSO word order.

From a phonological perspective, B-dialects and S-dialects differ in the realisation of CA consonants, and in particular of:

- CA *ǧīm, *kāf, and *qāf. This represents one of the main distinctive features, since it is apparently shared by all dialects belonging to one group or the other[32]. B-dialects realise these consonants as alveolar /ǧ/ or approximant /y/; as affricated /č/; and as voiced velar stop /g/ or voiceless velar stop /k/ respectively. S-dialects, on the other hand, realise these consonants as voiced velar stop /g/; as voiceless velar stop /k/; and as voiceless uvular stop /q/ respectively.

- CA interdentals *ṯā, *ḏā, and *ẓā. These consonants are usually preserved as they were in CA in B-dialects, whereas they are shifted to /t/, /d/ and /ḍ/ in S-dialects.

The presence of the so-called *gahawa syndrome*, the syllabic adjustments of the group C_1aC_2 (where C_2 is a guttural) to C_1C_2a[33], is also typical of B-dialects.

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[31] On this, Watson (2011a: 870, citing Ingham 1982: 32) states: "What is regarded as a bedouin feature in one region may be regarded as a geographical marker in another – for example, the third masculine singular object pronoun, -*u*, is regarded as a 'bedouin' feature along the Euphrates, but within Saudi Arabia distinguishes northern Najdi from Central dialects." See also, Holes (1996: 34-35): "Despite its diminishing sociological appropriacy, the B/S terminological dichotomy remains an accepted part of the framework of synchronic Arabic dialectology, even though recent work has shown that the isoglosses between neighbouring communities who describe themselves in black-and-white sociological terms as "Bedouin" or "sedentary" may not necessarily be very sharp […]."

[32] cf. Holes (1996: 37).

[33] cf. Watson (2011b: 902).

As we will see in the following sub-sections, many of these features are mutually shared with S-dialects; however, when it comes to Omani Arabic two considerations stand: firstly, all S-dialects systematically realised the CA *ǧīm, *kāf, and *qāf as /g/, /k/, and /q/ respectively; secondly, all B-dialects show a voiced velar stop /g/ as a reflex of CA *qāf.

1.2.1 Oman in the Peninsular context

Oman constitutes a linguistic enclave in the Arabian Peninsula due to its position at the far southern-east end of it, but also because it is cut off from the rest by the vast desert of the Rubʿ al-Khālī. According to Holes (2017: 292), the Baḥārna, Omani and south-Yemeni vernaculars share some features "that represents an older type that the Bedouin ʿAnazī type which, […], has gradually spread to the Gulf coast from central Arabia via Bedouin migrations." In particular, historical and socio-political reasons – which are discussed in Annex 1 of this work – brought Oman to isolate from the rest of the Peninsula for long time, sparking the curiosity of the researchers[34].

In 1889, Jayakar wrote: "In Oman learning has never flourished to the same extent as in other parts of Arabia, which may be observed by the almost total absence of any local literature, and although at one time a school of some eminence existed in Nezwa, the province as not produced any great poets or authors. The masses as a rule, as in other countries, are uneducated, but even the educated few are so regardless of the rules of Grammar, that they are constantly in the habit of using, both colloquially and in writing, forms and expressions which strike as strange to an outsider" (Jayakar 1889:649).

The isolation imposed by the geographical shape of the country and by the ruling of Sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr are, in fact, what made the Omani vernaculars so distinctive from all the others in the Peninsula[35].

After the reunification and the opening of the country in the 1970s/1980s, this linguistic status changed slightly, due to internal and external factors: MSA and Gulf varieties are playing a prominent role in the education and business fields, as well as foreign languages that offer new lexemes to the vernaculars. Moreover, we need to consider the great amount of foreign influence provided both by the Omanis who returned to the

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[34] cf. Holes (1989: 447, italics in the text): "The fact that Oman is a large country, about the size of France, with a varied topography which includes vast deserts, impassable mountain ranges and fertile coastal plains, with until recently no modern roads or communications to link them, makes it *prima facie* likely that a considerable degree of dialectal diversity would be found there."

[35] cf. Holes (1998: 348): "The isolation of Oman from outside influences until twenty-five years ago probably explains the survival in its dialects of features, both morpho-syntactic and lexical, which have disappeared in virtually all non-Arabian dialects (and in many Arabian ones too)."

country after the Seventies and who spent many years in places like Egypt, Tanzania, Zanzibar and Yemen, and by all the Indian and Pakistani workers who reached the country after the discovery of oil.

With the regards to the classification of Arabic dialects in B- or S-type, Oman offers a demarcation between them in terms of lifestyle but not of linguistic features. The settled communities of the Omani interior – especially in the surroundings of the mountainous chains of northern Oman and Dhofar – are not the result, as happened in many other Arabian countries, of a process of urbanisation, but rather have existed for centuries. Nevertheless, a factor that helped the conservation of archaic features in Omani Arabic has been the social structure of the country, "which has preserved dialectal homogeneity across the Bedouin-sedentary divide" (Holes 1996: 51). As a matter of fact, a Bedouin population who conducts a nomadic existence still exists in Oman, unlike other countries of the Gulf. However, the linguistic features related to one or other group are not necessarily clear-cut, and varieties of Omani Arabic labelled as S-type may present B-features and vice versa.

When analysing the linguistic situation of Oman, we must consider the most important work by Holes (1989), which constitutes the first attempt to classify Omani dialects. In this work, Holes analyses the features shared by all Omani dialects, both Sedentary and Bedouin:

- The 2FSG possessive/object suffix is universally -/š/, not -/č/, except some B-dialects of North-East where is realised as -/č/ and the al-Wahība dialect, where is not affricated and is realised as -/k/;
- An -/in(n)/- infix is obligatorily inserted in all Omani dialects between an active participle having verbal force and a following object pronoun. Some Omani speakers also insert this infix between the imperfect verb and the suffix object, in particular on the Bāṭina coast[36];
- The absence of the "ghawa syndrome", peculiar of some central, northern and eastern Arabic dialects. Exceptions are some B-vernaculars spoken in the areas at the UAE border (e.g. Buraymi);
- Feminine plural verb, adjective and pronoun forms occur regularly[37];
- The internal passive of verb forms I and II is of common occurrence.

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[36] Holes (1989: 448).

[37] This feature is shared with some dialects of central and southern Arabia and make them distinctive from other Gulf dialects, where the gender distinction has been neutralised.

There are then other characteristics that distinguish Omani dialects, as the reflexes of ancient Arabic consonants. Almost all S- and B-dialects retain the classical interdentals /ṯ ḏ ẓ/, with only few exceptions[38].

Further differences are in the realisation of the three OA consonants *q, *k, and *ǧ[39]:

- The OA *q is realised as: (a) [k] in some villages of the western and southern sides of Jabal Aḫḍar; (b) [g] in some dialects of Bāṭina coast (including Rustāq), but it is affricated in /ǧ/ in the dialects spoken in villages at the UAE border; (c) [g] in all other B-dialects spoken in the western and southern part of the country, including Ṣūr and Ṣalāla; and finally, (d) it is retained as /q/ in sedentary dialects of Capital City, of Bāṭina coast and big villages on the mountains (including the al-ʿAwābī district).

- The OA *k is: (a) a velar occlusive in the Capital area and on the Bāṭina coast; (b) palatalised in some mountainous dialects and affricated in /č/ in some others; (c) always affricated in /č/ with protruded vowels only in some B-dialects spoken at the UAE border.

- The OA *ǧ is realised in all sedentary dialects as a velar occlusive [g]; in B-dialects of western and southern part of the country can be realised as [y] (as in Rustāq), or as an alveolar [ǧ] in the Šarqiyya region and in some areas of Rubʿ al-Khālī.

Having analysed all the shared features of Omani dialects, Holes[40] subdivides these dialects into four main groups, two sedentary (S) and two Bedouin (B), which have some substantial differences:

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[38] In the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district, as will be explained in 2.1, the interdentals CA *ṯā and *ḏā are retained, whereas CA *ẓā has merged with /ḍ/.

[39] The label OA (i.e. Old Arabic) is used by Holes (1989) to refer to the features which are supposedly the ancestors of the ones found today in spoken Arabic.

[40] Type B1 includes the varieties of Sohar, Rās al-Ḥadd, and Ṣūr, but also the vernaculars spoken at the border with the UAE, i.e. the al-Bu Šāmis women of Buraimi; type B2 is found in the western and south-western part of the country, including the al-Wahība, Janaba, Durūʿ, and Ḥarāsīs tribes; type S1 includes the varieties spoken in the interior of Oman, i.e. Nizwa, Bahlā, Ibrā, and Qalhāt; type S2, finally, is found in the Jabal Aḫḍar region and Rustāq (Holes 1989: 452-453).

	Type B1	Type B2	Type S1	Type S2
OA *ǧ	/y/	/y/	/g/-/ǧ/	/ǧ/
OA *q	/g/	/g/	/q/	/k/
OA *k	/k/	/k/	/k/	/č/
Syllabic structure	CCVCV(C) CVC(V)CV(C)	CCVCV(C) CVC(V)CV(C)	CVC(V)CV(C)	CVC(V)CV(C)
gahawa-syndrome	*ghawa – gahwa*	*gahwa*	*qahwa*	*kahwa*
2FSG pronoun	-/č/	-/š/	-/š/	-/š/

Table 1.1 – *Omani S- and B-dialects classification*

Furthermore, some phonological parameters need to be considered[41]:

1. Imperfect endings of 2FSG and 3FPL respectively:

    a. -/īn/ and -/ūn/ in Bedouin dialects;

    b. -/ī/ and -/ū/ in sedentary dialects;

2. Object/possessive suffix of 3MSG:

    a. -/ah/ in Bedouin dialects;

    b. -/uh/ in sedentary dialects;

3. Active imperfect prefix in *hamza*-starting verbs:

    a. /yā/- in Bedouin dialects;

    b. /yō/- in sedentary dialects;

4. Prefixes of V and VI derived forms:

    a. /yti/- in Bedouin dialects;

    b. /yit/- in sedentary dialects.

Some Omani varieties described after the publication of Holes' article fall easily into one of these schemes, as I am about to show in the following paragraphs.

In the S1 system we find the dialect of the Šawāwi community, located in the northern part of the country, near Izkī in al-Dāḫiliyya region[42]. This community shares some Bedouin lifestyle features but presents some major differences: their type of nomadism is limited both in terms of time and space. They usually settle in an area for more than one year and their displacements only cover short distances; furthermore, through farming and agricultural trades, they maintain a close relationship with the sedentary population in the surrounding areas.

The dialectal variety spoken by this community retains many phonological and morphological features of CA, thus proving the strong linguistic conservatism of Omani

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[41] Holes (1989: 454).
[42] Eades (2009a).

vernaculars. Šawāwi's vernacular retains the four sedentary morphological parameters described by Holes: 1. *yisawwyū* "they did", *tizarʿi* "you (fem.) planted"; 2. *nšrib-uh* "we drank it", *bēt-uh* "his house"; 3. *yōkil* "he eats"; 4. *yitʿallam* "he learns"[43]. In the Šawāwi lexicon we find terms used in sedentary speaking of surroundings and strongly divergent from Bedouin speaking, such as: *tō* (S) opposed to *al-ḥīn* (B) for "now" and *mū* (S) opposed to *ēš, hēš* (B) for "what?" [44]. Nevertheless, we also find the use of some Bedouin features, such as the existential marker *šē*, "there is".

The vernacular spoken by populations of al-Wahība region belongs to the B2 system, with a few variants. In Oman, there were two main entry routes for Bedouin populations since the pre-Islamic period: a northern and coastal one, mainly from Bahrain, and a southern one, from Yemen and Dhofar[45]. Thus, the Bedouin dialect of al-Wahība region presents phonological and morphological characteristics common to both types. Webster (1991: 475) reports the tendency of his informants to realise /ǧ/ as [ǧ], in particular in bureaucratic and literary context. Moreover, the 2FSG suffix pronoun constitutes an exception: it is realised as -/ik/ instead of -/iš/. The expression *fīh* and *mā fīh* to indicate "there is, there are" and "there is not, there are not" is realised as *šay/ mā šay*; we can also find an emphatic negation *bahō*, "not at all". The interchangeability of the syllabic structure [CCvCv(C) – CvC(v)Cv(C)], a trait of this group, is shown in the following examples: *rḥama - raḥma* "vulture"; *ghawa – gahwa* "coffee".

In some areas of the country, scholars detected types of speech with "mixed" features. The distinction between Bedouin and Sedentary, among speakers of this kind of areas tend to relate more on tribe of origin than on linguistic traits. This is in contrast with the dialects of the northern Arabian Peninsula, where the difference is much sharper. As reported by Eades (2009a: 24), social, historic, cultural and economic distinctions in Oman are extremely shaded, whereas they are sharper for some Bedouin dialects of central Najd.

In this third category, we can find the dialects of as-Sūwayq and Khābūra on the Bāṭina coast, the dialect of Ṣūr and the dialects of al-Darīz and al-Mintirib in the Šarqiyya region, at the border with northern Wahība.

The Bāṭina region has always been a strong contact area with foreign populations, mainly coming from Persia and India, thanks to maritime trades and shipping routes to

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[43] Eades (2009a: 82)
[44] Eades (2009a: 92).
[45] Webster (1991: 473)

Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. This created over the centuries an extraordinary state of *melting pot*, which continues today.

al-Sūwayq dialect, on the Bāṭina coast, shows phonological features related to the B-type (e.g. /g/ < /q/ and /y/ < /ǧ/), but also morphological characteristics related to the S-type. For example, the morphological variable for the 3MSG object/possessive pronoun is realised according to the sedentary model -/uh/ (/nišribuh/ "we drink it"), whereas the morphological variable for the prefix in *hamza*-initial verbs follows rules of Bedouin typology (i.e. /yā/-, /yāḫiḏ/ "he takes"). As regards the other two variables, alternate forms have been detected, so it is hard to justify an explanation other than the strong relationship between the populations over the centuries.

The same applies to the Khābūra dialect, just north of al-Sūwayq, on the Bāṭina. This vernacular, studied and analysed by Brockett (1985), realises CA phonemes *q and *ǧ as [g] and [y] respectively, following the B2 system. Some speakers, however, showed a preference for the reflex /y/ < /q/ (e.g. *yārīn* instead of *qārīn* "date") or /g/ < /y/ (e.g. *gihēb* instead of *īhēb* "skin")[46]. Some others tend to realise these consonants following the S1 system (/q/ < /q/ and /g/ < /ǧ/).

The city of Ṣūr is situated further north than Rās al-Ḥadd, in the Šarqiyya region, and its dialect has been studied recently by Holes (2013). Despite the fact that this vernacular has been defined as Bedouin for long time, it has some phonological features – recently discovered – which linked it, on the one hand, to B-dialects of central and western Arabian Peninsula and, on the other hand, to S-dialects of southern Yemen and to Baḥārna variety of Bahrain and western Saudi Arabia.

The dialectal variety of Qalhāt city, for example, just north of Ṣūr, has been classified as sedentary, but it presents a slight inclination towards B-vernaculars. This shows the great difficulty of classifying Omani dialects. Typically, B-features of Ṣūr vernacular are: /g/ < /q/ (B1) and sometimes /ǧ/ < /g/ < /q/ (B2). This affrication in /ǧ/ is reflected in the Gulf B-dialects.

Finally, al-Darīz and al-Mintirib vernaculars represent a singular case in the framework traced so far. This peculiarity concerns, firstly, the population of the two cities: al-Darīz, a small city between the Wahība desert and the Jabal Aḫḍar in the Šarqiyya region, is populated mainly by members of al-Ḥurṯ tribe[47], Bedouin; al-Mintirib, instead, just

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[46] Brockett (1985: 12).
[47] Nomadic tribe moved from Ibrāʾ to settle in the Šarqiyya region during the XVIII century.

south of al-Darīz, has a population predominantly constituted by the sedentary tribe of al-Ḫaǧrīn, but surrounded by members of al-Wahība tribe.

The dialectal variety in the city of al-Darīz is more similar to the S-model, whilst in al-Mintirib it is more similar to the B-one. The main discriminant to be taken into account in order to understand the mixed and unique nature of linguistic situation in these two cities is the analysis of the phonemes /q/ and /ǧ/: /q/ is retained in both varieties, but /ǧ/ varies from /g/, /ǧ/ to /y/ as the case.

al-Darīz vernacular retains the phonological features described by Holes (1989) for the S-model, but in terms of phonotactics and stress tend to behave according to the B-model. On the contrary, al-Mintirib, despite being populated by people of sedentary origin, presents all the phonological and morphological features linked to the B-model, probably influenced by the Bedouin population in the surroundings.

Dialects spoken in the Bahlā province – in the al-Dāḫiliyya region – and in the Buraymi – at the UAE border – need a separate discussion.

Buraymi vernacular has not been studied attentively in the framework of Omani Arabic dialectology, but from what we know so far, it is the only dialect that does not present the common features described by Holes (1989). In fact, it has major affinities with varieties spoken in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula, including the Emirates (e.g. use of *rāḥ* "to go", instead of *sār*) [48].

Bahlā vernacular has been identified by Holes (1989: 450) as Sedentary, and it presents some common characteristics with the Banū Kharūṣ dialect described by Reinhardt. Leila Kaplan (2008: 266) states that the traditional dialect spoken nowadays by Bahlā inhabitants, on the western side of Jabal Aḫḍar, has undergone a series of transformation especially after Oman's exit from its isolationism, following the new Sultan Qābūs politics. She states that the majority of her informants were able to distinguish between dialectal "traditional" forms and others more "recent". Among them, women are the ones who tend to use conservative forms of the language.

Three distinctive features differentiate this sedentary dialect from the Banū Kharūṣ one:

- the use of particle *fōq* for "in"; whilst in Reinhardt (1894: 64) *fōq* indicates "up, above";
- Future markers /a-/, /ḥ-/ and /b-/: all of them are prefixed to the imperfect but have some differences in the use. /a-/, the most common, is used by speakers of both gender with no age distinction; /ḥ-/, more traditional, is used by older

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[48] Holes (1989: 449).

speakers; /b-/ is mainly used in the Capital area. In Reinhardt's data, future markers are /ḥa-/ and /he-/ (originated from the particle *ḥatta* "until") [49].

- A linguistic idiosyncrasy: suffixed particle -/o/ (after consonant), -/yo/ (after vowel) to indicate "immediacy" in space (e.g. *iṣ-ṣābūn-o* "the soap here" or "this soap").

The vernaculars spoken in the Musandam Peninsula have received less attention than others in the country, except for Kumzari and Shiḥḥi[50], that have not been considered within this work.

The brief description of documented Omani vernaculars sketched so far offers us a clear exemplification of how difficult is to label dialects as Bedouin or Sedentary in this part of the Arabian Peninsula.

1.2.2 The al-ʿAwābī district in its regional context

According to the classification made by Holes (1989), the al-ʿAwābī district would belong to the S1 system, thus being a S-dialect. However, this variety is not homogeneous: as will be clear in the course of this work, there are a few differences in between the villages in the Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and al-ʿAwābī town, especially considering the phonological variables that interest the distinction between S-dialects and B-dialects. For example, the CA *kāf is affricated in /č/ in remote villages of the Ḥağar Mountains, and in al-ʿAlya. In addition, other differences have been spotted between the wadi and the town in terms of phonology (e.g. the occurrence of *imāla* and lengthening of diphthongs).

If we consider the features listed in Watson (2011a: 869) mentioned earlier, we see that at least two of them are shared by the vernacular spoken by my informants as well, such as the retention of CA interdentals, and the gender distinction in pronouns and verb conjugations. Admittedly, at least the latter has been recognised by Holes (1989) as a common feature of Omani Arabic in general, regardless of the type of dialect (i.e. B-type or S-type), as mentioned earlier on in this chapter.

When Reinhardt's work was published in 1894, Vollers (1895) and Noeldecke (1895) reviewed it having a different opinion on the type of dialect the al-ʿAwābī district one was: Reinhardt states that this vernacular represents the purity of the Semitic languages

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[49] cf. Reinhardt (1894: 149).

[50] See the works of Christine van der Wal Anonby (2015), *A Grammar of Kumzari: a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Leiden; and Bernabela, R.S. (2011), *A Phonology and Morphology sketch of the Shihhi Arabic dialect of al-Ğedih (Oman)*, Leiden: Leiden University.

and shows only a few similarities to other Arabic dialects[51]. Vollers (1895: 491) considered this vernacular an isolated and conservative Neo-Arabic dialect of Southern Arabia. Furthermore, he analyses some features, reported by Reinhardt's informants, that seem to make it part of the Sedentary class. For example:

- the realization of phoneme /q/ as voiceless uvular stop;
- the realization of phoneme /ǧ/ as voiced velar stop /g/;
- the realization of phoneme /k/ as voiceless velar stop.

Reinhardt (1894: xii), in fact, states that the variety he described is Bedouin and not sedentary. Be that as it may, this shows the difficulty of labelling dialects merely relying on morphological and phonological features, which do not consider socio-historical aspects and foreign influence. According to the data presented in the course of this thesis, the dialect spoken by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district appears to confirm the idea of it being a S-dialect, albeit with minor B-features.

1.3 The al-ʿAwābī district: a geographical and historical perspective

The al-ʿAwābī district is located in the Ǧanūb al-Bāṭina region[52], and consists of al-ʿAwābī town – with a population of about 6000 – and twenty-four little villages spread between it and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ (Morano 2019). The district is 150km from Muscat, 36km from Naḫal, and 16km from Rustāq.

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[51] "[…] weil die hier behandelte Sprache die Reinheit des semitischen Sprachbaues und Gedankens in einer bei anderen arabischen Dialekten wohl spärlich zu findenden Weise zeigt und dieserhalb auch für sie manches Lehrreiche enthält" (Reinhardt 1894: ix).
[52] According to the division made at the beginning of this chapter.

Image 1. al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ

The ancient name of al-ʿAwābī town was Sunī, which according to my consultants is the local name of the mountain at the entrance of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. It changed to al-ʿAwābī at the time of the Imam Sayf b. Sulṭān al-Yaʿrūbi, and its origin may lie in the word ʿawābi (SG ʿābye), which is used in the district to mean "cultivated soil".

The Wādī Banī Kharūṣ is a valley that goes deep into the Ḥaǧar Mountains for about 26km, ending at Jabal Aḫḍar, and its main town is Stāl[53]. The population of the wadi is generally older than the one of the town, some of the villages are also populated by one or two families only, and people live mainly on agriculture and farming. Those villages are: al-Ḍaṣ (which is the smallest in the wadi, with the population of 5), al-Ẓāhir, al-Ẓahra, al-ʿAlya (the very last village in the wadi), al-Hawdiniyya, al-Higayr, al-Maḥḍūṯ, al-Maḥṣana, al-Marḫ, al-Wilayga, al-Ramī, al-Sahal, al-Ṣibayḫa, Dakum, Falaǧ Banī Ḫizayr, Misfāt al-Haṭāṭla, Misfāt al-Širayqīn, Ṣaqr, Šhū, Stāl, Ṣunaybʿ, Ṭawī al-Sayḫ, and Ṯaqub[54].

The district is well known in Oman because of its historical heritage[55]: as explained in Annex 1, the Banū Kharūṣ played an important role throughout Omani history, and primarily in Ibadism. Descendants of the Yaḥmad tribe – a branch of ʾAzd –, they moved to Oman during the pre-Islamic period, settling in a valley named after them as

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[53] "[…] Wādī B. ʿAwf offers fairly easy access into Wādī B. Kharūṣ, an otherwise isolated wadi system belonging to the B. Kharūṣ, with their capital as Istal (var. Stal, not to be confused with Mistal) and its exit commanded by the important town of ʿAwābī" (Wilkinson 1987: 113).

[54] Source: Sultanate of Oman, National Centre for Statistics and Information (web).

[55] The symbol of the district is an inkpot and a quill to significate that this is a place of knowledge.

Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. The Yaḥmad provided most of the Ibadi imams of Oman until the arrival of the Yaʿrūbī dynasty in XI/XVII century[56].

Moreover, in the valley there are some inscriptions that testify to the lives and the works of these Imams, and particularly of those mentioned in Annex 1. In this area, the tribe of al-ʿAbrī also found its strength: at the beginning of the twentieth century, this was the most powerful tribe in Oman, and its Imam was Salīm b. Rāšid al-Kharūṣī. The influence of the ulema from this tribe revitalised the Ibadi doctrine in all northern Oman[57].

Nowadays, al-ʿAwābī town is inhabited by two main tribes, namely the al-Kharūṣī and the al-ʿAbrī, which are native and are the same tribes found by Carl Reinhardt at the end of the nineteenth century. However, a few smaller tribes moved to al-ʿAwābī in more recent times from other regions of Oman. A custom of this area was to marry people from the same tribe, so that eventually it would have been the only tribe populating the area. In more recent years, however, this practice has been gradually abandoned, because of inter-regional weddings among Omani people. The population of the town differs slightly from the one of the wadi especially in terms of lifestyle and level of education: nowadays, many inhabitants go to colleges, university or work in the capital city, usually returning during weekends and festivities. Only a small percentage of them remained in the town, cultivating palm gardens and breeding goats. These cultural traits have been taken into consideration in the analysis of the data presented in this work, as it will be explained in the next section on methodology.

1.4 Participants, Metadata, and Methodology

1.4.1 The participants

Since Carl Reinhardt (1894) only relied on two speakers, who were natives from Oman but who had spent most of their life abroad and were working for him in Cairo, this research sought a wider range of speakers in order to have a better picture of the dialect spoken and more suitable material for comparison. Hence, this research is based on the vernacular spoken by 15 people who were all born and grew up in the district. In Table 1, I report a list of these 15 participants, detailing their gender, age at the time of recordings, their provenance, their level of education, and their tribe of origin. These were not only crucial factors in the recruitment process, but also features of interest in the displaying of examples that are in this work.

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[56] cf. Rentz (2012).
[57] cf. Wilkinson (1987: 114).

Speaker	Gender	Age	Origin	Level of Education	Tribe
1	F	58	al-ʿAwābī	illiterate	al-Kharūṣī
2	F	45	Stāl (WBK)	illiterate	al-Kharūṣī
3	F	35	al-ʿAwābī	high school	al-ʿAbrī
4	F	60-70	al-Ramī (WBK)	illiterate	al-ʿAbrī
5	F	28	al-ʿAwābī	university	al-Kharūṣī
6	F	38	al-ʿAwābī	university	al-Kharūṣī
7	F	44	al-ʿAwābī	middle school	al-Kharūṣī
8	M	65-75	al-ʿAlya (WBK)	illiterate	al-ʿAbrī
9	F	32	Dakum (WBK)	university	al-Kharūṣī
10	F	55	al-ʿAwābī	middle school	al-Kharūṣī
11	F	45	Stāl (WBK)	high school	al-Kharūṣī
12	F	40	al-ʿAwābī	middle school	al-Kharūṣī
13	M	85-95	Stāl (WBK)	illitterate	al-Kharūṣī
14	F	50-60	Dakum (WBK)	middle school	al-ʿAbrī
15	F	80-90	al-ʿAwābī	illitterate	al-ʿAbrī

Table 1.2 – *Participants' metadata*

As Table 1.2 shows, three main criteria guided the choice of participants: age, provenance, and level of education. These criteria were chosen for two main reasons: firstly, since this research aims to check the reliability of Reinhardt's (1894) work, the criterion of age was deemed appropriate for a diachronic comparison with the dialect he describes; secondly, level of education and provenance were chosen to see if the sociological factors mentioned earlier – e.g. difference in lifestyle and education between the two places – impacted on the variety spoken nowadays in the district, also in the light of the "Gulfinization" of Arabic varieties in this area, and the increased use of social networks and internet in general, which put the younger generation in contact with the wider Arab world.

The first criterion is further divided into three ranges: young speakers (28-40), middle-aged speakers (40-60), and elders (60+). This choice was made to have a clearer picture of the diachronic variants in this dialect, expecting the elders to have a type of speech

closer to the one described by Reinhardt (1894) and the younger generation to have a vernacular influenced by other neighboring Arabic varieties or MSA, social networks and the language of broadcasting. Moreover, this age division was made keeping in mind the historical phases of the Sultanate, as traced in Annex 1: participants aged between 40 and 60 are people that spent their early years at the beginning of the new era established by Sultan Qābūs, and were able to witness the changes Oman went through afterwards; by contrast, participants aged 60+ have a better memory of the time prior to the rise of Sultan Qābūs, when Saʿīd b. Taymūr ruled Oman; younger speakers, finally, will potentially show the latest developments of the language, influenced by the media, by the type of Arabic used in education, and by the influence of supposedly more prestigious forms of Arabic. As the table shows, for some of the speakers a possible age span is provided: that is because for the older generation – i.e. the generation born before the Seventies – it was not possible to give a precise age in terms of dates, since the registration of births started only later with Sultan Qābūs.

The second criterion, provenance, is straightforward: the aim is also to have a geographical distribution of linguistic features and check the differences in the speech of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and al-ʿAwābī town.

Finally, the third criterion, level of education, was deemed particularly appropriate from a sociolinguistic point of view: as classes are taught in MSA usually by Egyptian teachers, is this having any impact on the dialect spoken? And if yes, to what extent?

Gender was also thought as one of the possible criteria at the beginning of this research; however, access to men proved to be difficult for the researcher once in the field, with few exceptions. Therefore, it has been opted out as a measure of choosing the participants and of analysing the data.

One more factor deemed appropriate for the decision on informants' participation was the tribe of origin. This was not counted as a main criterion; however, it was important to take tribal origin into consideration: Reinhardt's informants were from the al-Kharūṣī tribe and the al-ʿAbrī tribe, which were the only two ones that inhabited the al-ʿAwābī district at his time. At the present time, as mentioned in 1.3, both tribes are still living in the district, and, at least according to my informants, are still the only two living there, despite the recent tendency to marry people from other tribes or regions of Oman. Nevertheless, I recruited informants belonging to one of these two tribes, with the precise intention to enforce the comparison purpose of this thesis.

The contact with future informants was previously made on a first short trip I conducted in October 2016, where I was able to talk with a few researchers at the Sultan Qaboos University who then put me in contact with people who were interested in the topic of my research. From the first few contacts, I then managed to enlarge the group through word of mouth of some of my earlier informants. At the beginning of the research relationship, all were informed of the scopes and aims of my fieldwork – i.e. the linguistic analysis and documentation of the vernacular as they spoke it – and were keen to be part of it. They provided oral consent for the recording of their speech at the beginning of each session, both for spontaneous speech recordings and elicitation. It often happened that participants were willing to provide material by bringing me into the wadi to explore it or by telling me stories about the district and their lives there. I never encountered any issue as regards these aspects of the research.

1.4.2 The fieldwork

In addition to the first short fieldwork trip carried out in October 2016, the aim of which was to find contacts and suitable informants, the data here presented are the result of two more fieldwork trips I conducted. The first full fieldwork trip was conducted between February and April 2017. During this trip, I spent most of my time in the house of two women from the al-Kharūṣī tribe, in al-ʿAwābī. During these months living with them, I managed to talk about different topics, not always with the specific aim of research. However, if something seemed particularly interesting, I was always able to record it afterwards since these participants were particularly keen and interested in the purpose of my research and in providing material. This was especially the case of the list of proverbs reported in Annex 3, that were provided by a variety of speakers included in the list above. Moreover, living with these women on an everyday basis, I was able to witness their lifestyle and their daily duties, experiencing also their routine, and had the chance to ask questions about specific linguistic features, or the lexicon used.

The transcription and translation of the texts, proverbs and examples throughout this thesis were done *in situ* with the patient help and diligent support of Iḫlāṣ Rašīd al-Kharūṣī, who sat with me for hours listening to the recordings. In these sessions, I often added field-notes on linguistic structures of interest, and other local practices.

The second fieldwork trip was shorter and carried out during the month of Ramadan in 2018 – i.e. June. This trip had two main aims: firstly, a final check on some phonological and morphological features collected during the previous trip; and

secondly, to collect stories, lexicon, and any other material related specifically to Ramadan and Eid celebrations in the district.

I spent both fieldwork trips in the house of speakers 1 and 6, a house which was always overcrowded during the weekends, giving me the chance to talk to their relatives, siblings, and neighbours – some of whom became actively part of this research and are included in the list of participants.

1.4.3 The data

The corpus[58] of data presented in this work is divided into three main groups, depending on the source of the material: the first group stands as the primary source for the thesis, and includes new data gathered during fieldwork; the second group consists of secondary literature for comparative purposes; and, finally, the third group comprises sources related to neighbouring Arabic varieties, also for comparative purposes.

Group 1. Primary data: The primary basis of this thesis consists of 15 hours of recorded material collected by the author during two fieldwork trips in the al-ʿAwābī district. These 15 hours also inlcudes 4 hours of WhatsApp[59] vocal messages, exchanged with participants both during fieldwork and at a distance. The WhatsApp vocal messages contain spontaneous speech from a group of 7 women (i.e. speakers 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 12) from the al-Kharūṣī tribe, whereas the rest of the audio material is the result of different methodologies employed, i.e. free speech recordings and elicitation of lexical items.

The free speech recordings were carried out in a variety of contexts and environments: of the remaining 11 hours, about 5 were recorded during the afternoon gatherings of women, usually in indoor places, where they exchange coffee, sweets and stories; about 4 hours were recorded during Eid gatherings, usually outdoors, and weddings; finally, 4 more hours contain accounts of local stories, legends related to spiritual entities in the wadi (i.e. jinn), changes in the local environment, and tribe-related events. None of these recordings is the result of an actual conversation with the researcher, therefore we can exclude the possibility of any influence from the Arabic I use on the language they chose to use. From the second part of my first trip and the whole of the second trip, I used the local vernacular as far as possible to communicate with informants; this worked particularly well in the light of correctness judgements by the speakers. The 5

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[58] The term "corpus" is here intended as the collection of the new data presented in the course of this work and as it is employed in general linguistics, not in the specific meaning it has in the field of corpus linguistics.

[59] Popular phone application which allows customers to chat via internet.

hours recorded during the afternoon gatherings were not initiated by me; rather, after asking for consent to the recording, I positioned the recorder at the centre of the circle of women and recorded their conversation, which was analysed afterwards with the help of a native speaker – as mentioned earlier in this section. The same happened with the Eid celebrations and partly with local stories: once the participants acknowledged the scope of my research, they were always very keen to provide me with material to record.

The remaining 2 hours are the result of elicitation of lexical items: these were partly collected in the wadi with speaker 11 – especially for plant names and medical terminology, and partly with speakers 2, 6, 7 and 12 – especially for household terminology. Other lexical items were extrapolated from the whole corpus of audio recordings.

The recordings were conducted using an Olympus LS-12 Linear PCM Recorder, and all the files were saved in .WAV format at a sample rate of 16bit 44.100 kHz. The files were also stored on my personal laptop and on an external hard drive and analysed using the annotation programme ELAN[60].

The other methodology employed in the collection of primary data was elicitation of samples that are not part of the audio material but constitute a core of written notes. This elicitation was made mainly for lexical items, and specifically for the benefit of comparison with Reinhardt's lexical core. The reason behind this choice is that it would have been easier and quicker, specifically for the researcher, checking how much of Reinhardt's lexical material was still in use in the district. To do so, I compiled a series of 6 word-lists based on Reinhardt's materials, divided into the following semantic groups: body parts, food (i.e. vegetables, fruit, spices, seafood), animals, household materials (i.e. kitchen utensils and parts of the house), textiles and clothing. These lists were then submitted to all the speakers and either confirmed or changed, based on their answers. In addition to this, I provided the informants with images and pictures, asking them to name them: this was particularly effective for body parts and animal names. During the elicitation process, any new lexical item was recorded and inserted in the Glossary in Annex 2; this involved primarily semantic fields as diseases, insects, and weather. WhatsApp text messages was also useful in the elicitation of some syntactic features, such as negation structure, genitive exponents, and different types of complex clauses: these WhatsApp examples are reported in their original Arabic script

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[60] Computer software used to annotate and transcribe audio and video recordings.

throughout this thesis. This choice was made in order not to impose my personal interpretation of pronunciation through transliteration, since all of them were sent in Arabic. In this elicitation process, I used three main methodologies: firstly, submitting the sentence in English and asking informants to translate it – this worked especially well with university-educated speakers who knew English; secondly, sending the sentences in MSA and asking for differences with the dialect – this was helpful with people who did not have a full higher education, but had attended school for a few years at least; finally, using my own knowledge to write samples in the dialect and asking informants for correctness judgements.

Group 2. Secondary data: The second group includes the material presented by Carl Reinhardt (1894), which has been studied in detail and used merely for comparison purposes. If we take into consideration the importance of Reinhardt's material, as well as all the issues with his work – discussed in detail in 1.2.1 – the comparison attains even more relevance. Since Reinhardt (1894) lacks an extensive analysis of the syntax of the Banū Kharūṣ dialect – with only marginal exceptions (e.g. genitive exponents and negation) –, the material he presents will be displayed mainly in the morphology section – both nominal and verbal –, and in the analysis of lexicon, where a few remarks of diachronic comparison are provided. In addition to Reinhardt's work, this group included material presented by Brockett (1985) and Nakano (1995) and has been included in glossary in all the instances where it was used by my speakers. Jayakar's (1889) lexicon was used as a reference only, and none of his material has been included either in the argument or in the glossary.

Group 3. Secondary data from other Arabic dialects: The third group consists of samples taken from secondary sources on other Arabic varieties (i.e. Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, Najdi, Saudi, Gulf, Yemeni) used in the argument either to support a statement or, again, for comparison purposes[61].

Taking into consideration these three groups of data and the methodology adopted, each chapter of this work is predominantly based on one or more of them: chapter two examines phonological features of the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular through my own data, elicited from the audio files, and Reinhardt's material is only used in specific instances for comparison purposes; chapters three and four – on nominal and verbal

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[61] For Moroccan, Egyptian, and Syrian Arabic dialects, the main sources used are Brustad (2000), Ouhalla (2008), and Eisele (1990, 1999); for Najdi Arabic, Ingham (1994); for Saudi Arabian dialects, Prochazka (1988); for Gulf dialects, Holes (1990), and Qafisheh (1977); finally, for Yemeni dialects, Qafisheh (1990), and Watson (1993).

morphology respectively –, use as a source my own and Reinhardt's data, clearly divided and signposted, in order to visibly show the difference between them; chapter five, on syntax, is entirely based on my own fieldwork data, since Reinhardt (1894) lacks an extensive syntactic description to be able to use for comparison; however, the chapter also examines syntactic features from neighbouring dialects for comparative or supportive purposes. Finally, chapter six examines the lexicon of the al-ʿAwābī district which I collected during fieldwork, with comparison with Reinhardt's material only when necessary.

There are a few limitations that this methodology and the range of participants pose to this research, and that need to be addressed. First of all, the description presented has to be considered based mainly on the speech of a limited number of women, of different ages and levels of education. Admittedly, having a wider range of speakers, which included men, would have given a better picture of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the district under investigation. One needs only think of the supposedly conservatism of women's speech in the Arab context that cannot be necessarily proved within this thesis, but that could be material for future research. Nevertheless, since male researchers in the past have suffered from the opposite problem – i.e. the difficulty to work with women, especially in Arab contexts –, many linguistic studies carried out in Oman in the last century have considered dialectological material only from male speakers[62]. Hence, one of the limitations of this work might also be considered as a strength and as the starting point of a future widening of this description to other variables.

Some may argue that another limitation of this work consists in the number of informants used. However, in recruiting them, I tried to have a range of people as wide as possible considering the criteria mentioned earlier in the section. It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, working with more than 15/20 people in such a short time, and analysing all the data gathered to present them in a PhD thesis, which lasts about three years. I judged that these fifteen people, their differences in age, their different levels of education, and the fact that they came from the two main tribes of the

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[62] See for example the work of Davey (2016), who had access to only 3 women out of 14 informants.

area – namely, the al-Kharūṣī and the al-ʿAbrī[63] – would provide a reliable account of the dialect spoken in the area[64].

A recent tendency of Oman in general and, hence, the al-ʿAwābī district is to marry people from outside one's tribe or one's region, whereas up until a few decades ago this practice was unlikely. This can pose another issue: to what extent do inter-regional or inter-tribal marriages impact on the dialect spoken today? As a matter of fact, as I interacted with people within the district, I never encountered anyone who did not belong to either of the two tribes mentioned. Yet, some of my informants reported to me a couple of people in al-ʿAwābī town who had married from Šarqiyya, or from Muscat. Unfortunately, I was not able to contact them or work with them since they were on holiday in Ṣalāla during the months of my staying in the district.

The extent of influence of other Omani varieties on this dialect, if any, as a result of inter-tribal or inter-regional marriages and relocation of residents is something that could be of interest for future research, and this issue will not be addressed in this thesis. In this work, I describe the dialect as my informants reported it, taking into account the fact that all of them, when married, were married with locals, so either al-Kharūṣī or al-ʿAbrī.

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[63] Thus, facilitating my aim of comparison with Reinhardt (1894), who had as informants two people from the same tribes.

[64] I reckon also that other scholars had access to a fewer number of participants than I had (see, for example, Davey 2016).

CHAPTER 2

Phonology

Phonology of CA and modern Arabic dialects is a very well-studied subject in the literature. Ancient Arab grammarians have also provided us with many descriptions of the phonology of Arabic as it was at that time.

Phonological descriptions of Omani varieties, however, are scarce. As regards to the northern part of the country, we have Brockett's (1985) study on the agricultural terminology in Khābūra, which also reports a brief phonological account of that dialect[1]. Hole's (1989) overview of Omani dialects does not report any specific phonological trait – with the only exception of reflexes of the CA consonants /q/, /ǧ/, and /k/ used as discriminants in the Bedouin and sedentary classification of Arabic dialects[2]. Other recent descriptions – as the ones mentioned in 1.2.1 – deal only in part with the phonology matter and do not represent, at this time, an exhaustive account for comparison.

Reinhardt's (1894) description of Banū Kharūṣ phonological traits covers the first chapter of his work, and examines consonants, vowels, diphthongs, assimilation, and word stress. His account on this matter, however – as mentioned in 1.1.1 –, is not completely reliable, due both to the lack of transcription on his part and to the nature of his informants, i.e. they were Omanis who lived outside of Oman for the majority of their lives. Moreover, Reinhardt does not give us any detail about their pronunciation, which was likely to have been influenced by other Arabic varieties (e.g. the Egyptian variety of Cairo, where they lived after leaving Oman) or languages (e.g. Swahili in Zanzibar).

In this chapter, I aim to analyse the phonological patterns of the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular as they appear in the speech of my informants. The description considers the material elicited from the spontaneous speech of the participants and analysed with PRAAT[3], whereas the theoretical discussion of phonological process in general uses as reference sources the works of McCarthy (1979), Cantineau (1960), Levin (1998), Hayes (1995), and Watson (2002).

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[1] Brockett (1985: 12-15).
[2] For more details, the reader is referred to 1.2.
[3] Computer software for speech analysis in phonetics.

2.1 Consonants

The al-ʿAwābī district consonantal inventory contains 27 segments, all of which can appear in all positions in the word with the exception of the glottal stop – /ʾ/ – and the glides, which are weakened or deleted altogether in certain positions. All consonants may be geminated.

Transcription	Description
/ʾ/	voiceless glottal stop
/b/	voiced bilabial stop
/t/	voiceless alveolar stop
/t̲/	voiceless interdental fricative
/g/	voiced velar stop
/ḥ/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/ḫ/	voiceless velar fricative
/d/	voiced alveolar stop
/d̲/	voiced interdental fricative
/r/	voiced alveolar tap
/z/	voiced alveolar fricative
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
/š/	voiceless postalveolar fricative
/ṣ/	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
/ḍ/	emphatic voiced alveolar stop
/ṭ/	emphatic voiceless alveolar stop
/ʿ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/ġ/	voiced velar fricative
/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative
/q/	voiceless uvular stop
/k/	voiceless velar stop
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral approximant
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
/w/	voiced labiovelar approximant
/y/	voiced palatal approximant

Table 2.1 - *Consonantal inventory of the al-ʿAwābī district*

Reinhardt's (1894: 4-6) section on consonants examines their realisation frequently referring to the German system of sounds – perhaps to facilitate the understanding of the German soldiers for whom this work was intended. His phonological description is supported by lexical examples for each consonant, reported both in the Arabic script and

in transcription. Reinhardt (1894: 8-11) also provides lexically determined variants of some consonants, some of which are still valid today.

In the following list, I report lexically determined variants of consonants found in the speech of my informants, providing examples from my own recordings and adding, when necessary, remarks on Reinhardt's notes:

<u>Tā (ت)</u>

*t can be realised as *dāl* (e.g. *kidf* < *kitf* "shoulder", pl. *kdūf*). The same is reported by Reinhardt (1894: 9).

<u>Qāf (ق), Kāf (ك) and Ğīm (ج)</u>

*q is realised as voiceless uvular stop [q].

*k is realised as voiceless velar stop [k] in all cases. In my data, there is one lexeme recorded in al-ʿAlya (Wādī Banī Kharūṣ) from an old male illiterate speaker (i.e. speaker 8) where the velar stop is affricated in [č] – i.e. *seččārā* "drunkards" > السكارى.

*ğ is generally realised as voiced velar stop [g].

The same variables are reported by Reinhardt (1894: 4-6), adding that in other tribes of Oman, the voiced velar stop 'g' is affricated as [ğ][4].

<u>Liquid consonants (ر and ل)</u>

These two consonants are interchangeable, as reported by Reinhardt (1894: 10) as well. In the data there are a few examples: words like *sulṭān* ("sultan") and *inglezi* ("English") are realised respectively as *surṭān* and *ingrezi*.

<u>Emphatic consonants (ط, ظ, ص, ض)</u>

*ḍ and *ẓ are merged in one sound /ḍ/.

Reinhardt (1894: 7) reports four emphatic consonants, /ṣ ṭ ḍ ẓ/, but later he states that the two sounds *ḍ and *ẓ merged in the only one /ḍ/. In the data I collected there is no distinction between *ḍ and *ẓ, and the reflex of both of them is /ḍ/.

*ṣ and *ṭ retain their emphatic sound in all cases.

<u>Interdentals (ث and ذ)</u>

Reinhardt (1894: 10) states that the voiced interdental fricative *ḏ is realised as either /ḍ/ or /d/, and that the voiceless interdental fricative *ṯ is realised as /t/, providing however only one or two examples for each case.

In my data, however, the interdentals /ṯ/ and /ḏ/ are retained in all cases.

<u>Hamza (ء)</u>

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[4] No reference is made by Reinhardt on which tribe he means.

Reinhardt's (1894: 8-9) analysis of *hamza* in the Banū Kharūṣ dialect is very detailed, although not supported by enough examples. Nevertheless, the behaviour of the *hamza* in the vernacular under investigation did not seem to be changed.

In my data, *hamza* is not retained in <u>initial position</u>:

- in words like *ḫit < ʾuḫt* "sister"; *sum < ʾism* "name"; *hel < ʾahl* "family";
- in the افعل-patterned plurals and adjectives (e.g. *ḥmar < aḥmar* "red, reddish");
- and, in derived nouns and perfect tense of derived forms VII, VIII and X (e.g. *stoqbād* "receipt").

*ʔ can also be realised, in specific words, as: *ʿayn* (e.g. *ʿaṣl < ʾaṣl* "origin"); *wāw* (e.g. *bedwe* "beginning"); or *yā* (e.g. *yāsīr < ʾasīr* "prisoner")[5].

In <u>medial position</u>, *hamza* is not retained and some nouns show compensatory lengthening of the vowel (e.g. *bīr < biʾr* "well"; *rās < raʾs* "head")[6].

In <u>final position</u>, the *hamza* follows the same rules applied to III ء or ى verbs: it is not retained and realised as either /a/ (e.g *qarā / yiqra* "to read") or /i/ (e.g. *meše / yumši* "to walk").

<u>Tā marbūta (ة)</u>

The *tā marbūṭa* – a distinctive feature of feminine nouns and some masculine plurals – is often realised as [e] in this dialect, raised from /a/ according to the rules of *imāla* (explained in 2.2.1). Reinhardt (1894) does not mention the behaviour of the feminine ending in the speech of his informants, only reporting the case of *bedwe* (بدأة , "beginning"), which also presents a final *hamza*.

In this work, the *tā marbūṭa* will be transcribed either as [e] or [a], based on the pronunciation of the specific word in the district[7].

<u>Wāw and Yā (و/ى)</u>

Wāw and *Yā* retain their consonantal nature only when they are in syllable-onset position (e.g. حياة *hayā* "life"; دواء *duwā* "medicine").

2.2 Vowels

Reinhardt's (1894: 7-8) section on the behaviour of vowels is very short, briefly mentioning their sound in specific consonantal environments. Here I report the description of vowels as it appears in the speech of my informants.

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[5] This phenomenon is also reported by Brockett (1985: 13) for the dialect of Khābūra, in the Bāṭina.
[6] The lengthening of medial *hamza* in pre-consonantal position can be found in most modern Arabic dialects, with exception of various Yemeni dialects (Watson 2002: 18).
[7] In the literature, the *tā marbūṭa* is usually transcribed as *-ah*, but I will use throughout this thesis the simple vowels *a* or *e* – as exemplified in the table at page 19 – to follow the production of my informants.

The vowel inventory of the al-ʿAwābī district consists of three short vowels (/a, i, u/), five long vowels (/ā, ē, ī, ō, ū/) and two diphthongs (/aw/ and /ay/).

Short vowels differ in their realisation depending on their syllabic environment: medial /i/, for example, is usually lax and retracted (e.g. [gɪld] "skin"); in word-final position, it is tenser, higher and more front (e.g. [bɪnti] "my daughter"); before /b, m, f, r, q/ and the emphatics, it is backed and rounded (e.g. [zaːhʊb] "ready"); with velars and pharyngeals, it is lowered and centralised (e.g. [jħəbːo] "he likes him")[8]. Short vowel /u/ has a back mid, rounded allophone [o] when preceding or following an emphatic sound.

The short vowel /a/ has two allophones in this variety: it is a low back unrounded [ɑ] next to an emphatic or a uvular consonant; and it is raised to [e], usually when gutturals and emphatics are absent, according to the rules that regulate the *imāla*.

Short high vowels in unstressed non-final position undergo reduction or deletion. This phenomenon is known as syncope, and in other Omani varieties is of common occurrence, especially in rapid speech[9]. In the vernacular under investigation, syncope occurs in the first syllable only when the vowel is high (e.g. *gˈbin < gibin* "cheese"), and not when it is low (e.g. *ˈgamal* "camel")[10]. Reinhardt (1894) does not mention syncope in his work, however his data clearly show a strong presence of syncope, both in nouns and in verbs.

In this vernacular the CA *ū and *ī are retained in most positions as independent phonemes (e.g. فلوس *fulūs* "money" and بيض *bīḍ* "eggs"). Long vowel /ū/ also has the allophone [ō], when preceding an emphatic sound or in word-final position for the 3MPL person of the verb (e.g. *ketbō* "they wrote", *yikitbō* "they write").

2.2.1 Imāla

The term *imāla* (literally "inclination") has been used by medieval Arab grammarians to indicate the fronting and raising of long /ā/ towards /ī/[11]. In the ancient sources, not much is said about the same phenomenon for short /a/, for which *imāla* is found, for example, in the vernacular under investigation. According to the medieval grammarians, *imāla* is a phenomenon conditioned by certain phonological factors: in particular, it can occur because of an etymological *yā* of the root, or the *kasra* of an adjacent syllable

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[8] Holes (2008: 480).
[9] Davey (2016: 61) and Glover (1988: 61).
[10] cf. Jastrow (1980: 110).
[11] "And the sense [denoted by] the [term] *ʾimāla* is that you incline the *ʾalif* in the direction of *yāʾ*, and the *fatḥa* in the direction of the *kasra*" (Ibn Sarrāǧ, cited in Levin 1998).

which can incline /a/ towards [i][12]. If it is true that strong *imāla* (that is, the realisation of /a/ as [i]) is not a common occurrence, it is also true that the inclination of /a/ towards [e], both in medial and final position, is a widespread phenomenon in Eastern Arabic dialects[13].

The realisation of the *imāla*, both of /ā/ and /a/, depends on specific phonological factors, and in particular on the nature of the consonants that cluster around the vowel. In my data, it occurs in medial and final position, usually when gutturals or emphatics are absent: in this case, short vowel /a/ is raised to either [e] or, more rarely, [i], e.g. *kelb* "dog", *gebel* "mountain", *šill* "to take", *siyyāra* "car", *misgid* "mosque". *Imāla* in final position is very common in nouns with the feminine ending ة or ى (e.g. نوبة *nōbe* "also"; خمسة *ḥamse* "five"; *bedwe* < بدأة "beginning"), and in the 3FSG possessive pronoun -/ha/, which is realised as -/he/ in cases such as *ḥobbōt-he*[14] "her grandmother", whilst in others is realised as -/ha/ (e.g. ʿumr-ha "her age"). The variation between the two depends once again on the consonantal environment: it is realised as -/ha/ when follows a fricative or one of the sonorants *r, l, n* and -/he/ after the epenthetic unrounded front vowel [i] (e.g. *šufti-he* "I/you (2MSG) saw her").

Whilst the occurrence of *imāla* for short vowel /a/ is supported by numerous examples in the data, the raising of long vowel /ā/ to /ē/ is found only in the conjugation of geminate, hamzated, and weak verbs[15]; no evidence is traceable in the lexicon.

In Oman, the *imāla* occurs in Dhofari Arabic (cf. Davey 2016) and in other dialects of the Bāṭina and Šarqiyya regions, usually in communities living on the seaward side of the Ḥaǧar mountains (cf. Holes 2008: 481). In terms of areal distinction in the district under investigation, the *imāla* occurs always in the speech of informants from al-ʿAwābī regardless of their age and level of education. In Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, on the contrary, the *imāla* is found in the speech of middle-aged and young informants, either with a lower or a higher level of education, whereas is not found in the speech of the elders, who had no – or very little – access to education or exposure to the speech of the town. However, the case of the noun for "hospital", both in its singular and plural forms is interesting: it is distinctively realised as *mustašfī / mustašfiyāt* in the Wādī Banī

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[12] Cantineau (1960: 97).

[13] "[…] l'ɔimāla allant jusqu'à *e* est largement attestée: en Orient son domaine couvre la majeure partie du Liban et le G. ed-Drūz; on le constate aussi dans l'oasis de Palmyre. En Afrique du Nord, la région de Bône connaît aussi une ɔimāla allant jusq'à *e*." (Cantineau 1960: 99).

[14] The first short vowel /o/ in *ḥobbōt-he* is one of the rare examples in my data of progressive vowel harmony.

[15] For more details on this, the reader is referred to sections 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5.

Kharūṣ – thus with a clear *imāla* – and *mustašfā / mustašfayāt* in al-ʿAwābī. This word can be identified, in linguistic terms, as a shibboleth[16], since it was the only case where the speakers clearly recognised it as differentiating two varieties[17].

2.2.2 Diphthongs

In Semitic languages, a diphthong is formed by a short vowel followed by a glide (i.e. /w/ or /y/). In many modern Arabic dialects, the CA diphthongs *aw and *ay are not preserved[18]. There are no sources explaining when and why monophthongisation occurred in the history of the Arabic language, since diphthongs are common in CA.

In this vernacular of northern Oman, the long vowels /ō/ and /ē/ are also the result of a process of monophthongisation of the CA diphthongs[19]. According to Youssef (2013: 186), "monophthongisation is an active synchronic process that fails to apply in particular environments, both phonological and morphological". Not many studies have dealt with the behaviour and analysis of diphthongs in Gulf and Peninsular dialects, and it is difficult to assess a clear explanation of the anomalous forms of diphthongs in the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular.

Reinhardt (1894: 8) states that diphthongs are retained only in monosyllabic words and in words with a geminate glide, whereas in all other cases they are lengthened. However, this is not entirely true today, since in my data the retention of diphthongs varies depending on its position in the word, as exemplified in the following lists.

Glide as C_1

Diphthongs in the first syllable of the word are retained when the glide is the antepenultimate consonant in the word, irrespective of where the consonant occurs in the root. We see this in a) comparative adjectives, b) passive participles, c) verbal nouns, and d) broken plurals:

a) *awsaʿ*   "wider"   *awsaḥ*   "dirtier"

   awgaʿ   "more painful"   *awṯaq*   "more solid"

b) *mawṯuq*   "reliable"   *mawgūd*   "existent"

c) *tawbīḫ*   "blame"   *tawrīb*   "double meaning"

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[16] Word or expression which is very difficult to pronounce for a non-native speaker of a specific dialect or language, due to its hard sequence of sounds. It allows to identify a native speaker from a non-native speaker (cf. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100501743).

[17] An exemplification of areal distribution of the *imāla* in the district, based on my informants' speech, is given in Table 2.3 in section 2.2.2.

[18] "Dans le dialectes arabes, la conservation phonétique complète des anciennes diphtongues est un fait rare. En Orient, cette conservation est attestée au Liban […]. Au Maghreb, la conservation complète et inconditionnée des anciennes diphtongues est un fait fort rare, sinon inexistant." (Cantineau 1960: 103).

[19] Long vowels [ō] and [ē] are also allophones of /ū/ and /ā/ respectively, as explained in 2.2 and 2.2.1.

	taysīr	"simplification"	
d)	*awlād*	"children"	*awṭān* "countries"

Glide as C₂

Diphthongs in medial position are retained in words with a geminate glide: e.g. *jaww* "weather", *ḥayy* "neighbourhood", *ṣawwar* "he photographed", *dawwar* "he searched", *taww* "now".

Monosyllabic words that otherwise end in -wC or -yC in this position undergo monophthongisation:

Diphthong	Monophthong	Translation
fawq	*fõq*	up, above
kayf	*kēf*	how
bayt	*bēt*	house
šayb	*šēb*	old man
zayn	*zēn*	good, well
ġayr	*ġēr*	different
layl	*lēl*	night
ayn	*ēn*	where?
sayl	*sēl*	flood
zawg	*zōg*	husband
sayf	*sēf*	sword

Table 2.2 - *Monosyllabic nouns where the diphthong is subject to monophthongisation*

However, there are exceptions to this rule. The following monosyllabic nouns retain their original diphthong: *zayt* "oil", *ṭayr* "bird", *ṣawt* "voice". The noun *ʿayš* "rice" is realised as *ʿīš* in al-ʿAwābī by young and middle-aged informants regardless of their level of education. The case of *šay* "thing" is peculiar: it is realised as [šay], [šey] – with a clear occurrence of *imāla* – and as the monophthongised form [šī][20].

Diphthongs in loanwords are retained when in final position (e.g. *bāw* "wood") but can be subjected to monophthongisation in other cases. The word *layt* ("light") is often monophthongised as *lēt* in the speech of young informants from al-ʿAwābī – regardless of their level of education – and it is always monophthongised in the plural form, i.e. *lētāt*.

In Table 2.3, I give an account of the distribution of the occurrence of both the *imāla* in the realisation of the word شيء ("thing"), and the monophthongisation of the word لايت ("light").

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[20] The same speaker, however, can use different forms of the word *šay* during speech. This intraspeaker variation is also present in some Libyan dialects (Iványi 2006: 642).

شيء "thing"	لايت "light"	Speaker
šey	*leyt*	1, 2, 10, 11
šey	*lēt*	3,7,12
šay	*layt*	4, 8, 13, 14, 15
šī	*lēt*	5, 6, 9

Table 2.3 – *Occurrence of* imāla *and* monophthongisation *in the informants' speech*

A few conclusions can be drawn from the data presented in this table: firstly, *imāla* occurs in the speech of all the informants from al-ʿAwābī, regardless of their age or level of education; secondly, in the instances of speakers in the younger age group, with a high level of education (i.e. university), we can see that شيء is monophthongised and raised to [šī]; thirdly, *imāla* occurs in the speech of middle-aged and young speakers from Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, but not in the speech of the older group; finally, with regards to the monophthongisation of the word لايت, we can see that speakers who have a strong occurrence of *imāla* in their speech often monophthongise /layt/ to /lēt/ or raise /a/ to /e/, as in [leyt]. The examples reported above show, also, that the raising is specifically visible in two middle-aged illiterate speakers (i.e. speakers 1 and 2) – both from Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and al-ʿAwābī – and one from al-ʿAwābī with a medium level of education (i.e. speaker 10). In all other cases, لايت is monophthongised in the speech of middle-aged and young informants in both areas under investigation.

Medial glide in monosyllabic words

Diphthongs are retained in word-final syllables: e.g. *law* "if", *māy* "water", *šāy* "tea", *bāw* "wood".

Dual Endings

The dual ending *-ayn* always undergoes monophthongisation to *-īn*: e.g. مرتين *martīn* "twice"[21], سنتين *santīn* "two years".

2.2.3 Assimilation

Assimilation is a widespread process in Arabic dialects and in CA. It happens with the definite article *al-*, which is always assimilated when followed by a coronal consonant (a consonant produced with the tip or blade of the tongue: i.e. ط, ظ, ل, ن, ش, س, ص, ض, ث, ت, ذ, د, ز, ر).

Moreover, in the data collected, t-prefixes in the imperfective form of the verb and -t-suffixes in the perfective show assimilation with consonants /t, d/, and /ḍ/ (e.g. *ḍḍann* "she thinks" < *tḍann*; *tmarraḍḍ* "I was ill" < *tmarraḍt*).

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[21] This example also shows a degemination phenomenon.

2.2.4 Metathesis

Metathesis refers to the rearranging of segments or syllables within a word. More commonly, it is the switching of two contiguous segments in a word.

Reinhardt (1894: 14) dedicates a paragraph to this phenomenon with a few examples which my informants did not recognise. Other examples in my data are *ḫumra < ḫurma* "type of date" and *karhabā < kahrabā* "electricity".

2.2.5 *Ghawa* syndrome

The *ghawa* syndrome takes its name from the Arabic word for coffee *qahwa* (in some dialects pronounced *gahwa*) and it refers to the rearranging of the tonic syllable CaG to CGa, where G stands for "guttural" (e.g. CA *qahwa* "coffee" is realised as *ghawa* in Bedouin dialects of Najd); in certain cases, a stressed vowel is inserted after a velar or a pharyngeal consonant (i.e. CaGáC), to give forms like *qaháwa/gaháwa*. In some dialects of Oman, especially Bedouin varieties on the border with the UAE[22], this phenomenon is still productive, but it does not occur in sedentary dialects nor in the vernacular under investigation.

2.3 Syllable inventory

A syllable is "a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonant that cluster around this central peak"[23]. In the majority of Arabic varieties, syllables always start with a consonant (or in some cases two) followed by a long or a short vowel, and usually only a certain combination of syllables is allowed.

The syllable inventory of the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular consists of three main syllable types that can occur in any position of the word (CV, CVV and CVC) and two syllable types which appear in word-final position only (CVVC and CVCC). In addition to these, the vernacular spoken by my informants presents four forms, as an outcome of vowel elision or via loanwords. For purposes of stress assignment, syllables can be divided according to their weight in terms of light, heavy and superheavy[24]. The following table shows syllable structure based on stress and weight, according to the classification made by Watson (2002: 56-61).

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[22] Holes (2008: 481).
[23] https://glossary.sil.org/term/syllable
[24] A light syllable is formed by a consonant and a short vowel (i.e. CV), or in some instances by two consonants and a short vowel (i.e. CCV); a heavy syllable is usually formed by a consonant and a long vowel (i.e. CVV) or a branching rime (i.e. CVC); finally, a superheavy syllable, found only in some languages, is formed by either a consonant followed by a long vowel and a coda (i.e. CVVC) or an onset followed by a coda consisting of two or more consonants (i.e. CVCC).

Syllable	Weight	Monosyllabic	Polysyllabic	CV-template
CV	light	*fa* "so"	*qawaya* "iron"	CV-CV-CV
CVV	heavy	*mū* "what"	*safāra* "embassy" *farāša* "butterfly"	CV-CVV-CV
CVC	heavy	*ḥit* "sister" *sum* "name"	*gamal* "camel" *haqam* "head jewel" *zabda* "butter"	CV-CVC CVC-CV
CVVC	superheavy	*zēn* "good, well" *šēb* "old men" *ġēr* "other, another"	*fingān* "coffee cup" *šangūb* "grasshopper" *sannūr* "cat"	CVC-CVVC
CVCC	superheavy	*šaqq* "dress décor" *kidf* "shoulder" *gidd* "old man" *ḥall* "vinegar"	*rūḥ-t* "I went"	
CCV	light		*štaġal-t* "I worked"	CCV-CVCC
CCVC/V	heavy	*mrā* "woman" *ṣdur* "chest" *gbin* "cheese"	*mgummaʿ* "broom" *mḥaṭṭa* "station"	CCV-CCVC
CCVV	heavy		*drīwal* "driver"	CCVV-CVC
CCVVC	superheavy	*grūb* "group" *glās* "glass" *bẓār* "spices"		

Table 2.4 - *Syllable inventory of al-ʿAwābī district*

According to the Sonority Sequencing Principle[25], a word must contain a sonority peak – often a vowel, preceded and/or followed by a sequence of segments – consonants – with progressively decreasing sonority values towards the word edge: the sonority hierarchy goes from vowels (4), to liquids (3), to nasals (2) and to obstruents (1). As Table 2.4 shows, the speech of my informants does not always follow this principle: words like *gbin* "cheese" and *bẓār* "spices" begin with clusters of obstruent consonants. The phenomenon is the result of a process of syncope of the short vowel in the first syllable or of the deletion of initial *hamza* (e.g *mrā* < امرأة).

CCC Cluster

In the data, CCC clusters occur in word-medial position, as a result of suffixation or doubled verbs, even though in some instances the speaker inserts an epenthetic vowel [i] or [a]: e.g. *šuft(i)-he* "I/you (2MSG) saw her". The CCC cluster only appears in morphologically complex words, usually verbs. This type of cluster can also result from the adaption of loanwords to the Arabic pattern (e.g. *hanqrī* "rich")[26].

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[25] Phonotactic principle that outlines the structure of a syllable in terms of sonority.
[26] For more details on the phonology of loanwords in this variety of Omani Arabic, see 6.3.2.

2.4 Stress

Reinhardt (1894: 15-18) presents a long section on stress in the Banū Kharūṣ dialect. He states that stress follows different rules compared to other dialects in the Peninsula[27]. In the data presented here, the following stress rules apply:

- Stress a final superheavy syllable CVCC, CCVVC and CVVC if present (e.g. *krīm* "kind", *katábt* "I wrote", *šrúbt* "I drank");

- If no superheavy syllable is present, stress the rightmost non-final heavy syllable CVV or CVC (e.g. *safāra* "embassy", *zábda* "cotton");

- In all other cases, stress the leftmost light syllable CV (e.g. *báqara* "cow").

In all cases, it is never possible to stress further left than the antepenultimate syllable (e.g. *madrásat-he* "her school").

Reinhardt (1894: 16) reports that stress falls on the penultimate syllable also when the word has the negative clitic *-ši*, the interrogative clitic *-i*, or the possessive or object pronouns are suffixed. In my data, his statement has only been confirmed in respect of the suffixed pronouns, whereas the negative and the interrogative clitic did not occur in the speech of my informants.

Metrical stress theory examines two types of foots, namely the iamb and the trochee[28]: "the maximal and canonical iamb consists of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable" (Watson 2011: 7), whereas a trochee consists of a long syllable which carries the stress followed by a short unstressed one. This type of metrical analysis based on iambs and trochees brings two different types of stress, namely the iambic stress and the trochaic stress. A trochaic stress is when in a CVCVC pattern the first syllable is stressed (i.e. ˈCV-CVC), whereas an iambic CVCVC pattern stress the last syllable (i.e. CV-ˈCVC).

In the Omani varieties for which we have documentation, we know that they tend to exhibit iambic stress[29]. In Dhofari Arabic, for example, a word like *gebel* undergoes

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[27] "Der Accent weicht, was die durch denselben bedingten Lautverschiebungen im Worte betrifft, im Oman-Dialekt von den übrigen bekannten arabischen Dialekten vielfach ab, giebt demselben theilweise sein charakteristisches Gepräge und beeinflusst das Verständniss der Sprache so, dass nicht omanische Araber Schwierigkeit haben, einem gewöhnlichen Oman-Mann genau in seiner Rede zu folgen" (Reinhardt 1894: 15).

[28] The foot is the basic unit in metrical theory and usually contains one stressed syllable and at least one unstressed syllable. On metrical theory applied to Arabic dialects see the works of Hayes (1995) and Watson (2011).

[29] In Dhofari Arabic, forms with a final syllable -CVC or -CCVC, show a strong tendency to lengthen the short vowel, therefore having superheavy -CVVC or -CCVVC that always attracts the stress (Davey 2016: 63). In addition to this, Glover (1988: 71) states that "in OA," (Omani Arabic) "[…], there is a tendency for stress to move to the end of the word, so that a two-syllable word like /rátab/ 'fresh date', for

final vowel lengthening and first vowel deletion (i.e. *gbāl*) because of iambic stress[30]. A similar tendency to syncope is shown in Muscat Arabic, where all unstressed short vowels in open syllables can undergo reduction or deletion (Glover 1980: 61).

The analysis of the data collected shows in CVCVC patterns the tendency for the first light syllable CV to carry stress (e.g. ˈgamal "camel", ˈgebel "mountain"). The behaviour of words like ˈgamal and ˈgebel shows that -CVC syllables in final position count as light, therefore not attracting the stress. This phenomenon is also found in other Arabic dialects (Cairene and Sanʿani, for example[31]) and other world languages and it is due to extrametricality rules. Abu-Mansour (1992: 52) describes this phenomenon for Makkan Arabic as well, where the last consonant of the pattern CVCVC does not count in assignment of word stress. "An extrametricality rule designates a particular prosodic constituent as invisible for purposes of rule application: the rules analyse the form as if the extrametrical entity were not there" (Hayes 1995: 56). This statement explains why a CVC syllable in final-word position is light, but heavy in non-final position: C_2 is extrametrical and therefore ignored for stress assignment[32].

The vernacular under investigation, in contrast to the dialects described by Davey (2016) and Glover (1980), shows a strong tendency to trochaic stress and extrametricality, and this also explains why in the data syncope is not of common occurrence: syncope only affects unstressed short vowels, thus if the initial syllable is stressed, the vowel cannot be deleted. It remains to investigate further if this is the case of other dialectal varieties spoken in the country.

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example, is also commonly pronounced /ráṭáb/, with stress on both syllables, or /raṭáb/, which is then subject to reduction and may become /rǎṭáb/, and in faster speech /rṭáb/."

[30] Davey (2016: 64).

[31] Watson (2002, 2011c) and McCarthy (1979).

[32] There are some restrictions to the application of extrametricality rules: a) Constituency indicates that only constituents can be marked as extrametrical; b) Peripherality states that in order for these constituents to be extrametrical they need to be at the edge of the domain (left or right); c) Edge Markedness indicates that "the unmarked edge for extrametricality is the right edge"; d) Nonexhaustivity states that extrametricality is not applied if it would make the whole domain extrametrical (Hayes 1995: 57-58).

CHAPTER 3

Nominal Morphology

I chose to divide the description of the al-ʿAwābī district morphology into nominal morphology (in chapter 3), and verbal morphology (in chapter 4). This division helps the comparison with Reinhardt's material, which is one of the aims of this research, and enables the reader to be guided through the changes occurred over time, if any.

Reinhardt (1894) devotes the second part of his work to the analysis of both the nominal and the verbal morphology of the Banū Kharūṣ dialect. He starts analysing the pronouns, the noun – both in its basic and derived forms –, definiteness, adjectives, gender and number, the numerals, prepositions and adverbs. A conclusive section in Reinhardt's morphological description reports a small number of foreign loanwords he found in the speech of his informants.

The organisation of this chapter is based, on the one hand, on the structure given by Reinhardt in his work in order to have a clearer picture of the diachronic changes, if any; and on the other hand, it follows the structure found also in other works that analyse the morphological structure of Arabic dialects[1].

With the exception of foreign loanwords – which are extensively investigated in chapter 6 –, this chapter analyses the morphological structures of the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular as spoken by the consultants involved in this research, following the line traced by Reinhardt (1894). In order to stay true to the aim of comparison with Reinhardt's material, the following sections present examples from the original data I have collected during fieldwork and, whenever applicable, Reinhardt's annotations are signposted. The data here provided have been collected both through elicitation – particularly for the account of plural formations –, and through spontaneous speech. As far as regarding nominal morphology, the data provide enough similarities with Reinhardt's material.

In line with other descriptions and studies on Arabic dialects, I am going to divide the study of the noun in four main parts: the basic noun patterns (3.1); pronouns (3.2); verbal nouns (3.3); gender and number (3.4 and 3.5, respectively); definiteness and indefiniteness (3.6); noun modifiers (3.7), that is the analysis of derived forms of nouns (adjectives, numerals); adverbs and quantifiers (3.8); and finally, I examine prepositions in this chapter (3.9).

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[1] See, for example, the work by Davey (2016).

3.1 Nouns

This category includes substantives, analysed in their basic and derived pattern, including proper, concrete, and abstract names.

There are only a few nouns consisting of only two radicals, such as *sum* ("name"), *bin* ("son"), *ḏin* ("ear"), *ṯum* ("mouth"), *ḥit* ("sister"), *sene* ("year")[2].

The different CV syllables inventoried in 2.3 are subject to various combinations to form nouns. Reinhardt (1894: 39-40) reports the following basic noun patterns for the Banū Kharūṣ dialect, which are confirmed by the new data collected[3]:

- Nouns of minimal form:
    a) (CCVC) فِعْل فُعْل فَعْل
    b) (CVCC) فِعْل فُعْل فَعْل
    c) (CVCVC) فَعَل فَعُل فُعُل فِعِل

- Stems[4] extended by:
    a) lengthening the first vowel, i.e. فاعِل فاعُل, فِيعَل فَيْعَل, فُوعَل فَوْعَل (CVVCVC);
    b) lengthening the second vowel, i.e. فِعال, فُعال, فَعال, فْعال (CVCVVC);
    c) doubling the second radical, i.e. فَعَّل فِعِّل (CVCCVC);
    d) doubling the second radical and lengthening the second vowel, i.e. فَعَّال فُعَّال فِعَّال (CVCCVVC);
    e) lengthening the first and the second vowel, i.e. فَاعَال فَاعُول فِيعَال (CVVCVVC)

In addition to these, nouns can be formed:

- by extending the stem with prefixes:
    a) with *a* (i.e. أَفْعال أَفْعل),
    b) with *m*:
        - to form names of place, time and instrument (i.e. مِفْعال مِفْعَل);
        - to form the AP of derived forms of the verb, and the PP;
        - to form verbal nouns of the third derived form (i.e. مفاعلة).
    c) with *t*, to form verbal nouns of the second and fifth derived forms (i.e. II: تفقّد ; V: تفضيل)
    d) with *n* or *st*, to form verbal nouns of the seventh, eigth and tenth derived forms (i.e. VII: نْفعالة; VIII: فتْعال; X: سْتَفعال).

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[2] Some of these are, however, the result of the deletion of initial or final *hamza*.
[3] These patterns are reported in their Arabic script form, as Reinhardt (1894: 39-40) does.
[4] Stem is intended here as the minimal unit of an Arabic word, also known as "root", to which affixes and suffixes can be added, or semi-vowels inserted.

- by extendeing the stem with suffixes:

    a) with *ān* (i.e. فِعْلان فُعْلان فَعْلان);

    b) with *e* (i.e. فعْلة)[5];

    c) with the relative ending *i* (*āni*): فْعُولِّية مُفُعْلانىّ فعلانىّ فعلىّ.

3.1.1 Basic noun patterns

In the following tables, the basic noun patterns found in the data are presented with at least an example for each type. These patterns consist of different combinations of CV syllables, as shown in the previous sub-section, to form lexemes. The majority of the following syllabic combination can be found in Reinhardt (1894: 38-55) as well, therefore some of the lexical items listed are similar: in these cases, the gloss [R. and PAGE NUMBER] accompanies the item in question. Moreover, when Reinhardt's realisation appears different from the realisation of the lexeme in my data, his transcription is reported next to the page number.

The items are presented following the structure used by Davey (2016).

CVVC	Example
CāC	*rās* "head, leader"[6]
CīC	*rīḥ* "hernia"
CūC	*t̠ōr* "bull"
CayC[7]	*šēb* "old man", *sēl* "flood"

Table 3.1 – *CVVC pattern*

CCVC[8]	Example
CCiC	*rgil* "foot", *gbin* "cheese" [R.41]
CCuC	*ṣġur* "smallness", *ḍhur* "noon" [R.41]

Table 3.2 – *CCVC pattern*

CCVVC(V)	Example
CCāC	*bzār* "spices"
CCūCa	*ḥmūḍa* "heartburn"

Table 3.3 – *CCVVC pattern*

CVCC	Example
CaCC	*ḫall* "vinegar"
CiCC	*kidf* "shoulder", *bill* "spring", *nimr* "tiger"
CuCC	*ḫubz* "bread" [R.42], *durg* "drawer"

Table 3.4 – *CVCC pattern*

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[5] As mentioned in 2.2.1, the *ta marbūṭa* (characterising the feminine ending) is sometimes realised as [e] in this vernacular, and henceforth transcribed in this way.

[6] This example is the result of the lengthening of medial *hamza*.

[7] This pattern has been subjected to monophthongisation and does not occur with the diphthong anymore (for more details on this phenomenon, see 2.2.2).

[8] This group can be the result of syncope (for more details, see 2.3).

CVCVC	Example
CaCaC	*tabaġ* "tobacco"
CaCiC	*ʿadis* "lentils"
CaCuC	*qador* "earthenware pot" [R.43]

Table 3.5 – *CVCVC pattern*

CVVCVC	Example
CāCiC	*ḫātim* "finger ring" [R.43, *ḫātum*], *gānib* "face"
CāCuC	*bākur* "morning" [R.43]
CīCaC	*zīlaq* "noise" [R.44, *zēlaq*]
CīCiC	*sīkil* "bicycle"
CūCaC	*mōtar* "vintage car"
CūCiC	*fōfil* "nutmeg" [R.44, *fōfel*]

Table 3.6 – *CVVCVC pattern*

CVCVVC	Example
CaCāC	*ʿaqāb* "eagle"
CaCīC	*ʿarīš* "hut"[9], *ṭaḥīn* "flour"
CaCūC	*ʿagūz* "old woman"
CiCāC	*gitār* "guitar"
CiCīC	*zibīb* "raisins" [R.45, *zbīb*]
CiCūC	*remōt* "remote control"
CuCāC	*ruṣāṣ* "graphite"

Table 3.7 – *CVCVVC pattern*

CVCCVC	Example
CaCCaC	*farraḫ* "pop-corn", *qanfaḏ* "hedgehog"
CaCCiC	*ṯaʿlib* "fox"
CiCCa(C)	*ḥigra* "room"
CiCCi(C)	*timbi* "bangle", *gilgil* "anklet" [R.54, "bell"]
CuCCa(C)	*luġġa* "gecko"
CuCCuC	*bulbul* "nightingale" [R.54]

Table 3.8 – *CVCCVC pattern*

CVCCVVC	Example
CaCCāC	*šammān* "honey melon"
CaCCīC	*sekkīn* "knife" [R.49], *ṣarrīḫ* "date insect"
CaCCūC	*šangūb* "grasshopper"
CiCCāC	*findāl* "sweet potato" [R.55]
CuCCāC	*rummān* "pomegranate" [R.48]
CuCCūC	*duktūr* "doctor"

Table 3.9 – *CVCCVVC pattern*

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[9] "Open hut made of palm-tree branches", found in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

CVVCVVC	Example
CāCāC	*sāmām* "domestic appliances" [R.49]
CāCūC	*tābūt* "coffin" [R.49], *ṭābūq* "brick"
CīCūC	*tītūn* "newborn"
CūCūC	*qūʿqūʿ* "upside down" [R.55]

Table 3.10 – *CVVCVVC pattern*

3.1.2 Derived noun patterns

In the data, in line with Arabic language in general, there are many nouns of derived patterns, in addition to basic forms. Some of these nouns are created from the basic form adding a prefix (*a-*, *mV-*), a suffix (*-ān*, *-ī*, *-āni*) or extending the basic stem changing the quantity of the consonants and vowels of the root.

Stem extended by prefixes. The prefix *a-* is used to express the elative (form افعل) and the IV derived form of the verbs. For this reason, they will be discussed respectively in 3.7.1 and in 4.7. The prefix *a-* can also be used for the formation of some broken plurals, e.g. *feleg* / *aflāg* ("irrigation channel, stream"), as will be shown in 3.5.

The prefix *mV-* can assume different patterns based on the meaning.

The first set of examples from the data shows nouns following the maCCVC pattern, where the internal vowel can be either /a/ or /i/. The vowel of the prefix can also be elided in some nouns for euphonic reasons (e.g. *mḥaṭṭa* "station"). Lexical items following these patterns indicate names of place.

maCCVC	Example
maCCaC	*maḫrag* "exit" [R.49, *maḫreg*], *maktab* "office" *maṭbaḫ* "kitchen" *maqbara* "cemetary" [R.50, *mqubra*] *madrase* "school" [R.50, *mderse*]
maCCiC	*masgid* "mosque"[10] [R.50, *misgid*]

Table 3.11 – *Names of place, maCCVC pattern*

The second set of examples from the data shows lexical items following the miCCvC pattern, indicating names of instruments.

m(V)CCVVC	Example
miCCāC	*miftāḥ* "key" *minfāḫ* "fan, blower" [R.50]

Table 3.12 – *Names of instrument, miCCVVC pattern*

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[10] Also realised as [misgid], if the *imāla* occurs.

Research findings also showed the names of instrument *mgummaʿ* ("broom") and *mqamša* ("spoon"), that do not follow any of the patterns above and where the short vowel of the prefix is always elided.

Passive participles can follow two main *m*-prefixed patterns in the data: *maCCūC* (e.g. *masmūḥ* "allowed", *magnūn* "crazy", *maʿrūf* "known", *maḍbūṭ* "excellent"), valid for the first form of the verb, and a pattern prefixed by *mu-*, whose structure varies based on the derived form of the verb. The active participle, on the contrary, only shows a *m*-prefixed pattern in the derived forms[11].

<u>Stem extended by doubling the second consonant and lengthening the second vowel of the root</u>. Names of profession belong to this category and show the pattern CVCCVVC (e.g. *ḥaddād* "blacksmith", *qaṣṣāb* "butcher", *ḥaṭṭāb* "carpenter", *ṭabbāḫ* "cook")[12].

<u>Stem extended by suffixes</u>. The suffix *-ān* is added to the basic stem to form both nouns and adjectives. In the data there are a few examples of nouns following this pattern, however this suffix is not used to create new adjectives, but it is detected retrospectively, since it has now been incorporated in the word.

Nouns	Adjectives
qurān "Quran" (< *qarā* "to read") [R.52, *qurʾān*]	*taʿabān* "tired" (< *taʿab* "become weak and thin") *gūʿān* "hungry" (< *gawwaʿ* "famish")

Table 3.13 – *Suffix -ān*

The suffix *-ī* (*-wi, -āwi*) and the relative ending *-āni* are used to indicate affiliation to:

- a country (e.g. *miṣrī* "Egyptian", *hindī* "Indian", *pakistanī* "Pakistani", etc.);
- an Arab tribe (e.g. *Ḫarūṣī*, *ʿAbrī*, etc.)
- a city (e.g. *Nezawī* "from Nizwa", *Rustāqī* "from Rustāq", etc.)
- generic (e.g. *ḥaḍrī* "urban residents", *bedwī* "Bedouin", *ibāḍī* "Ibadi", etc.)

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal

Personal pronouns, in Arabic, can be divided into two main groups, that are independent forms and suffixed forms. In the vernacular spoken by my informants, they are as follows – different forms reported by Reinhardt (1894: 21) are given in brackets:

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[11] Passive and active participle patterns for the derived forms of the verb in the vernacular under investigation are reported in Table 4.19, in 4.7.2.
[12] cf. form *faʿʿāl* in Reinhardt (1894: 48).

	Independent Pronouns	Suffixed Pronouns
1SG	*anā* (R. *ene*)	*-nī*
2MSG	*nte*	*-ik*
2FSG	*ntī*	*-iš*
3MSG	*hūwa* (R. *hūwe, hūe*)	*-o/-hu*[13]
3FSG	*hīya* (R. *hīye*)	*-ha/-he*
1PL	*naḥna / iḥna* (R. *ḥne*)	*-nā*
2MPL	*ntū*	*-kum*
2FPL	*nten*	*-kin / -kan*
3MPL	*hum / hma*	*-hum*
3FPL	*hin / hna*	*-hin*

Table 3.14 – *Personal pronouns*

(1)   *anā*   *kunt*   *saġīra*

       PRON.1SG   was.1SG   small.FSG

       "I was young"   [S14, 2.2017]

(2)   *hūwa*   *regaʿt*   *min*   *el-baḥrein*

       PRON.3MSG   came back.3MSG   from   DEF-bahrain

       "He came back from Bahrain"   [S2, 3.2017]

(3)   *gilsit*   *ʿaind-o*   *arbaʿ*   *sanuwāt*

       stayed.3FSG   around-PRON.3MSG   four.M   year.FPL

       "She stayed with him for four years"   [S1, 3.2017]

3.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns have distinct forms based on the deixis, i.e. the proximity or distance of the object they refer to. In the data, they also distinguish in gender and number, and they show shorter or longer forms with no particular difference in use[14]:

	Masculine S	Feminine S	Masculine P	Feminine P
Proximal	*(ha)ḏā /hawā*	*(ha)ḏī*	*(ha)ḏālēn*	*(ha)ḏēlā*
Distal	*(ha)ḏāk*	*(ha)ḏīk*	*(ha)ḏālēk ūlāyka*[15]	*haḏālēk ūlāyka*

Table 3.15 – *Demonstrative pronouns*

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[13] The realisation of the suffix pronoun of the third masculine person differ according to the age of the speaker: informants belonging to the young and middle-age range realise it as [hu], whereas older informants realise it as [o]. This happens regardless of provenance or level of education of each speaker surveyed.

[14] Very similar forms are found elsewhere in Oman (cf. Davey 2016) and in the Baḥarna dialect described by Holes (2016).

[15] This form (masculine and feminine) was found only in the spontaneous speech of speakers 8, 13, and 15, and it is used only for humans and animals.

The same forms are reported by Reinhardt (1894: 31), with only minor discrepancies: *hāḏīle/hāḏēle/hāḏelāhum* are the forms for the proximal masculine plural, and *hādīlāhin* is the form for the proximal feminine plural. None of these have been found in my data. Moreover, the forms Reinhardt (1894: 31) reports for the masculine and the feminine distal plural are respectively *hāḏīlāk* and *haḏīlākhin*, which haven't been confirmed by my informants.

Here are some examples from the data on the use of the demonstrative pronoun.

(4) *haḏā* *l-fingān*
     DEM.PROX.MSG DEF-coffee cup.SG
     "This coffee cup" [S9, 2.2017]

(5) *haḏī* *l-ḥurma* *mā* *gīt*
     DEM.PROX.FSG DEF-woman.FSG NEG came.3FSG
     "This woman didn't come back" [S1, 3.2017]

(6) *haḏālēk* *seččarān*
     DEM.DIST.MPL drunkard.MPL
     "Those are drunkards" [S8, 2.2017]

(7) *ḏāk* *il-yōm*
     DEM.DIST.MSG DEF-day.FSG
     "At that time" [S7, 4.2017]

(8) *haḏēlā* *l-banāt*
     DEM.PROX.FPL DEF-girl.FPL
     "These girls" [S5, 6.2018]

3.2.3 Possessives

Possession in the vernacular under investigation can be expressed in different ways: with a synthetic genitive construction (i.e. *ʾiḍāfa*), using possessive suffixes (e.g. *zōg-ī* "my husband") or genitive exponents (i.e. *māl* and *ḥāl*[16]). A complete and detailed description of how possession is expressed in the vernacular under investigation is given in 5.1.1.2. Here, a list of the suffixed possessive pronouns used by my informants is presented, reporting Reinhardt's counterparts (1894: 22) in brackets when different.

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[16] Although in the course of this work I will show how *ḥāl* cannot really be considered as a genitive exponent in the speech of my informants.

Pronoun	Masculine	Feminine
1SG	*-ī (-yī* after vowel)	*-ī /-yī*
2SG	*-ik* (R. *-ak*)	*-iš*
3PL	*-o / -hu*	*-ha/-he*
1PL	*-nā* (R. *-ne*)	*-nā* (R. *-ne*)
2PL	*-kum*	*-kin / -kan* (R. *-ken*)
3PL	*-hum*	*-hin*

Table 3.16 – *Possessive suffixes*

In the data, monosyllabic words show a syncope when the possessive pronoun is suffixed, e.g. *ḫt-ī* "my sister" < *ḫit* "sister"; *sm-ī* "my name" < *sum* "name".

The *-iš* suffix is a distinctive feature of peninsular Arabic dialects for the second person feminine singular and it is widespread throughout the country (although sometimes is affricated in *-č*)[17].

(9)   *kēf*   *ʿammūt-iš?*

        How   aunt-PRON.2FSG

        "How is your aunt?"   [S8, 2.2017]

(10)   *ragʿa*   *maʿa*   *bint-o*

        came back.3MSG   with   girl.FSG-PRON.3MSG

        "He came back with his daughter"   [S4, 3.2017]

Some remarks on the possessive suffixes:

- when the possessive is suffixed to nouns ending with a vowel, the latter tends to lengthen (e.g. *šifã-k* "your (MSG) recovery" < *šife* "recovery");

- the feminine ending ة (/a/ or /e/) becomes /t/ when a possessive is suffixed (e.g. *ġurfat-ī* "my room" < *ġurfe*), and the same happens with feminine nouns ending in *-āwe* (e.g. *benāwit-he* "her stepdaughter" < *benāwe* "stepdaughter");

- feminine nouns ending in *-we* or *-ye* become *-ūt* or *-īt* (e.g. *bedūtī* "my beginning" < *bedwe* "beginning", *mešīt-ne* "our walk" < *mešye* "walk").

3.2.4 Indefinites

Indefinite pronouns are used to refer to non-specific beings, objects or places. In the table below are shown the indefinite pronouns as they are found in the data.

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[17] Linguists refers to this feature with the term *kaškaša*. The *-š* suffix is not used in CA, although it is reported by old Arab grammarians (as Sībawayhi, Ibn Jinnī, and Ibn Yaʿīš) who individuated two different groups, one using the *-š* instead of the *-k* for the second feminine singular, and another one suffixing the *-š* directly to the *-k* of the CA second person form. Modern Arabic dialects that show this feature are the ones spoken in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE (al-Azraqi 2007: 555).

someone / anyone	ḥad
something / anything	šey ~ šī
somewhere	makān
anywhere	ēyy makān
sometime	marra
no one	mā ḥad

Table 3.17 – *Indefinite pronouns*

Reinhardt (1894: 28-30) reports a full list of indefinite pronouns which includes the one listed above but adding a few more. Among these, he documents the formula *kemmīn wāḥi min* followed by a plural noun for "some" – which never occurs in my data, where is replaced by *baʿaḍ* + plural noun -; the indefinite *ḥadši* for "no one, anyone" – which will be further discussed in 5.3.1 – ; and the noun *flān* (m.)/*flāne* (f.) for "someone specific", used, according to Reinhardt (1894: 29), "wenn der Betreffende bekannt ist" – not found in the speech of my informants.

Here are some examples from the data on the use of the indefinite pronouns:

(11) *mā*   *ḥad*   *šūf-kum*

      NEG.   person   saw.3MSG-PRON.2MPL

      "No one saw you"   [S7, 2.2017]

(12) *tʿāq*   *il-bint*   *ēyy*   *makān*   *wa*

      throw.3FSG   DEF-girl.FSG   any   place.SG   CONJ.

      maʿ   *ēyy*   *ḥad*   *w-trūḥ*

      with   any   one   CONJ-go.3FSG

      "She throws the daughter anywhere and with anyone and then goes"

                                                     [S1, 3.2017]

3.2.5 Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns in the speech of my informants are as follow:

Why?	amū / lēš
What?	mū[18]
When?	matā
Where?	ēn (wēn) / hēn
Who?	min / bū[19]
How?	kē / kēf
How many?	kam

Table 3.18 – *Interrogative pronouns*

[18] According to Reinhardt (1894: 282), this form is originated from the MSA interrogative pronoun *mā* and the 3MSG *-hu*.
[19] Some speakers use the relative pronoun *bū* as a general relativiser also in questions (as it will be shown in 5.1.1.3).

The form *amū* for "why?" is mainly used by older speakers and it is interesting to point out that Reinhardt (1894: 32) documents the form *ḥamhū* for "why?", as well as *ʿolām* and *māl* (as in *mā + l-*). None of them is attested in my data. The form *lēš* (also found in Dhofar, cf. Davey 2016: 108) is instead used by young and middle-aged speakers.

3.2.6 Reflexives

This class of pronouns is formed from the word *nafs* "soul", which is used to mean "self" when a pronoun is suffixed (e.g. *nafs-o* "himself", *nafs-ī* "myself"). It is also used in construction with the word *šay* "thing" to mean "the same thing", e.g. *nafs-šay*[20]. Alongside this form, in the data the numeral "one" (i.e. *wāḥid*) followed by the possessive suffix also appears to indicate "alone", e.g. *wāḥd-ha* "by herself", *wāḥd-ī* "by myself", etc.

(13) *wāḥd-ik*   *fī*   *haḏā*   *l-mekān*

       one-PRON.2MSG   in   DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-place.MSG

       "All by yourself in this place"   [S7, 2.2017]

3.3 Verbal Nouns

In the data, the verbal nouns of derived verb forms are predictable, in line with Arabic language in general: they follow a pattern specific for each form (as it will be shown in 4.7.2). Basic verb forms are, on the contrary, unpredictable. Reinhardt (1894) does not present a specific section on verbal nouns in his work, but rather he reports "infinitiva" forms for each syllable combination he lists. In the data there are only two main syllabic patterns for verbal nouns (CVCC and CVCVC), which include six different combinations:

CVCC	Example
CaCC	*ḍarb* "knocking", *terk* "leaving" [R.41]
CiCC	*ḥilf* "oath", *ṭilbe* "petition" [R.42]
CuCC	*šurb* "drink, drinking", *šuġl* "job" [R.42]

Table 3.19 – *Verbal nouns, CVCC pattern*

CVCVC	Example
CaCaC	*selef* "borrowing", *ḥagel* "blushing" [R.43]
CaCiC	*ʿafid* "jump" [R.43]
CaCuC	*rakuḍ* "running", *ketub* "writing" [R.43]

Table 3.20 – *Verbal nouns, CVCVC pattern*

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[20] According to my consultants, in present-day Oman, it is made a distinction between the forms *nafs-šay* and *sem sem*, both used to mean "the same thing". The form *sem sem* is mainly used by Indian and Pakistani workers that settled in the country in the last few decades (or by Omani when addressing them), and therefore is a highly distinctive sociolinguistic trait.

3.4 Gender

As it happens in other Arabic dialects and in CA, nouns can either have a marked gender, that is a suffix explicating the gender, or an inherent gender, that is an unmarked one. Broadly speaking, masculine nouns are unmarked, whereas feminine nouns can be marked or unmarked. The gender of unmarked inanimate nouns can only be detected by looking at the agreement.

The unmarked feminine gender has not been studied thoroughly, in fact very less works can be found on this topic[21]. Reinhardt (1894: 55-56) reports the following list of inherent feminine nouns, and the examples provided from my own data confirm it:

- proper nouns relating to females (e.g. *Mōze, Rabʿa, Šiḫḫa, Manal, Iḫlāṣ,* etc.);
- nouns denoting feminine entities or adjectives denoting female-related activities (e.g. *umm* "mother", *ḫit* "sister", *ʿarūs* "bride", *sennūr* "female cat", *ʿagūz* "old woman", *ḥāmil* "pregnant");
- plants (e.g. *nargīl* "coconut palm"[22], *naḫal* "date palm");
- countries and cities (e.g. *Miṣr* "Egypt", *ʿUmān* "Oman", *Mombei* "Bombai", etc.);
- double parts of the body (e.g. *yid* "hand", *rgil* "foot", *ʿēn* "eye", *din* "ear", *ṣboʿ* "finger"[23])

The following are unmarked feminine nouns from elicited data:

Arabic	English	Arabic	English
arḍ	ground, Earth	*ṭarīq*	road, street
sekkīn	knife	*ṭawi*	well
korš	stomach	*ḫanger*	dagger
kubd	liver	*rūḥ*	ghost
yōm	day	*nefs*	soul
šams	sun	*ʿaqrab*	scorpion
nār	fire	*rīḥ*	wind
faʿā	snake	*qador*	earthenware pot
bākor	tomorrow		

Table 3.21 – *Unmarked feminine nouns*

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[21] One of the very few is the article by Prochazka (2004).

[22] However, in the data *nargīl* "coconut" is masculine. The same phenomenon can also be found in other languages. In Italian, for example, is the other way around: the feminine is used to indicate the fruit (e.g. *la mela*, "the apple") and the masculine to indicate the plant (e.g. *il melo*, "the apple tree").

[23] The case of *ṣboʿ* is interesting. According to Prochazka (2004: 240), it is considered in this category, because in a human body there are two times five fingers, so a finger is considered a paired entity.

These nouns correspond to the ones reported by Reinhardt (1894: 56-57), with minor exceptions – e.g. *rumḥ* "spear" and *legil* "pond", which did not occur in my data.

It is interesting to note that, although the term for "wind" is feminine, the names of the specific winds are usually masculine: *šemāl* "east wind", *ġarbī* "west wind", *kōš* "south wind", *ezyēb* "north wind" (cf. Reinhardt 1894: 57).

Moreover, not all the paired parts of the body are feminine. Exceptions are: *marṣaġ* "wrist", *zend* "forearm", *maġḍan* "knee joint", *šīm* "leg", *kidf* "shoulder", *kōʿ* "elbow", *ġallūg* "lobe", *gumʿ* "fist", *ʿarš* "back/top of the hand". Masculine are also: *ḫinṣor* "little finger", *bhīm* "thumb", *binṣor* "ring finger", *ferkūn* "knuckle". Other marked feminine body parts are: *loḥme* "calf", *msebbḥa* or *sebbābe* "middle finger" and *mōḫra* "nose". This list of nouns correspond to what reported by Reinhardt (1894: 56), with the exception of *feskūl* – which, according to my informants, does not indicate the biological "middle finger" but rather the "middle finger" in a derogatory sense –, *ġinz l fuqra* "gluteus" – which my informants did not recognise and *faqš rrukaʿa* "kneecap" – for which my informants use the more general *rukbe* "knee"[24].

Feminine nouns not belonging to one of the previous categories show a suffix -*a* in the singular form (i.e. MSA *tā marbūṭa*)[25], such as: *banka* "fan", *mkebbe* "tin", *zabda* "butter", *rōzne* "shelf in the wall", *gaḥle* "clay jug", *zibāla* "rubbish", *ḫamse* "five", *fazāʿa* "scarecrow", *ṯallāga* "fridge", *ġurfe* "room", *ġarše* "bottle" [R.57], *baḥše* "envelope" [R.57], *qortāṣe* "document" [R.57, "paper"], *trīke* "widow" [R.57], *delle* "coffeepot" [R.58], *nemūne* "type, kind", *drīše* "window" [R.58].

The noun *dār* "house" is feminine in the vernacular under investigation, however the terms *bēt* "house" and *bāb* "door" (which are feminine in many North African Arabic dialects[26]) are masculine in my data.

In some cases, marked and unmarked nouns coexist in the data, but they are not semantically interchangeable: e.g. *bank* (m.) "bank", *banka* (f.) "fan"; *stār* (m.) "banister", *stāra* (f.) "curtain", *durg* (m.) "drawer", *durga* (f.) "stair".

3.5 Number

Number includes singular, plural and a dual form that indicates nouns in the amount of two. The singular form of the noun with regards to the Omani vernacular under investigation has already been discussed in 3.1.

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[24] These nouns are reported in accordance with Reinhardt's transcription.
[25] Also realised as [e] in the vernacular under investigation (see 2.2.1 on *imāla*).
[26] Prochazka (2004: 244-245).

In the data, the dual mostly behaves as a numeral, indicating the quantity of two: we find, for example, temporal expression such as *šahratīn* "two months", *santīn* "two years", *martīn* "twice", and the numerals 200 (*mitēn*) and 2000 (*alfīn*).

The CA *-ayn* ending, as already mentioned in 2.2.2, is subject, in this vernacular, to a process of monophthongisation to *-īn*[27]. This form is, thus, suffixed to nouns in order to form the dual: e.g. *ḥrumtīn* "two women", *tefqīn* "two rifles", *yawmīn* "two days", *ryalīn* "two ryals".

The plural can be divided into sound plural and internal plural.

Since in the spontaneous speech I recorded from my consultants there was only a small number of plurals, I used simple elicitation based on Reinhardt's (1894: 67-77) material to check the plural formation in their speech. Therefore, although some of the examples are similar to the one listed by Reinhardt (*ibidem*), they need to be intended as the ones used in the present day by the speakers involved in this research. Moreover, the tables include only a sample of plurals; more plurals can be found in the glossary in Annex 2.

3.5.1 Sound plural

The sound plural is formed by adding one of two different suffixes according to the gender of the noun: *-īn* for the masculine[28] and *-āt* for the feminine.

The following categories of nouns are based on the examples reported in Reinhardt (1894: 67-68) and have been confirmed by my data. Have the sound plural in *-īn*:

- participles of all verbal forms, when referring to masculine entities (e.g. *mḥobbīn < mḥobb* "friend, beloved", *mitkellemīn < mitkellum* "eloquent", *muslimīn* "Muslims", *misterrīn* "delighted");

- most adjectives, except those with form فعيل (e.g. *ḥelwīn < ḥelū* "sweet", *zēnīn < zēn* "good", *ḥoṣṣīn < ḥoṣṣ* "dirty");

- the relative form *-wī* and *-āwi* (e.g. *benāwīn* "stepsons");

- numerals from 20 to 90 (e.g. *arbaʿīn* "forty");

- masculine diminutive forms, which denote rational living beings (e.g. *twētinīn < twētin* "dwarf", *bneyīn < bnei* "son, little boy");

- also, some unmarked feminine nouns (e.g. *belādīn < beled* "country").

Have the sound plural ending in *-āt*:

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[27] As opposed to Reinhardt's (1894: 66-67) dual form *-ēn*.

[28] The data show that the suffix for the sound masculine plural is homophonous with the dual ending, which, however, is the result of monophthongisation.

- the feminine of all participles and adjectives that form their masculine plural in -*īn* (e.g. *muslimāt* "a Muslim woman", *mḥobbāt* "beloved");

- nouns ending in -*a* or -*e*, even though some of them may present an internal plural (e.g. *wāldāt < wālde* "mother", *raqqāṣāt < raqqāṣa* "dancer");

- the names of some months (e.g. *ar-rabiʿiyāt* "the two months of *rebiʿ el-awwel* and *rebiʿ el-āḫer*", *el-gemādiyāt* "the two months of *gemād el-awwel* and *gemād el-āḫer*", *l-faṭriyāt* "the two months of *šūwāl* and *el-qaʿade*").

Reinhardt (1894: 68) also reports in this category the plural of diminutives, however in the data diminutives are not a common occurrence and it is not possible to assess a gender category at this stage.

There are also other nouns that present the sound plural ending in -*āt* (cf. Reinhardt 1894: 69): *ḫawāt < ḫit* "sister", *benāt < bint* "daughter, girl", *ḫērāt < ḫēr* "good", *semāwāt < seme* "sky", *briyāt < bra* "pin, needle", *ṣalāwāt < ṣalā* "prayer", *bwāt < bwe* "father", *mwāsāt < mwās* "razor", *smāmāt < smām* "bridge", *ḥrūbāt < ḥarb* "war", *sādāt < seyīd* "mister", *sebālāt < sebāl* "monkey", *mākūlāt < mākul* "food".

Finally, there is a category of nouns that form their plural in -*īye* (Reinhardt 1894: 69-70). These are:

- names of professions and nationalities (e.g. *ḥammālīye < ḥammāl* "carrier", *baḥārīye < baḥḥār* "sailor, seaman", *ḥarāmīye < ḥarām* "thief");

- names of tribes (e.g. *ġāfrīye < ġāfri*, *henāwīye < henāwi*).

- other nouns, such as: *ʿobrīye < ʿobrī* "passenger", *ibāḍīye < ibāḍī* "Ibadi", *sinnīye < sinnī* "Sunni".

Some of the nouns reported by Reinhardt in this category did not occur in my data, since many of them are now obsolescent or related to previous historical phases of Oman (e.g. slavery) – e.g. *mqēmri/mqēmryje* "necromancer", and *šrūzi/šrūzyje* "slave dealer"[29].

3.5.2 Internal plural

The internal – or broken plural – is so called because it presents a change of the consonant and vowel pattern from the singular form. Reinhardt (1894: 70-77) lists the broken plural forms found in the speech of his informants. For each table the singular and plural patterns are given; the examples provided have to be considered from my own elicited data. Reinhardt's form, if different, is given following the same glossing

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[29] These nouns are reported in accordance with Reinhardt's (1894: 69-70) transcription.

system used in 3.1. In some instances, an internal plural can be valid for several singular forms, and in these cases the new singular pattern is given in bold.

CVCC(V)	CCVC[30]	Singular	Plural
CaCC(e)	CCaC	*berze* "meeting"	*brez* "meetings" [R.70]
			nṭal "anklets" [R.70]
		naṭle "anklet"	*šlel* "war songs" [R.70]
		šelle "war song"	*qrab* "hoses" [R.70]
		qarbe "hose"	
CiCC(e)	C(i)CaC	*fitne* "dispute"	*ften* "disputes" [R.70]
			slaʿ "products" [R.70]
		silʿa "product"	*ʿisaq* "beams of dates" [R.70]
		ʿisqa "beam of dates"	
CuCC(e)	CCaC	*ġurfe* "room"	*ġraf* "rooms" [R.70]
		gufra "hole"	*gfar* "holes" [R.70]
		rukbe "knee"	*rkeb* "knees" [R.70]
		boqʿa "stain"	*bqaʿ* "stains" [R.70]
CVVCC(V)			
CūCC(e)	CCaC	*būme* "entranchment"	*bwem* "entranchments" [R.70]
			lwaḥ "detours" [R.70]
		lōḥa "detour"	
CVVC(V)			
CāCe	CCaC	*qāme* "profile"	*qyem* "profiles" [R.70]
			šyel "woman's coats" [R.70]
		šēle "woman's coat"	
CVVCVC			
CāCuC	CCuC	*sēḥor* "magician"	*sḥor* "magicians" [R.71]
C(V)CVVC			
C(a)CīC	CCuC	*qfīr* "basket"	*qfor* "baskets" [R.71]
			ḥṣor "mats" [R.71]
		ḥaṣīr "mat"	
C(a)CīC	CCiC	*medīne* "city, town"	*mdin* "cities" [R.71][31]
C(i)CāC	CCuC	*kitāb* "book"	*ktub* "books" [R.71]

Table 3.22 – *CCVC plural pattern*

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[30] Form فعْل, فعِل, فعَل (Reinhardt 1894: 70).
[31] Reinhardt (1894: 75) also reports the form *medāin*, but no evidence of this is in my data.

C(V)CVVC	CVCC[32]	Singular	Plural
CaCīC	CuCC	*ṭarīq* "street"	*ṭurq* "streets" [R.71]
CCāC	CuCC	*ṣrāg* "lamp"	*ṣurg* "lamps" [R.71]
		frāš "rug"	*furš* "rugs" [R.71]
		lḥāf "woman's veil"	*loḥf* "veils" [R.71]

Table 3.23 – *CVCC plural pattern*

CVCVC	(V)CCVVC[33]	Singular	Plural
CaCaC	(a)CCāC	*feleg* "irrigation channel"	*aflāg* [R.71]
		tefaq "rifle"	*tfāq* "rifles" [R.71]
		weled "child"	*awlād* "children" [R.71]
		nefer "person"	*enfār* "persons" [R.72]
CaCiC	CCūC	*ḫatim* "finger ring"	*ḫtūm* "finger rings"
CVCC(V)			
CaCC(e)	CCāC	*šagre* "tree"	*šgār* "trees" [R.71]
		baġle "mule"	*bġāl* "mules" [R.71]
		raqbe "neck"	*rqāb* "necks" [R.71]
		melle "bowl"	*mlāl* "bowls" [R.71]
		delle "coffee-pot"	*dlēl* "coffee-pots"
CVCCVC			
CiCCaC	CCāC	*riggāl* "man" [R.71, *reggāl*]	*rgāl* "men" [R.71][34]
CVVC			
CāC	CCāC	*ġēm* "cloud"	*ġyām* "clouds" [R.71]
		bāb "door"	*bwāb* "doors" [R.71]
CīC	CCāC	*rīḥ* "wind"	*riyāḥ* "winds" [R.71]
CūC	CCāC	*ṯōb* "dress"	*ṯiyāb* "dresses"
		nūn "woman breast"	*nwān* "breasts" [R.71]
CVVCVC			
CāCuC	CCāC	*šāʿor* "poet"	*šʿār* "poets" [R.71]

Table 3.24 – *CCVVC plural pattern*

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[32] Form فُعْل (Reinhardt 1894: 71).
[33] Forms فِعال, فُعال, فعول (Reinhardt 1894: 71).
[34] Reinhardt (1894: 76) also reports the form *ragāgīl* as a broken plural for *raggāl*, but no evidence of this is in my data.

C(V)CVVC	C(V)CVVC[35]	Singular	Plural
C(a)CīC	C(a)CāC	ʾaṣīl "noble"	ʾaṣāl [R.71]
		kbīr "big"	kbār [R.71]
		ṯqīl "heavy"	ṯqāl [R.71]
		ṭwīl "long"	ṭwāl [R.71]
		ṣġīr "small"	ṣġār [R.71]
		krīm "charitable"	krām [R.71]
	C(i)CāC	gṯīl "fat"	giṯāl [R.71]
	C(u)CāC	ḥabīṯ "poor, bad, mean"	ḥubāṯ [R.71]
		ʿaqīl "reasonable"	ʿuqāl [R.71]
		uṣēm "thin"	uṣām [R.71]
CVCC(V)			
CaCC	CCāC	baṭl "brave"	bṭāl [R.71]
	CCūC	baḥr "sea"	bḥūr [R.71]
		zend "forearm"	znūd "forearms" [R.71]
		ḥaff "camel's hoof"	ḥfūf "camel's hoofs"
		raml "sand, desert"	rmūl "deserts" [R.72]
CiCCe	CCūC	šidfe "tree stump"	šdūf "stumps" [R.72]
CVVC			
CāC[36]	C(i)CūC	ḥēl "horse"	ḥiyūl "horses" [R.72]
		bēt "house"	byūt "houses" [R.72]
		gēb "button"	gyūb "buttons" [R.72]
CVCVC			
CaCiC	CuCūC	melik "king"	mulūk "kings" [R.72]

Table 3.25 – *C(V)CVVC plural pattern*

CVVCVC	CVCCVVC	Singular	Plural
CāCiC	CuCCāC	ṭāriš "courier"	ṭurrāš "couriers" [R.72]
		ʿāmil "employee"	ʿommāl "employees" [R.72]
CāCuC	CiCCāC		
		ḥakūm "ruler"	ḥukkām "rulers" [R.72]

Table 3.26 – *CVCCVVC plural pattern*

CVC(V)C	(V)CCVVC[37]	Singular	Plural
CaC(a)C	aCCāC	waqt "time"	awqāt "times" [R.72]
CVVC			
CūC[38]		lōn "colour"	elwān "colours" [R.72]
		yōm "day"	iyyām "days" [R.72]

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[35] Forms فعال, فُعال, فعول (Reinhardt 1894: 71).

[36] This form is the result of the monophtongisation of *ay.

[37] Form افعال (Reinhardt (1894: 72).

[38] This form is the result of the monophtongisation of *aw.

Table 3.27 – *(V)CCVVC plural pattern*

C(V)CVVC(V)	C(V)CVVC(V)C[39]	Singular	Plural
CCīCe	CaCāyC	*trīke* "widow"	*terāyuk* "widows" [R.73]
		drīše "window"	*derāyš* "windows" [R.73]
CaCīCe	CaCāyuC	*gezīre* "island"	*gezāyor* "islands" [R.73]
		farīḍa "salary"	*ferāyoḍ* "salaries" [R.73]

Table 3.28 – *C(V)CVVCC[40] plural pattern*

CVVCV(C)	C(V)CVVCVC[41]	Singular	Plural
CūCaC	CwāCiC	*kōsel* "consul"	*kwāsil* "consuls" [R.73]
		rōšen "shelf"[42]	*rwāšin* "shelves" [R.73]
CāCi	C(a)wāCi	*ḥāši* "young camel"	*ḥawāši* "camels" [R.73]
		šāwi "shepherd"	*šawāwi* "shepherds" [R.73]
aCC	awāCuC	*emr* "order"	*ewāmur* "orders" [R.73]

Table 3.29 – *CCVVCVC plural pattern*

C(V)CVVC	CVCCVVC[43]	Singular	Plural
C(a)CāC	CiCCān	*ḥzāq* "belt"	*ḥizqān* "belts" [R.73]
		ġazāl "gazelle"	*ġizlān* "gazelles" [R.73]
	CuCCān	*ġrāb* "crow"	*ġurbān* "crows" [R.73]
		sqēw "chick"	*soqwān* "chicks" [R.73]
C(i)CāC	CiCCān	*gidār* "wall"	*gidrān* "walls" [R.73]
C(a)CīC	CiCCān	*ṣadīq* "friend"	*ṣidqān* "friends" [R.73]
	CuCCān	*raġīf* "roll"	*ruġfān* "rolls" [R.73]
CVCV(C)			

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[39] Form فعائل (Reinhardt 1894: 73).

[40] In the original form, there is a medial hamza (فعائل), completely lost in my informants' speech, as explained in 2.1.

[41] Form فواعل (Reinhardt 1894: 73)

[42] Speakers in the al-ʿAwābī district use it not to refer to conventional shelves, but to recessed shelves built into a wall.

[43] Forms فُعْلان, فِعْلان (Reinhardt 1894: 73)

CaCa(C)	CuCCān	ʿarab "Bedouin"	ʿorbān "Bedouins" [R.73]
		ʿado "enemy"	ʿodwān "enemies" [R.73]
		ṭawi "well"	tuwyān "wells" [R.73]
CVVC	**CVVCān**		
CāC	CīCān	tāg "crown"	tīgān "crowns" [R.73]
		nār "fire"	nīrān "blaze" [R.73]
CūC	CīCān	ʿōd "branch"	ʿīdān "branches" [R.73]
		ḫōr "harbour"	ḫīrān "harbours" [R.73]
		kōš "shoe"	kīšān "shoes" [R.73]
		ġūl "snake"	ġīlān "snakes" [R.73]
		lōḥ "plank"	līḥān "planks" [R.73]

Table 3.30 – *CV(V)CCVVC plural pattern*

CVCVVC	**CVC(V)CVV**[44]	**Singular**	**Plural**
CaCīC	CuCaCā	faqīr "poor person"	fuqarā "poor people" [R.73]
		ʿaqīd "official"	ʿoqdā "officials" [R.73]
		ḥarīṣ "stingy"	ḥorṣā [R.73]
		ḥaqīr "paltry"	ḥuqarā [R.73]

Table 3.31 – *CVC(V)CVV plural pattern*

CVCVVC	**CVCCV**[45]	**Singular**	**Plural**
CaCīC	CiCCe	qatīl "killed"	qitle (qitlā-hum) [R.74]

Table 3.32 – *CVCCVplural pattern*

CVVCV	**CVCVVCV**[46]	**Singular**	**Plural**
CāCe[47]	CeCāCi	lēle "nights"	leyāli "nights" [R.74]
CūCi		hōri "boat"	hewāri "boats" [R.74]
CVCīye			
CaCīye	C(a)CāCe		
		belīye "ruin"	belāye "ruins" [R.74]
CuCīye		wuṭīye "sandal"	waṭāye "sandals" [R.74]
CVCCīye			

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[44] Form فُعلى (Reinhardt 1894: 73).

[45] Form فِعْلَى (Reinhardt 1894: 74).

[46] Forms فعالى, فعالا (Reinhardt 1894: 74).

[47] This form is the result of monophthongisation.

CuCCīye	CaCāCi	ṣufrīye "pot"	ṣafāri "pots" [R.74]

Table 3.33 – *CVCVVCV plural pattern*

CVCC(V)	C(V)CVVC(V)[48]	Singular	Plural
CaC(a)C	CCāCa	ṭaraf "palm leaf"	ṭrāfe "palm leaves" [R.74]
		beden "boat"	bdāne "boats" [R.74]
		qalem "pen"	qlāme "pens" [R.75]
CiCC		nimr "tiger"	nmāra "tigers" [R.75]
CaCCa	CCīC	garra "jug"	grīr "jugs" [R.74]
CuCCe		kumme "cap"[49]	kmīm "caps" [R.74]
		qorra "frog"	qrīr "frogs" [R.74]
		qubbe "dome"	qbīb "domes" [R.74]
CVCCVVC			
CuCāC		ḥomār "donkey"	ḥmīr "donkeys" [R.74]
CVC(V)C			
CaC(a)C	C(u)CūCe	ʿamm "uncle"	ʿomūme "uncles" [R.74]
		sehem "part"	shūme "parts" [R.74]

Table 3.34 – *C(V)CVVC(V) plural pattern*

Internal plural of quadrilaterals and compound nouns. Quadriliteral and compound nouns also follow specific pattern for broken plural formation. Table 3.35 presents a sample of quadriliteral patterns and their plurals in compliance with Reinhardt's (1894: 75) list and the new research findings.

CVCCVVC	CVCVVCVC[50]	Singular	Plural
CaCCāC	CaCāCiC	daftār "notebook"	defātir "notebooks" [R.75]
CiCCūC		gindūb "grasshopper"	genādub "grasshoppers"
CVCCVC			
CaCCaC	CiCāCuC	derham "coin"	derāhum "coins" [R.75]
		ḥandaq "moat"	ḥanādoq "moats" [R.75]
		ḫangar "dagger" [R.75, ḫanger]	ḫanāgor "daggers" [R.75]
		bandar "bay"	binādur "bays" [R.75]

Table 3.35 – *CVCVVCVC plural pattern*

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[48] Forms فعيل، فعالة، فعولة (Reinhardt 1894: 74-75).

[49] Typical Omani cap for males, made from white cotton, usually hand stitched.

[50] Form فعالل (Reinhardt 1894: 75).

Names of instruments and names of places are formed with the affix *mV-* (as mentioned in 3.1.2), and in terms of plural formation, they follow the quadrilateral root patterns. Here are some examples:

CVCCVC	CCVVCVC[51]	Singular	Plural
CaCCaC	CCāCuC	*maḥzem* "belt"	*mḥāzum* "belts" [R.75]
		merkeb "ship"	*mrākub* "ships" [R.75]
		manḍra "mirror"	*mnāḍor* "mirrors" [R.75]
		mešfār "lip"	*mšāfor* "lips" [R.75]
CCVCC(V)			
CCaCCe	CCāCiC	*mderse* "school"	*mdāris* "schools" [R.75]

Table 3.36 – *CCVVCVC plural pattern*

CVCCVVC	CCVVCVVC	Singular	Plural
CiCCāC	CCāCīC	*mismār* "nail" *miftāḥ* "key"	*msāmīr* "nails" [R.76] *mfātīḥ* "keys" [R.76]
CuCCāC	CCāCīC	*mugdāf* "oar"	*mgādīf* "oars" [R.76]
CiCCīC	CiCāCīC	*miskīn* "poor"	*misākīn* [R.76]

Table 3.37 – *CCVVCVVC plural pattern*

Nouns with medial geminates form plurals in the same way as quadrilateral nouns.

CVCCVVC	CVCVVCVVC[52]	Singular	Plural
CaCCāC	CaCāCīC	*qaṣṣāb* "butcher"	*qaṣāṣīb* "butchers" [R.75]
		qammāṭ "fishmonger"	*qamāmīṭ* "fishmongers" [R.75]
		ṭabbāḫ "cook"	*ṭabābīḫ* "cooks" [R.75]
CaCCīC		*kettīb* "writer"	*ketātīb* "writers" [R.76]
		dahrīz "sitting room"	*dahārīz* [R.76]
CaCCūC		*ferkūn* "knuckle"	*ferākīn* "knuckles" [R.76]
		sannūr "cat"	*sanānir* "cats" [R.76]
		zerbūl "stocking"	*zerābīl* "stockings" [R.76]
CiCCān		*bistān* "garden"	*bsātīn* "gardens"

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[51] Form مفاعل (Reinhardt 1894: 75).

[52] Form فعاعيل (Reinhardt 1894: 75-76).

		[R.76]
CuCCāC	*dukkān* "shop"	*dekākīn* "shops" [R.76]

Table 3.38 – *CVCVVCVVC plural pattern*

Lastly, there are also collective nouns[53] and irregular plurals, which do not follow any of the patterns presented above. Some examples from the data are: *insān* "mankind", *bōš* "camels", *hōš* "goats", *nās* "people", *sāme < sum* "name", *ṯāme < ṯum* "mouth", *nsē < niswe* "woman", *māye < māy* "water". Reinhardt (1894: 77) adds a few more nouns to this list, which have not been confirmed by my informants, neither in the elicitation process nor in the spontaneous speech.

3.6 Definiteness and Indefiniteness

Definiteness

Definiteness in the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular, as in most Arabic dialects, is expressed via the definite article *il-* ~ *el-* (cf. CA *al-*), more often realised as *l-*, attached to any noun[54]. The article is assimilated by the solar letters as in CA (e.g. *an-nās* "the people")[55].

Indefiniteness

In CA, indefiniteness was usually marked by the *tanwīn* ("nunation"), a final nasal consonant vocalised in /u/, /a/ or /i/ according to the case (respectively, nominative, accusative and genitive).

In the present day, "nunation is found in all dialects of eastern and central Arabia, and in bedouin dialects from outside the peninsula (Jordan, Syria, and parts of Iraq)" (Holes 2016:131). It also still functions as an indefinite marker in some Bedouin dialects of the Tihāma in Yemen (Versteegh 1997: 149) and in Bahrain "it is mainly used as an indefiniteness marker applied to the noun in a noun-adjective phrase" (Holes 2016: 131).

In the Omani dialects for which we have documentation, nunation is almost completely absent. Indefiniteness is usually expressed via the simple lexical item not preceded by the definite article (e.g. *hiyya bint gamīla* "she is a beautiful girl"). However, the numeral *wāḥid* (M) or *wāḥda* (F) preceded by the noun can also be used to emphasise

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[53] According to the data presented in this work, as it will be demonstrated in 5.2.4, *nās* is not a collective noun, but it shows an irregular pattern.

[54] The realisation of the article as *il-* ~ *el-* or *l-* depends on the word that precedes it: by itself it is either *il-* or *el-*, but if the word that precedes it ends with a vowel, the article is realised as *l-* (e.g. *haḏā l-bint* "this girl", or *sennūr il-bint* "the girl's cat").

[55] For more details on assimilation in this vernacular, the reader is referred to 2.2.3.

the indefiniteness (e.g. *riggāl wāḥid* "only a man"; *bint wāḥda* "only a girl"). The solely occurrence of a *tanwīn* in the data presented here is the temporal adverb *marrīn* ("once"), which has been standardised and no longer used as the CA *tanwīn*[56]. Reinhardt (1894: 62) reports another form of indefiniteness in the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular, which is the use of *šay* followed by the particle *min* and the indefinite noun (e.g. *šay min duwāb* "a beast"), but no occurrence of this construction has been found in my data.

3.7 Noun modifiers

This section includes adjectives and their inflectional forms (comparatives and elatives), colours, diminutives, and numerals. Quantifiers and adverbs, although counting as noun modifiers, will be investigated in a different section.

3.7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are not morphologically marked, therefore their syntactic function and the two different patterns they show in gender distinction are the only criteria for identifying them as adjectives.

As with nouns, they follow specific CV-templates. The following tables are based on Reinhardt's (1894: 62-63) examples, which have been checked with my informants. However, the data presented here are only a sample: the full range of adjectives found in the recording material and in the elicitation notes are reported in the glossary in Annex 2.

CVVCV(C)[57]	Example
CāCi	*ġāwi* (f. *ġāwiye*) "beautiful" [R.62]
	ʿāti (f. *ʿātiye*) "disobedient" [R.62]
CāCiC	*bārid* (f. *bārde*) "cold" [R.62]
	ʿāqid (f. *ʿāqda*) "ripe" [R.62]
CāCuC	*ḫāfoq* (f. *ḫāfqa*) "low" [R.62]
	zāhub (f. *zāhbe*) "ready" [R.62]

Table 3.39 – *CVVCV(C) adjective pattern*

CVCVVC[58]	Example
CaCūC	*faṭūn* (f. *faṭūna*) "perceptive" [R.62]
	ḫagūl (f. *ḫagūla*) "shy, bashful" [R.62]

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[56] Reinhardt (1894: 114) reports the usual *marra* for "time", and there is no evidence of *marrīn* in his data. However, it is worth mentioning that in my data *marra* is used as "time" in expressions such as *ṯalāṯ marra* "three times", *arbaʿ marra* "four times", and so on. On the contrary, to mean "once" my informants always used *marrīn* and to mean "twice", *martīn* – shown also in 2.2.2.

[57] Form فاعِل (Reinhardt 1894: 62).

[58] Form فعول (Reinhardt 1894: 62).

Table 3.40 – *CVCVVC adjective pattern*

CCVVC[59]	Example
CCīC	*šwīr* (f. *šwīra*) "high" [R.62]

Table 3.41 – *CCVVC adjective pattern*

CCVC[60]	Example
CCuC	*šroḥ* (f. *šorḥa*) "cool, airy" [R.63]
	wṣuḫ (f. *waṣḫa*) "dirty" [R.63]
	smoḫ (f. *sumḫa*) "generous" [R.63]
CCaC[61]	*ḥdeb* (f. *ḥadbe*) "hunchbacked" [R.63]
	frad (f. *farde*) "one-eyed" [R.63]

Table 3.42 – *CCVC pattern*

In addition to these, adjectives also show patterns extended by the suffixes *-āwi* (e.g. *hawāwi* "careless", *dinyāwi* "secular", *henāwi* "loveable") and *-ān* (the same mentioned in 3.1.2):

CVCCān[62]	Example
CaCCān	*ḫarbān* (f. *ḫarbāna*) "damaged"
CiCCān	*kislān* (f. *kislāna*) "hypocrite" [R.62]
CuCCān	*forḥān* (f. *forḥāna*) "happy" [R.62]

Table 3.43 – *CVCCān adjective pattern*

Adjectives formed from quadrilateral roots do not follow any of the patterns listed above, e.g. *hanqrī* (f. *hanqrīye*) "rich", *gurgur* (f. *gurgra*) "naked" [R.63].

Compared to nouns, adjectives only show a two-way contrast in terms of number: singular and plural. Most adjectives take a sound plural (either masculine or feminine), according to the gender of the noun they qualify; whereas some others, including colours, show a broken plural pattern (e.g. *ṣġūr* "small", *ṭuwāl* "long", *kbār* "big")[63].

Colours. Adjectives of colour are formed on the pattern CCaC for the masculine singular and CV(V)CCa for the feminine singular, due to the elision of the *hamza* in initial position[64].

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[59] Form فعيل (Reinhardt 1894: 62).

[60] This pattern is the result of an original CVCVC pattern where the first syllable short vowel has undergone syncope. As a matter of fact, in the feminine form that vowel reappears due to phonological reasons (cf. form فعل in Reinhardt 1894: 63).

[61] Mainly used for colours and physical defects.

[62] Form فعلان (Reinhardt 1894: 62).

[63] Some broken plural forms of adjectives have been reported in Table 3.20.

[64] See 2.1 for more details.

Table 3.44 reports the colour forms found in my data. Reinhardt's list (1894: 63) matches greatly with my data, with the only exception of the feminine *saude* ("black"), which in the speech of my informant is always monophthongised, i.e. *sōde*.

Colour	Masculine	Feminine	Plural
Black	*swed*	*sōde*	*sūd*
Green	*ḫaḍar*	*ḫaḍra*	*ḫḍur*
Red	*ḥmar*	*ḥamra*	*ḥumur*
White	*byaḍ*	*bēḍa*	*būḍ*
Yellow	*ṣfar*	*ṣafra*	*ṣufur*

Table 3.44 - *Colours*

In addition to these primary colours, in the data there are others that follow this pattern, such as *dḫaw* (f. *daḫwe*) "grey", *ġbar* (f. *ġabra*) "ashy"[65], and a few that show a pattern with a final /-ī/, usually deriving from a specific noun (e.g. *banafsagī* "violet", *burtuqalī* "orange" < *burtuqāl* "orange", *bunnī* "brown" < *bunn* "coffee bean", *nilī* "dark blue" < *nīl* "Nile", *ruṣāṣī* "grey" < *ruṣāṣ* "lead"). Colour shades are given by placing the adjectives *dākin* ("dark") and *fātiḥ* ("light") after the colour name, unless they have a specific form for it (e.g. *ḥmar dākin* "dark red").

Comparatives and Superlatives. The comparative form of the adjective is formed on the template aCCaC as in CA and does not distinguish between gender and number. It also carries an elative meaning, which denotes intensity or superiority compared to the base form, commonly to other Arabic dialects. The following table presents a sample of comparatives found in the data, which are in compliance with Reinhardt's (1894: 63-64) list.

Adjective	Comparative
kbīr "big"	*ekbar* "bigger"
ḥasin "good"	*aḥsen* "better"
wāsoʿ "far"	*awsaʿ* "further"
wbaṣ "bright"	*awbaṣ* "brighter"
ġāwi "beautiful"	*eġwe* "more beautiful"
zēn "good"	*ezyen* "better"
šēn "ugly, bad"	*ešyen* "uglier, worse"

Table 3.45 – *Comparatives, aCCaC pattern*

This pattern is also shown by a few nouns and adverbs which do not function as adjectives, such as: *efwaq* < *fōq* "up, above"; *etḥat* < *taḥt* "under"; *ergel* "manlier" < *riggāl* "man"; *ested* "more expert" < *ustād* "master, expert". The same forms are

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[65] cf. Reinhardt (1894: 63).

documented by Reinhardt (1894: 64) as well. In my data these forms only occurred in the speech of my older informants (i.e. 60+), both in al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, and this occurrence is one of the clues in support of the idea that the elders' speech is closer to the variety described by the German author.

When the comparative pattern is not applicable, then *aktar* is used instead, following the adjective (e.g. *hanqrī aktar* "very rich").

The compared noun is always preceded by the particle *min* ("from, than"):

(14) *zōg-ī*   *ekbar*   *min-nī*

husband.MSG-PRON.1SG   big.COMP   than-PRON.1SG

"My husband is older than me"   [S2, 3.2017]

(15) *rustāq*   *awsaʿ*   *min*   *el-wādī*

rustāq   far.COMP   than   DEF-wadi

"Rustāq is further than the wadi"[66]   [S1, 3.2017]

The superlative is formed by adding the definite article to the elative pattern aCCaC (e.g. *el-ekbar* "the biggest", *el-ezyen* "the best", *el-ešyen* "the worst") and it functions as a substantival form of the comparative; as such it does not inflect in gender (e.g. *anā l-ekbar* "I am the oldest one"; *il-ḫit el-ekbar* "the elder sister"; *il-āḫ el-ekbar* "the eldest brother").

Diminutives. Nominals can have in some instances a diminutive form, carrying the meaning of physical smallness and reduction. In the Omani vernacular for which we have documentation, there are different patterns in use. Davey (2016: 109), for example, reports the pattern CuCēC(a) for Dhofar (e.g. *kulēb* "small dog" < *kelb* "dog"); the same pattern is reported by Reinhardt (1894: 46), but in the speech of my informants another form seems to coexist, i.e. C(a)CayyC (e.g. *bṣayyaṭ* "little rug" < *bṣāṭ* "rug, carpet"). This template is similar to diminutive forms found in other Peninsular dialects (cf. Bahrain, Holes 2016; Yemen, Watson 2006). However, it is worth noticing that diminutives are not a common occurrence in the data I have collected.

3.7.2 Numerals

Numerals can be divided into two categories: ordinal and cardinal numbers.

Cardinal numbers. Numbers from 1 to 10 present two different forms according to the gender of the noun they refer to. The following table presents the cardinal numbers as they are found in the new data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, which differ from

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[66] In this example, the speaker is referring to the distance of the two places from al-ʿAwābī.

Reinhardt's (1894: 82) list. Therefore, for each number Reinhardt's counterpart is given in brackets.

Number	Masculine	Feminine
1	*wāḥid* (R.*wāḥi*)	*wāḥda* (R.*woḥde*)
2	*ṯnīn* (R. *hintēn*, *ṯnēne*)	*ṯnīne* (R. *ṯnēn*, *ṯnīn*)
3	*ṯalāṯ* (R. *ṯelāṯe*)	*ṯalāṯa* (R. *ṯlāṯ*, *ṯelaṯ*)
4	*arbaʿ* (R. *ʾarbaʿa*)	*arbaʿa* (R. *rbaʿ*, *ʾarbaʿ*)
5	*ḫams* (R. *ḫamse*)	*ḫamse* (R. *ḫams*)
6	*sitt* (R. *sitte*)	*sitte* (R. *sitt*)
7	*sabaʿ* (R. *sabaʿa*)	*sbaʿa* (R. *seboʿ*)
8	*ṯamān* (R. *ṯemānye*)	*ṯamāniye* (R. *ṯemān*)
9	*tisaʿ* (R. *tisʿa*)	*tisaʿa* (R. *tsoʿ*)
10	*ʿašar* (R. *ʿašra*, *ʾašort*)	*ʿašara ~ ʿašra* (R. *ʿašor*)

Table 3.46 – *Cardinal numbers*

It has already been mentioned in 3.6 how the numeral "one" is used to emphasise the indefiniteness value, and it always follows the noun it refers to. Number "two" behaves the same and the noun it refers to is in its plural form, although speakers use the dual form to indicate the quantity of two, e.g. *madrasatīn* or *madāris ṯnīn* "two schools".

If the counted noun is indefinite, numbers three to ten always precede it and the noun appears in its plural form. In terms of gender agreement, they follow the polarity principle (i.e. the feminine form precedes masculine nouns and the masculine form feminine nouns):

(16) *aḏkur*   *kān*   *ṯalāṯa*   *madāris*
remember.1SG   was.3MSG   three.M   schools.FPL

fī-ṣ-ṣulṭana
in-DEF-sultanate.FSG

"I remember there were three schools in the Sultanate"   [S1, 3.2017]

(17) *anā*   *gubt*   *tisaʿa*   *awlād*
PRON.1SG   was given.1SG   nine.F   child.MPL

"I had nine children"   [S2, 3.2017]

If the counted noun is definite, then the numeral usually follows it[67]:

(18) *ʿind-nā*   *es-sanānīr*   *ṯnīne*
to-PRON.1PL   DEF-cat.MPL   two.F

"We have two cats"   [S5, 6.2018]

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[67] In some dialects (cf. Holes 2016; Davey 2016), in a definite context the numeral as well can take the definite article. However, there is no occurrence of this in my data.

Numbers from eleven onwards do not have a distinction in gender. As shown in the table below, numbers from 11 to 19 in the data are formed adding to the unit the numeral ten (i.e. *ʿašar*). In counting, speakers always use the long form. In everyday speech and especially when followed by another noun, they tend to use the shortened form (e.g. *ṯalāṯ ʿaš sana* "thirteen years")[68]. However, Reinhardt (1894: 83-84) documents different shorter forms by his informants, i.e. *hedār* "eleven", *ṯnār* "twelve", *ṯlittār* "thirteen", *rbātār* "fourteen", *ḥmoṣṭār* "fifteen", *sittār* "sixteen", *sabātār* "seventeen", *ṯmintār* "eighteen", and *tsātār* "nineteen". Not surprisingly, the transcriptions are ambiguous, and they never occur in my data.

11	*ḥid ʿaš(ar)*	16	*sitta ʿaš(ar)*
	[R. *hedā ʿšer*]		[R. *sittā ʿšer*]
12	*ṯnā ʿaš(ar)*	17	*saba ʿat ʿaš(ar)*
	[R. *ṯnā ʿšer*]		[R. *sabātā ʿšer*]
13	*ṯalāṯ ʿaš(ar)*	18	*ṯamānt ʿaš(ar)*
	[R. *ṯlitta ʿšer*]		[R. *ṯmintā ʿšer*]
14	*arba ʿat ʿaš(ar)*	19	*tisa ʿat ʿaš(ar)*
	[R. *rbātā ʿšer*]		[R. *tsātā ʿšer*]
15	*ḥams ʿaš(ar)*		
	[R. *ḥmoṣṭā ʿšer*]		

Table 3.47 – *Cardinal numbers 11 to 19*

These numbers always precede the noun they refer to, which is in the singular form (e.g. *ḥid ʿašar ṭafil* "eleven children").

Number 20 is formed by adding the monophthongised dual ending *-īn* to number ten, i.e. *ʿašrīn*. Whilst numbers from 30 to 90 are formed following the sound plural pattern of masculine nouns (i.e. adding the *-īn* ending to the unit form). They are not dissimilar from Reinhardt's (1894: 84) list.

20	*ʿašrīn*	70	*saba ʿīn*
30	*ṯalāṯīn*	80	*ṯamānyīn*
40	*arba ʿīn*	90	*tisa ʿīn*
50	*ḥamsīn*	100	*mie*
60	*sittīn*	1000	*alf*

Table 3.48 – *Cardinal numbers 20 to 100*

The same happens for numbers 200 and 2000, which add the dual ending *-īn* to *mie* ("hundred") and *alf* ("thousand") respectively, i.e. *mitēn* and *alfīn*. Numbers from 300 to 900 are formed using the unit followed by the noun *mie*, e.g. *arba ʿ mie* "four

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[68] The elision of the last consonant *-(a)r* is common to other Arabic dialects of the Gulf (cf. Taine-Cheikh 2008: 449; Johnstone 1967: 64).

hundred", *ḫams mie* "five hundred", and so on. Similarly, numbers from 3000 to 9000 show the unit followed by *alf*, e.g. *ṯalāṯ alf* "three thousand", *arbaʿ alf* "four thousand", and so on.

Ordinal numbers. The ordinal numbers present forms only from 1 to 10 and are distinguished by gender; numbers from 11 onwards follow the pattern for cardinal numbers. In Reinhardt's (1894: 86) material, only the ordinal number "first" differ from what I have recorded in the speech of my informants, and it is reported in brackets.

Number	Masculine	Feminine
1°	*awwel* (R. *auwel, wel, auli*)	*ūlīye* (R. *aulīye*)
2°	*ṯāni*	*ṯānye*
3°	*ṯāliṯ*	*ṯālte*
4°	*rāboʿ*	*rābaʿa*
5°	*ḫāmis*	*ḫāmse*
6°	*sādis*	*sādse*
7°	*sāboʿ*	*sābaʿa*
8°	*ṯāmin*	*ṯāmine*
9°	*tāsoʿ*	*tāseʿa*
10°	*ʿāšor*	*ʿāšra*
11°	*el-ḥadaʿšer*	

Table 3.49 – *Ordinal numbers 1 to 11*

Ordinal numbers behave like adjectives in terms of agreement. They can function adjectively for both definite and indefinite nouns, taking (or not) the definite article.

(19) *tzawwagit   marra wāḥid   ġēr-o   ṯāliṯ*
      marry.3FSG   time   one.M   other-PRON.3MSG   third.M
      "She married once again a third other than him"   [S12, 4.2017]

(20) *bint-ī   il-ūlīye*
      girl.FSG-PRON.1SG   DEF-first.F
      "My first daughter"   [S7, 2.2017]

3.8 Quantifiers and adverbs

Quantifiers. A quantifier is a word or phrase used to indicate amount or quantity. In the vernacular under investigation the following quantifiers are in use:

all / each	*kill*
every	*ēyy*
everything	*kill šey*
everyone	*kill ḥad*
every time	*kill marra*
other	*ġēr*
many	*wāgid*
some	*baʿaḍ*
a few / a little	*šweyya*
everywhere / anywhere	*min ēyy*

Table 3.50 – *Quantifiers*

The quantifier *kill* has the double function of "all" and "each". A distinction is made according to the number of the noun it is related to:

(21) *kill   sana*

  every   year.FSG

  "Every year"   [S5, 3.2017]

(22) *kill-hum*

  all-PRON.3MPL

  "All of them"   [S12, 2.2017]

(23) *kill   rgāl*

  all   man.PL

  "All men"   [S3, 2.2017]

(24) *kill   ḥad   gilis   fī-l-bēt-o*

  every   person   stayed.3MSG in-DEF-house.MSG-PRON.3MSG

  "Everyone stayed in his house"   [S1, 3.2017]

When *kill*, as in (21) and (24), is followed by an indefinite singular noun it indicates "each, every". In (22), the quantifier is followed by the suffix pronoun *-hum*, which indicates the plurality of "them", and, in (23), by the plural noun *rgāl*. In both cases it indicates a totality.

The quantifier *baʿaḍ* is usually followed by a plural noun, as in:

(25) *baʿaḍ   buyūt*

  some   house.MPL

  "Some houses"   [S2, 2.2017]

<u>Adverbs</u>. An adverb is a word or phrase that modifies the meaning or the intensity of an adjective or a verb, expressing time, space, manner or degree. For this reason, it is

debated if they should fall under the nominal morphology rather than the verbal morphology. I decided, however, to discuss them in this chapter because they are mostly derived from nouns, noun phrases and adjectives (cf. Watson 2006: 22).

Adverbs can be divided in temporal and spatial, and adverbs of manner and degree.

Temporal adverbs can present form of a noun or of a noun phrase in the accusative form, which was the main marker of adverbiality in CA (Watson 2006: 21). In Table 3.51, the temporal adverbs found in the data are presented:

now	*taww*	never	*ebeden*
later	*baʿdīn*	today	*il-yōm*
tomorrow	*bukra*	yesterday	*ems*
always	*dēman*	once	*marrīn*

Table 3.51 – *Temporal adverbs*

(26) *bukra* *ṣ-ṣabāḥ*

 tomorrow DEF-morning

 "The morning after" [S5, 2.2017]

Spatial adverbs are, instead, shown in the table below.

here	*hinā*	there	*hināk*[69]
inside	*dāḫil*	outside	*barrā* / *ḫārig*
above, up	*fōq*	behind	*warā*
far	*ġadi* / *safīl*[70]	on the left	*yasār*
on the right	*yamīn*	under, below, down	*taḥt*
in between	*bēn*	in front of	*qiddām*

Table 3.52 – *Spatial adverbs*

Other spatial adverbs are nouns referring to the cardinal points and directions based on them. There is a wide use of these forms in speakers from Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, which differ from the ones used in al-ʿAwābī. Examples are: *ʿālī* (wadi) and *šamāl* (town) for "north", *ʿilwa* (wadi) and *ganūb* (town) for "south". "East" and "west" do not present any difference between varieties and are respectively *šarq* and *ġarb*.

(27) *taḥt,* *fī-l-kurfāya*

 below in-DEF-bed.FSG

 "Down(stairs), on the bed" [S8, 2.2017]

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[69] Distance is indicated with the suffix *-k*, the same used in the demonstrative pronouns.

[70] There is a difference in the use of these two adverbs: *ġādi* is mainly used in al-ʿAwābī town, whereas *safīl* is considered more archaic and it is used by speakers in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ also to indicate "north". For more details on these, the reader is referred to 6.1.

(28) *atīb*   *qahwa*   *hinā*

     bring.1SG   coffee   here

     "I bring coffee here"   [S14, 2.2017]

The adverbs of manner found in the data are:

almost, about	*taqrīban*	so, in such a way	*kḏāk*
slowly	*šweya šweya*	very, much	*wāgid*
good, well	*zēn*	well	*tamām / ṭayyib*
a little	*šweya*	quickly	*bi-suraʿ*

Table 3.53 – *Manner adverbs*

(29) *baʿad*   *ʿašar*   *sanuwāt*   *taqrīban*

     after   ten.M   year.FPL   about

     "After about ten years"   [S1, 3.2017]

The last category presented here is adverbs of degree, which denote an augmentative or diminutive adverbial sense to the noun or phrase.

more, many, much	*wāgid / hest*[71]	more	*ektar*
perhaps	*mumkin*	enough	*bess*
that is	*yaʿni*	also	*nobe*

Table 3.54 – *Degree adverbs*

3.9 Prepositions

In the Table below, the prepositions found in the data are presented:

fī	in, on	*bi-*	with, in, into
ʿind-	at, to, by	*li-*	to, at
maʿ	with	*bidūn*	without
lēn	until, to	*ʿala*	on, at, around
ʿan	about	*ʿašān*	because
min	since, from, by		

Table 3.55 – *Prepositions*

Many of these prepositions can express a double value of temporal and spatial relations (e.g. *fī-l-ġurfa* "in the room"; *fī-l-lēl* "in the night-time"), and most of them introduce noun phrases and prepositional phrases, which, as such, will be treated in chapter 5 of this work.

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[71] *wāgid* is commonly used throughout Oman with no distinction and no exceptions in terms of gender, age, or level of education of the speakers. *hest* is an old Persian loanword which occur in Reinhardt's material, but which now has been recognised by my informants as an archaic feature of the language and only used by the elders in the wadi. For more details on this, the reader is referred to 6.3.3.

CHAPTER 4

Verbal Morphology

This chapter provides an analysis of verbal categories in the dialect spoken by my Omani informants in the al-ʿAwābī district. The first section of this chapter (4.1) is devoted to the definition of three important categories related to verbs, namely tense, aspect, and mood. These – also known in the literature as TAM categories[1] - offer a background to the analysis of the functions conveyed by the verbs in the new data collected for this work.

As far as Omani varieties are concerned, there is a lack of works specifically on the topic: Davey (2016) gives a brief exemplification of how tense, aspect and mood work in Dhofari Arabic; the work by Eades and Watson (2013a) has also been useful for the realisation of this chapter, since it analyses tense and aspect in a few examples from Šarqiyya; finally, some works by Maria Persson and Clive Holes[2] on Gulf Arabic have been considered.

Carl Reinhardt (1894) did not mention the concepts of tense, aspect, or mood in his work in relation to the Banū Kharūṣ verbal system. Admittedly, he did not have any reason to do so: the book was merely considered teaching material, and not, as we have already extensively discussed in 1.2.1, linguistic research as we intend it today. His main aim was to show the conjugations of the verbs, and their use in different contexts and clauses, which are also clearly visible in the texts reported in the last section of his work. Moreover, the field of linguistic research wasn't as developed as it is now, especially for Omani Arabic varieties. The data presented in this chapter are, therefore, coming from my recorded material and elicitation notes which I have especially taken for checking the conjugations of the verbs. Reinhardt's (1894) material is used merely for comparison and signposted when necessary.

After these introductory sub-sections, the chapter will analyse the conjugations of strong, hamzated, weak, and quadriliteral verbs (4.2 to 4.6) as they are performed by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district, followed by the analysis of the derived forms of the verb (4.7) The future tense (4.8) and imperative mood (4.10) are also presented, as well

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[1] The topic has been developed by Östen Dahl (1985), who took into consideration about 45 different languages and their TAM systems. He argued against Comrie's (1976) position to consider TAM as morphological categories, by saying that tenses and moods are not merely inflectional categories (Dahl 1985: 22), but rather have a "morphological expression" central to the TAM system of a given language.

[2] Persson, M. (2008; 2015); Eades & Persson (2013); Holes, C. (1989; 1995; 1998; 2004b; 2004c; 2011; 2012).

as the conjugation and behaviour of *kān* ("to be") in 4.9. The chapter will then conclude with a thorough analysis of the use of participial forms in the data under investigation (4.1), and the expression of passivity (4.12).

4.1 The Arabic verb – Tense, Aspect and Mood

Arabic verbs have received much attention from linguists, who tried to identify whether their binary opposition is mainly based on temporal or aspectual factors[3]. Holes (2004c: 147), for example, states that "the s-stem/p-stem distinction was historically not one of tense but of verbal aspect – although, synchronically, […], it is evolving in both MSA and the dialects toward a tense system"[4]. Brustad (2000: 203), on the other hand, states that "the trend in more recent studies has been to view the verbal system of spoken Arabic as combining aspect and time reference". However, it is not always possible to draw a clear demarcation between them and, in the data, as the discussion below will show, time reference and aspect seem to combine to some extent. It is important to consider the relationship between the form of the verb (i.e. s-stem and p-stem) and its meaning, thus linking the morphological form to its semantic properties.

A thorough analysis of TAM categories in Omani Arabic is still much needed, but it goes beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, here I am briefly introducing the concepts of tense, aspect, and mood, referring to the works of Brustad (2000), Dahl (1985), Comrie (1976, 1985), Payne (1997), and Ingham (1994), which dealt with either the theory of the TAM categories or how these categories apply in different Arabic dialects. In addition to the definition of each concept, I will provide some examples from my own data on how the TAM categories work in the dialect of my informants.

4.1.1 Tense

When it comes to the analysis of tense, we cannot ignore the extensive work by Comrie (1985: 9), who defines tense as "a grammaticalised location in time", relating the action expressed by the verb to a past or non-past event. In this respect, Comrie (1985: 10-11) specifies the difference between grammaticalisation and lexicalisation, saying that the former "refers to integration into the grammatical system of a language", whereas the latter "refers merely to integration into the lexicon of the language, without any

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[3] About this, Eisele (1999: 4) states: "The focus of much of the work on tense and aspect in Literary Arabic (and to a lesser extent the Arabic dialects) has revolved around the issue of whether the two basic verb forms of Arabic (perfect/imperfect) are primarily (a) 'tenses' (i.e., expressing temporal oppositions: past vs. present/future) or (b) 'aspects' (i.e., expressing the degree of achievement of the verbal activity: completed vs. incompleted, habitual, iterative, etc.), or (c) are both."

[4] For a definition of the terms s-stem and p-stem, the reader is referred to 4.1.4.

necessary repercussions on its grammatical structure". Furthermore, Comrie says that "the notions that are most commonly grammaticalised across the languages of the world are simple anteriority, simultaneity, and posteriority, i.e. with the present moment as deictic centre, past, present and future".

Using Comrie's definition as a starting point for our discussion, we shall consider the position of other scholars before analysing tense in the vernacular under investigation. Brustad (2000: 203) separates the concepts of 'tense' and 'time reference', the former referring "to morphological verb forms", whereas the latter "to the role of these forms (and other sentence elements) in establishing the location in time of actions, events and states with respect to the reference time." One of the main issues that arises in the literature is whether Arabic needs to be considered a language whose verb opposition is based on temporal (i.e. past versus non-past) or aspectual factors (i.e. perfectivity versus imperfectivity), or a combination of both. We are not aiming to find a definitive answer to this question, however, regarding these data, it seems plausible that the verb opposition is a combination of both temporal and aspectual factors.

Modern Arabic dialects utilise different strategies to express temporal references, which are usually linked to the context rather than to the verb form itself. Brustad (2000: 205), for example, states that "in the eastern dialects, the temporal reference point may be shifted from the moment of speech to a past or future point by means of adverbs." The data under survey show the use of different structures to express time reference, depending on the context (i.e. marked or unmarked). Consider these examples:

(1) *haḏēlā*   *l-ḥarīm*   *min*   *ahl-ī*
     DEM.PROX.FPL   DEF-woman.FPL   from   family.MSG-PRON.1SG
     "These women are my relatives (lit. "from my family")"   [S5, 6.2018]

(2) *qāl*   *l-abū-y*   *inn-ha*   *kabīra*
     said.3MSG   PREP-father.MSG-PRON.1SG   that-3FSG   old.FSG
     "He said to my father that she was old"   [S2, 3.2017]

(3) *haḏī*   *kānat*   *ḥayāt-ī*
     DEM.PROX.FSG   was.3FSG   life.FSG-PRON.1SG
     "This was my life"   [S2, 3.2017]

(4)   *agīb*   *il-awlād*   *ilā*   *l-duktūr*

       bring.1SG   DEF-child.MPL   to   DEF-doctor.MSG

       bukra

       tomorrow

       "I will bring the kids to the doctor tomorrow"   [S10, 6.2018]

(5)   رح اكون هناك في ديسمبر

       "I will be there in December"   [S5, 6.2018]

Example (1) is a verbless phrase, which nevertheless displays a present time reference. That is because in an unmarked context the time reference is assumed to be present, whereas in a marked one it could refer to any time. Furthermore, if we compare example (1) with example (3) – which show a tense, expressed by the past form *kānat* –, we can see that the time reference is past because the morphological verb form used is past. In (5), lastly, the verbal prefix *raḥ* followed by the non-past form *akūn* provides a future time reference. This is in accordance with Brustad (2000: 204, italics in the text), who states that "this 'default' reference of the moment of speech is grammaticalized in Arabic, because time reference is not marked in copulative *to be* […] sentences" (as in our example 1), "unless it is past or future" (as in our examples 3 and 5).

Example (2) offers a further evidence of copulative clause, this time in a complement clause. Time reference in subordinate clauses in the data is linked to the time reference of the main clause: therefore, the past verb *qāl* ("he said") marks the time reference of the whole clause as past and ensures the time reference of the subordinate clause is past as well.

Finally, example (4) evidences the use of temporal adverbs (e.g. *bukra* "tomorrow") to define the time reference of the non-past verb form *agīb* ("I bring").

In this subsection, I do not consider the active participle, because, as will be shown in 4.12.3, it is a tenseless form, whose time reference is linked to the linguistic context.

4.1.2 Mood

Mood is a complex category in dialectal Arabic. Scholars did not agree on a specific definition of the concept and in ancient grammatical sources it is not mentioned at all. According to el-Hassan (2008: 262), there are several reasons for these omissions, the principal being that "spoken Arabic is characterised by variation" and therefore there are different structures and forms expressing mood across regions.

Here I am using the definition given by Payne (1997: 244), who indicates 'mood' as "the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality". This definition clearly exemplifies what 'mood' is, namely the belief of the speaker that the event is possible, necessary, or desirable.

Holes (2004c: 153) further distinguishes between 'mood' and 'modality', the former being the "set of morphological markers, the use of which is required by syntactic rules", whereas the latter being the "semantic distinctions covering such categories as ability, possibility, obligation, etc.". The same view is shared by El-Hassan (2007: 263, transcription adapted), who states that "mood cannot be restricted to the study of the morphological forms of verbs: its nature and significance can only be revealed in reference to the semantic-pragmatic meaning of utterances in context."

Admittedly, dialects of the Arabian Peninsula tend to show minor use of verbal prefixes to indicate modality – compared for example to Syrian or Egyptian dialects[5] –, and the data presented here confirm this statement.

Morphologically speaking, when it comes to 'mood' the data show either the use of verbal prefixes (e.g. *bi-*, *raḥ*) or a p-stem verb with zero prefixes. Verbal prefixes are mainly used to indicate the future as a tense (mentioned above in 4.1.1, and in 4.8) and the intentive mood[6], as in these examples:

(6) *bitgiyī*   *ʿars*   *manāl?*
     FUT.come.2FSG   wedding.MSG   manal
     "Are you coming to Manal's wedding?"   [S9, 6.2018]

(7) *hadī*   *l-marra*   *mā*   *bansā*
     DEM.PROX.FSG   DEF-time.FSG   NEG. FUT.forget.1SG
     "This time I won't forget"   [S7, 3.2017]

Although verbal prefixes will be extensively discussed in 5.1.2.1, these few examples show the specific functions that the *bi*-prefix convey in terms of 'mood'. In most of the examples available, *bi-* appears in questions or statement relating to the intended actions of the speaker, and to a future that is intentionally planned. Unfortunately, the data do not contain many examples with *raḥ* to enable us to assess a comparison in terms of

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[5] cf. Brustad (2000: 241): "Kuwait, on the other hand, will receive less attention, because its modal system does not make extensive use of verbal prefixes"; and also, Persson (2008: 29): "The dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, however, are comparatively poor in terms of modal or temporal markers." Further on, she also states that "the temporal and modal system of Gulf Arabic appears to be quite rudimentary" (*ibidem*).

[6] cf. Brustad (2000: 241-248).

mood between the two verbal prefixes. It seems, however, as example (5) above shows, that *raḥ* is used merely as a marker of future tense.

The *bi*-prefix in the data also appears in non-future context, especially in conditional clauses, and as such it will be treated in 5.2.5.1. It never appears as a prefix in the indicative mood.

Amongst the unmarked moods (i.e. verbs with zero prefixes), in the data we find the indicative and the imperative. The indicative is used for statements and questions, whereas the imperative is used for commands or requests.

Consider these examples:

(8) *trīdī*   *samak*   *aw*   *laḥam?*
     want.2FSG   fish.MSG   CONJ.   meat.MSG
     "Do you want fish or meat?"   [S4, 3.2017]

(9) *il-ḥarīm*   *yištaġlen*
     DEF-woman.FPL   work.3FPL
     "The women work"   [S2, 3.2017]

(10) *ḥabbarī-nī*
     inform.IMP.2FSG.1SG
     "Let me know!"   [S14, 2.2017]

One last thing to notice when talking about mood is the expression of potentiality that can be expressed by the impersonal non-past form of the verb as a third person masculine singular followed by a p-stem verb usually agreeing with the referent, as in:

(11) *yumkin*   *yrūḥ*   *ilā*   *l-wādī*
     is possible.3MSG   go.3MSG   to   DEF-wadi
     "It is possible for him to go to the wadi"   [S1, 3.2017]

This form, although not particularly common in the data, is strictly linked to 'modality', since it expresses potentiality from a semantic point of view[7]. Other forms found in the data to express necessity, potentiality, and obligation are investigated in 5.2.5.2.

Holes (1995: 96) notes that in modern Arabic dialects, the whole verbal system has changed and categories as mood and voice, for example, "are no longer carried by internal vowel patterns but have become incorporated into the consonantal skeleton of the stem". The data under investigation seem to support Hole's idea, especially considering that it is not possible to find any subjunctive form, which is a mood often

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[7] This way of expression is present also in Najdi Arabic (cf. Ingham 1994: 129).

found in other Arabic dialects (cf. Brustad 2000 for Egyptian, Moroccan, and Syrian). Brustad (2000: 145) states that in those dialects, the subjunctive is "mandatory" with deontic modals and "causatives". This doesn't happen in the data under investigation, where also in embedded clauses there is no distinct modal form.

4.1.3 Aspect

When it comes to the discussion of aspect, we can't forget the works by Comrie (1976), who deals with aspect in relation to the verbal system of different languages, and Brustad (2000), who extensively deals with aspect in Egyptian, Syrian, Moroccan and Kuwaiti Arabic. More specifically on Gulf – and partially Omani – dialects, the works by Eades and Persson (2013) on "Aktionsart" is essential.

Comrie (1976: 3) states that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation", which relates to the internal consistency of the action expressed by the verb[8]. In this respect, verbs can express actions seen as either complete or incomplete or as ongoing process.

An additional clarification needs to be made between grammatical (or 'formal') aspect and lexical aspect (also known as 'Aktionsart'[9]): the former "refers to the way in which the action is represented, as complete, punctual event, as a duration or process, or as a resultant state"; while the latter "refers to a semantic feature inherent in an individual verb, such as punctuality or duration, telic or atelic meaning, or stative or dynamic" (Brustad 2000: 165-166).

According to Comrie (1976), languages can present three main cross-linguistic aspectual categories, i.e. perfective, imperfective and perfect. 'Perfective' indicates a situation viewed in its entirety, i.e. the action expressed by the verb is punctual and considered a whole, completed[10]. 'Imperfective' indicates, on the contrary, an action viewed internally as not completed, "which may be iterative, habitual, or progressive" (Brustad 2000: 172).

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[8] The main difference between tense and aspect has been synthetised by Comrie (1976: 5) in this way: "One could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)".

[9] From the German "kind or type of action", *Aktionsart* expresses different types of situations through lexical items. It is the "lexical aspectual properties of the verb" (Eades&Persson 2013: 345).

[10] On this, Comrie (1976: 18) argues: "The use of 'completed', however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole".

The 'perfect' refers, instead, to a past state relevant to the time frame expressed by the utterance[11]. As Comrie (1976: 52) states, "the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation", differentiating it from the previous two aspects because "it expresses a relation between two time-points: on the one hand, the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation". In the data under investigation, the perfect aspect seems to be related to the active participle only for some types of verbs when they show a resultant reading (cf. Brustad 2000). As such, the relation between perfect aspect and participle will be further investigated in 4.11.2.

Using these definitions as a starting point, we are considering Comrie's claim (1976: 80) that "the Arabic opposition Imperfective/Perfective incorporates both aspect and (relative) tense", and therefore demonstrating that this verbal opposition as presented in the data is a combination of both temporal and aspectual values. The perfective aspect is expressed in Arabic and, accordingly, in my data, with the suffixed conjugation of the verb (e.g. *ketebt* "I wrote", *ketebt* "you (m.) wrote", *ketebti* "you (f.) wrote", etc.); whereas the imperfective is expressed with the prefixed conjugation of the verb (e.g. *ektub* "I write", *tiktub* "you (m.) write", *tikitbī* "you (f.) write", etc.).

Consider these examples from the data:

(12) *darast*   *fī-l-gāmʿa*   *sulṭān qābūs*

     studied.1SG   at-DEF-university.FSG   Sultan Qaboos

     "I studied at Sultan Qaboos University"   [S6, 6.2018]

(13) *rāḥ*   *ilā*   *l-wādī*

     went.3MSG   to   DEF-wadi

     "He went to the wadi"   [S10, 6.2018]

Both (12) and (13) exemplify how the perfective form of the verb indicates an action or event that is completed, finished at a time point prior to the time of the utterance. Thus, in (12) the speaker finished her master course, and in (13) the speaker came back from the wadi after visiting some relatives.

(14) *aʿīš*   *maʿ*   *uḫt-ī*   *wa -umm-ī*

     live.1SG with   sister.FSG-PRON.1SG   CONJ.-mother.FSG-PRON.1SG

     "I live with my sister and my mother"   [S9, 6.2018]

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[11] Brustad (2000: 173) emphasise the difference between the concepts of 'perfect' and 'perfectivity', citing Comrie (1976): the former designates "a past situation which has present relevance", while the latter "denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency".

(15) خارج يلعبو الصغيرين

"The kids are playing outside" [S5, 6.2018]

As examples (14) and (15) show, the imperfective, on the other hand, is employed in different contexts, but it always indicates an action or event that is not completed, or ongoing. However, the demarcation between the two aspects is not always clear-cut. Consider this example from a narrative context:

(16)   *yišill*   *raṭab*   *wa-yibīʿ-hum*   *fī*

       take.3MSG   date.COLL   CONJ-sell.3MSG-PRON.3MPL   in

       masqaṭ   *aw*   *barka*   *aw*   *as-sīb,*   *wa-*

       Muscat   CONJ   Barka   CONJ   DEF-Sib   CONJ-

       l-ḥarīm   *yištaġlin*   *fī*   *naḫīl*

       DEF-woman.FPL   work.3FPL   in   palm garden.FSG

       yistaṭ-nā

       rent.1PL

       "He takes the dates and sells them in Muscat, or Barka, or Sib, and the women work in the palm garden we rent." [S2, 3.2017]

The extract in example (16) shows how the imperfective form of the verb is used in a past context. This use of the imperfective in past contexts is not new to spoken Arabic. Brustad (2000: 186) calls it the "historical present" and says that it arises from the need of the speaker "to be as close as possible to the audience", therefore "the narrative context is brought into the here and now." In all the narrative contexts in the data recorded in the al-ʿAwābī district, speakers – regardless of age, provenance, or level of education – switch between perfective and imperfective forms, often based on aspectual values. Thus, main events are set in the past through the perfective, whereas descriptive scenes or habitual events are expressed through the imperfective throughout the narration[12]. This versatility of the imperfective used in past contexts supports the idea that tense and aspect are indeed tightly linked together. The concepts of perfectivity and imperfectivity – or completed and non-completed actions – are linked both to the morphological form of the verb – albeit not always, as we saw in the examples above – and to the pragmatic context in which the verb is situated.

When discussing aspect in Arabic dialects, it is useful to analyse verb categories. We have already mentioned the difference between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect

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[12] This is consistent with Brustad's (2000: 187-188) description of the "foregrounding and backgrounding" strategy used in narrative contexts by speakers of Arabic.

(or Aktionsart). It is important to spend a few words on the latter, since it will also be useful in the discussion on aspect relating to active participle.

Verbs can be categorized in stative, motion, and action, and the type of verb will have a different reading when perfectivity or imperfectivity is added to it. Fundamental for a clear understanding of lexical aspect is also Ingham's (1994: 89) distinction between 'telic' and 'atelic' verbs, the former being any action which will lead up to a conclusion, and the latter being any action which lacks a definite conclusion. Again, we are facing the importance of the *meaning* of the verb, rather than its morphological form. This distinction will be resumed in 4.11.2, since lexical aspect concerns primarily the active participle.

4.1.4 The s-stem and the p-stem

Because of the ongoing debate – as briefly exemplified in the previous sections –, in order not to infer any temporal or aspectual value to the verbs as they are presented in this work, I decided to follow the labels used by other Semitic scholars[13] of s-stem (suffix-stem) and p-stem (prefix-stem) for the different conjugations of the verb.

The s-stem, as the name alludes to, adds suffixes to the stem of the verb to indicate person, gender and number. It is linked to the 'perfective' aspect of the verb, since it is used to express mainly action completed at some point in the past with respect of the utterance time[14].

The p-stem, on the other hand, uses prefixes to distinguish person, gender and number and it is linked to the 'imperfective' aspect of the verb, expressing actions viewed as incomplete[15], having a time reference of present or future – and in some cases past, as we saw in 4.1.3 – in relation to the utterance time.

4.2 Strong verbs

Strong verbs are those verbs whose roots do not present a glide, a *hamza* or a geminate consonant. The strong verb is presented in its 3MSG form, according to Semitic practice. Table 4.1 presents the conjugation of the verb *keteb* ("to write") as found in the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district[16].

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[13] Eades and Watson (2013a), Holes (1995), Persson (2008), and Horesh (2009).

[14] Holes (2016: 229): "By using the s-stem the speaker is not drawing attention to any continuing relevance this completed past event/state might have to the current situation".

[15] These verbs can be continuous, durative, habitual or "general truths to which the notion of completeness is irrelevant (e.g. water boils at 100 degrees centigrade)" (Holes 2016: 239).

[16] In terms of differences among speakers, none has been spotted in the data. The conjugations presented in this chapter are the same for all my 15 informants, regardless of age, provenance, or level of education.

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	keteb-t	keteb-ne	e-ktub	nu-ktub
2nd masculine	keteb-t	keteb-to	ti-ktub	ti-kitb-o
2nd feminine	keteb-ti	keteb-ten	ti-kitb-ī	ti-kitb-en
3rd masculine	keteb	ketb-ō	yi-ktub	yi-kitb-ō
3rd feminine	ketb-it	ketb-en	ti-ktub	yi-kitb-en

Table 4.1 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* keteb *("to write")*

If we compare the conjugation presented in Table 4.1 to the same one for the s-stem reported by Reinhardt (1894: 131), we can notice that in the latter syncope is stronger in some persons than in the former: e.g. 1SG *ktebt*, 2FSG *ktebti*, 2MPL *ktebto*. Major differences can also be found in the p-stem conjugation: 2MSG *tuktub*, 2FSG *tkitbi*, 3FSG *tuktub*, 3MSG *yuktub*, 2MPL *tkitbo*, 2FPL *tkitben*, 3MPL *ykitbo*, and 3FPL *ykitben* (cf. Reinhardt 1894: 146).

The vowel pattern in the p-stem forms varies. This stem can have three different combinations of vowels, depending on both the consonants and the vocalic pattern of the s-stem: CaCaC verbs display /i/, when the s-stem form is third radical is /d, ṭ, t, ḏ, ẓ, s, š, n, l/ (e.g. *geles/yiglis* "to sit"); /u/, when the third radical is /b, f, g, k, m/ (e.g. *raqab/yirqub* "to wait for", *katab/yiktub* "to write")[17]; and /a/ in all other cases (e.g. *šaʿar/yišʿar* "to sing, recite"). CiCiC verbs display /i/ in the p-stem (e.g. *gfil/yugfil* "to look after sth."), and finally CuCuC verbs display /a/ in the p-stem (e.g. *šrub/yišrab* "to drink").

4.3 Geminate verbs

A geminate verb is a verb where C_2 and C_3 are the same (e.g. *šill* "to take", *šebb* "to grow old", *ḍann* "to think"). In the data, geminate verbs insert a long vowel /ē/ in the s-stem conjugation between the stem and a consonant-initial subject suffix; whereas in the p-stem conjugation, the prefix joins the stem directly (with t- of the second person and third person feminine singular undergoing assimilation when the first radical of the verb is an alveolar or interdental obstruent, as shown in Table 4.2.

Admittedly, the only thing to note here is the realisation of *imāla*, which may vary according to the rules and the frequency of occurrence given in 2.2.1.

[17]The vowel /u/ can be realised as [o] when the third radical is an emphatic (i.e. /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ/) or /r,q/. For example: *raqaṭ/yirqoṭ* "to gather, to pick up", *baġaḍ/yibġoḍ* "to hate".

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ	ḍannē-t	ḍannē-ne	e-ḍann	n-ḍann
2ⁿᵈ masculine	ḍannē-t	ḍannē-to	ḍ-ḍann	ḍ-ḍann-o
2ⁿᵈ feminine	ḍannē-ti	ḍannē-ten	ḍ-ḍann-ī	ḍ-ḍann-en
3ʳᵈ masculine	ḍann	ḍann-ō	yi-ḍann	yi-ḍann-ō
3ʳᵈ feminine	ḍanni-t	ḍann-en	ḍ-ḍann	yi-ḍann-en

Table 4.2 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of* ḍann *("to think")*

4.4 Hamzated verbs

A hamzated verb is a verb which presents a *hamza* in first, second or third position (i.e. C_1, C_2, or C_3). As mentioned in 2.1, the *hamza* is not retained: in the data, verbs cognate with CA hamzated verbs show a compensatory lengthening of the vowel or it is completely deleted when word-initial.

Hamzated verbs, therefore, show the same behaviour in the speech of my informants: as C_1, the *hamza* is not retained in the s-stem, but it is lengthened in the p-stem (e.g. *kel/yūkil* "to eat"). The verb *kel* is also phonologically interesting since it displays a compensatory lengthening of the final vowel in the s-stem conjugation for the persons that show a consonantal-initial suffix, as shown in Table 4.3.

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ	kelē-t	kelē-ne	ekil	nū-kil
2ⁿᵈ masculine	kelē-t	kelē-to	tū-kl-i	tū-kl-o
2ⁿᵈ feminine	kelē-ti	kelē-ten	tū-kl-ī	tū-kl-en
3ʳᵈ masculine	kel	kel-ō	yū-kil	yū-kl-ō
3ʳᵈ feminine	kel-it	kel-en	tū-kil	yū-kl-en

Table 4.3 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of* kel *("to eat").*

In the data, there is only one occurrence of root-medial *hamza* verbs (i.e. *sāl* "to ask"), which behaves as verbs with medial glide. Verbs with final *hamza* lose the glottal stop and behave as final-glide verbs (e.g. *qarā/yiqra* "to read").

4.5 Weak verbs

Weak verbs are those that present a glide /w/ or /y/ in any position C_1, C_2 or C_3. The realisation of the glide can vary according to its position within the root and according to the rules mentioned in 2.1.

Verbs with initial glide - /w/, /y/

This class of verbs tends to behave as strong verbs in the conjugation of the s-stem, retaining the initial glide, but in the p-stem conjugation the glide is realised as its corresponding long high vowel[18]. Some examples are: *wgaʿ* ("to hurt") and *ybas* ("to dry").

	wgʿ "to hurt"		*ybas* "to dry" (intransitive)	
	s-stem	**p-stem**	**s-stem**	**p-stem**
1SG	wgaʿ-t	ūgaʿ	ybas-t	ības
2MSG	wgaʿ-t	tū-gaʿ	ybas-t	tī-bas
2FSG	wgaʿ-ti	tū-gaʿ-ī	ybas-ti	tī-bas-ī
3MSG	wgaʿ	yūgaʿ	ybas	yī-bas
3FSG	wgaʿ-at	tū-gaʿ	ybas-at	tī-bas
1PL	wgaʿ-na	nū-gaʿ	ybas-na	nī-bas
2MPL	wgaʿ-to	tū-gaʿ-o	ybas-to	tī-bas-o
2FPL	wgaʿ-ten	tū-gaʿ-en	ybas-ten	tī-bas-en
3MPL	wgaʿ-ō	yū-gaʿ-ō	ybas-ō	yī-bas-ō
3FPL	wgaʿ-en	yū-gaʿ-en	ybas-en	yī-bas-en

Table 4.4 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugations of initial-glide verbs* wgaʿ *("to hurt") and* ybas *("to dry")*

Verbs with medial glide - /w/, /y/

In the s-stem conjugation, the medial /w/ is realised as [u], except for the 3rd persons masculine and feminine, which exhibit a long /ā/. The medial /y/, on the other hand, is realised as [o] in the s-stem conjugation and as [ā] in the 3rd person masculine and feminine. In the p-stem conjugation, medial glides /w/ and /y/ are realised as [ū] and [ī] respectively, but /w/ can also be realised as [ā] in verbs such as *ḫāf/yḫāf* ("to fear", from the root ḫ-w-f)[19]. The following table presents the s-stem and p-stem conjugation of *rām/yrūm* ("to be able to") and *sār/ysīr* ("to go").

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[18] This behaviour is shared with some Bedouin dialects of Bahrain (cf. Holes 2016) and with Dhofari Arabic (cf. Davey 2016).

[19] S-stem. Singular: 1st *ḫuft*.   Plural: 1st *ḫufne*
         2nd *ḫuft* Fem. *ḫufti*.   2nd *ḫufto* Fem. *ḫuften*
         3rd *ḫāf* Fem. *ḫāfit*   3rd *ḫāfo* Fem. *ḫāfen*
P-stem. Singular: 1st *eḫāf*   Plural: 1st *nḫāf*
         2nd *tḫāf* Fem. *tḫāfī*   2nd *tḫāfo* Fem. *tḫāfen*
         3rd *yḫāf* Fem. *tḫāf*   3rd *yḫāfo* Fem. *yḫāfen*

	rām "to be able to"		*sār* "to go"	
	s-stem	**p-stem**	**s-stem**	**p-stem**
1SG	rum-t	erūm	sor-t	a-sīr
2MSG	rum-t	t-rūm	sor-t	t-sīr
2FSG	rum-ti	t-rūm-ī	sor-ti	t-sīr-ī
3MSG	rām	y-rūm	sār	y-sīr
3FSG	rām-it	t-rūm	sār-it	t-sīr
1PL	rum-ne	n-rūm	sor-ne	n-sīr
2MPL	rum-to	t-rūm-o	sor-to	t-sīr-o
2FPL	rum-ten	t-rūm-en	sor-ten	t-sīr-an
3MPL	rām-ō	y-rūm-ō	sār-ō	y-sīr-ō
3FPL	rām-en	y-rūm-en	sār-an	y-sīr-an

Table 4.5 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugations of* rām *("to be able to") and* sār *("to go")*

Verbs with a medial glide and original final *hamza* inflect by lengthening the glide with no trace of the glottal stop in both paradigms. Table 4.6 shows the inflection of the verb *gā* ("to come") as example[20].

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	gī-t	gī-ne	egī	ngī
2nd masculine	gī-t	gī-to	t-gī	t-giy-o
2nd feminine	gī-ti	gī-ten	t-giy-ī	t-giy-en
3rd masculine	gā	g-yō	y-gī	y-giy-ō
3rd feminine	gī-it	g-yen	t-gī	y-giy-en

Table 4.6 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* gā *("to come").*

Verbs with final glide - /w/, /y/[21]

The vocalisation of final glide /y/ in the p-stem of this class of verbs is determined by the vocalic pattern shown by the s-stem: that is, /a/ in CCi > yiCCa (e.g. *bġī/yibġa* "to want"; *nsī/yinsa* "to forget"), and /i/ in CeCe > yiCCi (e.g. *meše/yumši* "to walk"; *beke/yibki* "to cry").

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[20] The original root of *gā* is ĞYʾ, but it has been reduced to ĞY – usually pronounced as [gē] in the speech of my informants.

[21] There is no occurrence of final /w/ verbs in my data, but according to Holes (2016: 210) they behave as final /y/ verbs vocalised in /i/.

	nsī "to forget"		meše "to walk"	
	s-stem	**p-stem**	**s-stem**	**p-stem**
1SG	nsī-t	e-nsā	mešē-t	e-mši
2MSG	nsī-t	t-nās-ī	mešē-t	tu-mš-ī
2FSG	nsī-ti	t-nāsy-i	mešē-ti	t-mišy-i
3MSG	nsī	yi-nsa	meše	yu-mši
3FSG	n(a)sī-it	ti-nsa	meš-it	tu-mši
1PL	nsī-ne	ni-nsa	mešē-ne	nu-mši
2MPL	nsī-to	t-nasy-o	mešē-to	tu-mšy-o
2FPL	nsī-ten	t-nasy-en	mešē-ten	tu-mšy-en
3MPL	nsy-ō	y-nasy-ō	mešy-ō	yu-mšy-ō
3FPL	nsy-en	y-nasy-en	mešy-en	yu-mšy-en

Table 4.7 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of* nsī *("to forget") and* meše *("to walk").*

4.6 Quadriliteral verbs[22]

4.6.1 Basic form

The basic form of quadrilateral verbs in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district is structured on two different patterns: $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$ with four distinct consonants, or the reduplicative $C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$. The last vowel of both patterns can be either [a] or [u], however it is not possible to assess a criterion on their occurrence since the data collected are not sufficient in this sense.

$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$		$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$	
Verb	**Meaning**	**Verb**	**Meaning**
belġam	to clear the throat (spitting mucus)	*šaḥšaḥ*	to urinate frequently
gerdef	to coerce	*farfur*	to flutter
daʿṭar	to confuse, to mix up	*kezkez*	to shiver

Table 4.8 – *Basic pattern of quadriliteral verbs found in the al-ʿAwābī district.*

The s-stem and p-stem conjugation of these verbs follow the same inflection of basic triliteral verbs, as shown in Table 4.9.

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[22] For an extensive analysis of quadriliteral roots found in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, the reader is referred to 6.2.

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	šaḫšaḫ-t	šaḫšaḫ-na	a-šaḫšaḫ	ni-šaḫšaḫ
2nd masculine	šaḫšaḫ-t	šaḫšaḫ-to	ti-šaḫšaḫ	ti-šaḫšaḫ-o
2nd feminine	šaḫšaḫ-ti	šaḫšaḫ-ten	ti-šaḫšaḫ-ī	ti-šaḫšaḫ-en
3rd masculine	šaḫšaḫ	šaḫšaḫ-ō	yi-šaḫšaḫ	yi-šaḫšaḫ-ō
3rd feminine	šaḫšaḫ-it	šaḫšaḫ-en	ti-šaḫšaḫ	yi-šaḫšaḫ-en

Table 4.9 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of* šaḫšaḫ (*"to urinate frequently"*).

4.6.2 Derived templates *t-* $C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$ and *t-*$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$

The templates *t-*$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$ and *t-*$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$ are the only two derived forms for quadriliteral roots found in the data. Qafisheh (1977: 50) states that most of the verbs in this form have a passive meaning with respect to the basic quadriliteral form, the same relationship that exists between Form I and Form VII in triliteral verbs. However, not all of the derived quadriliteral verbs collected in the al-ʿAwābī district show a passive value, as shown in Table 4.10.

t- $C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$	Meaning	*t-*$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$	Meaning
tḥamḥam	to cough intermittently	*tdelhem*	to get cloudy
tlaġlaġ	to flood	*tšaḥreg*	to have an oppressive cough
tsemsem[23]	to swell up and itch	*tġanḍar*	to faint
ṭṭaḥṭaḥ	to drop	*trengaḥ*	to sway, swing

Table 4.10 - *t-$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$ and t-$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$ templates*

4.7 Derived patterns of the verb

In addition to the basic forms, the data show eight further forms of the verb (derived from the basic pattern) for the strong verb and slightly fewer for weak and geminate verbs. These derived forms take different patterns, including the gemination of existing radicals, and the infixing and prefixing of consonants and vowels to the core pattern[24].

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[23] The verb is related to the word *samsūm*, that indicates a "small black ant" in Oman whose bite provokes swelling and a strong itch.

[24] In CA, nine common forms derived from the basic stem are attested, each one following a specific pattern. The only attested form that follows the CA Form IV (i.e. ʾaCCaC) is *aḥsant*, used to mean "thank you" (lit. "you have done a good deed", cf. Holes 2016: 125). In the speech of my informants, *aḥsant* (M) / *aḥsantī* (F) is used as an intensification, to mean "well done!". With regards to Form IX, CA attested it to indicate colours and physical defects (e.g. *iḥmarra/yaḥmarra* "to blush, become red", *iʿwaǧǧa/yaʿwaǧǧu* "to become hunchbacked"). In the data I have only encountered the use of the verb *ḥmarr/yoḥmarr* "to blush" and *ṣfarr/yiṣfarr* "to be/get yellow".

Second derived pattern – $C_1VC_2C_2VC_3$

This derived form shows gemination of the second radical (i.e. $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$). The verb following this pattern has usually a causative meaning with respect to the basic form (e.g. *daḫal* "to enter" → *daḫḫal* "to let in").

Some examples from the data are: *sallem/yisellum* "to greet so.", *šarraf/yišarrif* "to visit so.", *ṣaffed/yiṣaffid* "to repair". This class of verbs follows the same rules applied in the conjugation of strong verbs, both for the s-stem and the p-stem, as shown in Table 4.11.

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	šarraf-t	šarraf-na	e-šarraf	n-šarraf
2nd masculine	šarraf-t	šarraf-to	ti-šarraf	ti-šarraf-o
2nd feminine	šarraf-ti	šarraf-ten	ti-šarraf-ī	ti-šarraf-en
3rd masculine	šarraf	šarraf-ō	yi-šarraf	yi-šarraf-ō
3rd feminine	šarraf-it	šarraf-en	ti-šarraf	yi-šarraf-en

Table 4.11 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* šarraf *("to visit someone").*

Third derived pattern - $C_1VVC_2VC_3$

This derived pattern shows insertion of a long vowel after the first radical of the basic stem (i.e. $C_1āC_2aC_3$). Verbs in this class usually indicate an action performed "on or with" someone[25]. Some examples from the data are: *kālem/yikālum* "to talk to so.", *sāmaḥ/yisāmiḥ* "to allow so.", *nāzaʿ/yināziʿ* "to fight with so.", *sāʿad/yisāʿid* "to help so.". Table 4.12 shows the s-stem and p-stem conjugations of the verb *sāfar / yisāfir* ("to travel").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	sāfar-t	sāfar-na	e-sāfir	n-sāfir
2nd masculine	sāfar-t	sāfar-to	ti-sāfir	ti-sāfir-o
2nd feminine	sāfar-ti	sāfar-ten	ti-sāfir-ī	ti-sāfir-en
3rd masculine	sāfar	sāfar-ō	yi-sāfir	yi-sāfir-ō
3rd feminine	sāfar-it	sāfar-en	ti-sāfir	yi-sāfir-en

Table 4.12 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* sāfar *("to travel").*

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[25] cf. also Holes (2016: 150) for Bahraini verbs.

Fifth derived pattern – $tC_1VC_2C_2VC_3$

This derived pattern is formed prefixing /t-/ to the second derived form (i.e. $tC_1aC_2C_2aC_3$), and the meaning usually associated with it is a passive or reflexive analogue of Form II (e.g. *kassar* "to smash" → *tkassar* "to be broken"). There are also verbs in this class that exhibit an active meaning, such as: *tʿallem/yitʿallim* "to learn", *tsebbaḥ/yitsebbiḥ* "to bath". Table 4.13 presents the s-stem and p-stem conjugations of the verb *tmarraḍ/yitmarraḍ* ("to get ill").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ	tmarraḍ-ḍ[26]	tmarraḍ-na	e-tmarraḍ	ni-tmarraḍ
2ⁿᵈ masculine	tmarraḍ-ḍ	tmarraḍ-ḍo	ti-tmarraḍ	ti-tmarraḍ-o
2ⁿᵈ feminine	tmarraḍ-ḍi	tmarraḍ-ḍen	ti-tmarraḍ-ī	ti-tmarraḍ-en
3ʳᵈ masculine	tmarraḍ	tmarraḍ-ō	yi-tmarraḍ	yi-tmarraḍ-ō
3ʳᵈ feminine	tmarraḍ-it	tmarraḍ-en	ti-tmarraḍ	yi-tmarraḍ-en

Table 4.13 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* tmarraḍ *("to get ill").*

Sixth derived pattern - $tC_1VVC_2VC_3$

Verbs in this class are formed prefixing /t-/ to the third derived pattern (i.e. $tC_1āC_2aC_3$), and usually indicate reciprocity in their meaning with respect to Form III (e.g. *bāwas* "to kiss" → *tbāwas* "to kiss one another"[27]). Table 4.14 shows the s-stem and p-stem conjugations of the verb *tqārb/yitqārab* ("to approach").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ	tqārb-t	tqārb-na	e-tqārab	ni-tqārab
2ⁿᵈ masculine	tqārb-t	tqārb-to	ti-tqārab	ti-tqārb-o
2ⁿᵈ feminine	tqārb-ti	tqārb-ten	ti-tqārb-ī	ti-tqārb-en
3ʳᵈ masculine	tqārb	tqārb-ō	yi-tqārab	yi-tqārb-ō
3ʳᵈ feminine	tqārb-it	tqārb-en	ti-tqārab	yi-tqārb-en

Table 4.14 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* tqārb *("to approach").*

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[26] In this example, the /-t/ of the s-stem assimilates to the emphatic /ḍ/ of the root, as explained in 2.2.3.
[27] Holes (2016: 153).

Seventh derived pattern – (i)nC$_1$VC$_2$VC$_3$

This pattern is built by prefixing /(i)n-/ to the strong form of the verb (i.e. inC$_1$aC$_2$aC$_3$) and is used to indicate a passivation of the basic form[28] (e.g. *nkesar/yinkasir* "to be broken, defeated" < *kasar* "to break").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	nkesar-t	nkesar-ne	e-nkasir	ni-nkasir
2nd masculine	nkesar-t	nkesar-to	ti-nkasir	ti-nkasr-o
2nd feminine	nkesar-ti	nkesar-ten	ti-nkasr-ī	ti-nkasr-en
3rd masculine	nkesar	nkesr-ō	yi-nkasir	yi-nkasr-ō
3rd feminine	nkesar-it	nkesr-en	ti-nkasir	yi-nkasr-en

Table 4.15 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* nkesar *("to be broken").*

Eigth derived pattern – (i)C$_1$tC$_2$VC$_3$

This derived pattern is formed by infixing a /-t-/ after the second radical of the basic form of the verb (i.e. (i)C$_1$tC$_2$aC$_3$), and it brings a reflexive or "medio-passive sense" (Holes 2016: 157) with respect to the stem meaning (e.g. *ʿaraf* "to know" → *iʿtarif* "to recognise"). Table 4.16 presents the s-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb *iḫtalaf/yuḫtlif* ("to make a difference, to stand out").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	iḫtalaf-t	iḫtalaf-ne	e-ḫtalif	nu-ḫtlif
2nd masculine	iḫtalaf-t	iḫtalaf-to	tu-ḫtlif	tu-ḫtlif-o
2nd feminine	iḫtalaf-ti	iḫtalaf-ten	tu-ḫtlif-ī	tu-ḫtlif-en
3rd masculine	iḫtalaf	iḫtalaf-ō	yu-ḫtlif	yu-ḫtlif-ō
3rd feminine	iḫtalaf-it	iḫtalaf-en	tu-ḫtlif	yu-ḫtlif-en

Table 4.16 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* iḫtalaf *("to stand out").*

Tenth derived pattern – (i)staC$_1$C$_2$VC$_3$

This derived pattern is formed by adding the prefix /(i)sta-/ to the root stem and, in the data under investigation, shows a considerative or augmentative value compared to the basic form (e.g. *ʿāš* " to live" → *istaʿīš* "to earn a livelihood"; *ḥmuq* "to get angry" →

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staḥmaq "to rage with anger"). The table below shows the perfective and imperfective conjugation of the verb *staˤgil* / *yistaˤgil* ("to hurry").

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	staˤgil-t	staˤgil-ne	e-staˤgil	ni-staˤgil
2nd masculine	staˤgil-t	staˤgil-to	ti-staˤgil	ti-staˤgil-o
2nd feminine	staˤgil-ti	staˤgil-ten	ti-staˤgil-ī	ti-staˤgil-en
3rd masculine	staˤgil	staˤgil-ō	yi-staˤgil	yi-staˤgil-ō
3rd feminine	staˤgil-it	staˤgil-en	ti-staˤgil	yi-staˤgil-en

Table 4.17 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* staˤgil *("to hurry").*

4.7.1 Derived forms of non-strong verbs

Verbs with a geminate consonant or a glide in their root also show some derived forms, but in the data collected they are not of common occurrence. The table below reports a few examples of derived forms of this class of verbs, according to their occurrence in the data.

	Weak verbs /w/	**Weak verbs /y/**	**Hamzated verbs**	**Geminate verbs**
Form II	*waqqaf / yiwaqquf* "to mantain"	*sawwa / yisawwi* "to make"		*gedded / yigeddid* "to renew"
Form III	*wāqaf / yiwāqof* "to agree with"			
Form V		*tenne / yitenne* "to be late"		
Form VII		*inšād / yinšīd* "to question about smt"		
Form VIII		*ištāk/yištīk* "to complain" *štarā / yištri* "to buy"		
Form X	*stawḥad / yistaḥad* "to be alone"	*staṭnā / yistaṭnā* "to rent"	*stāḥar / yistāḥor* "to be late"	

Table 4.18 – *Derived forms of weak, hamzated and geminate verbs.*

4.7.2 Participial forms and verbal nouns of derived forms

Participial forms and verbal nouns of derived forms follow specific patterns that differ from the ones used in the basic form of the verb. In the Table below for each derived

form is presented its active and passive participle and the corresponding verbal noun, with the only exception of Form VII which lacks a PP form.

	Passive participle	**Active participle**	**Verbal noun**
Form II	*mšarraf*	*mšarrif*	*tašrīf*
Form III	*msāfar*	*msāfir*	*musāfar*
Form V	*mtamarraḍ*	*mtammariḍ*	*tamarruḍ*
Form VI	*mtaqārab*	*mtaqārib*	*taqārub*
Form VII		*munkasir*	*nkasār*
Form VIII	*muḫtalaf*	*muḫtalif*	*ḫtilāf*
Form X	*mustaʿgal*	*mustaʿgil*	*stiʿgāl*

Table 4.19 – *Participial forms and verbal nouns of derived forms*

4.8 Future

In the data, the future is given by the simple p-stem form of the verb or by prefixing the particle *bi-* to it. Reinhardt (1894: 149) reports the particle *ḥa-* as prefix for the future, but in the data collected, it never occurs. In this sub-section is reported the conjugation of the *bi*-prefixed p-stem form of the verb; other verbal prefixes used in the speech of my informants will be discussed in 5.1.2.1.

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	bi-ktub	bi-ni-ktub
2nd masculine	bi-ti-ktub	bi-ti-kitb-o
2nd feminine	bi-ti-kitbī	bi-ti-kitb-en
3rd masculine	bi-yi-ktub	bi-yi-kitb-ō
3rd feminine	bi-ti-ktub	bi-yi-kitb-en

Table 4.20 – *Future conjugation of the verb* katab *("to write")*

When the verb starts with a vowel (i.e. 1SG), it is substituted by the vowel of the prefix (e.g. *bi-ktub* "I will write", *bi-šrub* "I will drink", *bi-kil* "I will eat"); whereas if the verb is glide-initial (i.e. /w/ and /y/), the prefix loses its vowel and takes the initial of the verb (e.g. *b-ūṣal* "I will arrive").

4.9 *kān/ykūn* as a copula and auxiliary

The verb *kān/ykūn* ("to be, to exist") can function as a copula and auxiliary in the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district. The s-stem and p-stem conjugations of the verb *kān* follow the same rules applied in medial glide verbs, as shown in Table 4.21.

	s-stem		p-stem	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	kun-t	kun-ne	e-kūn	ni-kūn
2nd masculine	kun-t	kun-to	ti-kūn	ti-kūn-o
2nd feminine	kun-ti	kun-ten	ti-kūn-ī	ti-kūn-en
3rd masculine	kān	kān-ō	yi-kūn	yi-kūn-ō
3rd feminine	kān-at	kān-en	ti-kūn	yi-kūn-en

Table 4.21 – *S-stem and p-stem conjugation of the verb* kān *("to be, exist")*

As a copula, *kān* marks a link of qualification or identity of the subject with something else (i.e. noun, adjective). Its main use as a copula is in the narration of past events, as shown in examples (17) and (18) below:

(17)　**kānat**　　　　id-dinya　　　　muḏlima
　　　was.3FSG　　　　DEF-world.FSG　　dark.PP.FSG
　　　"The world was dark"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[S1, 3.2017]

(18)　abū　Iḫlāṣ　**kān**　　　ʿamr　　　šēbe
　　　father　Ikhlas　was.3MSG　　age　　　old man.MSG
　　　"Ikhlas' father was an old man"　　　　　　　　　[S2, 2.2017]

kān can also be used to indicate the existential "there were, there was" in past contexts:

(19)　aḏkur　　　　　**kān**　　　　ṯalāṯ　　　madāris
　　　remember.1SG　　was.3MSG　　three.M　　school.FPL
　　　fī-ṣ-ṣulṭana
　　　in-DEF-sultanate.FSG
　　　"I remember there were three schools in the Sultanate"　　[S1, 3.2017]

As an auxiliary, *kān* can modify the tense in nominal clauses, when accompanied both by a s-stem verb or a p-stem verb:

(20)　haḏīk　　　　il-ayyām　　　**kān**
　　　DEM.DIST.FSG　DEF-day.FPL　　was.3MSG
　　　rūḥ　　　　ilā　　　　l-baḥrīn　　bi-rgūla
　　　went.3MSG　　to　　　　　DEF-bahrain　on-foot.PL
　　　"At that time, one had to go to Bahrein on foot(walking)"　[S2, 2.2017]

(21) *mā   ḥad   **kān**   **yištiġil**   *yōm*
      NEG. person was.3MSG work.3MSG   day.FSG

      ṭwōfi   *abū-hum*
      died.3MSG   father.MSG-PRON.3MPL

      "None of them used to work when their father died"   [S1, 3.2017]

(22) **kān**   *abū* *Iḫlāṣ*   **yištaġil**   *fī*   *masqaṭ*
      was.3MSG father Ikhlas   work.3MSG   in   muscat

      "Ikhlas' father used to work in Muscat"   [S2, 2.2017]

In example (20), *kān* is followed by a s-stem form of the verb *rāḥ* ("to go"), agreeing in gender and number (i.e. 3MSG). The function of this construction infer an obligation, a situation that cannot be avoided. In examples (21) and (22), *kān* is followed by the p-stem form of the verb *štaġal* ("to work"), agreeing in gender and number (i.e. 3MSG). The function relating to this construction is of a habitual or progressive past. Examples (21) and (22) also show a different realisation of the 3MSG *yištaġal* ("he works"): in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ no imāla is present, whereas in al-ʿAwābī town it is realised as *yištiġil*.

4.10 Imperative

In the data, the imperative mood is formed from the p-stem template of the verb, without the prefixes and adding fixed suffixes. Moreover, it counts only the second person (masculine and feminine, singular and plural). Table 4.22 shows the imperative conjugations of Forms I–X[29], as they are produced by my informants in the data.

	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
Form I	ktub	kitb-ī	kitb-ō	kitb-ēn
Form II	šarraf	šarraf-ī	šarraf-ō	šarraf-ēn
Form III	sāfir	sāfi-rī	sāfr-ō	sāfr-ēn
Form V	tmarraḍ	tmarraḍ-ī	tmarraḍ-ō	tmarraḍ-ēn
Form VI	tqārb	tqārb-ī	tqārb-ō	tqārb-ēn
Form VIII	ḫtalif	ḫtalif-ī	ḫtalif-ō	ḫtalif-ēn
Form X	staʿgil	staʿgil-ī	staʿgil-ō	staʿgil-ēn

Table 4.22 – *Conjugations of imperative mood of verb Forms I to X.*

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[29] Forms IV and IX are missing because, as explained in footnote 26, they are not in use anymore in the speech of my informants. Form VII does not present an imperative conjugation in the vernacular under investigation.

4.11 Participles

In this section, I will analyse the functions of the Active and Passive Participle (hereby, respectively AP and PP) in the data under investigation. As Payne (1997: 38) defines it, "a participle is a widely understood term for verb forms that have reduced verbal properties, but which are not full nominalisations".

In many Arabic dialects, participles have verbal force, in opposition to those used as adjectives or frozen forms (e.g. *lāzim* "it is necessary", "must")[30]. Scholars are divided on the aspectual/temporal nature of the AP (mainly because of its nominal nature, and the lack of verbal morphology). The following subsections deal with the debate as far as regarding the data collected and aim to show the widespread use of participial forms in different contexts in the speech of my informants.

4.11.1 Active Participle (AP)

In modern Arabic dialects, the AP seems to have a more widespread use with verbal force, if compared to CA and in opposition to its use as a nominal[31]. Morphologically speaking, the AP behaves as a nominal form: that is, it inflects for gender and number, but not for persons. In the data under investigation, there are two main patterns for the AP of non-derived verbs:

- CāCiC, that has four different forms for gender and number (e.g. MSG *kātib* "one who writes, writing"; MPL *kātibīn* "writing"; FSG *kātiba* "one who writes, writing"; and FPL *kātibāt* "writing");
- CiCCān[32] (e.g. *nisyān* "forgetting").

Derived verbs, on the other hand, only affix an *m-* (sometimes followed by an epenthetic vowel) to the p-stem form of the verb (e.g. *mṣalli* (MSG)/ *mṣallya* (FSG) "praying, one who prays", *munkasir* (MSG)/ *munkasra* (FSG) "broken").

As expressed by Eades and Persson (2013: 344/350), "the AP is a nominal form which is derived from a verbal base", and it "can function as either an adjective or a noun". However, the AP carries some of the characteristics of a verb: it keeps the diathetic properties of the verb base (i.e. transitiveness and intransitiveness) and carries aspectual values.

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[30] Brustad (2000: 182).

[31] cf. Holes (2016) for Baḥarna dialects of Bahrain, Brustad (2000), Owens (2008) and Qafisheh (1977) for Gulf Arabic.

[32] There are no many evidences of this pattern in my data, although it seems to be peculiar of some weak verbs.

As it concerns the diathetic properties (i.e. transitiveness and intrasitiveness) of the verb stem which the AP is derived from, this implies that the AP of a transitive verb, for example, can take direct objects suffixed. When a direct object is suffixed to the AP, its pattern can undergo changes. Owens (2008: 544) divided Arabic dialects in three main groups, as concerning the behaviour of APs with a direct object suffixed:

- No change. An object suffixed is simply added to the AP + gender/number suffix: *kātib-a* + *ha* = *kātiba-ha* "she has written it (FSG)" (< Cairene Arabic).

- Feminine *-it*. The feminine singular takes the construct form *-it*: *kātb-it-ha* "she has written it (FSG)", with no further changes (< Eastern Libyan Arabic).

- Intrusive *-in(n)-*. An intrusive *-in(n)-* is added between the AP and the suffix: *kātb-inn-uh* "he has written it (MSG)".

The vernacular under investigation belongs to the last group.

According to Owens (2008: 544), dialects belonging to this group are rare, but there are a few other examples. Holes (2011: 75-76) reports a list of dialects (all in the Arabian Peninsula), where the use of this infix is attested. These are: all Omani dialects, both of sedentary or Bedouin origin; in southern Yemen, a dialect in one area west of the Ḥaḍramawt; in the United Arab Emirates, mainly the Abu Dhabi and the oasis of Al-ʿAyn dialects, at the border with Oman; and all *Baḥārna* dialects of Bahrain, rural and urban. In addition to these, the infix is largely used in one dialect of Western Sudani Arabic and in the isolated dialects of Khurasan and Uzbekistan[33].

Morpho-syntactically, in the data the infix is applied to plural APs of both genders: the /n/ of the infix is doubled when the direct object suffix starts with a vowel:

(23)   *haḏā*   *l-masgid*   *bāna-yinn-o*

        DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-mosque.MSG   build.AP.MSG-IN-PRON.3MSG

        l-imām   *ben Kāb*   *aw*   *ibn-o*

        DEF-imam   ben kaab   CONJ   son-PRON.3MSG

        "This mosque has been built by the Imam Ben Kaab or his son"   [S2, 2.2017]]

The use of the infix is obligatory between the AP and its suffixed pronoun, also for APs of derived forms:

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[33] The use of this rare infix in dialects that are so geographically and morphologically apart from each other is used by Holes (2011) to prove that this is an originally old feature of some modern dialects, probably belonging to "a group of cognate dialects in a confined geographical area" (Holes 2011: 85).

(24)   *muqaṣṣir-in-he*

negligent.AP.MSG-IN-PRON.3FSG

"He was negligent towards her"   [S1, 3.2017]

On the origin of this infix there are different hypothesis. Reinhardt (1894: 141) derives it from the CA *tanwīn* (or "nunation"), but according to Holes (2011) this is difficult to explain, seeing the uses and distribution of the infix in those dialects. The CA *tanwīn* (as mentioned in 3.6) is not retained in the vernacular spoken by my informants in any form. Moreover, "the *tanwīn* can never, according to the rules of CA grammar, occur on the participle in a participle + object pronoun construction, whereas the *-(i)n(n)-* infix in many of the modern dialects in which it occurs is *obligatory* in the equivalent construction" (Holes 2011: 81, transcription adapted).

A third hypothesis is the derivation of the infix from the CA particle *ʾinna* and its reflexes. This idea has been developed by Retsö (as reported by Holes 2011), who argued that that ancient form might have developed new functions in the modern dialects. According to Holes (2011), though, none of these hypotheses are plausible.

4.11.2 Aspect and Participle

One of the main works on Aktionsart and AP relating to the Gulf area is Eades and Persson (2013), who refuse the idea that it is the AP itself to carry the aspectual information, but rather it is the verb stem (where the AP derives from) to carry them and contextualising them. They report Oldsjö's idea to distinguish between Aktionsart and "situation type" (Eades and Persson 2013: 346): the first being "the phasal character of the situation as expressed by the verb root, if that character is, or can be assumed to be, distinct and stable in all or almost all immediate contexts in which the verb root is used"; and the second being "the compositional phasal character of the verb together with its immediate context, such as subject, objects and attributes" (Oldsjö 2001: 156 and 170 cited by Eades and Persson 2013: 346). Following this distinction, the Aktionsart value of the verb may vary according to the presence of an adjoint word, for example: snow falling is often perceived as a durative event, but if a tree falls the event is perceived as punctual. Eades and Persson (2013: 348, transcription adapted) remark the grammatical aspect of the AP as "apparent", because it "results from a combination of the Aktionsart properties of the verb and the temporal context in which they occur"[34].

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[34] "Grammatical aspect is distinguished from tense by the fact that tense indicates distance in relation to the time of the utterance, whereas aspect refers to the temporal flow of a state of affairs regardless of when it occurs in relation to the time of the utterance" (Eades and Persson 2013: 347).

Thus, the idea is that the aspect of the AP is not related to the AP itself but to the verb base it is derived from. In this sub-section, I will demonstrate how the AP in my data can be related to the perfect aspect only for some types of verbs used in specific contexts, thus relating it both to the aspect of the verb form it derives from and to the context in which it is uttered. Hence, we will see that the AP can convey either a perfect or an imperfective aspect, and never the perfective one.

The distinction made by Ingham (1994: 89) in terms of Action and State/Motion verbs, and in telic and atelic (an inherent quality of many Arabic verbs) – already mentioned in 4.1.3 –, can help in understanding the role of the aspect when it comes to the AP.

Brustad (2000: 171) argues that APs of telic state/motion verbs indicate a resultant state, as well as APs of action telic verbs. On the contrary, APs of atelic state/motion verbs give a progressive reading. Ingham (1994: 89) states that the AP of action verbs "gives the meaning of a state obtaining at the reference point resulting from the action of the verb at a previous time" (thus relating its meaning to the past in respect of the time of the utterance, and therefore link the AP form to the perfect aspect)[35]. The AP of state/motion verbs shows, instead, "the meaning of a state with the State class and a continuous action with the Motion class, both obtaining at the point of reference" (thus relating it to a more present time context)[36].

Moreover, Brustad (2000: 171, transcription adapted) asserts that "participles of action verbs can only give perfect meaning when they are telic. In fact, participles of atelic action verbs are rarely, if ever, used in spoken Arabic".

If we take the same example brought by Brustad (2000: 171) of the verb *qarā* "to read", the AP form *qārī* in my data has only a resultant reading as "having read" (thus indicating a past that has some relevance to the present time of the utterance). In order to give a progressive reading to the AP of this kind of verbs (i.e. "reading", concomitant with the time of the utterance), this variety uses a semi-grammaticalised[37] form of the AP of the verb *galis* "to sit, stay" (i.e. *gālis / gālsa / gālsīn / gālsāt*) followed by the p-stem verb:

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[35] As in the example *anā kātib ḫaṭṭ*, "I have written a letter" (Ingham 1994: 89).

[36] As in the examples *hu gāʿid balbēt*, "He is sitting (seated) in the house", and *ašūf-ih alḥin jāyy fī-ṭ-ṭurīg*, "I see him now coming along the way" (Ingham 1994: 89).

[37] Grammaticalisation is the phenomenon by which words representing objects or actions (i.e. nouns and verbs) further develop as grammatical markers. The use of *gālis* as a marker of continuous aspect is well known in the Gulf area, as well as in other Arabic dialects (cf. Caubet 1991, for North African dialects).

(25) *gālsa*   *aqrā*   *l-qurān*   *taww,*   *baʿad*   *ʿašar*

     sit.AP.FSG   read.1SG   DEF-quran   now   after   ten.M

     daqāyq   *arūḥ*   *ilā*   *l-maṭbāḥ*

     minute.FPL   go.1SG   to   DEF-kitchen

     "I am reading the Quran now, I will go to the kitchen in ten minutes"

<div align="right">[S4, 6.2018]</div>

(26) *gālis*   *ašūf*   *il-aḫbār*   *taww*

     sit.AP.MSG   see.1SG   DEF-news.PL   now

     "I am watching the news now"   [S3, 4.2017]

In both examples (25) and (26), the AP of *galis* is followed by the p-stem form that agrees in gender and number with the subject[38]. At some extent, both these AP forms can be translated, respectively, as "I am sitting and reading the Quran" and "I am sitting and watching the news", as two simultaneous actions conveying a progressive aspect. The verb *šāf* is also an action atelic verb, which cannot convey a progressive reading without the AP *gālis* / *gālsa*. This AP, as mentioned above, is only partially grammaticalised because, unlike other kind of participial forms that have been completely grammaticalised (e.g. *wāgid* "many" or *lāzim* "must"), *gālis* inflects in gender and number, agreeing with the referent or the noun it refers to. Moreover, forms of *gālis* as actual AP of the verb *galis* are frequently attested in Omani Arabic and in the vernacular under investigation[39]:

(27) *gālis*   *wāḥd-ī*   *fī*   *haḏā*   *l-makān*

     sit.AP.3MSG one-PRON.1SG   in   DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-place.SG

     "I am sitting here (in this place) by myself"   [S8, 2.2017]

In terms of aspect, the AP has been often described as "resultative" and "stative". Brustad (2000: 183) criticises Eisele's (1990) labelling of the participle as "stative". Her criticism is based on three main points: first, many verbs of epistemic knowledge are stative (e.g. *to know*, *to believe*) and therefore this feature cannot be limited to the participle, but it is inherent of the verb stem; secondly, copulative clauses can also express a state; and finally, it is the resultative feature that allow participles to be associated with the perfect aspect. However, the data contradict this: as shown in example (25) and (26), the AP of *galis* followed by a p-stem verb does not always

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[38] There are also examples in Omani Arabic, but not in my data, of the AP *gālis* followed by another AP to convey a continuous state (cf. Bettega 2016).

[39] In this regard, many other examples have been provided in Bettega (2016), who analyses the language of an Omani cartoon series, called *Yōm w-yōm.*

convey a resultative state, but also a progressive one. As such, therefore, the AP cannot be associated with the perfect aspect when has a progressive reading, but rather with the imperfective one.

In the data under investigation, the AP of verbs can have two main readings: either resultant or progressive. This reading depends, on the one hand, on the type of verb involved (i.e. stative, motion, or action), and, on the other hand, on the meaning of the verb in a given context.

Consider these examples for motion verbs:

(28) *sāyir*   *martīn*   *lā*   *l-mustašfī*

     go.AP.MSG   twice.DL   to   DEF-hospital.FSG

     "Having been twice to the hospital"   [S8, 2.2017]

(29) *rāyḥa*   *ilā*   *l-dikkān*

     go.AP.FSG   to   DEF-shop.MSG

     "I am going to the shop"   [S11, 6.2018]

Examples (28) and (29) show two different motion verbs, the former in its telic realisation, and the latter in its atelic. In the first case (i.e. 28), the AP *sāyir* indicates a resultant state: the speaker has already been to the hospital, and he is seeking help in order not to go back there again. In the second case (i.e. 29), the AP *rāyḥa* conveys a progressive reading relating to the present time of the utterance. In the data, there is no evidence of AP of *rāḥ* with a resultative meaning[40].

In the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, APs of motion verbs tend always to convey a progressive reading: AP forms such as *gāy* ("to come") and *māši* ("to walk"), in all the cases collected – regardless of age, provenance or level of education of the speaker involved –, convey a progressive meaning. The only exception to this, is the verb *sār* ("to go") in example (28) above. This supports the idea that the aspect of the AP is linked to the aspectual value of the verb itself and to the context of the utterance, rather than to the participial form itself.

4.11.3 Time reference and Participle

Holes (1990: 189) states that the participle is a tenseless form that does not signal any particular time reference. Usually, the temporal value of the AP relates to the time of the utterance and refers "to actions and events that have taken place, are taking place or will take place in the future. At times the participle seems to describe a completed event, at

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[40] This is also noted by Brustad (2000: 170), who confirms that the verb *rāḥ* "cannot give a resultant meaning in some dialects".

others a state, and at other times a continuous activity" (Brustad 2000: 162). The ambiguity lies in the fact that there is a tendency to add a temporal status to the AP, whereas "it is not the participial form itself that expresses all these aspectual and/or temporal values, but rather it is the context of the utterance combined with the lexical aspectual properties of the verb that result in an inferred aspectual/temporal reading in any given instance of AP use" (Eades and Persson 2013: 345). In their analysis of Gulf and Omani (Šarqiyya) Arabic, Eades and Persson (2013) show that APs derived from state verbs carry an adjectival meaning, not indicating any time frame. In all other cases, it is assumed that the AP has a present time value.

In the data, the AP is of very common occurrence in everyday speech and narrative discourse. It is used with a different variety of time values (i.e. past, present and future), but, as will be shown in the following examples, some of these time references are valid only if the AP is accompanied by a temporal adverb, thus depending on the time frame of the whole clause. The main use of the AP in the data appears to be in a present time reference – albeit it can be used in past contexts, especially in narrations. In this context, it usually expresses an on-going action in reference to the utterance time:

(30) *in-naḫīl*   *kibār*   *w-šweyya*   *min-hin*
      DEF-palms.FPL   big.PL   CONJ-a few   among-PRON.3FPL

      ʿāyšāt
      live.AP.FPL

      "The palms are old and only a few of them are surviving"   [S11, 3.2017]

(31) *šūfti-he*   *ḥāmla*   *ġaršet*   *el-ʿaṣīr*
      saw.1SG-PRON.3FSG   carry.AP.FSG   bottle.FSG   DEF-juice

      "I saw her carrying a bottle of juice"   [S9, 6.2018]

(32) *anā*   *gāya*   *lēn*   *masqaṭ*
      PRON.1SG   go.AP.FSG   to   muscat

      "I am going to Muscat"   [S3, 6.2018]

(33) *anā*   *ʿāyša*   *ʿind*   *umm-ī*
      PRON.1SG   live.AP.FSG   around   mother.FSG-PRON.1SG

      w-ḫt-ī
      CONJ-sister.FSG-PRON.1SG

      "I was living with my mother and my sister"   [S2, 3.2017]

In example (31), the AP is behaving as a normal adjective, agreeing in gender and number with the noun it refers to (i.e. the suffixed pronoun -*he*).

In example (33), the speaker was talking about her past life, but the use of the AP indicates an habitual situation in respect of the past point of reference. As Holes (2016: 247) also noted for Baḥarna dialects, "in a narrative, as here, the AP provides background to the main story-line but does not take it forward". Once the past time reference is settled at the beginning of the narration, it is very common the use of the AP even without repeating the auxiliary *kān*.

However, in case the AP is the main verb of the clause and at the beginning of the narration or "the resultative state of the participle is not relevant to the moment of speech" (Brustad 2000: 226), it can be preceded by the auxiliary *kān* to indicate anteriority or specify past time reference[41]:

(34) *kān*   *riggāl*   *ḫāyf*   *bi-sabab*   *l-ginn,*

     was.3MSG   man.MSG   fear.AP.MSG   because of   DEF-ginn

     illi   *kān*   *yḥawil*   *yḍaʿaf*

     REL   was.3MSG   try.3MSG   weaken.3MSG

     imān-o

     faith-PRON.3MSG

     "The man was scared by the ginn, that was trying to weaken his faith"

                                                            [S2, 3.2017]]

Another use of the AP is with future time reference, even though it is not of common occurrence, and in the data, there are only a few examples with motion verbs:

(35) *il-banāt*   *gāyāt*   *bukra*

     DEF-girl.FPL   go.AP.FPL   tomorrow

     "The girls will arrive (are arriving) tomorrow"   [S14, 2.2017]

(36) *il-bīdār*   *gāyb*   *el-suḫḫ*   *fī-l-ʿaṣr*

     DEF.farmer.MSG bring.AP.MSG   DEF-date.PL   in-DEF-afternoon

     "The farmer will bring (is bringing) the dates in the afternoon"   [S4, 3.2017]

(37) *gāyba*   *awlād*   *ilā*   *l-duktūr*   *bukra*

     bring.AP.FSG   child.MPL   to   DEF-doctor   tomorrow

     "I will bring the kids to the doctor tomorrow"   [S9, 4.2017]

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[41] Reinhardt (1894: 150) states that the construction *kān* followed by an AP expresses the anterior future (i.e. "it will be gone by now"), but evidences of this have not been found in present day speech of my informants.

These examples only provide evidences of APs of motion verbs in a future time context, although accompanied by temporal adverbs. In both (35) and (36), the future time reference expressed is planned, there is a certainty that the future event will happen. In (35), for example, the girls are in the state of arriving at some point the day after. Clause (37) could also be translated as "I am bringing the kids to the doctor tomorrow", indicating a state planned (presumably because who speaks took an appointment to the doctor). Usually an AP in this context is always accompanied by a temporal adverb like *bukra* ("tomorrow"), *il-usbūʿ il-qādim* or *il-gāy* ("next week").

4.11.4 The case of *bġī* / *bayā* ("to want")

The use of APs of stative verbs, in the data, like *bġī* and its feminine counterpart *bayā* ("to want") is an interesting case that is worth mentioning in this section. The use of participial forms of these two types of stative verbs are not always common: Ingham (1994: 93), for example, classifies *bġī* as a dynamic atelic verb, since in Najdi Arabic it cannot be used as an AP.

In the data, on the contrary, the AP forms *bāġī* and *bāya* are very common and, most importantly, represent the only difference in speech based on the gender of the speaker. The form *bāya* ("wanting"), used exclusively by women, lacks a complete verbal conjugation and can only be used in the contexts where the AP is acceptable, whereas the verb *bġī* has s-stem and p-stem forms (i.e. *bġī* / *yibġa*).

The time reference expressed by the AP *bāya* is usually present:

(38)   *wāgid*   *bāya*   *arūḥ*   *maʿ-kin*

      much   want.AP.FSG   go.1SG   with-PRON.2FPL

      bas   *il-yōm*   *mašġūla*   *min*   *el-ʿaṣr*   *lēn*

      but   DEF-day.FSG   busy.PP   from   DEF-afternoon   until

      is-sāʿat   *ʿašar*   *il-masā*

      DEF-hour.FSG   ten.M   DEF-evening

      "I really want to go with you but today I am busy in the afternoon until 10 pm"

                                           [S12, 3.2017]

(39)   *bāya*   *duwā*   *wa*   *mā*   *arūm*

      want.AP.FSG medicine.FSG   CONJ.   NEG. can.1SG

      arūḥ   *ilā*   *ṣ-ṣaydilīyya*

      go.1SG   to   DEF-pharmacy.FSG

      "I need a medicine, but I cannot go to the pharmacy"   [S7, 4.2017]

In both (38) and (39), the AP indicates a strong desire or a need for something. It expresses a state of wanting simultaneous to the utterance time. In the following example, *bāya* is used to express a wish, what in English can be translated with "would like":

(40)   *bāya*   *azūr*   *ṣalāla*

        want.AP.FSG   visit.1SG   ṣalāla

        "I would like to visit Ṣalāla"   [S12, 6.2018]

(41)   *bāya*   *arūḥ*   *wa*   *mā*   *šey*   *siyyāra*

        want.AP.FSG go.1SG   CONJ.   NEG. EXIST.   car.FSG

        "I would like to go, but there is no car"   [S9, 6.2018]

The AP *bāya* can only be used in the contexts mentioned above. Consider this example:

(42)   *trīdī*   *qahwa?*   *lā,*   *mā*   *bāya*

        want.2FSG   coffee   NEG. NEG. want.AP.FSG

        "Do you want coffee? No, I don't want it"   [S5, 4.2017]

In the question *trīdī qahwa*, "want" is expressed with a different verb (i.e. *arād / yurīd*), especially because *bāya* does not inflect and therefore does not have a 2FSG form. It is acceptable using the same verb in the answer as well (e.g. *lā, mā arīd*), but the use of the AP *bāya* is much more common and, according to my informants, peculiar to this district vernacular.

The AP *bāġī* behaves in the same way, and it is only used by men[42]:

(43)   *turīdi*   *ʿīš?*   *lā,*   *mā*   *bāġī*

        want.2MSG   rice   NEG. NEG. want.AP.MSG

        "Do you want rice? No, I don't want it"

(44)   *bāġī*   *arūḥ*   *ilā*   *d-dikkān*

        want.AP.MSG   go.1SG   to   DEF-shop

        "I want to go to the shop"

In contrast with *bayā*, the verb *baġā* shows a verbal conjugation and it can be used both as a s-stem and p-stem:

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[42] Both examples (43) and (44) have been elicited with a male speaker aged 32 from Stāl in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, who was university-educated and another one, illiterate, aged about 55 from al-ʿAwābī, both belonging to the al-Kharūṣī tribe. As mentioned in 1.4, the author had only restricted access to men. These are not part of the list of speakers provided in 1.4.1, because they have only been employed for the specific purpose of eliciting the AP form of *bāġī*.

(45) *qāl*   *haḏī*   *ṣaġīra,*   *mā*

said.3MSG   DEM.PROX.FSG   small.FSG   NEG.

abġ-ha

want.1SG-PRON.3FSG

"He said, 'She is young, I don't want her'"   [S1, 3.2017]

(46) *anā*   *mā*   *abġ-ak*

PRON.1SG   NEG.   want.1SG-PRON.2MSG

w-ṭallaq-nī

CONJ-divorce.IMP-PRON.1SG

"I don't want you, divorce me!"   [S2, 2.2017]

The conjugated verb *baġā* can be used, as shown in (45) and (46), both by men and women, alongside the use of the verb *arād* (e.g. *anā mā arīd-iš* "I don't want you(FSG)"). Thus, it seems from the data that the gender distinction in speakers is only valid for the participial forms of these verbs.

4.11.5 Further remarks on the AP

The last category of AP analysed in this section is some "frozen" forms attested throughout the Arabic-speaking world and in CA, used as either adjectives or adverbs. Forms like *dāḫil* ("inside"), *ḫārig* ("outside"), *wāgid* ("many, much") and *qādim* ("next, following") are of very common occurrence in the data, and work mainly as adverbs:

(47) *ḫārig*   *er-rīḥ*   *qawīyya*   *giddān*

outside   DEF-wind.FSG   strong.FSG   very

"Outside the wind is very strong"   [S7, 4.2017]

(48) *ēn*   *māmā?*   *dāḫil*

where   mother   inside

"Where is mum? Inside"   [S3, 3.2017]

The AP form *gāy* is also used instead of *qādim* to mean "following, coming", as in *il-ˁām il-gāy* or *es-sana l-gāya* "next year". However, *gāy* cannot be counted as a grammaticalised form, since it inflects in gender and number and it is commonly used as AP of the verb *gā* "to go"[43]:

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[43] See also example (35) above.

(49) *anā*   *gāya*   *maʿ-kin*

      PRON.1SG   go.AP.FSG   with-PRON.2FPL

      "I am coming with you"   [S10, 6.2018]

A fully grammaticalised AP form is *lāzim* ("to be necessary, must"), used as a modal verb (i.e. "ought to, should, must, have to"). For the analysis of the functions of this form the reader is referred to section 5.2.5.2.

Finally, it is presented here the AP forms *bāqī / bāqīn* ("remaining"). Again, these are not entirely grammaticalised forms, but are commonly used in the everyday speech of my informants:

(50) *anā*   *gubt*   *tisaʿa*   *awlād,*   *tnīne*

      PRON.1SG   was given.1SG   nine.F   child.MPL   two.F

      māt-ō   *w-bāqīn*   *sbaʿa*

      died.3MPL   CONJ-remain.AP.MPL   seven.F

      "I had nine children, two died and remained seven"   [S2, 3.2017]

4.11.6 Passive Participle (PP)

The PP in the data behaves grammatically as an adjective, agreeing in gender and number with the noun it refers to. Moreover, as the AP, the PP does not have inherent time reference, and it "describes the *state* of an entity *consequent to an action performed upon it*" (Holes 2016: 261, italics in the text). The PP of strong verbs follows the pattern maCCūC (e.g. *masmūḥ* "allowed", *maʿrūf* "known"). Geminate and weak verbs show the pattern mCaCCi (e.g. *msawwi* "made", *mabġī* "desired"):

(51) *mamnūʿ*   *ḥad*   *yṭlaʿ*   *min*   *el-bēt*

      allow.PP.MSG   person   leave.3MSG   from   DEF-house

      "No one was allowed to leave the house"   [S1, 3.2017]

(52) *qāl-ha*   *anā*   *mā*

      said.3MSG-PRON.3FSG   PRON.1SG   NEG.

      arīd-iš,   *ntī*   *magnūna*

      want.1SG-PRON.2FSG   PRON.2SG   crazy.PP.FSG

      "He said to her, 'I don't want you, you are crazy'"   [S1, 3.2017]

The PP is often used instead of a passive form of the verb to express the passive voice[44].

It is worth mentioning here that verbs of Form VII, that usually express a passivation of the basic form (see 4.7), do not present a PP, but only an AP, that has a passive value:

(53) *ḏelēn*   *el-fanāgīn*   *munkisirīn*
      DEM.PROX.MPL   DEF-coffee cup.PL   broken.AP.MPL
      "These coffee cups are broken"   [S5, 6.2018]

Another function expressed by the PP in this vernacular is the existentiality: *mawgūd* (MSG) / *mawgūda* (FSG) can occur to express presence or existence:

(54) *hīya*   *mawgūda*
      PRON.3FSG   exist.PP.FSG
      "She is alive"   [S11, 4.2017]

(55) *mā*   *mawgūd*   *iš-šuwāraʿ*
      NEG. exist.PP.MSG   DEF-road.PL
      "There were no roads"   [S2, 2.2017]

In (54), the PP expresses the physical existence of a person (as opposed to the death), whereas in (55) the meaning of the clause indicates that roads did not exist at that time.

4.12 Passive

One of the "conservative" features retained by B-dialects – as discussed in 1.2 – is the so-called apophonic, or "internal", passive, which consists in a differentiation in the vowel pattern of the basic verb both in its s-stem and p-stem forms. In Oman, Holes (1998) analyses the occurrence of the apophonic passive in three sedentary dialects of Šarqiyya and Jabal Aḫḍar region. The results show that the apophonic passive in these S-dialects of northern Oman "seems functional only in the imperfect tense, and is common only in certain morphological categories of the verb – and only then in the 3rd person, with perfect examples seemingly limited to certain lexical items and fixed expressions" (Holes 1998: 359). Furthermore, he states that "the Omani B-dialect speakers from the interior, […], have a similar system to the S-dialect speakers: the AP is in recession, but has still not given way completely to an affix stem" (*ibidem*). Different views are shared by Eades (2009b), who analysed the occurrence of the apophonic passive in the B-dialect of the Hidyīwī tribe in northern Oman: here, "the AP" – apophonic passive – "is significantly more productive than in the S dialects described by Holes" (Eades 2009b: 5). He supports the claim bringing examples of apophonic passive both in the s-stem and in the p-stem of verbs used by his informants, stating however that passive imperfect verbs are less frequently used (Eades 2009b: 13).

Interestingly, Eades (2009b: 15-18) also reports an account of how the coastal dialects of Oman are coping with the recession of the apophonic passive as "a functioning morphological category": their strategy is the employment of the affixed forms of the verb (i.e. Form VII)[45].

As a matter of fact, the difference in the use of one or the other form, according to Holes (1998: 354, italics in the text), is related to the subject of the passive verb: "the Omani *majhūl* form is used to refer to an *action* whose agent is unknown or unspecified, while the affixational forms denote *the state of the patient* as a result of a preceding action, implied or stated". Still considering other works on Omani varieties, Reinhardt (1894: 154) reports the internal passive as the norm in the dialect spoken by the Banū Kharūṣ tribe; and Davey (2016: 152) states that the retention of the internal passive is one of the features most characterising the Arabic dialect of Dhofar.

In the data under investigation – and merely on the base of the occurrences in my informants' speech –, the apophonic passive seems to be recessing, in accordance with Holes' theory that S-dialects in Oman do not retain it except for some morphological categories of the verb. In its place, the data show the employment by the speakers of either affixed forms or constructions with the PP, which is not encountered in the literature as a "regular" form[46].

In the data, the s-stem displays a vowel sequence *i-i* instead of the *a-a* (or *e-e* if the *imāla* occurs) or the *a-i* of the active form (e.g. *kitib* "it was written"– *keteb* "he wrote"), whereas the p-stem displays the vowels *u-a* instead of the *i-u* of the active voice (e.g. *yuktab* "it is written" – *yiktub* "he writes"), or *i-a* when the second vowel of the active conjugation is /a/ (e.g. *yiṭbaḥ* "to be cooked"), thus being homophonous with the active p-stem verb form.

According to the material collected, the internal passive is limited to the verb "to be born":

[45] On this, Eades (2009b: 15) states that "the affixed forms emphasise state of the patient, and the involvement of an agent is not necessarily implied."

[46] Retsö (1983: 9, transcript adapted): "In Arabic the situation is more complex; from an intuitive survey of the possible 'passive' constructions in any Arabic dialect, it becomes clear that a 'passive' verb in Arabic may have several different morphological shapes. Although one or two of these is usually considered the 'regular' or 'normal' one and indeed is the most frequent, all known forms of this language have so many means of forming a 'passive' verb that the morphology of the passive must be taken into consideration and analysed closely".

(55) *wilidt*   *fī-l-ʿawābī,*   *illi*   *mawgūda*

was born.1SG   in-DEF-ʿawābī   REL.   exist.PP.FSG

fī-l-baṭīna

in-DEF-baṭīna

"I was born in al-ʿAwābī, which is in the Baṭīna"   [S15, 2.2017]

or it is linked to specific contexts, such as description of processes. In the example below, a speaker from Wādī Banī Kharūṣ describes the preparation of the *ḥarmal* (scientific name *Rhazya Stricta*), a plant used in the traditional medicine to cure epilepsy and chronic headaches.

(56) *li-ṣ-ṣarʿ: **yiṭbaḥ** maqdār rubʿ kīlō fī liter w-naṣf māy w-**yiṭbaḥ** giddan ḥattā yabqā liter wāḥid w-**yufaṭṭar** bi-hu al-muṣāb bi-sarʿa li-muddit ṯalaṯīn yawm maqdār milʿaqtīn fī ʿasal fa-inn es-sarʿa yazūl ʿind-o w-law kān mazmūnan.*

*li-ṣudaʿ: **yiṭbaḥ** maqdār aw qītīn min el-ḥarmal fī liter mā ṯum **yunāwal** al-muṣāb maqdār milʿaqa aṣ-ṣabaḥ w-ṯanya ḍ-ḍuhur w-ṯalīṯa fī-l ʿašā li-muddit l-usbūʿ fa-inn eṣ-ṣudaʿ ir-rās il-muzmin yazūl.*

For epilepsy: an amount of four kilos is cooked in a litre and half of water and it is cooked well until it remains (only) one litre; then it is given to the infirm as breakfast (in the morning) as soon as possible for the period of thirty days; the amount is of two spoons in the honey and then he will recover fast even when it is chronic.

For a headache: an amount of two pieces of *ḥarmal* is cooked in a litre of water, then it is given to the infirm in the quantity of one spoon in the morning, a second in the afternoon and a third at dinner for a period of one week; in this way, the chronic headache heals.   [S11, 2.2017]

In (56), it is shown the passive form *yiṭbaḥ*, homophonous to its active counterpart. Such verbs can also be interpreted as 3MSG (i.e. "he cooks"), and the passivity is expressed only through the context.

It is not possible, however, at this point, to give a full conjugation of the passive form in the dialect spoken by my informants: there is a lack of data due to the tendency of my informants to use other forms to express passivity, both in free speech and under elicitation. Evidently, in the data there are very few occurrences of passive verbs in non-descriptive contexts:

(57)   *il-ḥarmal*   *yistaḫdam*   *ʿala*   *niṭāq*

        DEF-plant name   is used.3MSG   for   range.SG

        wāṣiʿ   *il-amrāḍ*

        wide.MSG   DEF-disease.PL

        "The Rhazya Stricta is used for a wide range of diseases"   [S11, 2.2017]

Other verbs, like "to be said", "to be believed" or "to be known" are frequently expressed through a 3MPL or 3MSG p-stem verb with an impersonal subject:

(58)   *qal-ū*   *inn-o*   *al-walad*   *ḥayy*

        said.3MPL   that-PRON.3MSG   DEF-boy.MSG   alive.MSG

        w-yaʿīš   *fī-l-gebel*

        CONJ-live.3MSG   in-DEF-mountain.MSG

        "It is said (lit. "they said") that the boy is alive and lives in the mountains"

                                                                     [S14, 2.2017]

(59)   *ʿarafnā*   *l-gaww*   *biykūn*   *aktar* *ḥarr*

        knew.1PL   DEF-weather FUT.be.3MSG   more hot.M

        "It is known (lit. "we came to know") that the weather will get hotter"

                                                                     [S4, 3.2017]

(60)   *yaʿtaqidō*   *inn-ha*   *sanānīr*   *tišūf*

        believe.3MPL   that-PRON.3FSG   cat.PL   see.3FSG

        il-ginn

        DEF-ginn

        "It is believed (lit. "they believe") that cats see ginns"   [S15, 6.2018]

The active impersonal form of the verb is usually employed when it is not mentioned a specific subject, according to the thesis presented by Eades (2009b: 9) as well.

A further way of expressing the passive voice in the speech of my informants is through the passive participial form.

(61)   *al-ašgār*   *masqāya*

        DEF-tree.PL   watered.PP.FSG

        "The plants have been watered"   [S6, 3.2017]

(62)   *il-bēt*   *mabnī*   *min*   *ḫams*   *sanūwāt*

        DEF-house.MSG   build.PP.MSG   from   five.M   year.FPL

        "It's five years since the house has been built"   [S12, 4.2017]

(63) *il-maʿrūf*   *inn*   *iḏā*   *qarītī*   *al-qurān*
      DEF-know.PP.MSG   that   if   read.2FSG   DEF-quran

      wa-ntī   *marīḍa*   *inšāllah*   *taṯāwen*
      CONJ-PRON.2FSG sick.FSG   inshallah   get better.2FPL

      "It is known that if you read the Quran when you are ill, you will get better

      soon"   [S10, 3.2017]

Admittedly, examples expressing passivity in the data are not many. Wanting to assess a criterion of the use of one or the other form basing on the data available, we can say that the PP as a means to express passivity is more commonly employed by young and middle-aged speakers, whereas the use of the impersonal active verb seems more relating to the presence or not of an agent – albeit all the examples shown have been uttered by older speakers.

In order to explain the phenomenon of recession of the apophonic passive, Holes (1998: 360) gives linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. He suggests that the linguistic triggers of recession are the "phonological changes which had the effect of blurring the active-passive distinctions in some verbs […], together with the availability of affixed alternatives whose semantic coverage could be extended". He reckons the apophonic passive as a sign of "interior speech", and the recent economic and politic development of coastal populations (and their dialects) – which in Oman can be seen with the overwhelmingly growing of the capital Muscat and its port Maṭra, but also of Ṣalāla, Ṣūr, and other coastal towns, especially after the Seventies – favored the loss of more archaic features, whose the apophonic passive is an example[47]. As far as the al-ʿAwābī district is concerned, we have already analysed in 1.2.1 how some of the features of the vernacular spoken by my informants at times relate it to the S-type and at times to the B-type. However, the al-Kharūṣī and the al-ʿAbrī are considered sedentary tribes with regards to their speech. Therefore, the recession of the apophonic passive is not surprising.

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[47] "The recession of the AP verb, a typical marker of 'interior' speech, is thus just one small aspect of a much larger sociolinguistic change. Much the same thing can be said of the situation in Bahrain. The S-dialects here are under pressure from the dominant B-dialect, which, within Bahrain, is associated with the business elite and the ruling family, and, within the immediately surrounding area, shows a strong typological affinity with the B-dialects of the elites in Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE" (Holes 1998: 361).

CHAPTER 5

Syntax

This chapter deals with the analysis and description of syntactic structures in the variety of Arabic spoken by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district.

The data presented in this chapter come from the spontaneous speech recorded with my informants, the WhatsApp vocal and text messages, which I used for the elicitation of specific syntactic structures. The examples extracted from WhatsApp are reported in their original Arabic script, in order not to impose my personal interpretation on their realisation.

As already explained in 1.1.1, Reinhardt's work (1894) deals with the syntax of the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular only in part, sketching notes on word order and different types of clauses. Therefore, this chapter needs to be considered as completely constructed on my own material; any comparison with Reinhardt's material will be signposted when needed – especially in the sections on genitive exponents and negation.

In order to give a clear and concise explanation of how the syntax of this variety of Arabic works, the present chapter has been divided into two broad categories, namely phrases and clauses. This choice has been made following other theoretical works on syntax (e.g. Payne 1997) and works that analyse syntactic structures in other Arabic varieties (e.g. Watson 1993). Payne (1997) deemed to be especially appropriate for the theoretical background in approaching the study of syntax.

The category of phrases presents noun, verb and prepositional phrases.

Noun phrase analysis includes the description of rules that regulate the agreement with nouns, the "construct state", the use of genitive exponents, and the attributive clause (henceforth called the relative clause), considered here as a modifier of the noun phrase. Verb phrases consider the verbal prefixes used in this variety of Arabic. Finally, prepositional phrases include existentials (i.e. prepositions used to indicate the existence or presence of something) and prepositions used to indicate possession.

The second broad category includes: simple nominal clauses, simple verbal clauses, and complex clauses. The first subsection will analyse the structure of nominal and locational clauses in the vernacular under investigation; the subsection on verbal clauses will deal mainly with agreement in verbal contexts and word order, whereas the

subsection on complex clauses includes adverbial clauses (subdivided in time, location, manner, purpose, reason[1], and the conditional clause), and complement clauses.

These two broad categories are then followed by a minor section on negation, which analyses it both in nominal and verbal contexts, also reporting some remarks on Reinhardt's (1894) negation system.

5.1 Phrases

"A phrase is any term which functions as a major predicator – predicand or predicate[2] – or as a complement, attribute or adverb, but which lacks the predicand-predicate structure typical of clauses" (Watson 1993: 15). Thus, a phrase is any part of a sentence that modifies the so-called head word (i.e. the nucleus that determines the syntactic category of that phrase), and henceforth called modifier.

There are three major types of phrases: noun phrase, verb phrase and prepositional phrase.

5.1.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases are characterised by elements such as determination, gender and number, modifiers (see 3.7), different types of annexation structures[3] (i.e. "construct state", numerals, and demonstratives), and the analytic genitive, also known as genitive exponents. In this section, I will analyse noun phrases and adjectival noun phrases (i.e. a head noun and a modifier), followed by some remarks on nominal agreement (5.1.1.1). After those, two major sections will analyse the use of construct state and genitive exponents in the data (5.1.1.2) and the behaviour of the relative clause, considered here as modifier of the noun phrase (5.1.1.3).

Determination of nouns, as already mentioned in 3.6, is given using the definite article *(i)l-/el-* prefixed to the determined word (e.g. *il-bēt* "the house", *el-madrasa* "the school"). A noun is also definite when it is the first element of an annexation state (e.g. *kitāb el-bint* "the book of the girl") or when it is followed by a possessive suffix pronoun (e.g. *zōg-he* "her husband", *yad-ī* "my hand"). A determined head noun constitutes a noun phrase on its own, but it can also optionally be followed by a modifier.

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[1] According to the division made by Payne (1997: 317).

[2] "The predicate is the portion of a clause, excluding the subject, that expresses something about the subject" (https://glossary.sil.org/term/predicate). Consequently, the predicand is the subject of a clause, what the predicate relates to.

[3] Holes (2016: 218).

<u>Adjectival noun phrases</u>. If the modifier is an adjective, it usually follows the noun and agrees with it in definiteness (e.g. *el-bint iṣ-ṣaġīra* "the little girl", *bēt qadīm* "an old house"). Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of adjectives that can modify a head noun in a noun phrase (although it is very uncommon to have more than three):

(1) *as-sannūr*   *aṣ-ṣaġīr*   *al-byāḍ*

  DEF-cat.SG   DEF-small.MSG   DEF-white.MSG

  "The small white cat"   [S5, 3.2017]

On the other hand, if the modifier is a cardinal number, it usually precedes the noun when it is indefinite (e.g. *tisaʿ awlād* "nine children", *ṯalāṯa ašhur* "three months")[4]. If the modifier is a demonstrative pronoun, the following lexical item is always definite (e.g. *haḏā l-kitāb* "this book") and, lastly, if the modifier is a quantifier, the head noun always follows the modifier (e.g. *baʿaḍ kutub* "some books")[5].

Adjectival noun phrases include also head nouns modified by the particles *wāgid* ("many, much"), and *šweyy* (MSG) / *šweyya* (FSG) ("a little, a bit"), with no restrictions in the order of items:

(2) *wāgid ḥarr*   *~*   *ḥarr*   *wāgid*

  very hot.MSG   hot.MSG very

  "Very hot"   [S14, 4.2017]

(3) *šweyya*   *rabša*   *~*   *rabša*   *šweyya*

  a bit.FSG naughty.FSG   naughty.FSG a bit.FSG

  "A bit naughty"   [S2, 2.2017]

5.1.1.1 Some remarks on agreement in noun phrases

Singular head nouns agree in gender and number with their modifiers with no exceptions: feminine singular (e.g. *el-bint eṣ-ṣaġīra* "the young girl", *siyyāra ḫarbāna* "a broken car"), and masculine singular (e.g. *eš-šabb eṣ-ṣaġīr* "the young boy", *bēt gedīd* "a new house").

A major distinction to be made when talking about plural agreement is between human and non-human lexical items, although other factors come into play as well[6]. The non-

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[4] Numerals from 3 to 10 are followed by a plural noun, whereas numerals from 11 to 19 are followed by a singular noun. For more details, the reader is referred to 3.7.2.

[5] Quantifiers can be followed by a singular or a plural noun, depending on the quantifier itself. For more details, the reader is referred to 3.8.

[6] Brustad (2000: 24) includes six main features that can affect the "individuation" of a noun and that play a role when it comes to the agreement rules. These are: agency, definiteness, specificity vs. genericness, textual or physical prominence, qualification and quantification vs. collectivity.

human group can be further distinguished in inanimate (e.g. objects) and animate non-human (e.g. animals).

In common with other Arabic dialects of the area, Omani Arabic as a broad category retains the feminine plural agreement in nouns, verbs, and pronouns (as mentioned in 1.2.1). Therefore, in this section I will follow the distinction, used in the Arabic dialectological literature and reported by Holes (2016: 326), in "strict" (i.e. PL – PL) and "deflected" (i.e. PL – FSG) agreement. Brustad (2000: 53, transcript adapted) reports three main agreement systems for Kuwaiti Arabic: "in the first, all plural nouns take masculine plural agreement; the second system distinguishes between human and non-human, and all non-human nouns take feminine singular agreement; and a third system combines rules from the first two and allows either masculine plural or feminine singular agreement with non-human nouns".

In the data, plural agreement seems to belong to the second system, with a certain extent of variation: noun phrases with inanimate plural heads take deflected agreement, whereas noun phrases with human and animate non-human plural heads take strict agreement according to the gender of the head noun itself.

Human head nouns with strict agreement:

(4) *el-banāt*   *el-mašġūlāt*
     DEF-girl.FPL   DEF-busy.PP.FPL
     "The busy girls"   [S1, 2.2017]

(5) *er-rgāl*   *it-taʿbānīn*
     DEF-man.MPL   DEF-tired.MPL
     "The tired men"   [S4, 3.2017]

Inanimate head nouns with deflected agreement:

(6) *mustašfayāt   saġīra   ḫāṣṣa*
     hospital.FPL   small.FSG   private.FSG
     "Small private hospitals"   [S1. 2.2017]

(7) ملابس جديدة
     "New clothes"   [S7, 3.2017]

(8) اطباق لذيذة
     "Tasty dishes"   [S5, 3.2017]

(9) *ašgār*   *masqāya*

tree.PL   watered.PP.FSG

"The watered trees"   [S7, 3.2017]

Collective nouns can also be distinguished in terms of animate and inanimate, in referring to the agreement rules. Collective animate non-human nouns, such as livestock (i.e. *bōš* "camels", *hōš* "goats" and *baqar* "cows") are grammatically treated as feminine plurals, as seems to happen, in the data, for animals in general[7]:

(10) البوش قليلات

"The camels are few"   [S4, 3.2017]

(11) *el-hōš*   *yūklen*

DEF-goat.COLL   eat.3FPL

"The goats are eating"   [S8, 2.2017]

(12) *baqar*   *sūdāt*

cow.COLL   black.FPL

"Black cows"   [S14, 3.2017]

Inanimate collective nouns (e.g. "hair", "chickpeas", "dates") show, on the other hand, masculine singular agreement:

(13) *haḏā*   *d-dengu*   *laḏīḏ*   *wāgid*

DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-chickpea.COLL   tasty.MSG   very

"These chickpeas are very delicious"   [S10, 3.2017]

(14) *ḫt-ī*   *šaʿar-he*   *ṭawīl*   *wa*   *swed*

sister-PRON.1SG   hair-PRON.3FSG   long.MSG   CONJ   black.MSG

"My sister has long black hair"   [S9, 4.2017]

The words used to indicate dates vary according to the ripeness of the date itself, but the most general ones are *tumur*, *suḥḥ*, and *raṭab*. It is worth mentioning them here because, in the data, they show different behaviours when it comes to the agreement. Consider these:

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[7] Consider these examples: *al-faʿyān yaʿīšen fī-l-gibāl* "The snakes are common (lit. "live") in the mountains" (S5, 3.2017), or *haḏēlā l-kullāb kabīrāt* "these dogs are big" (S9, 6.2018). Also broken feminine plurals show a strict agreement. The only exception seems to be "cats", which shows a strict agreement in younger speakers (e.g. *ʿind-nā sanānīr ṣġār w-sūdāt* "we have small black cats", S3, 4.2017), and a deflected agreement in middle-aged and older speakers (e.g. *sanānīr tišūf al-ginn* "cats see jinn", S7, 4.2017).

(15) *it-tumūr*   *el-ḥelū /*   *is-suḥḥ*

     DEF-date.PL   DEF-sweet.MSG   DEF-date.COLL

     el-ḥelū

     DEF-sweet.MSG

     "The sweet dates"   [S6, 3.2017]

(16) *yišill*   *raṭab*   *wa-yibīʿ-hum*

     take.3MSG   date.COLL   CONJ-sell.3MSG-PRON.3MPL

     "He takes dates and sells them"[8]   [S2, 2.2017]

In (15), *tumūr* and *suḥḥ* attract masculine singular agreement, whereas *raṭab* in (16) masculine plural (expressed through the suffix pronoun *-hum*, "them"), probably because it is not considered collective. It might be interesting further investigating how inanimate collective nouns are treated elsewhere in Oman or neighbouring countries, although not many of them are systematically used.

Dual nouns take, in the data, plural agreement and agree in gender with the head noun:

(17) *haḏēlā*   *l-mustašfīn*   *al-gadīdāt*

     DEM.PROX.FPL   DEF-hospital.FDL   DEF-new.FPL

     "These two new hospitals"   [S1, 3.2017]

(18) *riggālīn*   *zenīn*

     man.DL   good.MPL

     "Two good men"   [S3, 4.2017]

In (17), both the demonstrative pronoun *haḏēlā* and the adjective *gedīdāt* agree with the head noun (i.e. the dual form *mustašfīn*) as feminine plurals. This happens because a dual noun "indicates some degree of individuation, and hence usually does not provide collective reference" (Brustad 2000: 57).

5.1.1.2 Construct state and genitive exponents

Arabic dialects show different ways of expressing possession and ownership[9]. Eksell-Harning's work (1980) is an extensive comparative study of possessive linkers in many

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[8] Although examples (10), (11), (13), (14) and (16) are not noun phrases, they are reported here to support the demonstration of how agreement rules behave with collective nouns.

[9] Payne (1997: 104) calls these "possessive constructions". In Arabic, as in other world languages, these constructions do not always express a relationship of possession, as we will see in this section. He also distinguishes "possessive noun phrases" and "possessive clauses": the first "contains two elements, a possessor and a possessed item" (e.g. *my book*), whereas the second can occasionally present the verb "to have", or, more commonly, "a copular verb or particle" (Payne 1997: 126). The data also show the use of

different Arabic dialects, and this work has been taken into consideration for the analysis of genitive relations in the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district.

In the data, two main constructions are used: the construct phrase (or synthetic genitive, known in Arabic as *iḍāfa*), that links together two nouns in a relationship of possessor and possessed, and the analytic genitive (henceforth AG), which uses genitive exponents to express possession or relationship between two nouns.

The synthetic genitive "consists of a noun in the construct state, immediately followed by a modifier" (Eksell-Harning 1980: 21). The link between the two is made through the definite article *(i)l-/el-* depending on the context:

(19) *bistān*   *el-gīrān*
     garden.SG   DEF-neighbour.PL
     "The garden of the neighbours"   [S15, 3.2017]

(20) *maṣnaʿ*   *it-tumūr*
     factory.SG   DEF-date.PL
     "Date factory"   [S2, 2.2017]

(21) *markaz*   *iṣ-ṣaḥḥa*   *n-nisā*
     centre.SG   DEF-health.SG   DEF-woman.PL
     "Centre of women's health"   [S7, 4.2017]

(22) *malkat*   *nūr*
     engagement.FSG   Nur
     "Nur's engagement"   [S3, 2.2017]

Examples (20) and (21) do not indicate a specific relationship of possession, however they follow the same link as other nouns in a possessive construction. Moreover, example (21) shows a double construct state: there is no limit to the possible coordinated components if the juxtaposition is maintained[10]. According to Eksell-Harning (1980: 21), "the noun is usually a substantive or – often – another noun, either treated as a substantive or in possession of some substantival force (an adjective, an infinite, a numeral, a participle)".

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possessive noun phrases and possessive clauses, which will be described respectively in 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.3.2.

[10] In theory there is no limit to the number of coordinated items that can be in a synthetic genitive construction, however in the data long strings of synthetic genitive are not common at all and they are expressed through the AG construction (see further in the section).

In the synthetic genitive phrase, nothing can come between the noun and the modifier in the construct phrase, except for the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *šaʿar haḏī l-bint* "the hair of this girl")[11].

According to the distinction made by Qafisheh (1977: 118-119) in his study on Gulf Arabic for ordinary noun constructs, in the data is possible to find the followings: alienable possession (such as example 19 above), and inalienable possession (e.g. *yad el-bint* "the girl's hand"); naming (e.g. *madīnat ir-rustāq* "the town of Rustāq"), where the first noun is a geographical noun and the second is a proper noun; container-contents (e.g. *fingān qahwa* "a cup of coffee" and not "a coffee cup"[12]), where the first is a noun denoting an object and the second is a noun of material[13]; and material (e.g. *ḫātim ḏahab* "a gold ring"[14]), where the first is a concrete noun and the second is a noun of material.

The synthetic genitive construction is always considered definite, if the second term of the annexation is determined, as in examples (19) – (21), and in the genitive relations of alienable/inalienable possession and naming. However, there are cases when the synthetic genitive is indefinite, such as in the genitive relations of container-content and material. In both cases, the second term of the annexation is not determined.

Another common example of synthetic genitive is the relationship of possession expressed through the possessive pronouns (see 3.2.3). In the data, this construction is used with nouns that have an "inherent possession", as it is called by Payne (1997: 105). These are usually body parts, kinship, and terms referring to personal adornments (e.g. *bint-ī* "my daughter"; *yad-iš* "your (FSG) hand; *kumm-o* "his Omani hat"). To summarise, the synthetic genitive is a construction where "the genitive relation is economically expressed, and the noun and the modifier are intimately connected" (Eksell-Harning 1980: 23).

The second type of possessive construction sees the use of genitive exponents (i.e. grammaticalised nouns expressing "property" or "ownership"), and it is known as the analytic genitive (henceforth, AG). Eksell-Harning (1980: 10-11) states that "modern

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[11] This is because the demonstrative pronoun in the example is in apposition to the lexical item it precedes, therefore is not counted as cutting the construct phrase.
[12] Qafisheh (1977: 119) states that *fingān qahwa* is derived from *fingān min al-qahwa*.
[13] Watson (1993: 183) defines this genitive relation as "genitive of description", which are usually indefinite: "the sense of genitive of description can be rendered attributively by making the modifier a relational (*nisbah*) or other adjective".
[14] Qafisheh (1977: 119) makes it derive from *al-ḫātim min ḏahab* ("the ring made of gold"). In a few instances, however, in the district it is possible to use the analytic genitive to express a semantic relationship of qualification, and in particular of material quality (e.g. *ḫātim māl ḏahab*, lit. "the ring of gold").

Arabic dialects show a tendency towards an analytic language structure", probably caused by the loss of the case endings and, in some cases, by the reduction of the categories of number and gender. The truth is that the AG is found throughout the Arabic-speaking world, although different dialects use different genitive exponents with different functions, scopes and limitations. In most of the dialects both synthetic and analytic genitive constructions are used, "and the choice between them creates a dynamic process of language development" (Eksell-Harning 1980: 11).

In her comparative study, Eksell-Harning (1980: 158) divides Arabic dialects into six groups according to their use of the analytic genitive construction:

- Group I: the AG is not used; exponents may occur predicatively or as a lexical borrowing.

- Group II: the AG occurs sporadically; the semantic categories of the AG cannot be structured, and formal factors are often decisive for the choice of the AG.

- Group III: the AG is well established; the AG is chosen for formal or stylistic reasons.

- Group IV: the AG is well established; semantically, the majority of AG's are found within categories of concrete possession or qualification, in which the AG is preferred to the synthetic genitive construction.

- Group V: the AG is very well established; formal and stylistic factors are important for the choice of the AG, even though there is a tendency to prefer the AG whenever is semantically possible.

- Group VI: the AG is the ordinary way of expressing the genitive.

According to this classification, Omani dialects belong to the second group. However, Eksell-Harning's sources were mainly Reinhardt (1894) for northern Oman, and Rhodokanakis (1908, 1911)[15] for Dhofar, whereas more recent studies show a different behaviour of genitive exponents in both areas.

The Omani dialects for which we have documentation present three main genitive exponents, all derived from nouns expressing possession and ownership in some way: in Dhofar, according to Davey (2016), *ḥaqq* ("right, entitlement") and *māl* ("property") are

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[15] Rhodokanakis, N. 1908. *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Dhofār (Ẓfār), Bd. I: Prosaische und poetische Texte, Uebersetzung und Indices* (SAE VIII). Wien: Hölder.
Rhodokanakis, N. 1911. *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Dhofār (Ẓfār), Bd. II: Einleitung, Glossar und Grammatik* (SAE X). Wien: Hölder.

of common occurrence, with no difference in the use or function[16]; a third type is *ḥāl* ("state"), reported also by Reinhardt (1894) and of common occurrence in my data. The main problem with Reinhardt's description of genitive exponents is that, although he states the common use of *ḥāl* and *māl*, these do not appear in any of the texts reported in his work[17].

Based on the data I collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, the most common exponents in use are indeed *ḥāl* and *māl*. However, only *māl* can be defined as genitive exponent, because, as will be shown further in this section, *ḥāl* is instead used to convey a completely different type of relation.

In contrast with the genitive exponents in Dhofari Arabic, *ḥāl* and *māl* are indeclinable forms, which means that they do not agree in gender and number with the noun they refer to, acting merely as linkers between the possessed and the possessor.

The possessive phrase with a genitive exponent usually follows this construction: N (noun) + *māl / ḥāl* + M (modifier), e.g. *dišdaša māl ir-riggāl* "the man's dishdasha"; *hadīya ḥāl nūr* "a gift for Nur". The modifier, as in the case of the synthetic genitive, can be another noun, a participle, an adjective, a numeral or an infinitive, and it is definite.

Brustad (2000: 71) states that "constructions involving the exponents often convey a specific pragmatic information that the construct phrase does not", and she individuates formal and pragmatic motivations in the choice of using or not the genitive exponent. Among the formal motivations, Brustad (2000: 74) considers "multi-term annexation (three or more nouns), the presence of modifying adjectives and parallel phrases with more than one head noun". In the data, *māl* can indeed be used to cut the line of coordinated items in a construct phrase, as in

(23) *maktab*   *il-qabūl*   *māl*   *el-madrasa*

      office.SG   DEF-admission.SG   GEN.   DEF-school.FSG

      "The admission office of the school"   [S7, 4.2017]

Furthermore, the genitive exponent is preferred with foreign loanwords:

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[16] Davey (2016: 228), taking into consideration that Eksell-Harning's work uses Rhodokanakis (1908, 1911) as source for Dhofari Arabic, states: "the current data in this study does indeed reveal that the AGC" (analytic genitive construction) "is far more common in CDA" (coastal Dhofari Arabic) "than was previously thought, and can express a variety of different possessive relationships".

[17] Reinhardt (1894: 79) states *ḥāl* and *māl* as "häufig", but also adds other grammaticalised terms as genitive exponents, such as the APs *rāy / rāyāt* ("seeing"), *ṣāḥib* ("owner") and *bū* (< ابو "father"). The latter is also used as a relative pronoun (and as such will be discussed in 5.1.1.3). With the only exceptions of *ḥāl* and *māl*, and in some cases of *bū*, none of the other genitive exponents reported by Reinhardt have been found in use in the speech of my informants.

(24) *instagram*   *māl-iš*

  instagram   GEN-PRON.2FSG

  "Your Instagram profile"   [S5, 6.2018]

(25) *raqm-o*   *māl*   *whatsapp*

  number.SG-PRON.3MSG   GEN.   whatsapp

  "His WhatsApp number"   [S9, 6.2018]

and nouns ending with a long vowel:

(26) *kursī*   *māl-ī*

  sofa.SG   GEN-PRON.1SG

  "My sofa"   [S7, 2.2017]

(27) *gūṭī*   *māl-iš*

  shoe.SG   GEN-PRON.2FSG

  "Your shoe"   [S12, 4.2017]

Words of foreign origin may or may not take the genitive exponent: some of them (perhaps of older acquisition) can be in a construct phrase and take the possessive suffixed pronoun (e.g. *tilifūn-iš* "your (FSG) phone", *tītūn-he* "her toddler"[18]).

Among the pragmatic functions of the genitive exponent, Brustad (2000: 76, italics in the text) argues that "the genitive exponents fulfil specific functions that the construct phrase does not", and particularly, "the exponent places a focus on the *possessing* noun not conveyed by the construct phrase". This statement can explain the simultaneous use of the construct state and the genitive exponent, found in the data. Thus, for example, a phrase like *kitāb el-bint* ("the book of the girl") can be replaced by *kitāb māl el-bint*, with no difference in meaning, but a difference in function: *māl* emphasises the possessor, in this case the girl (*bint*).

This exchange in the constructions for expressing possession is valid for almost every kind of relation, except for terms having inherent possessive value, such as parts of the body and kinship (thus, it is not possible to find in the data under investigation phrases like **umm māl-o* "his mother", but always *umm-o*; or like **yad māl-iš* "your (FSG) hand", but always *yad-iš*).

The exponent *māl* is also often used in the data to indicate professions and specialisation (e.g. *duktur māl wasm* "doctor of traditional medicine", *brofesūr māl l-*

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[18] *tītūn* is a Swahili loanword. Foreign borrowings will be lexically analysed in 6.3.

adab il-ingrīzīyya "professor of English literature"), and to express qualification, especially with materials (e.g. *ḥigāb māl ḥarīr* "a silk hijab").

The exponent *ḥāl*, on the contrary, convey a completely different function compared to *māl*. In accordance with the data collected, *ḥāl* cannot be considered a genitive exponent, but rather it is a preposition[19]. If *māl* is used mainly to express a genitive relation of belonging, *ḥāl* is used in contexts that indicate a benefactual relation: in all the examples found in the data, *ḥāl* expresses a benefit for the modifier (the second item of the annexation, as stated above) and what in English translates as "for, to".

(28) *ḥaḏō*   *awlād*   *ʿamm-ha*   *šey*
      took.3MPL   child.MPL   uncle-PRON.3FSG   something

      w-bāqit   *ḥāl-he*
      CONJ-remain.AP.MSG   GEN-PRON.3FSG

      "Her cousins took something, and the remaining was for her"   [S1, 3.2017]

(29) *haḏā*   *l-hadīya*   *ḥāl-iš*
      DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-present.FSG   GEN-PRON.2FSG

      "This gift is for you"   [S7, 6.2018]

(30) *haḏēlā*   *l-mšākīk*   *ḥāl*   *el-gīrān*
      DEM.PROX.FPL   DEF-skewer.PL   GEN.   DEF-neighbour.MPL

      "These skewers are for the neighbours"   [S10, 6.2018]

In example (28), the speaker is talking about the division of an inheritance and *ḥāl* expresses a beneficial value for the modifier (in this case represented by the possessive pronoun *-he*, "her"). In (30), the speaker is referring to the skewers that traditionally are brought to neighbours and relatives on the second day of Eid celebrations, thus we can presume that again *ḥāl* is intended as a beneficial relationship.

Consider the following examples which show how *māl* and *ḥāl* are not interchangeable in my informants' speech:

(a)   هذا الكتاب مال البنت

      "This book belongs to the girl"

(b)   هذا الكتاب حال البنت

      "This book is for the girl"

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[19] Davey (2016: 230) reports some examples where the genitive exponents *māl* and *ḥaqq* appear to be interchangeable, "with no resulting change in meaning". This does not seem to be possible in the speech of my informants in any case, since *māl* and *ḥāl* convey two distinct functions in the data.

These sentences were elicited from all the informants involved in this research. In all cases, regardless of age, provenance or level of education, the speakers clearly used the two different constructions to convey the two different functions[20]. Therefore, as far as concerns the data presented here, *ḥāl* can be considered as a preposition and not a genitive exponent, also confuting Reinhardt's position[21].

A third, more rarely used, genitive linker is *bū* (< *abū* "father") also used as relative pronoun in my data (for further details, see 5.1.1.3). In the data collected, there are only two examples showing *bū* in its genitive functions, and these are more often used by young speakers:

(31) *asmaʿ*   *eṣ-ṣawt*   *bū*   *mmi-nā*[22]
      hear.1SG   DEF-voice.SG   GEN.   mother.FSG-PRON.1PL
      "I hear our mum's voice"   [S5, 3.2017]

(32) *es-siyyāra*   *bū*   *aḥmad*
      DEF-car.FSG   GEN.   aḥmad
      "Aḥmad's car"   [S6, 6.2018]

Unfortunately, the examples are not enough to postulate any theory on the use of *bū* as a genitive exponent, and further research is needed.

Eksell-Harning (1980: 160) offers two main criteria to detect how and when the AG is preferred to the synthetic genitive: one is geographical, "in the western region the AG tends to be the ordinary way of expressing genitive", whereas "in the east the AG is a more or less extensively used complement to the SG" (synthetic genitive); the second criterion is socio-cultural, since "the AG is most extensively used in the *madani* dialects", less in the rural dialects and almost completely absent in Bedouin dialects. The reason lies in the major heterogeneity of urban environments compared to rural realities[23]. These statements are not entirely applicable to the vernacular as presented here, since, as shown in this section, the AG is very productive as it is also in other neighbouring dialects[24], and it is not always used as a complement to the synthetic

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[20] The same difference in functions conveyed by *māl* and *ḥāl* has been found in the data presented by Bettega (2016).
[21] "Dass das Genitiv-Verhältniss häufig durch die Wörter *māl Besitz* und *ḥāl Zustand*, mit Beibehaltung des Artikels umschrieben wird" (Reinhardt 1894: 79).
[22] *mmi-nā* (lit. "our mother") is the informal way children use to call their mother.
[23] Eksell-Harning (1980: 164-165).
[24] Qafisheh (1977: 117) states that the genitive exponents in Gulf Arabic *ḥagg* and *māl* are often used to avoid structural ambiguity (i.e. when "both elements of a noun construct have the same gender"); *ḥagg* precedes "animate or inanimate nouns, while *māl* is used with inanimate nouns". In Bahraini Arabic, Holes (2016: 223) finds no particular differences in the use of *ḥagg* and *māl*, with the only exception that

genitive, but rather it expresses different genitive relations based on pragmatic and functional factors. With respect to the sedentary or Bedouin origin of the dialects, Harning's statement is supported by the idea that in more urban environments there is a need to express concepts to foreign people, for example. In such a case, the AG would meet this necessity much better than a synthetic genitive construction (Eksell-Harning 1980: 164).

As regards the data presented here, I have found no difference in the use of the analytic or the synthetic construction in respect of age, gender or level of education of the speakers involved. Moreover, no difference has been found in respect of the different geographical areas which form the al-ʿAwābī district (i.e. Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and neighbouring villages). It seems that the analytic construction is preferred for genitive relations over the synthetic one, especially for emphasising a possessor, or for expressing a beneficial relation.

5.1.1.3 Relative Clause

A relative clause functions as a modifier of a noun phrase (therefore, it is also called attributive clause[25]). In a sentence like "the boy who lived in the countryside", *the boy* represents the head (or noun phrase) and the relative clause *who lived in the countryside* is the modifier (Payne 1997: 325). The head and the modifier are linked together by the relative pronoun. In the data, two relative pronouns, *illi* and *bū*[26], are used and they are both indeclinable.

In the construction of a relative clause it is important to distinguish between a definite and an indefinite head noun. The relative pronouns are only used when the head noun is definite[27].

(33) *zōg-he* *illi* *hūwa* *raqm*
husband.MSG-PRON.3FSG REL. PRON.3MSG number.SG

arbaʿa *muqaṣṣar-in-he*
four.F negligent.AP.MSG-IN-PRON.3FSG

"Her husband who was number four was negligent towards her" [S1, 3.2017]

ḥagg is "used only where the relationship was one of part-whole or purpose, and not always in these cases".

[25] Watson (1993).

[26] As mentioned in 5.1.1.2, *bū* can also occur in the data as genitive exponent, although more rarely.

[27] Davey (2016: 197-199) states that *illi* is only used in Dhofari Arabic when the head noun is definite, and if it is indefinite "the relativizer is omitted and the relative clause is unmarked". The same is found by Holes (2016: 387-388) for Bahraini dialects, although "in the speech of some elderly and uneducated B dialect-speakers" other variants can be found (i.e. *iladi, illadi* and *illi*), even if they occur rarely.

(34)	*il-māy*	*illi*	*yimši*	*fī-l-balād*
	DEF-water	REL.	walk.3MSG	in-DEF-village.FSG

	gāy	*min*	*el-gebel*
	come.AP.MSG	from	DEF-mountain.MSG

"The water that flows into the village is coming from the mountains"

[S1, 3.2017]

As examples (33) and (34) show, there are no restrictions on the semantic typology of the head noun the relative pronoun refers to: in (33) the head noun indicates a human entity (i.e. *zōg* "husband"), whereas in (34) the head is a non-human noun (i.e. *māy* "water").

When the head noun is indefinite, the relative pronoun is omitted, and the relative clause is unmarked, but an anaphoric pronoun, agreeing grammatically with the head noun referent, is suffixed to the modifier if the following verb is transitive (as in 35), otherwise it just follows the head noun without any relative or anaphoric pronoun (as in 36). This is valid for both definite and indefinite relative clauses:

(35)	*yišill*	*raṭab*	*yibī***hum**
	take.3MSG	dates.COLL	sell.3MSG-PRON.3MPL

	fī	*masqaṭ,*	*fī*	*barka,*	*wa-s-sīb*
	in	muscat	in	barka	CONJ-DEF-sib

"He takes dates that he was selling in Muscat, Barka and Sib"   [S2, 2.2017]

(36)	*yištġil*	*fī*	*naḫal*	*yistaṭnī*
	work.3MSG	in	palm garden.FSG	rent.3MSG

"He works in a palm garden (that) he rents"   [S2, 2.2017]

The relative pronoun *bū* is found in sedentary dialects of Oman[28], and it is rarely found in any other neighbouring Arabic dialects[29]. According to the data I collected, *bū* is used in more informal contexts and especially among younger speakers. Reinhardt (1894: 34-35) reports only *bū* (and its negative form *bušši*, which never appears in my data) as a relative pronoun, and this might be a clue in interpreting *bū* as the original older form

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[28] Holes (2008: 484).

[29] In Gulf Arabic (Qafisheh 1977), in Ṣanʿānī Arabic (Watson 1993) and in Najdi Arabic (Ingham 1994) the main relative pronoun is *illi* (or *allaḏī*).

used in this area, partially replaced in recent years by the more official and mainstream form *illi*[30].

(37)   الرجّال بو يبيع الخضرا عمّي

"The man who buys the vegetables is my uncle"   [S5, 6.2018]

Another clue supporting *bū* as the original relative form of this dialect is the fact that it is also found in local proverbs[31]:

(38) *bū*   *yatkall*   *ʿalā*   *ġēr-o*
      REL.   depend.3MSG   on   other-PRON.3MSG

      wa-qallal   *ḫēr-o*
      CONJ-became less.3MSG   good-PRON.3MSG

      "Who depends on someone else, his good became less"

Both *illi* and *bū* can also function as general relativizers (i.e. "who", "which", etc.). In this case, they introduce a non-attributive clause, i.e. they do not have a head noun to modify:

(39) *illi*   *yrīd*   *yiṭlaʿ*   *ilā*   *l-wādī*   *banī*
      REL.   want.3MSG   go.3MSG   to   DEF-wadi   bani

      ḫarūṣ   *mamnūʿ*   *baʿad*   *il-maġrib*   *yṭlaʿ*
      kharuṣ   forbidden.PP.MSG   after   DEF-sunset   go.3MSG

      "He who wants to go to Wādī Banī Kharūṣ is not allowed to go after the sunset"
                                                                              [S1, 3.2017]

(40) *bū*   *mā*   *bāya*   *ʿīš*   *tšill*   *samak faqaṭ*
      REL.   NEG.   want.AP.FSG   rice   take.3FSG   fish   only

      "She who doesn't want rice takes only fish"   [S6, 6.2018]

(41) *bū*   *fī*   *masqaṭ*   *trūḥ*   *ilā*   *l-maktab*
      REL.   in   muscat   go.3FSG   to   DEF.office.SG

      "Who is in Muscat goes to the office"   [S9, 6.2018]

Neither *illi* nor *bū* have a gender distinction; in (40) *bū* is followed by a feminine singular AP, since the question is addressed to a group made of only women.

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[30] This occurrence might be due to the great exposure in recent years to other forms of Arabic (e.g. Gulf dialects and MSA). Holes (1995: 39) argues: "In the spoken domain, the result of the spread of education and the exposure of the population to the broadcasting media are varieties of Arabic intermediate between 'pure' MSA and 'pure' dialect, in which there can be a greater or lesser mixture of MSA and dialectal elements, depending on the speaker's (or writer's) perception of the formality of the context."

[31] The reader can find the complete list of proverbs collected in the al-ʿAwābī district in Annex 3.

5.1.2 Verb phrase

A verb phrase consists of a verb, expressing tense, aspect and mood, and its dependants (i.e. objects, complements and other modifiers). In its simple conjugated form, the verb may contain all the information needed to complete the clause meaning – albeit a transitive verb needs a complement to complete the clause meaning:

(42)   *ekāl*   "I eat"

(43)   *šribti*   "You (FSG) drunk"

For a more detailed explanation on how tense, aspect and mood work in the al-ʿAwābī district vernacular, the reader is referred to 4.1. Here, I will briefly deal with the verbal prefixes found in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district.

5.1.2.1 Verbal prefixes

In the Omani dialects for which we have documentation, and partially in the data presented here, the most common verbal prefixes are *bi-*, *raḥ* and *ḥa-*, all of which are used as a marker of future or realis/irrealis and prefixed to the p-stem verb. Verbal markers *raḥ* and *ḥa-* are attested in other Arabic varieties (i.e. the Levantine, Egyptian and some Gulf ones)[32], and the latter, especially, is reported by Reinhardt (1894: 149) as the only prefix for the future in the Banū Kharūṣ vernacular. In the data collected and presented in this section, no occurrence of *raḥ* or *ḥa-* has been found, with only a single exception (that will be shown further on)[33].

The verbal *b*-prefix has been extensively investigated in the literature: numerous studies recognise it as a marker of future in many Arabic dialects (cf. Brockett 1985; Brustad 2000; Holes 2016; Davey 2016; Eades and Persson 2013; Persson 2015; Ingham 1994), although for some of them it can be also used in a conditional clause. In Syrian Arabic, for example, Brustad (2000: 248-253) identifies six different syntactic roles for the *b*-prefix, calling it "a puzzle": in main clauses indicating indicative mood; following temporal verbs in compound phrases; as a future marker; in embedded clause; in polite questions; and in conditional clauses.

According to these categories, the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district show the *b*-prefix used both as a future marker and in conditional clauses.

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[32] Brustad (2000: 241).

[33] The only occurrence of *raḥ* as future marker in the data has been reported in example (5) in 4.1.1, which was elicited via WhatsApp message with speaker 5. Therefore, we are not able to postulate any theory on the use of *raḥ* as future marker and in comparison with *b*-. However, it is fair to say that in all the samples that include a future time reference we either find a *bi*-prefix construction, an unmarked p-stem verb, or an AP accompanied by temporal adverbs.

b- as a future marker:

(44)   *bitgiyī*   *ʿars*   *manāl?*

         FUT.come.2FSG   wedding.SG   manal

         "Are you coming to Manal's wedding?"   [S11, 6.2018]

(45)   بجي البيت لساعة ١٢ تقريبا

         "I will be home about twelve"   [S5, 6.2018]

In my informants' vernacular, the future, as mentioned in 4.8, is expressed by the only p-stem verb or the p-stem verb *b-*prefixed. The difference in use appears to be the planning or the likelihood of the future event happening, rather than intention or volition: the *b-*prefix is used when the future event is planned, whereas a general future is indicated by a p-stem verb. Consider this example:

(46)   *il-awlād*   *ygyiō*   *bukra*   *maʿa*   *l-banāt*

         DEF-child.MPL   arrive.3MPL   tomorrow   with   DEF-girl.FPL

         "The girls will arrive tomorrow with the girls"   [S12, 4.2017]

Here, the speaker does not have the certainty that the kids will arrive with the kids, thus it is intended as a general future with no intentions or volition inferred. If we compare clause (46) with example (35) in 4.11.3 (i.e. *el-banāt gāyāt bukra*) which utilises the AP to express the state of "arriving the day after", we can see that the difference between them is slight. In (46) the p-stem accompanied by the temporal adverb *bukra* gives a general idea of a future event which can or cannot happen; in (35) the AP expresses a state, and alongside the use of the temporal adverbs, infers a planning of the event, which will happen at some point the following day.

Persson (2008) analyses the occurrence of the *b-*prefix and *rāḥ* in Gulf Arabic and found that *rāḥ* is hardly ever used in a non-future context, whereas *bi-* is very extensively used in conditional clauses. The fact that the *b-*prefix functions both as a future and a conditional marker is explained by Persson (2008: 44) considering that "futures also often have a conditional trait in the sense that their fulfilment often depends on certain conditions".

Conditional clauses in the vernacular under investigation are explained in 5.2.5.1, but here it is worth reporting the single occurrence in the data of *ḥa-* in the apodosis:

(47) *iḏā*   *ḥaḏ*   *el-ḥaṣā*

     if   took.3MSG   DEF-stone.FSG

     ḥa-yimašši-he   *b-ʿūd*   *el-qatt*

     FUT-walk.3MSG-PRON.3FSG   PREP-branch   DEF-clover.SG

     "If he took a stone, he would have made it walk by the clover branch"

<div align="right">[S2, 3.2017]</div>

The sentence above is a rare example of *ḥa-* prefixed to a p-stem verb in the apodosis of a conditional clause, and according to Persson (2008: 35), "future markers are common in apodoses where predictions are made". In (47), the speaker was telling a story about one of the imams of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, famous for moving objects and particularly stones. The example in (47) may also be an evidence for the *ḥa-*prefix to be the norm for expressing future references, replaced by the more widespread form with *bi-*.

In this vernacular, verbal *b-*prefix is not as common as in other Arabic dialects both in expressing conditions and future time reference, as shown in this subsection. Even when it is used in conditional clauses, it indicates a realis condition, likely to be fulfilled (as in examples 106/107, in 5.2.5.1).

5.1.3 Prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases are those phrases introduced by a preposition (e.g. *min*, *bi-*, *fī* and *ʿind-*[34], *li-*). As mentioned in 3.9, prepositions are indeclinable, therefore lacking morphological inflection.

(48) *(grūb)*   *min*   *ṯnaʿaš*   *ḥurma*

     group.MSG   of   twelve   woman.FSG

     "(A group) of twelve women"   [S14, 2.2017]

(50) *bi-alfīn*   *ryāl*

     PREP-two thousand   ryal.PL

     "At a price of two thousand ryals"   [S9, 3.2017]

(51) *fī-s-siyyāra*

     in-DEF-car.FSG

     "In the car"   [S8, 6.2018]

(52) *maʿa-kin*

     with-PRON.2FPL

---

[34] I am including *ʿind-* in the list of prepositions to express possession following the classification made by Prochazka (2008: 699-709).

"With you" [S3, 4.2017]

The case of prepositions *fī* ("in"), *ʿind-* ("at") and *li-* ("to") needs to be explored in more details. In the literature they are sometimes referred to as "pseudo-verbs", which is linked to the way those prepositions are translated in other languages[35].

The preposition *fī* introduces the existential clause, whereas the prepositions *ʿind-* and *li-* introduce the possessive clause. In this work, following the classification made by Watson (1993: 224), I chose to label phrases introduced by a preposition, prepositional phrases.

5.1.3.1 Existential clause

It is possible to refer to existentials as those prepositions which form phrases which express the presence or the existence of something. In the data presented here, the most common form of the existential is the preposition *fī* ("in") plus the 3MSG pronoun, in some cases followed by a locational or temporal adjunct:

(53) *fīh*   *māy*   *dāḫil*   *iṯ-ṯallāga*

EXIST.   water   inside   DEF.fridge.FSG

"There is water in the fridge"   [S10, 3.2017]

(54) *fīh*   *ṭawla*   *barrā*

EXIST.   table.FSG   outside

"There is a table outside"   [S14, 4.2017]

Consistently with Payne (1997: 123) and with Davey's (2016: 180) analysis of existentials in Dhofari Arabic, the noun phrase following *fīh* is always indefinite. Moreover, the time reference expressed by the existential construction is always present (in relation to the time of the utterance). In fact, the vernacular under investigation uses the verb *kān / ykūn* to express the existence or presence of something in the past (see 4.9). In addition to *fīh*, the word *šey* ("thing") is also used:

(55) *šē*   *fanāgīn*

EXIST.   coffee cup.PL

"There are coffee cups"   [S11, 4.2017]

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[35] Brustad (2000: 153): "In general, most pseudo-verbs consist of either prepositions that give locative or possessive meaning, or of nominally derived forms that give modal meaning. Pseudo-verbs are characterized by one or more semantic or syntactic features". One of the supporting characteristics for the label "pseudo-verbs" is that both existentials and possessive clauses take the same negation as verbs. However, it needs to be mentioned here that in the data both nouns and verbs are negated by *mā* (see 5.3 for more details), and therefore the denomination used by Brustad cannot be valid here.

(56) *šey*   *siyyarāt*

      EXIST.   cars.FPL

      "There are cars"   [S1, 3.2017]

According to the data collected, no criteria seem to be used in the choice of one form or another among the speakers: both *fīh* and *šey* are used by men and women, young and old, with no relevance to their level of education either.

5.1.3.2 Possessive clause

The prepositions *ʿind-* ("at") and *li-* ("to), followed by a suffixed pronoun, are used to express possession:

(57) عندها ثلاثة اولاد

      "She has three children"   [S5, 3.2017]

(58) *li-š*   *ṯūb*   *gedīd*

      to-PRON.2FSG   dress.MSG   new.MSG

      "You have a new dress"   [S10, 2.2017]

As shown in examples (57) and (58) above, even in the possessive prepositional phrase the predicand is always indefinite. In case a subject is expressed, the preposition follows it and an anaphoric pronoun, agreeing grammatically with the subject, is suffixed to it, as in:

(59) *ʿamm-ī*   *ʿind-o*   *siyyāra*

      uncle.MSG-PRON.1SG   to-PRON.3MSG   car.FSG

      "My uncle has a car"   [S3, 6.2018]

(60) *el-bint*   *ʿind-he*   *sannūr*

      DEF-girl.FSG   to-PRON.3FSG   cat.MSG

      "The girl has a cat"   [S12, 6.2018]

5.2 Clauses

A clause is a group of words consisting of a subject and a predicate (i.e. a referent expressing something about the subject). I decided to divide this sub-section into simple nominal clause, simple verbal clause and complex clauses (i.e. adverbial clause and complement clause). In this work, I am considering as a nominal clause any clause consisting of a predicand and a predicate (that can be a noun phrase, an adjectival noun phrase or a prepositional phrase); whereas I consider as a verbal clause any clause

including a finite verb (either in first or second position), followed by optional subject and complements.

5.2.1 Simple nominal clause

A simple nominal clause is a sentence where the predicand is a noun phrase and the predicate can be another noun phrase (examples 61 and 62), an adjectival phrase (examples 63 and 64), or a prepositional phrase (examples 65 and 66).

(61) | *ḏāk* | *ir-riggāl* | *ʿamm-ī* |
|---|---|---|
| DEM.DIST.MSG | DEF-man.MSG | uncle.MSG-PRON.1SG |

"That man is my uncle" [S14, 6.2018]

(62) | *haḏī* | *s-siyyāra* | *māl-ī* |
|---|---|---|
| DEM.PROX.FSG | DEF-car.FSG | GEN-PRON.1SG |

"This car is mine" [S5, 4.2017]

(63) | *sannūr* | *uḫt-ī* | *bunnī* |
|---|---|---|
| cat.MSG | sister.FSG-PRON.1SG | brown |

"My sister's cat is brown" [S6, 6.2018]

(64) | *siyyārat-ī* | *ḫarbāna* |
|---|---|
| car.FSG-PRON.1SG | damaged.FSG |

"My car is damaged" [S7, 3.2017]

(65) | *haḏēlā* | *l-ḥarīm* | *min* | *ahl-ī* |
|---|---|---|---|
| DEM.PROX.FPL | DEF-woman.FPL | from | family-PRON.1SG |

"These women are from my family" [S9, 6.2018]

(66) | *es-siyyāra* | *qiddām* | *il-bwāb* |
|---|---|---|
| DEF-car.FSG | in front of | DEF-gate.MSG |

"The car is in front of the gate"[36] [S9, 4.2017]

When the predicate of a simple nominal clause is a noun phrase, it does not carry the definite article and it agrees only in number and not in gender; in fact, "the predicate agrees with the predicand only insofar as the two nouns can logically refer to one and the same referent" (Watson 1993: 98). In (61), the predicate is the noun phrase *ʿamm-ī* ("my uncle"), consisting of a noun and a possessive suffixed pronoun. It is logically linked to the predicand, since they are both nouns denoting male entities.

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[36] A nominal clause consisting of a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase is also called "locational clause", since it indicates a specific location of space: *al-wusāda fī-l-kurfāya* "the pillow is on the bed".

When the predicate is an adjectival phrase, it is essentially indefinite (e.g. *ir-riggāl māyt* "the man is dying", *el-bint gamīla* "the girl is beautiful"). In these cases, the predicate follows, as far as it concerns the agreement, the same rules applied in noun phrases (see 5.1.1.1): human plural predicands will have strict agreement, whereas inanimate non-human plural predicands will have deflected agreement, as in the examples below:

(67) *el-banāt*   *mašġūlāt*

DEF-girls.FPL   busy.PP.FPL

"The girls are busy"   [S11, 6.2018]

(68) *il-mustašfayāt*   *ḫāṣṣa*

DEF-hospital.FPL   private.FSG

"The hospitals are private"   [S1, 3.2017]

Moreover, if the predicate is an adjective referring to an inanimate non-human plural predicand or a dual noun, it can be in its broken plural form (if it possesses one), as in:

(69) *in-naḫīl*   *kibār*

DEF-palm.FPL   old.PL

"The palms are old"   [S8, 2.2017]

(70) *ir-riggālīn*   *ṭuwāl*

DEF-man.DL   tall.PL

"The two men are tall"   [S14, 2.2017]

5.2.2 Simple verbal clause

A simple verbal clause is a clause which includes a finite verb (e.g. *sawwē-nā bēt* "we built a house"), and an optional explicit subject and other complements. It can also be modified by adverbs, prepositional phrases or noun phrases used adverbially. These adverbials can express time, as in:

(71) ***qabil*** *ġurūb*   *iš-šams*   *yrūḥ*   *il-wādī,*

before sunset.SG   DEF-sun.SG go.3MSG   DEF-wadi

masmūḥ   *w-**baʿad***   *al-ġurūb*   *mustahīl*

allowed.PP.MSG   CONJ-after   DEF-sunset impossible.PP.MSG

yrūḥ

go.3MSG

"Before the sunset, one goes to the wadi, it was allowed, but after the sunset it was impossible to go"   [S1, 3.2017]

(72) **bukra**   **ṣ-ṣabāḥ**   *yrūḥ*   *ilā*   *l-wādī*

tomorrow   DEF-morning   go.3MSG   to   DEF-wadi

"The morning after one goes to the wadi"   [S15, 4.2017]

(73) **baʿad** *ʿašar* *sanuwāt*   **taqrīban**   *ṭallaq-ha*

after   ten.M year.FPL   about   divorced.3MSG-PRON.3FSG

"After about ten years he divorced her"   [S1, 3.2017]

or space, as in:

(74) *enām*   **taḥt**   *is-saṭḥ*   **fī**-*l-kurfāya*

sleep.1SG   below   DEF-roof.SG in-DEF-bed.FSG

"I sleep on the bed under the roof"   [S8, 2.2017]

(75) *atīb*   *qahwa*   **hinā**

bring.1SG   coffee   here

"I bring coffee here"   [S14, 2.2017]

In order to examine clearly the structure of the simple verbal clause how it is presented in the data, it is worth mentioning here the word order structure and some remarks on the agreement in verbal contexts.

5.2.3 Word order

In the Arabic dialectological literature, the analysis of word order starts with the individuation of the three main sentence constituents: verb (V), subject (S) and object (O). Thus, the sentence typologies SVO or VSO, according to the order of the components in a given sentence. CA has been classified by Arabists as a VSO language, which means that the verb always precedes the subject in the sentence, followed by the subject and then by the complements. In modern Arabic dialects, the structure is not so strict anymore and both VSO and SVO systems may be found, varying mainly according to the type of discourse: narration or dialogue.

In the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, both VSO and SVO sentence types are found. As a general rule, in terms of word order in the data, if the subject of a clause is definite it goes at the left of the verb (i.e. SVO), whereas if it is indefinite it goes to the right (i.e. VSO).

5.2.4 Some remarks on the agreement in verbal contexts

Consider the following examples for the VSO sentence-type:

(76) خلّص حلقة

"The movie is finished"   [S7, 3.2017]

(77) *kānat*   *syūḥ*

      was.3FSG   empty lot.PL

      "There were empty lots of land"   [S2, 3.2017]

(78) *gyen*   *madāris*   *w-mustašfiyāt*

      came.3FPL   school.FPL   CONJ-hospital.FPL

      "Schools and hospitals arrived"   [S1, 3.2017]

(79) *kānat*   *bint*   *ṣaġīra*

      was.3FSG   girl.FSG   small.FSG

      "She was a young girl"   [S15, 6.2018]

(80) *kānū*   *kill-hum*   *ṣġār*

      was.3MPL   all-PRON.3MPL   small.PL

      "All of them were young"   [S14, 4.2017]

(81) *rabbit-he*   *ḥobbōt-he*

      took care.3FSG-PRON.3FSG   grandmother.FSG-PRON.3FSG

      "Her grandmother took care of her"   [S1, 3.2017]

(82) *ydawrū-he*   *il-gīrān*

      look for.3MPL-PRON.3FSG   DEF-neighbour.MPL

      "The neighbours looked for her"   [S14, 4.2017]

Some of these examples (i.e. 80, 81 and 82) are from narrative discourses, whereas all the others are from spontaneous speech recordings. When the head noun is singular, the verb in first position shows strict agreement: the verbs in (76), (79) and (81) are in the singular feminine form according to their subjects.

When the head noun is a sound or broken plural, variation seems to be more common: (78), for example, shows a plural feminine verb in first position referring to two inanimate head nouns coordinated (which are feminine). On the other hand, a broken inanimate plural such as *šyūḥ* depends on the verb *kān* in its feminine singular form (accordingly to the agreement rules for non-human plurals explained in 5.1.1.1)[37]. Perhaps, we can postulate that in verbal contexts inanimate plural head nouns tend to attract feminine plural agreement, instead of deflected agreement. Consider these examples:

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[37] The verb *kān* ("to be"), when expressing the existential in the past (i.e. "there was, there were"), is always in first position in the data, but its form may vary according to the head noun. Consider the following example: *kān ṯalāṯ madāris fī-ṣ-ṣulṭana* "there were three schools in the Sultanate" (S1, 3.2017), here the verb preceding a numeral is in its masculine singular form.

(83) الصفاري يحتاجن تغسيل

"The pots need a wash"   [S11, 6.2018]

(84) اذا تحصل المفاتيح ترجعهن لي

"If she finds the keys, she'll give them back to me"   [S14, 3.2017]

(85) الصغيرين يلعبو خارج

"The kids are playing outside"   [S5, 6.2018]

(86) *el-banāt*   *yitmarriḍen*
      DEF-girl.FPL   are sick.3FPL

      "The girls are sick"   [S12, 4.2017]

(87) *il-ḥarīm*   *yištaġilen*   *fī*   *maṣnaʿ*   *it-tumūr*
      DEF-woman.FPL   work.3FPL   in   factory.MSG   DEF.date.PL

      fī   *rustāq*
      in   rustāq

      "The women work in a date factory in Rustāq"   [S2, 3.2017]

In (83), the subject is the inanimate plural noun الصفاري ("pots") and the following p-stem verb agrees with it as a feminine plural; in (84), the object of the protasis is an inanimate broken plural, to which the suffixed object pronoun *-hin* of the apodosis agrees to in its feminine plural form. In all other cases (i.e. 85, 86, 87), the subjects are human head nouns attracting strict agreement. Hence, the data show that inanimate plural heads, when they have dependent verbs and suffixed pronouns, attract strict agreement, whereas in noun phrases they show deflected agreement.

The case of *nās* ("people") is interesting when it comes to the agreement rules. Holes (2016: 334) states that in the Baḥarna dialects of Bahrain, a common use of *nās* is as "indefinite distributive ('some…others'), used to differentiate sub-groups within a larger group". Holes adds that this use of *nās* usually attracts deflected agreement. Brustad (2000: 54), on the other hand, considers *nās* a collective noun with a lack of "individuation". In the examples reported by Holes (2016: 333-334), *nās* shows both strict (masculine plural) and deflected agreement and this is due to a "difference in individuation", since "the likelihood of strict agreement is higher where the verb is s-stem and describes an actual event, lower when it is p-stem and describes habits or in unspecific terms what generally happens/used to happen" (Holes 2016: 334). In the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, *nās* always appears to attract strict agreement as masculine plural:

(88) *nās*   ʿ*ind-hum*   *fulūs*

people.COLL   to-PRON.3MPL   money.COLL

"People are rich" (lit.: "people they have money")   [S10, 3.2017]

(89) الناس بو عايشين محيتنا هنود

"The people who live in our street are Indians"   [S5, 6.2018]

In (88), *nās* is an indefinite noun, it indicates a non-individuated group of people, whereas in (89) the speaker is talking about some specific people, the ones who live in her street. In both cases, *nās* attracts masculine plural agreement (i.e. in 88, the suffix pronoun *-hum*, and in 89, the active participle عايشين).

Even in verbal contexts, *nās* still attracts strict agreement, with one exception: when the verb is in first position, and therefore *nās* indicates a generic group of people, the verb has a masculine singular form. Consider the following examples from the data:

(90) *gē*   *nās*

arrived.3MSG   people.COLL

"People arrived"   [S14, 4.2017]

(91) *dār*   *nās*   *yištaglō*

started.3MSG   people.COLL   work.3MPL

"People started to work"   [S2, 2.2017]

In (91), the first verb (an auxiliary) is masculine singular, but the dependant verb, coming after the head noun, is conjugated as masculine plural.

According to Brustad (2000: 57), "viewing the grammatical feature of plural agreement as a continuum allows a principled account of the variation that occurs and reflects the speaker's control over this feature". Thus, "the choice of agreement depends on the feature that influence individuation, especially specificity and agency". Based on this statement, *nās* can be more or less individuated and therefore have a feminine singular or a masculine plural agreement. In my data, all the examples with *nās* take masculine plural agreement, and this can be explained by the fact that *nās*, meaning exclusively a group of 'humans', is grammatically treated as other human plurals that usually take strict agreement (in this case, masculine).

5.2.5 Complex clause

A complex clause is a clause that combines an independent clause (i.e. a nominal or verbal clause) with at least one dependant clause (i.e. adverbial, attributive[38], complement clause). In this subsection, I will analyse the structure of complex clauses as they appear in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, dividing them into adverbial, conditional and complement clauses.

5.2.5.1 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses "modify a verb phrase or a whole clause" (Payne 1997: 316-317). In the linguistic literature, these clauses belong to the category of supplementation, in order to distinguish them from complementation which 'complete' a clause rather than adding supplements to it (and that will be further investigated in 5.2.5.2).

Adverbial clauses can modify a main clause in different ways. In this section I will analyse them following the differentiation made by Payne (1997: 317-320) in adverbial clause of time, location, manner, purpose and reason.

Adverbial clause of time

Adverbial clauses of time address the question "when?" and can be introduced by the conjunctions *lemme* / *yōm*[39] ("when") or by noun phrases used adverbially (e.g. *il-yōm* "today", *iṣ-ṣabāḥ* "this morning", *bukra ṣ-ṣabāḥ* "tomorrow morning", *il-ʿām il-māḍī* "last year"), prepositional phrases (e.g., *fī-ṣ-ṣabāḥ* "in the morning", *fī l-lēl* "in the night", etc.), and temporal adverbs (e.g. *bukra* "tomorrow", *ems* "yesterday", *taww* "now", *taqrīban* "about", *qabil* "before", *lēn* "until")[40].

(92) ʿumr   el-bint   ṯalāṯ-ʿaš   sana   ***lemme***
      age.SG   DEF.girl.FSG   thirteen   year.FSG   when

      tzawwag-he
      married.3MSG-PRON.3FSG

      "She was thirteen years old when he got her married off"   [S1, 3.2017]

---

[38] The attributive (or relative) clause generally modifies a noun phrase, and for this reason has been developed in 5.1.1.3.

[39] In the Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, it is used also the noun *waqt* ("time") to introduce a subordinate temporal clause. In the data, it occurs in a few examples in the speech of middle-aged women: *waqt il-barad tnām fōq?* ("Do you sleep upstairs when it is cold/during cold season?", S14, 3.2017).

[40] For a detailed list of adverbs and prepositions of time the reader is referred to 3.8 and 3.9 respectively.

(93) | *mā* | *ḥad* | *kān* | *yištġil* | **yōm** |
|-----|------|------|---------|---------|
| NEG. | person | was.3MSG | work.3MSG | when |

māt	*abū-hum*
died.3MSG	father.MSG-PRON.3MPL

"None of them used to work when their father died" [S1, 3.2017]

(94) | *uḫt-ī* | *mā* | *ʿind-ha* | *siyyāra* | **lēn** |
|--------|-----|----------|----------|---------|
| sister.FSG-PRON.1SG | NEG. | to-PRON.3FSG | car.FSG | until |

rāḥit	*masqaṭ*
went.3FSG	muscat

"My sister did not have a car until she went to Muscat" [S6, 6.2018]

(95) قبل عن اسافر باية اروح صلالة

"Before I leave I want to visit Ṣalāla" [S5, 6.2018]

The temporal adverb *qabil* is followed by the particle *ʿan* when introduces a verb as in example (95), otherwise it simply precedes the noun.

Adverbial clause of location

Adverbial clauses of location address the question "where?" and are introduced by *ēn* / *wēn* ("where"), locative adverbs (e.g. *warā* "behind", *fōq* "up, above", *taḥt* "under", *yasār* "on the left", *yamīn* "on the right", etc.), locative demonstratives (i.e. *hinā* "here", *hināk* "there"), or prepositional phrases (e.g. *min aš-šamāl* "from the North", *min al-baʿīd* "from far away", *fī-l-makān* "in the place", *qiddām al-bāb* "in front of the door", etc.).

(96) | *sūft* | *el-makān* | **ēn** | *taskun* |
|------|----------|-------|---------|
| saw.1SG | DEF-place.SG | where | live.2MSG |

"I saw the place where you live" [S12, 3.2017]

Adverbial clause of manner

Adverbial clauses of manner modify the main clause describing the way the action expressed by the main verb is carried out, and are introduced by *kēf* ("how"), or *kamā* ("as, like").

(97) | *yitṣarraf* | **kamā** | *ṣ-ṣaġīrīn* | *yitṣarrafō* |
|------------|---------|------------|-------------|
| behave.3MSG | like | DEF-small.MPL | behave.3MPL |

fī-l-madāris
in-DEF-school.FPL

"He behaves like kids behave in schools" [S11, 6.2018]

(98)   *mā*   *aʿraf*   **kēf**   *zōg*

        NEG. know.1SG   how   husband.MSG

        "I don't know how a husband is"   [S2, 3.2017]

Adverbial clause of purpose

Adverbial clauses of purpose express the resulting aim of the main clause. In the vernacular under investigation, these clauses are introduced by the preposition *ʿašān* ("in order to").

(99)   *il-imām*   *yaqrā*   *ʿalī-ha*   *min*

        DEF-imam.MSG   read.3MSG   to-PRON.3FSG   from

        il-qurān   *il-karīm*   **ʿašān**   *yisgin-he*

        DEF-quran   holy.MSG   in order to   imprison.3MSG-PRON.3FSG

        "The imam starts to read the Holy Quran to imprison her" [S2, 2.2017]

(100)   *qubbit*   *šaʿar* *fī*   *wsaṭ*   *iṭ-ṭarīq*

        made a dome.3FSG hair in   middle   DEF-street.SG

        ʿašān   *tḫāf-o*

        in order to   scare.3FSG-PRON.3MSG

        "She made a dome with her hair in the middle of the street to scare him"

        [S2, 2.2017][41]

Adverbial clause of reason

Adverbial clauses of reason address the question "why?", and are usually introduced by *l-inn* ("because") and, in a few instances, by *ʿašān kḏāk* ("so that"). The subordinating conjunction *l-inn* takes a suffix pronoun which agrees grammatically with the subject of the verb in the adverbial clause (if different from the one in the main clause).

(101)   *ṭallaq-ha*   *nafs*   *eš-šēy*

        divorced.3MSG-PRON.3FSG   same   DEF-thing.SG

        l-inn-he   *magnūna*

        because-PRON.3FSG   crazy.PP.FSG

        "He divorced her for the same reason, because she was crazy"   [S1, 3.2017]

---

[41] Both examples (99) and (100) are from a story about ginns in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

(102) *kān*   *fī*   *ġamām*   **ʿašān kd̲āk**   *sum-o*

       was.3MSG   in   cloud.PL   so that   name-PRON.3MSG

       masgid   *l-ġāma*

       mosque   DEF-cloud.SG

       "There were clouds, so that its name is 'mosque of the cloud'"   [S2, 3.2017]

Circumstantial clause

Circumstantial clauses are also known in the literature as *ḥāl*-clauses, and they "describe the manner which one did something, the manner how something happened, one's conditions when something happened, etc." (Qafisheh 1977: 216). In terms of time reference, the circumstantial clause indicates an action or event simultaneous to the action or event expressed by the main verb. Consider the following example:

(103) رحت اتمشى اشوف النجوم

       "I went walking looking at the stars"   [S5, 6.2018]

In the example above, the main verb is expressed through a s-stem form and the verb of the circumstantial clause is a p-stem verb, because the whole event expressed by the sentence is in the past, in relation to the time of the utterance. If, on the other hand, the event is happening in the present, both the main clause and the circumstantial clause can have a p-stem verb or an AP and a p-stem verb. Both structures give the idea of simultaneous action:

(104) *umm-ī*   *taqrā*   *kitāb*   *tišūf*

       mother.FSG-PRON.1SG   read.3FSG   book.MSG   see.3FSG

       iṣ-ṣaġīrīn

       DEF-small.MPL

       "Mum is reading a book (while) looking after the kids"   [S9, 4.2017]

(105) *wāṣal*   *il-bēt*   *yaġnī*

       arrive.AP.3MSG   DEF-house.MSG   sing.3MSG

       "He has arrived home singing"   [S7, 6.2018]

Conditional clause

Conditional clauses are structured in terms of a protasis (i.e. the dependant clause expressing the condition) and an apodosis (i.e. the main clause expressing the consequence if the condition is not fulfilled). In the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī

district, similarly to Dhofari Arabic[42], the protasis can be introduced by the particles *law* and *iḏā* ("if"). The difference in the use is that the former indicates a condition that is unlikely to be fulfilled, whereas the latter a condition more likely to happen.

The overall likelihood of the condition being fulfilled and the realis/irrealis contraposition in the conditional clause is mainly expressed through the particles *law* and *iḏā*. The verb forms vary according to the time reference of the conditional clause, and to the rules mentioned above. Nevertheless, conditional clauses can be divided into three main types, according to the likelihood of the condition expressed happening.

The first type expresses a realis condition, that is likely to be fulfilled and, in the data, both the protasis and the apodosis take a p-stem verb, but the verb of the apodosis may also take the future/conditional verbal marker *bi-* (see 5.1.2.1)[43]:

(106)   *iḏā*   *trīdī*   *malābis*   *gedīda*   *binrūḥ*

        if   want.2FSG   cloth.MPL   new.FSG   FUT.go.1PL

        w-ništrī

        CONJ-buy.1PL

        "If you want new clothes, we will go and buy (them)"   [S12, 6.2018]

(107)   *iḏā*   *arūḥ*   *taww*   *biatʿaššā*

        if   go.1SG   now   FUT.have dinner.1SG

        maʿ-kum

        with-PRON.2FPL

        "If I leave now, I will have dinner with you"   [S3, 6.2018]

The second type expresses a realis condition but very unlikely to be fulfilled and, in this case, the protasis will show a s-stem verb (or a prepositional phrase), whereas the apodosis a p-stem verb with no prefixes. These types of conditional clauses can be introduced by either *law* or *iḏā*:

(108)   *law*   *ʿind-ī*   *siyyāra,*   *arūḥ*   *rustāq*

        if   to-PRON.1SG   car.FSG   go.1SG   rustāq

        "If I had a car, I would go to Rustāq"   [S6, 6.2018]

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[42] Davey (2016: 207)

[43] In Dhofari Arabic, Davey (2016: 253) notes that the verbal prefix *bā-* is not obligatory with the verb of the apodosis when an outcome is achievable or likely to be fulfilled, but it occurs more often if the conditional clause is introduced by *iḏā*.

(109) *iḏā*   *laqti*   *šiḥḥa*   *tqūlī-he*
   if   met.2FSG   Shiḥḥa   tell.2FSG-PRON.3FSG

   tursil-nī   *ʿaṭṭūr*
   send.3FSG-PRON.1SG   medicine.SG

   "If you meet Shiḥḥa, would you tell her to send me the medicine?"[S8, 2.2017]

Finally, the third type expresses an irrealis condition, that is impossible to be fulfilled because it refers to a past event or a condition that cannot be changed anymore. In this case, the conditional clause is introduced by *law* and the protasis takes a s-stem verb (or a nominal, adjectival or prepositional phrase), whereas the apodosis takes a p-stem verb.

(110) *law*   *iṣ-ṣaġirīn*   *mā*   *marīḍīn,*
   if   DEF-small.MPL   NEG.   sick.MPL

   ašill-hum   *lēn*   *falag*
   take.1SG-PRON.3MPL   to   falag

   "If the kids weren't sick, I would have brought them to the falag" [S10, 4.2017]

(111) *law*   *ʿind-ī*   *fulūs*   *atzawwug*
   if   to-PRON.1SG   money   marry.1SG

   ġēr-iš
   other-PRON.2FSG

   "If I had money, I would have married someone other than you"   [S11, 3.2017]

(112) لو ما كنت فقيرة واجد اعيش في بيت قصر

   "If I weren't so poor, I would have lived in a bigger house"   [S6, 6.2018]

Protasis of examples (110) and (111) are noun phrases, showing in the former a possessive clause and in the latter an adjectival construction, whereas (112) express a state (poverty) that is impossible to change.

5.2.5.2 Complement clause

In the data, a complement clause can be introduced by the particle *inn-* ("that"), or any other prepositional complement required by the verb.

(113) *yaʿtaqidō*   *inn*   *sanānir*   *tišūf*   *l-ginn*
   believe.3MPL   that   cat.MPL   see.3FSG   DEF-ginn.SG

   "It is believed that cats can see jinn"   [S7, 6.2018]

(114) *qalū*   *inn*   *il-walad*   *ḥayy*
   said.3MPL   that   DEF-boy.MSG   alive.MSG

   "They said that the boy is alive"   [S10, 6.2018]

The particle *inn-* can also take a suffixed pronoun in case the subject of the complement clause differs from the head noun or from the subject of the main clause:

(115) *manṣab-ī*   *mā*   *yismaḥ*   *inn-ī*

      position-PRON.1SG NEG. allow.3MSG   that-PRON.1SG

      asawwi   *mašākil*

      make.1SG   problem.PL

      "My position does not allow me to make troubles"   [S1, 3.2017]

In this case, the particle *inn-* carries the suffixed pronoun *-ī* for the first person singular since it is the subject of the subordinate clause. As in other Arabic dialects[44], in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, there is no specific category of verbs that takes the particle *inn-* before a complement clause.

Generally, verbs of saying and thinking carry the particle *inn-* to introduce a subordinate sentence:

(116) *aqūl*   *l-iš*   *inn-iš*   *rabša*

      say.1SG   to-PRON.2FSG   that-PRON.2FSG   naughty.FSG

      "I say that you are naughty"   [S1, 3.2017]

(117) *eḍann*   *inn*   *haḏī*   *l-gāmiʿa*

      think.1SG   that   DEM.PROX.FSG   DEF-university.FSG

      mumtaẓa

      excellent.FSG

      "I think that this university is excellent"   [S6, 4.2017]

However, in a few instances, they can also be used without the introducing particle:

(118) *qāl*   *l-ha*   *mā*   *trūḥī*

      said.3MSG   to-PRON.3FSG   NEG.   go.2FSG

      "He said to her not to go"   [S11, 3.2017]

According to Holes (2016: 374), the sporadic use of the particle *inn-* with any category of verbs "may reflect the greater exposure of the user to varieties of Arabic which use a complementiser routinely (especially MSA)". This statement is consistent with the data presented here: most of the complement clauses introduced by the particle *inn-* have been recorded in al-ʿAwābī from younger and middle-aged female speakers with an

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[44] Holes (2016: 374) notes that in Bahraini Arabic noun clauses can lack the complementising particle *inn* "regardless of the type of verb which governs them if they are objects, or which is predicated of them if they are subjects", and generally follow the main verb directly.

average to high level of education; whereas in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, speakers tended not to use any particle between the main verb and the subordinate clause (as in example 118), regardless of their level of education.

Verbs of wanting and ordering do not take, in this district, any complementiser.

(119) *amar-ik*　　　　　　　*trūḥ*　　　　*tinām*
　　　order.1SG-PRON.2MSG　　go.2MSG　　sleep.2MSG
　　　"I order you to go to sleep"　　　　　　　　　　　　[S12, 6.2018]

(120) *bāya*　　　　　　　　　*ašrub*　　　　　*qahwa*
　　　want.AP.FSG　　　　　　drink.PRES.1SG　coffee
　　　"I want to drink coffee"　　　　　　　　　　　　　[S5, 6.2018]

(121) *arīd-iš*　　　　　　　　*trūḥī*　　　　*maʿī*
　　　want.1SG-PRON.2FSG　　go.2FSG　　with-PRON.1SG
　　　ilā　　　　　　　　　　*l-mustašfā*
　　　to　　　　　　　　　　　DEF-hospital.FSG
　　　"I want you to come with me to the hospital"　　　[S12, 6.2018]

(122)　ابغاش تجيبي الصغيرين البيت
　　　"I want you to bring the children home"　　　　　　[S3, 6.2018]

In (120), we can see the AP form *bāya* carrying a complement clause. This is the most common way, as it appears in the data, to express willing (see 4.11.4, for more details), although when the subject of the complement clause differs from the one of the main clause and, as already mentioned, a suffix pronoun is needed, the AP form *bāya* (or *bāġa*) cannot be used anymore and it is replaced by the verbs *arīd* or *baġā* (as in example 121 and 122).

Verbs of liking and loving do not take any complementiser:

(123) *aḥibb*　　　　*al-iqrā*
　　　love.1SG　　　DEF-reading.VN
　　　"I like reading"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[S3, 6.2018]

(124) *tḥibbī*　　　　*ṭ-ṭbaḫ?*
　　　love.2FSG　　　DEF-cooking.VN
　　　"Do you like cooking?"　　　　　　　　　　　　　[S7, 6.2018]

(125)　يعجبك تشوف المباراة ؟
　　　"Do you like watching football?"　　　　　　　　　[S5, 6.2018]

In examples (123) and (124), the main verb is followed by a verbal noun, which constitutes the usual construction for the verb *ḥabb* ("to love"). In example (125), the main verb is followed by a p-stem verb, which agrees grammatically with the suffixed pronoun.

Two categories of verbs, in the data, which never take the complementiser to introduce the subordinate clause are modal verbs and auxiliaries. Modal verbs and expressions usually indicating likelihood, permission and obligation include *lāzim* ("it is necessary"), *yiḥtāg* ("it needs"), *rām / yrūm* ("to be able to"), *qadar / yiqdar* ("can"). They are followed by a p-stem verb directly.

(126) *lāzim*   *yargaʿ*   *marra*   *ṯanya*

necessary.AP   go back.3MSG   time   second.F

l-balād   *w-yinām*   *fī-l-ʿawābī*

DEF-village.FSG   CONJ-sleep.3MSG   in-DEF-ʿawābī

"One should go back again and sleep in al-ʿAwābī"   [S1, 3.2017][45]

(127) *lāzim*   *aḫalliṣ*   *haḏā*   *l-kitāb*

necessary.AP   finish.1SG   DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-book.MSG

"I must finish this book"   [S7, 4.2017]

lāzim is an impersonal modal expression, an old AP form grammaticalised in CA (see 4.11.5). It does not conjugate, but the p-stem verb which follows it carries the grammatical functions (i.e. person, number and gender) specified in the sentence[46]. In (126), the sentence has an impersonal subject, expressed with the third person masculine singular. In (127), on the contrary, the subject of the sentence is the first person singular and it is carried by the p-stem verb *aḫalliṣ*.

(128) الصفاري يحتاجن تغسيل قبل استخدامهن

"Pots need a wash before using them"   [S5, 6.2018]

(129) *aḥtāg*   *arūḥ*   *ilā*   *d-dikkān*

need.1SG   go.1SG   to   DEF-shop.MSG

"I need to go to the shop"   [S10, 6.2018]

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[45] In the data, a verb with an impersonal subject is often realised as 3MSG, as in this example.

[46] *lāzim* can also be in nominal construction, i.e. with no verb involved, as in: *lāzim qabil il-maġrib* "it was necessary before the sunset" [S1, 3.2017]. However, there are only two examples of this construction in my data.

The verb *rām / yrūm* appears to have an interesting function in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district. The root *RWM originally indicates "to be over, overlook"[47], but in the data it means "to be able to". *rām / yrūm* can be followed either by a verbal noun or a p-stem form. The latter is conjugated in the same person, gender and number of the main verb.

(130) ما تروم تساوق لان سيّارته خربانة

"She cannot drive because her car is damaged" [S7, 2.2017]

(131) *mā*   *yrūm*   *miṭlaʿ*   *l-inna*   *mā*   *fīh*
NEG. can.3MSG   come.VN   because   NEG. EXIST.
darag
stair.MPL

"He cannot go up because there aren't any stairs" [S14, 2.2017]

(132) *aqdar*   *musāʿid-iš?*
can.1SG   help.AP.MSG-PRON.2FSG

"Can I help you?" [S12, 6.2018]

The main difference in the use of *rām / yrūm* and *qadar / yiqdar* is that the former indicates an actual ability (or inability) of the subject in fulfilling the action expressed by the verb, whereas the latter is more similar in functions to the English modal "can". In (130) and (131), the subjects are both physically unable to perform the action expressed by the subordinate verb because of external factors (i.e. the car damaged and the absence of the stairs). In (132), *aqdar* only expresses a modal verb and does not involve any physical ability[48].

Auxiliary verbs like *ḍall* ("to keep on, carry on") and *dār* ("to start") also govern a p-stem verb directly:

(133) *w-ḍallit*   *trabbi-hum*
CONJ-kept.3FSG   take care.3FSG-PRON.3MPL

"She kept on taking care of them" [S1, 3.2017]

(134) *ḍall*   *yiḫāf-he*
kept.3MSG   scare.3MSG-PRON.3FSG

"He kept on scaring her" [S2, 2.2017]

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[47] The Sabaic noun *rym-m* means "height". Cf. RYM in Beeston (1982: 120).

[48] The forms *yumkin* and *mumkin* – already mentioned in 4.1.2 – are another way to indicate possibility, in the data. These are unconjugated forms that functions as the English "maybe, perhaps": *yumkin* ١٩٧٥, ١٩٧٦ "maybe 1975, 1976".

The verb *dār / yidīr* is an interesting case. It is not documented in any other Omani dialect[49], but it is a common feature of Moroccan Arabic. In the data, it often appears when "to start" is used as auxiliary[50], particularly in the speech of a middle-aged woman in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ with a low level of education. In the examples, *dār* is always followed by a p-stem verb.

(135) *w-dār*   *en-nās*   *yištaġlō*
       CONJ-started.3MSG   DEF-people   work.3MPL
       "People started to work"   [S2, 2.2017]

(136) *dār*   *haḏā*   *l-ʿālim*
       started.3MSG   DEM.PROX.MSG   DEF-scientist.MSG
       yaqrā   *l-qurān*
       read.3MSG   DEF-quran
       "This scientist started to read the Quran"   [S2, 2.2017]

As shown in examples (135) and (136), *dār* is always in first position in the sentence, followed by the subject and then by the verb of the subordinate sentence. In (135), the auxiliary verb does not need to be conjugated, because when the main verb is in first position it only needs to agree in gender with the subject but not necessarily in number; the secondary verb, however, agrees grammatically with the subject *nās* ("people"), which takes the agreement as masculine plural (i.e. *yištaġlō*)[51].

When the subject is not mentioned, or it is implied, the p-stem verb follows directly the main auxiliary verb:

(137) *dār*   *yištaġil*   *fī*   *maṣnaʿ*   *it-tumūr*
       started.3MSG   work.3MSG   in   factory.MSG DEF-date.PL
       "He started to work in a date factory"   [S2, 2.2017]

A final category to be analysed in this section is the one of complement clauses that function as indirect questions, also known as embedded questions. In the data, these clauses are introduced by *mū* or *šē* ("what"), *lēš / amū* ("why"), *kēf* ("how"), *kam* ("how

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[49] According to all works on Omani Arabic already published and used as sources for this thesis.

[50] The verb *badā* is also attested in this vernacular in non-auxiliary contexts, e.g. *badāt kitāb gedīd* "I started a new book" [S7, 6.2018], *sulṭān qabūṣ badā dāḫil el-mašārīʿ aš-šuwāraʿ* "Sultan Qābūs started inside (the country) projects of roads (highway project)" [S1, 3.2017].

[51] On this, see 5.2.4.

many") *min* ("who")*, matā* ("when") and *ēn / wēn / hēn* ("where")[52], that directly govern the main verb.

(138) *mā*   *aʿraf*   **mū**   *asawwi*

NEG.   know.1SG   what   do.1SG

"I do not know what to do"   [S15, 6.2018]

(139) *mā*   *afham*   **lēš**   *trūḥī*   *ilā*

NEG.   understand.1SG   why   go.2FSG   to

maʿhum   *dubei*

with-PRON.3MPL   dubai

"I do not understand why you go to Dubai with them"   [S7, 4.2017]

(140)   باية اعرف كم عدد المعازيم العرس

"I want to know how many are confirmed for the wedding"   [S5, 6.2018]

(141) *bāya*   *aʿraf*   **kēf**   *umm-iš*

want.AP.FSG   know.1SG   how   mother.FSG-PRON.2FSG

"I want to know how you mother is"   [S11, 4.2017]

(142) *bāya*   *aʿraf*   **min**   *tsawwi*   *kḏāk*

want.AP.FSG   know.PRES.1SG   who   do.PRES.3FSG like this

"I want to know who does (something) like this"   [S14, 6.2018]

(143) *ḥabbarī-nī*   **matā** *ykūn*   *il-ʿars*

IMP.inform.FSG-PRON.1SG   when   is.3MSG   DEF-wedding

"Let me know when the wedding is"   [S9, 6.2018]

(144) *sāyla*   **wēn**   *aḫ-iš*

ask.AP.FSG   where   brother.MSG-PRON.2FSG

"I am asking where your brother is"   [S12, 4.2017]

5.3 Negation

The literature on negation in Arabic individuates two main isoglosses that divide the Arabic-speaking world: the western dialects (e.g. Moroccan, Egyptian, Tunisian), which combine some variants of /mā/ and /-š/, and eastern dialects (e.g. Syrian, Kuwaiti, Gulf), which use /mā/ and other particles (Brustad 2000: 277). In the Arabian Peninsula, there is a wide range of forms of negation: in Ṣanʿānī Arabic, for example, we found *miš /*

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[52] For more details on interrogative pronouns in this vernacular, the reader is referred to 3.2.5.

maš, mā, mā...š and *lā* (Watson 1993)[53]; in Gulf Arabic, Holes (1990: 71-76) reports *mā* (usually adopted to negate perfective and imperfective verbs), *lā* (for imperatives), *lā...wila* (for coordinated clauses) and *mū* and its variants (adopted to negate a constituent of a sentence); in Najdi Arabic, Ingham (1994: 44) reports only the forms *mā* and *lā* to negate verbal sentences.

There are not many works on negation in Omani Arabic. In Dhofar, the main negation markers are *mā* (used to negate the lexical verb and existentials) and *lā* (used alongside *mā* to negate the imperative)[54]. Holes (2008: 485) reports a few negation markers for Omani Arabic, such as *mā*, *māb* (in the Šarqiyya region), *mu / muhu* (in Bedouin dialects of the Bāṭina), and *lā* (especially for imperative).

In the vernacular under investigation three main negation markers are used: *mā*, *lā* and *ġēr*. In addition to these, the data show the use of the older forms *šīšī* and *-š*, that will be briefly presented further in this section. In the description of the negation system as it is found in my data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, it is worth considering a major distinction in noun, verb and prepositional phrases.

Negation of noun phrases is realised with negative particle *mā* before the noun, the adjective, the demonstrative, or the participle it intends to negate:

(145) *lākin*   *hīya*   *mā*   *kabīra*
      but   PRON.3FSG NEG.   big.FSG
      "But she isn't old"   [S1, 3.2017]

(146) *mā*   *kḏāk*
      NEG.   like this
      "Not like this"   [S7, 6.2018]

(147) *mā*   *ḥad*   *šūf-kum*
      NEG. person   saw.3MSG-PRON.2MPL
      "No one saw you"   [S11, 3.2017]

(148) *umm-he*   *mā*   *rāḍya*
      mother.FSG-PRON.3FSG   NEG.   accept.AP.FSG
      "Her mother did not accept her"   [S1, 3.2017][55]

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[53] In the Tihāma region of Yemen, alongside the *mūš / mīš*, also the discontinuous markers *mā...-ši* are attested (Simeone-Senelle 1996: 209).

[54] Davey (2016: 217).

[55] Brustad (2000: 290), in the analysis of negation of participles, reports a few remarks for dialects that show different negation markers for noun and verb phrases. In dialects where participles are treated as predicates (e.g. Egyptian, Syrian, Moroccan) they are negated by *miš*, *māši* and *mū*; whereas when

(149) | *lā,* | *mā* | *qahwa,* | *bāya* | *šāy* |
| NEG. | NEG. | coffee | want.AP.FSG | tea |

"No, not coffee, I want tea" [S13, 2.2017]

(150) | *hīya* | *mā* | *hunā* |
| PRON.3FSG | NEG. | here |

"She is not here" [S12, 3.2017]

In example (145), it is only the adjective *kabīra* ("big, old") to be negated by the negation marker and it is positioned just before the word, although a contrastive sense to the whole sentence is given by the initial *lākin* ("but"). In (147), *mā* followed by the indefinite pronoun results in the negative indefinite pronoun *mā ḥad* ("no one").

In some cases, the adjective or a PP (as in the example below) can be negated by the noun *ġēr* ("other"):

(151) | *haḏā* | *z-zōg* | *riggāl* | *ġēr* |
| DEM.PROX.MSG | DEF-husband.MSG | man.MSG | other than |

maḏbūṭ
acceptable.MSG

"This husband is not an acceptable man" [56] [S1, 3.2017]

As the examples above clearly show, the negative marker in a noun phrase always precedes the lexical item it negates.

Verb phrases are negated using *mā* or *lā*, and both of them always precede the verb. The negation marker *mā* is especially used to negate perfective and imperfective verbs, although in some older speakers *lā* can be occasionally used to negate the imperfective in narrations, as shown in (155):

(152) | *il-imām* | *mā* | *ḫāf-he* |
| DEF-imam.MSG | NEG. | feared.3MSG-PRON.3FSG |

"The imam was not afraid of her" [S2, 2.2017]

(153) مي ما تروم تطبح لان يدها متعورة

"My mother cannot cook because her hand is injured" [S11, 3.2017]

(154) | *haḏī* | *ṣaġīra,* | *mā* | *abġā-ha* |
| DEM.PROX.FSG | small.FSG | NEG. | want.1SG-PRON.3FSG |

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participle carry more verbal force, they tend to be treated as verbs and are negated by particle *mā* (e.g. Syrian, Kuwaiti). In the data presented here, the participle is always negated by *mā*, which is the commonest negative markers employed by my informants.

[56] According to Islamic rules (i.e. he was drinking alcohol).

"This (girl) is young, I don't want her"   [S1, 3.2017]

(155) *hūwa*   *lā*   *yaʿṭi-he*   *malābis*   *w-fulūs*

PRON.3MSG NEG. give.3MSG-PRON.3FSG   cloth.MPL   CONJ-money

"He doesn't give her clothes or cash"   [S10, 3.2017]

Negation marker *lā* followed by the p-stem verb is otherwise used to negate prohibitive sentences:

(156) *lā*   *taʿāl*   *hinā*

NEG.   IMP.come.MSG   here

"Do not come here!"   [S12, 6.2018]

(157) *lā*   *tūkli*   *kḏāk*

NEG.   eat.2MSG   like this

"Do not eat like this!"   [S9, 6.2018]

(158) *lā*   *trūḥī!*

NEG.   go.2FSG

"Don't go!"   [S6, 6.2018]

Finally, prepositional phrases are also negated by the particle *mā*, always positioned before the preposition:

(159) *mā*   *fīh*   *byūt,*   *mā*   *šey*   *siyyāra*

NEG. EXIST.   house.MPL   NEG. EXIST.   car.FSG

"There are no houses, there are no cars"   [S1, 3.2017]

(160) *mā*   *ʿind-ī*   *fulūs*

NEG.   to-PRON.1SG   money

"I do not have cash"   [S8, 2.2017]

(161) *mā*   *ʿind-iš*   *miftāḥ*   *māl*   *bēt*

NEG.   to-PRON.2FSG   key.SG   GEN.   house.MSG

"You do not have the house key"   [S9, 6.2018]

When two (or more) negated sentences are coordinated, the main verb (or noun) is negated by *mā* and the linkers are usually *wa* and *lā*, which negates the following verb (or noun):

(162) *mā*   *fīh*   *karhabā*   *wa*   *lā*   *tilifūn*

     NEG. EXIST.   electricity.FSG   CONJ.   NEG.   telephone.SG

     wa   *lā*   *myā*

     CONJ.   NEG.   water

     "There is no electricity nor telephone nor water"   [S1, 3.2017]

(163) *ʿind-ha*   *awlād*   *ʿamm*   *lākin* *mā*

     to-PRON.3FSG   child.MPL   uncle.MSG   but   NEG.

     ysālō   *ʿan-ha*   *wa*   *lā*

     ask.3MPL   about-PRON.3FSG   CONJ.   NEG.

     ʿarfū-he

     knew.3MPL-PRON.3FSG

     "She had cousins but they don't ask about her, nor did they know her"

                                                   [S1, 3.2017]

5.3.1 Remarks on Reinhardt's form of negation

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, there is a fourth negation linker used in the al-ʿAwābī district, i.e. the enclitic *-ši*, and its emphatic form *šīšī*. Reinhardt (1894: 282) states that the enclitic /-ši/ can be suffixed directly to the word it negates (e.g. *huwwa-ši sekrān* "he is not a drunkard"). Consider these examples from his texts[57]:

(a) *u froḥ hest terāh baʿado mākil-ši šei*

     "Denn er hatte noch nichts gegessen" – "Because he had not eaten yet"

                                                      (Reinhardt 1894: 297)

(b) *lākin rām-ši*

     "Konnte aber nicht" – "But he couldn't"

                                                        (Reinhardt 1894: 299)

(c) *u šiši emraḍ min mšaufit lʿado*

     "Es giebt nichts Krankmachenderes als der Anblick des Feindes" – "There is nothing more disastrous than the sight of the enemy"

                                                        (Reinhardt 1894: 301)

Many modern Arabic dialects (e.g. Moroccan, Egyptian) use the negation complex *mā … -š* to negate both verbal and nonverbal predicates. Ouhalla (2008: 357) reports a few examples from Moroccan Arabic to show how the complex works: *mā* always appears before the s-stem or the p-stem verb, and *-ši* is suffixed to the verb negated (e.g. *mā ka-n-tkllam-ši maʿhum* "I don't talk to them"). In case of nominal predicates, the complex

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[57] These are reported following Reinhardt's transcription and translation.

shows two main patterns: it can appear on the left edge of the predicate (e.g. *samīr maši hna* "Samir is not here"), or *-ši* appears as an enclitic whenever the predicate is a noun, an adjective or an adverbial element (e.g. *samīr mā hnaši* "Samir is not here"). It seems that in most of the dialects that show this negative complex, the use of the only clitic *-ši* is not possible, even though there is a small number of dialects in between that allows it[58]. Simeone-Senelle (1996: 213-214) reports the use of the suffixed marker *-š* alone, but always to negate verbs and not nouns; it is also attested the use of a reinforced form *-šī*, clitic or not.

In the Omani dialects documented so far there is no evidence of occurrence of this negation complex nor of the only enclitic form /-ši/. However, it is worth mentioning here that in the data collected throughout the al-ʿAwābī district, the clitic /-ši/ (without the antecedent negative particle *mā*) only appears twice in a traditional song[59]:

(164)   *w-iḏa gīt w-int aġbār w-anā afrāḥ*

    If you go and you are poor and I am happy

    w-ḥad-ši bēni-nā islāḥ

    and no one is between us to mediate

    min šyuḫīn wa ʿorbān

    among shaykhs and people

    mā min šyuḫ ahel-ši d-dār

    which[60] of these shaykhs is not from the people (family) of the house

    w-aḍann mā egī aḫsār

    and I think I won't lose anything

    w-agīb mṣarr min el-kbar

    I bring the biggest mṣarr (lit. "a mṣarr among the biggest")   [S13, 3.2017]

In the song, the clitic *-ši* is used to negate two nominal predicates (i.e. *ḥad*, "someone" and then *ahel*, "family, tribe"), which is apparently a phenomenon not occurring in any

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[58] Lucas (2018: 2) reports a "purely postverbal negation of this kind" for: a) all of the sedentary dialects of historic Palestine, as well as those of northwestern Jordan, southwestern Syria and southern Lebanon; b) marginally, Cairene Egyptian; c) the Upper Egyptian dialect described by Khalafallah (1969); d) Maltese, but only in prohibitives; e) the Omani dialect described by Reinhardt; and f) a small cluster of dialects spoken in the southern part of Yemeni Tihama.

[59] The text of the whole song is reported in Annex 3.

[60] The use of *mā* as relative pronoun "that which, what" is reported also by Johnstone (1967: 67) for Peninsular dialects, although in the new data collected the form *mū* is more common.

of the dialects cited above. The indefinite pronoun *ḥad-ši* ("no one") is reported by Reinhardt (1894: 29) as the most common form in his data, but in the speech of my informants it has become obsolescent and completely substituted by the indefinite *mā ḥad* (see 3.2.4).

In general, *-ši* is not used as a negator in most of Oman today (Lucas 2018: 2), and the investigations conducted for this work confirmed this statement, at least for the al-ʿAwābī district. This negative enclitic has not been found in any of the data collected and it is definitely not in use in the everyday speech.

The emphatic *šīšī* is used by my older informants in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ as a negative existential "there is/are not", instead of *mā šay* / *mā fīh*[61]:

(165) *šīšī šay hunā*

There is nothing here   [S15, 6.2018]

(166) *šīšī siyyārāt*

There are no cars   [S8, 2.2017]

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[61] cf. Reinhardt (1894: 30), who reports *šīšī* as "nothing".

CHAPTER 6

Analysis of the al-ʿAwābī district lexicon

The idea of collecting and analysing the lexicon of the Omani vernacular spoken by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district was born from the urgent necessity of a record of the terms used for, in particular, the material culture by the population of this part of the world. Therefore, I'd like this to serve as a first attempt – albeit specific for the district under investigation – to expand the dialectological research to the lexicon as well. Lexis is often left aside from dialectological research in Arabic, which focuses mainly on the description of the dialects' grammar. Except for the impressive work by Behnstedt and Woidich (i.e. the *Wortatlas der Arabischen Dialekte, Vol. I, II, III*, 2011-2014), which mapped Arabic lexical items used in the Arab world, only a few other works focussed on this topic. With regards to Omani Arabic, we found Reinhardt (1894), Jayakar (1889), Brockett (1985), and Davey (2016)[1]. However, none of these works offer a thorough analysis of the lexical items they list: Davey (2016) reports a few lists of lexicon divided by semantic categories, without commenting on them; Brockett (1985), instead, lists the agricultural lexicon found in the city of Khabūra in the Bāṭina region, offering a basic analysis; Jayakar (1889) offers a list of lexical items with little discussion; and, finally, Reinhardt (1894) provides a good amount of lexicon, unfortunately without clear systematisation or analysis.

This chapter is devoted to the investigation of the lexicon used by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district. Specifically, I provide an analysis of regional semantic specifications, quadriconsonantal roots, and loanwords. Regional semantic specification can be found elsewhere in the Arab-speaking world, since lexical items often depend on geographical and social factors: indeed, many lexical items related to food or customs differ from place to place – albeit deriving from the same Arabic root (e.g. the term *ʿayš* from the root ʿYŠ). To recover regional specifications, I have compared food names with the same form used in CA – if available – or in other neighboring Arabic dialects for which we have documentation (e.g. Najdi, Yemeni, Gulf). Moreover, I have compared roots which my informants reckoned as peculiar of the al-ʿAwābī district with the same found in CA or in more ancient languages (e.g. Sabaic, Akkadian, and Aramaic).

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[1] I am not counting in this analysis the work by Rhodokanakis (1908, 1911) on poetic lexicon – mentioned in footnote 15, chapter 5 –, since Davey (2016) offers a more reliable account of the lexicon used in Dhofari Arabic.

Quadriconsonantal roots are extremely interesting from a linguistic perspective, since their formation often relies on factors such as onomatopoeic reproduction of sounds, reduplication of roots, and incorporation of foreign loanwords. Moreover, this type of roots seems to have developed differently from their – not common – use in CA[2]. As Holes (2004b: 97, transcription adapted) suggests, referring to their use in the eastern Arabian Arabic dialects, "the quadriliteral verbs are among the most expressive, colourful and idiomatic elements in these dialects." The quadriconsonantal roots presented and analysed in 6.2 were collected in the al-ʿAwābī district from all 15 my informants: in the initial stage of the research I compiled a list of all quadriliteral items provided by Reinhardt (1894), which I submitted to my informants. Most of them were recognised by all of the speakers, whereas some others were either unknown or shifted in the semantics. In addition, I elicited further material from the audio recordings, where quadriliteral items were fairly common – especially in the speech of middle-aged and older speakers.

Finally, loanwords are the inevitable result of population contact which Oman has witnessed – and still witnesses – throughout its history. Tracing back the route of a loanword is not an easy process and leaves some questions unanswered. It often requires a deep knowledge of historical and linguistic processes, which is even more difficult in the Omani context, where it is reasonable to hypothesise a very ancient linguistic substratum[3]. With these limitations in mind, for the analysis of loanwords provided in 6.3 I mainly worked on the history of the country – provided in Annex 1 – deemed appropriate for a reconstruction of the language contacts that took place in the Sultanate. In addition, I used etymological dictionaries and works on loanwords in other Arabic dialects and languages (e.g. Smeaton 1973, Smart 1986, Tafażżoli 1986, al-Saqqaf 2006, Ojo 2011, Yule & Burnell 2008, Platts 1974, Palmer 1914, Merlo-Pick 1978).

As a first step in the direction of lexicon analysis, this chapter does not aim to show the full range of qualities and peculiarities of Omani Arabic – which still deserve proper attention by scholars –, but rather it traces the way, starting from the lexical core collected during the recent fieldwork in the al-ʿAwābī district.

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[2] cf. Holes (2004b).

[3] See Holes (2006: 31) on this: "There is some evidence to support the theory that in the peripheral "sedentary" dialects of Arabia either some of the population spoke a Semitic language or languages before they spoke Arabic, or that the Arabic they spoke absorbed influences from other Semitic languages over a long period – we will probably never know which. The clearest evidence for this, but also the most problematic to interpret with certainty, is lexical […]."

In my first reading of Reinhardt's work, I was intrigued by his lexical core, which shows some interesting traits – as the use of *hest* ("very, much") from Persian instead of *wāgid*, and a long list of quadriconsonantal roots. However, the limitations of his work remain, and we cannot know, at this point, what kind of vocabulary we might have had if he had had access to more informants. Moreover, without a more expanded research, it is not possible to know what he left apart or never encountered. This is the reason that encouraged me in the collection of lexical items in the district, and to enlarge it to semantic fields as traditional medicine and plants – which are not found in Reinhardt's core.

The full list of lexical items collected is provided in Annex 2, with also comments on plant names and traditional customs. In the following sections, I have chosen to investigate further the items used by the majotiry of my informants – with the exceptions explained further on – and which occur very frequently in the audio recordings, commenting on their nature and tracing back their origin.

6.1 Regional traits in the lexical data

Omani dialects have always been considered as a separate group within the Arabian Peninsula and are generally known amongst dialectologists for the preservation of many lexical features and vocabulary that got lost in other Arabic vernaculars[4]. The Omani vernacular spoken by my informants is no exceptions in this sense.

Table 6.1 shows the archaisms and classicisms found in the speech of my informants: the majority of them are in verbs, whereas only one is found in the domain of nouns.

rām/yirūm	to be able to	*rā/yrā*	to see, to dream
rabš (f. *rabša*)	naughty	*sār/yisīr*	to go
qaḥam	to descend	*yišūm*	to inland

Table 6.1 – *Archaisms in the al-ʿAwābī district*

The use of CA verbs like *rā* ("to see") instead of the dialectal *šāf*, or *sār* ("to go") instead of *rāḥ* is found in my data only in the speech of the two male informants (i.e. speaker 8 and 13). This appears in contrast with Kaplan's (2008: 266) statement regarding her informants, according to whom "females of older generations in Bahla tend to use more conservative forms of expression than their male counterparts." Verbs like *atā* ("to come") instead of *gā* are of common occurrence in the speech of all my informants in the villages of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, whereas people from al-ʿAwābī tend to use *gā* – with no regards to level of education in both cases.

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[4] cf. Holes (2017: 290) and section 1.2 of this work.

The verb *yišūm* ("to go inland") is only used in the p-stem form and is considered obsolescent by all the speakers: the origin of the verb is not certain, one possible hypothesis is from the CA root ŠʾM, which Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860: 1179) reports with the meaning "to go to Syria" (i.e. Bilād aš-Šām) in Form IV *ašām*. There is no account in the data of the s-stem form of this verb, however "going inland" from Oman would necessarily entail "going north" (towards Syria)[5].

The root RYM, used in the district with the meaning of "to be able to", derives from the same root which in Sabaic indicates "to overlook" (cf. Beeston 1982: 120). The verb *rām* is widespread both in al-ʿAwābī and in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, and it is used to indicate the ability to fulfil an action, as opposed to *qadar* ("can")[6]. Finally, the word *rabša* ("naughty"), specifically used in al-ʿAwābī to address kids, is of Akkadian derivation (i.e. *rabāšu* "to protest")[7].

Some regional semantic specialisation of lexicon can be found in food and animal names, and only partially in verbs, as presented in table 6.2.

zaytūn	guava	*ʿayš*	rice
furṣād	berries	*nimr*	tiger
waʿl	ibex	*bisbās*	green pepper
ġurġur	peas	*filfil rumī*	green pepper

Table 6.2 – *Regional semantic specialisations (animal and food names)*

The noun *zaytūn* in Arabic indicates the "olive", but in the area under investigation denotes the "guava", a tropical fruit very common in the region[8].

The term *ʿayš* indicates in Arabic, among other things, "nourishment", from the root ʿYŠ ("to live, be alive"). In the district, *ʿayš* is always used to mean "rice"[9]. This lexical item underwent semantic specialisation throughout the Arab world: in Egypt and in Yemen, it indicates the "barley bread", in Sudan the "millet" and a kind of "puree" in the Sahara Desert[10]. This is a good example of semantic specialisation based on sociocultural factors, since the basic food changes from country to country depending on geographical and meteorological issues.

In the food semantic field, we also notice the term *bisbās*, which is used to indicate the "green pepper" in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ – cf. CA *basbās* for "fennel" –, whereas in al-

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[5] Morano (2019).

[6] For more details of the functions of *rām* in this variety of Arabic, see 5.2.5.2.

[7] cf. Holes (2006: 31).

[8] My informants call the "olive" *zaytūn aḫḍar*, literally "green guava".

[9] However, children and adults, especially when addressing kids, may also use the word *rizz* (presumably from English) to indicate the "rice", even though at a very low extent.

[10] Morano (2017: 189).

ʿAwābī speakers tend to use *filfil rumī* for the same vegetable. The term *furṣād* is "berries" for all my speakers, although in some other parts of Oman is also used to indicate the "grapefruit"[11]. Finally, interesting is the noun *ġurġur* for "peas", used by all my consultants and throughout the district: elsewhere people use *basilla*.

A few other semantic specialisations are visible in the names of animals like *nimr*, in the district used as "tiger", but in CA it indicates either the "leopard" or the "panther" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1347); and the term *waʿl* is used by my informants to indicate the "ibex", whereas in CA the same term indicates the "chamois" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1569). Amongst the speakers of the town, the "Arabian oryx" is called *mahā*, and the "gazelle" is *ġazāl*

Some regional traits can also be found in verbs – albeit at a lower extent –, such as *qaḥam* ("to come down, descend"), which is reckoned as obsolescent by my young and middle-aged informants, and only used by older people in al-ʿAwābī, and it derives from the CA root QḤM "to hurry, to venture", although it shifted its usage in the semantics. The two compound verbs *tīb / ytīb* ("to bring") and *gīb / ygīb* ("to give") are of common occurrence in the speech of my informants: these verbs are formed adding the particle *bi-* to the verb directly (i.e. *atā + bi* and *gā + bi*), and are very common in the data (e.g. *atīb qahwa hinā* "I bring coffee here" [S14, 2.2017]; *tgīb l-ek* "she gives you (MSG)" [S10, 6.2018])[12].

A further semantic field where it is possible to detect regional traits is the geographical one, including names of the winds and cardinal points, as shown in Table 6.3.

kōš	southern wind	*sāfil*	North
ezyeb	northern wind	*ʿālī*	North
ʿilwā	South	*ḥadrā*	South
bill	spring	*saḥāb*	cloud

Table 6.3 – *Regional semantic specialisations (geographical names)*

The word *ezyeb* is "northern wind"; however, it indicates the warm "south-western wind" in the neo-Arabic dialect of the Red Sea and, in a similar way, the Ethiopic *azêb* is "eastern wind", as in ʿAdanī Arabic (Yemen)[13].

The names of cardinal points differ between al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ: *sāfil* ("North") is used by my older informants in the wadi, whereas the town counterpart is

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[11] There are no written evidences of this, however a few of my younger informants told me that *furṣād* is used in other parts of the country for "grapefruit" as well.

[12] The verb *gīb/ygīb* also presents a passive standardised form to mean "to give birth", e.g. *anā gubt ṯalāṯa awlād* (lit. "I was given three children" [S2, 3.2017]).

[13] Morano (2017: 189).

ʿālī; young and middle-aged speakers, instead, tend to use the general *šamāl*. The same can be said for *ʿilwā* ("South") used by older speakers in the wadi, and *ḥadrā* is widespread, instead, in the town amongst my older informants; young and middle-aged speaker tend to use *ganūb*. The "clouds" are indicated with the term *saḥāb* by my informants in the elders' group – regardless of provenance or level of education –, whereas middle-aged and younger people use the word *ġamma*. Finally, the word *bill* indicates the "blossom of the lemon tree", but its semantics has been widened to indicate the "spring season", both in al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

With regards to the provenance of the speakers, it is possible to find some differences in semantic fields like households and animal/insects[14]:

Household			Insects and Animals		
WBK	**English**	**AW**	**WBK**	**English**	**AW**
ḥigra ~ ḥugra	room	*ġurfa*	*garād*	grasshopper	*šangūb*
dahrīz	sitting room	*ṣala*	*ʿanfūf*	small bat	*ḥaffāš*
kašra	rubbish	*zibāla*	*surṭān il-baḥr*	crab	*šangūb il-baḥr*
briq	coffee-pot	*delle*	*abū barīṣ*	small lizard	*šaḥlūb*
			šamaṣ	green lizard	*ḍebb*

Table 6.4 – *Areal semantic specialisations (household and insects)*

As Table 6.4 shows, areal semantic specialisation is as developed as regional semantic specialisation, although involves primarily the fields here presented. Admittedly, some of these items distinguish also depending on the age of the speaker: for example, *kašra* is mainly used by my older informants in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, whereas *zibāla* is widespread amongst young and middle-aged speakers. The term *briq* indicates specifically the Arabina coffee-pot used in villages of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, as opposed to the *delle*, which is the plastic thermos flask women bring around when visiting neighbours. Finally, to note is the specific names used for "crab", which is interesting since the al-ʿAwābī district is a mountainous region, quite far from the sea.

Traditional medicine offers a wide range of terms specifically used for diseases cured by the *wasm* ("cauterisation"), a widespread practice in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ which entail

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[14] These items were elicited with all the consultants involved in this research.

the burning of specific parts of the body to heal the patient[15]. Table 6.5 lists the names of diseases cured by cauterisation in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and the parts of the body.

Parts of the body		Diseases	
qafed	nape	*šīṣa*	thrombosis
mōḫra	nose	*ḥumma al-halāliyya*	high and persistent fever
ṯum	mouth	*šaqīqa*	migraine
rīḫ	hernia	*ġašya*	gastritis
garrīn	throat	*luʿan*	nausea
ʿarq an-nisā	sciatic nerve	*muʿālda*	bones pressing on the lungs preventing breathing
šiffa or *mezbel*	lip	*ḥmūḍa*	heartburn

Table 6.5 – *Names of diseases and body parts*

These lexical items have been collected in Stāl, in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, with speakers 11 and 14, who practiced the *wasm* to the wadi inhabitants, and to some extent, to town people as well. The term *mezbel* for "lip" is only used by older speaker (i.e. speakers 4, 8, 13 and 15), whereas all the others use the term *šiffa*.

Vollers (1895: 509) identifies a few traits of Southern Arabic in the dialect described by Reinhardt (1894), such as the root RTʿ, "to remain, stay"[16], or nouns like *sabara* "morning chill", and *ġabša* "early morning, dusk", which are still found in the speech of my older informants (i.e. speaker 4, 8, 13, 15).

In the data also appear many words which indicate "dates", usually depending on their degree of ripeness or on their growing stage. Amongst these, though, a term which indicates dates in general (i.e. no specific type) is *suḥḥ* (realised in the district as [soḥḥ]), which appears to be a word of Yemeni origin[17]. Furthermore, there are nouns found in other Arabic dialects but used in my data with a different meaning, such as: the root ĞMʿ used here as "to sweep"[18], from which the words *mgummaʿa* ("broom") and *gummaʿ* ("rubbish") derive (Morano 2017: 189).

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[15] For more details on this topic, the reader is referred to the work by Ghazanfar, S. A (1995), "*Wasm*: a traditional method of healing by cauterisation", in *Journal of ethnopharmacology*, 47. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 125-128.

[16] cf. Beeston (1982: 118): *RTʿ "post, station (of troops, guards)".

[17] cf. Piamenta (1990: 216): "dates scattered on the ground, not collected in a receptacle and not packed".

[18] The root ĞMʿ in CA means "to gather, to comprehend" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 326).

Finally, there are words with a different meaning from CA but found also in other Arabic dialects: the adjectives like *šēn* "ugly" and *zēn* "beautiful, good", respectively monophthongised forms of *šayn* and *zayn*[19].

With regards to the criteria used to recruit informants for this study, age – more than provenance or level of education – seems to be a determining factor in the choice of one specific term over another, especially in semantic fields like geographical and agricultural names. However, a few more lexical items found only in the speech of my older informants (i.e. speakers 4, 8, 13 and 15) are shown in the following table:

ʿarab/ʿorbān	Bedouin people	*ġāwi*	beautiful, excellent
rōzne	shelf in the wall	*dawīn*	very much
bahyūt	much, more		

Table 6.6 – *Obsolescent lexical items*

These items are reckoned as completely absolescent by the other two groups of consultants, who tend to use *wāgid* for "much, more", and *gamīl* for "beautiful".

6.2 Quadriconsonantal roots

In the data, as exemplified by the glossary in Annex 2, a significant part of the lexicon is occupied by quadriliteral-rooted items[20]. In this subsection, I will examine the quadriliteral roots found in the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district with the aim of contributing – with more recent examples – to the discussion already existing on quadriconsonantal roots in the Arabic dialects of this area[21].

The data presented in this subsection are the ones collected by the author during fieldwork. Reinhardt (1894) reports many examples of quadriconsonantal items both in nouns and verbs: thus, I also compiled a list of these items to submit to the speakers. The result was interesting: not all the items were recognised by my informants, however the ones reported in this section, and the ones listed in the glossary in Annex 2 do occur in their speech. Three items listed by Reinhardt (1894: 253-254) changed in meaning, according to the data: i.e. *rengwen* – "bell" in Reinhardt – indicates the "cuckoo clock" in the speech of my informants; *gilgil* means "anklet" today rather than "bell", as reported by Reinhardt; and finally, *dorwāz*, which in Reinhardt stands for "entrance", indicates "mall, big market place" in my data.

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[19] In CA, the noun *šayn* means "disgrace", thus the development as an adjective meaning "bad, ugly" is clearly explicable; the same happens with the noun *zayn*, which in CA indicates "beauty, ornament" and it passed to mean in everyday speech "beautiful".

[20] The whole glossary counts at least 200 quadriliteral stems, and a few that count five or six consonants (e.g. *barqandūš* "marjoram", *sfargal* "quince", *ḫliklik* "small black lizard").

[21] See, for example, the works by Holes (2004b, 2016).

The roots examined in this section have been selected on the basis of the discussion already existing on quadriconsontal stems by Holes (2004b, 2016) and Prochazka (1993, 1995). The examples reported are, therefore, deemed appropriate for contributing to their analysis of quadriliterals formation and origin.

In the data, quadriconsonantal roots involve primarily verbs and nouns, and, in a few instances, adjectives (e.g. *berḏūl* "lazy"). However, verbs and nouns differ profoundly when it comes to the analysis and the value of their quadriliteral stems: in nouns, these roots are semantically characterised and defined, whereas in verbs they show specific values depending on their formation. Before analysing the origin and the processes that lead in some cases to the formation of this type of roots, it is worth mentioning a few characteristics of this lexicon.

Regarding nouns, the vernacular spoken by my informants shows quadriconsonantal-rooted items in the following semantic categories:

- name of birds, insects, and animals (e.g., *ṣafṣūf* "sparrow"; *šangūb* "grasshopper"; *ṣarṣur* "cockroach"; *qarqūr* "shark"; *dāmūs* "caterpillar"; *fanzūz* "weevil");

- fruits and vegetables (e.g. *mišmiš* "apricot", *bisbās* "green pepper", *sumsum* "sesame"; *furṣāḍ* "berries"; *kummitra* "pear"; *sanṭara* "tangerine", *findāl* "sweet potato");

- plants (e.g. *naʿnaʿ* "mint", *ġāġā* "Mentha Longifolia"; *mranḥa* "Thorn apple");

- clothing and accessories (e.g. *nafnuf* "woman's over-garment"; *ʿarʿur* "golden pendant", *gilgil* "anklet made of little bells", *dišdāša* "long garment for men"; *ḫarḫuš* "rattle for children"; *ḫanger* "dagger"; *šanṭūṭ* "ribbon", *dantal* "dress rim adorned with stones or pearls");

- nature (e.g. *tartar* "sand");

- material (e.g. *brism* "nylon", *tšinko* "corrugated iron");

- loanwords[22] (e.g. *kurfāya* "bed", *hanqrī* "rich", *drīwal* "driver").

As briefly exemplified by this list, the quadriliteral items in use in the district are of two pattern types, i.e. $C_1C_2C_3C_4$ (e.g. *ḫanger*) and $C_1C_2C_1C_2$ (e.g. *mišmiš*). The former can be the result of loanword incorporation in some instances[23]; the latter, on the other hand, shows reduplication of a basic biradical cluster.

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[22] For more details on loanwords behaviour in this variety of Omani Arabic, see 6.3.

[23] There are no current studies that investigate the origin of $C_1C_2C_3C_4$-patterned quadriliteral nouns in CA and in the modern vernaculars, and in many instances, it is difficult to go back up to the original item, if it has ever existed.

Two authors are the main contributors on the topic of quadriconsonantal patterns in Arabic and in the vernaculars of Arabian Peninsula, namely Stephan Prochazka (1993, 1995) and Clive Holes (2004b, 2016). Prochazka (1995) mainly deals with the phenomenon of reduplication that is, as will be soon explained, one of the process of formation for quadriliteral roots; whereas Holes (2004b, and partially 2016) analyses the function of quadriliteral verbs in Bahraini dialects.

Linguists have different views on reduplication, and the debate deals mainly with the differentiation between reduplication itself and other phenomena of repetition[24]. Reduplication can be full or partial: the repetition of a whole word (e.g. in the vernacular under investigation the expression *sēm sēm* "the same as"[25]) constitutes full reduplication, whilst a partial reduplication sees the repetition of only a segment, or syllable, of a certain structure. Prochazka (1995: 39), on the other hand, talks in terms of root and distinguishes between the reduplication of a whole root stem and the reduplication of only parts of it, including vowels or consonants[26]. This also happens in the data under investigation, where in the case of reduplicate quadriliteral roots two main vocalic patterns can be found: in one instance, the whole syllable is repeated entirely (e.g. *miš* in *mišmiš*) without any change in the vowel structure; in another, the vowel in the syllable cluster changes and the pattern becomes CaCCuC (e.g. *nafnuf*) or CiCCāC (e.g. *dišdāša*).

The plant name *malḥlaḥ* (ملحلح, "Dyerophytum Indicum"), in the data, is an interesting case in terms of reduplication: it derives its name from the whitish powder very similar to salt which covers its leaves, much used in some villages of the wadi as a substitute for salt in cooking[27]. The peculiarity of this name is that the reduplication only involves the second and the third radicals of the word *malḥ* ("salt"), following a $C_1C_2C_3C_2C_3$ and thus creating a five-rooted lexical item. The same phenomenon is visible in the name of a "small black lizard", i.e. *ḥliklik*: again, the repetition involves only the second and third consonants. However, in the first example, the basic word *malḥ* indicates the actual "whitish powder" (i.e. salt), hence the origin is easily identifiable. In the second

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[24] el-Zarka (2009: 52) on this: "The distinction between repetition and reduplication is not always clear-cut. Repetition is a very common feature of Arabic stylistics. Arabic written texts, in poetry and prose, are usually full of constructions that are characterized by the repetition of forms, i.e. the prosodic pattern and the inflectional endings of the words involved".

[25] This expression derives from Indian English: it is not English as such, but it is widespread in many Asian countries (e.g. India, Indonesia, South-East Asia, etc.), where English has been spoken.

[26] The same phenomenon is also visible in Indo-European languages, for example in the English word *flip-flop*, where it is only the vowel pattern that changes, and the consonantal pattern is repeated.

[27] Many plant names in the district derive directly from a specific feature of the plant involved, which may be the shape of the leaves, their colour, the smell they produce or also the uses people make of them.

example, though, the word *ḥlik* by itself does not mean anything, therefore we can presume it can be originated by an onomatopoeic reproduction of the lizard sounds[28]. At this regard, Prochazka (1995: 46) states that reduplication is one of the main means that a language has to describe non-linguistic states or processes, and reporting a quote from Bzdęga (1965), he states that reduplication is the "free transposition of world phenomena in phonetics"[29].

However, it is probably in verbs that all the richness in values of quadriconsonantal-rooted items is best shown. In the data, it is possible to find two basic forms and two derivate forms for quadriliteral verbs, i.e. $C_1C_2C_3C_4$ (e.g. *gerdef* "to force, compel"; *zeḥlaq* "to slip, slide") and $C_1C_2C_1C_2$ (e.g. *defdef* "to push"; *salsal* "to trickle"); $tC_1C_2C_3C_4$ (e.g. *trengaḥ* "to swing"; *trambal* "to hang out") and $tC_1C_2C_1C_2$ (e.g. *tzelzel* "to tremble, shake"; *tšemšem* "to smell")[30].

Quadriliteral verbs in the data can be found in the following semantic categories[31]. The verbs reported by Reinhardt as well are indicated with their page number:

- Motion: *tzaḥzaḥ* "to move, make some space"; *tzelzel* "to shake, tremble" [R.255]; *daġdaġ* "to tickle" [R.255]; *derbeg* "to run"; *trengaḥ* "to swing" [R.253]; *zeḥlaq* "to slip, slide"; *tsensaḥ* "to slither" [R.253]; *tsemḥal* "to proceed with care"; *tbešbeš* "to get dressed"; *defdef* "to push"; *ṣabṣub* "to pour, spread"; *ṭṭaḥṭaḥ* "to drop" (< *ṭṭaḥṭaḥ*); *ṭaḥṭoḥ* "to blow on something (to make it cooler)"; *tġanḍar* "to faint"; *farfur* "to flutter"; *tfaqfaq* "to cackle (with laughter)" [R.255]; *twarwar* "to throw"; *beršem* "to sneer, pull a face" [R.254]

- Physical qualities and states: *ṭḥamḥam* "to cough intermittently" [R.255]; *ddebdeb* "to have bumps on the body" (< *tdebdeb*) [R.254]; *saqsaq* "to have diarrhoea" [R.254]; *tsemsem* "to swell up and itch (of a bite)"; *šaḥšaḥ* "to urinate frequently" [R.254]; *ṭḥarqaṣ* "to be badly afflicted" [R. 255]; *zengar* "to be quiet"; *tšaḥreg* "to have oppressive cough"; *ddehdar* "to confuse" (< *tdehdar*); *ġarġar* "to rattle"; *kezkez* "to shiver";

- Acoustic phenomena: *zaqzaq* "to chirp"; *salsal* "to trickle"; *šaṭšaṭ* "to crackle, sizzle (of meat)" [R.254];

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[28] Onomatopoeia is one of the main sources for the formation of quadriliteral roots and it will be investigated in more detail further in this section.
[29] "Eine freie Transposition der Erscheinungen der Außenwelt ins Phonetische" (Prochazka 1995: 46).
[30] The conjugation of these forms is given in 4.6.1 and 4.6.2, here only their values will be described.
[31] These categories are based on those presented by Prochazka (1995) for reduplicative verbs.

- Miscellanea[32]: *ṯḥalḥel* "to shrink"; *traḥraḥ* "to take rest"; *tšemšem* "to smell" [R.255]; *tbehlel* "to shine"; *gerdef* "to force, compel" [R.254]; *ḫarwaṣ* "to get something dirty"; *tdelhem* "to get cloudy"; *trambal* "to hang out"; *tzaḫraf* "to decorate", *selheb* "to embitter, exacerbate"

As this list shows, also quadriliteral verbs, as nouns, can be formed by reduplication.

The processes at the origin of the reduplication phenomenon are still debated: according to Prochazka (1995: 61) the reduplicated quadriliteral roots can derive from a weak or hamzated triliteral root or from a biradical base with intensive value[33]; whilst, according to Holes (2016: 170), many quadriliterals of this type are derived from doubled verbs, "and represent extensive, intensive or repetitive extensions of the meanings of the corresponding doubled verbs"[34].

In the data under investigation, the origin cited by Holes is valid for a few quadriliteral reduplicated verbs, both in their basic or derived forms: *zaqzaq* "to chirp", which can be related to the CA *zaqq* "to feed (of birds)" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 998); and *tšemšem* "to smell", from the CA *šamm* "to smell, sniff" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1264).

Quadriliteral verbs with a more intensive value compared to their corresponding geminate verb are: *šaḫšaḫ* "to urinate frequently" from the CA *šaḫḫ* "to urinate" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 1200) and *tregreg* "to wiggle back and forth" from the CA *raǧǧ* "to shake" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 822). The latter example clearly emphasises the iterative character of the action expressed by the original doubled verb in CA[35]. The verb *salsal* "to trickle", reported by Brockett (1985: 125) and found in use also in the speech of my informants, can be considered one of the very few examples of reduplication from a weak verb, i.e. *sāl* "to pour"[36].

Reinhardt (1894: 253-255) reports a list of quadriliteral verbs found in the speech of his informants, which partially overlaps with the ones found in the speech of my informants. With regards to their value, he states that it is like the second derivate form of the verb, albeit with a more intensive and reiterative value. However, this is not the

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[32] These are verbs that do not fit in any of the categories above.

[33] Prochazka (1995: 63) states that it is plausible that the original form was the quadriliteral one, and only later that the biradical base has been extracted. His argument at this regard is that a biradical base is always present in the reduplicated quadriliteral item, but this does not necessarily mean that the biradical base is the original one.

[34] The derivation from doubled verbs is also reported by Prochazka (1995: 62-65).

[35] The basic forms reported here from CA are not in use in the dialect under investigation, but they are shown only as evidence for the origin of these specific quadriliteral verbs.

[36] Holes (2016: 173).

case of all quadriliteral verbs in my data, but it is only valid for quadriliterals deriving from geminate verbs – which are not common, as exemplified earlier in this section.

Other quadriliteral verbs originated through the insertion of the liquid consonants /l, r/ in the basic theme: *selheb* "to embitter, exacerbate" (cf. *seheb* "steppe"); *beršem* "to sneer, pull a face" (cf. *bešem* "to be disgusted by something"). There are also a few verbs with a nasal consonant inserted in the second position, such as *tsansaḥ* "to slither, slide down"[37], which Holes (2004b: 105) relates to the CA forms *saḥḥa*, *tasaḥḥa* and *tasaḥsaḥa*, used to describe water flowing.

In the reduplicative group, a major part is occupied by onomatopoeic verbs. This category of verbs can also be found in other eastern Arabic dialects (cf. Holes 2004b, 2016), although it is very difficult assessing this type of origin due to the lack, in Arabic, "of one of the main characteristics of onomatopoeia in European languages, namely the vocalism" (Prochazka 1993: 101). Verbs in this category, in the data, show a pattern $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4 \sim C_1aC_2C_3uC_4$ or $tC_1aC_2C_3aC_4$. In their semantic values these verbs indicate a specific heaving movement (e.g. *tregreg* "to wiggle forth and back"), the repetition of an action (e.g. *šaḥšaḥ* "to urinate frequently", *farfur* "to flutter"), and a crackling and repetitive sound (e.g. *ṭḥamḥam* "to cough intermittently", *kezkez* "to shiver", *šaṭšaṭ* "to crackle, sizzle"). This phenomenon, although to a much lesser extent, is also visible in nouns (e.g. *ṣafṣuf* "sparrow", which derives from the sound produced by the bird's wings; *ḥarḥuš* "rattle for children", deriving from the sound produced by shaking the toy).

Prochazka (1995: 66-67) clearly states that specific semantic values expressed by a quadriliteral verb are replicated in their consonantal patterns, and this hypothesis is also verified by the new data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district. Thus, for example, verbs indicating the action of "laughing" usually presents the /q/ or /k/ (e.g. *tfaqfaq* "to cackle with laughter"); and verbs indicating iterative and rhythmic movements usually show the liquids /l/ and /r/ in their stem (e.g. *farfur* "to flatter", *tzelzel* "to tremble").

Finally, there is a group of quadriliteral-rooted verbs whose origin is easily trackable, namely the denominative verbs. This category derives its origin from a noun, and it is also common in other Arabic dialects (cf. Holes 2016). A few examples are: *tzerzer* "to wear the *izār*", i.e. the ritual dress of Muslim pilgrims; *tsemsem* "to swell up and itch", especially of a *samsūm* (a small black biting ant) bite; *tgelbeb* "to wear the *ǧilbab*", i.e.

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[37] Reinhardt (1894: 253).

a woman's dress [R.254]; and *tresmel* "to finance", from the CA *rās māl* "capital, assets" [R.254].

6.3 Loanwords

A loanword is one possible result of language contact, and the process of "borrowing" is reckoned as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen 1950 in Ojo 2011: 168). With regards to the terminology employed, Ojo (2011: 169), for example, uses the label "word incorporation", which better describes the process of "restructuring words from other languages"; however Myers-Scotton (2002: 234), reporting Haugen's opinion (1950), states that "the real advantage of the term 'borrowing' is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen. It has therefore remained comparatively unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and no alter term has yet been invented." In this section, I choose to use the term "loanword" mainly because in the data under investigation, borrowings appear only in the lexicon domain, leaving only two encounters amongst verbs, as will be clear further on. This section will start with a brief analysis of the borrowing process in different languages, deemed appropriate for the understanding and the recognition of the different types of loanwords; after that, a section will deal with the analysis of loanwords in CA in order to show that borrowing is not a new process to Arabic language in general, but rather a long-lasting phenomenon. Finally, loanwords in the Omani vernacular under investigation will be investigated both from a morphological and a phonological perspective.

The contact between languages, as well as the interference, is always shown in the first instance by the individual speaker, who uses his own linguistic knowledge of two or more languages to fill in a linguistic gap[38]. The borrowing process entails the reproduction of an element from a foreign language (i.e. source language) into someone's native language, which is in contact with it (i.e. recipient language). There are different types of borrowings: phonetic, phonological, grammatical, syntactic and lexical. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37), "invariably, in a borrowing situation the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words". Moreover, "extensive structural borrowing […] requires extensive bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time" (Thomason and

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[38] "The language-using individuals are the locus of the contact" (Weinreich 1966: 1).

Kaufman 1988: 37). Therefore, structure borrowing may or may not happen alongside the incorporation of loanwords in the recipient language[39].

Motivations for a lexical borrowing vary, mostly according to the length of time two or more languages have been in contact. As already shown, bilingualism is one of the crucial factors that lead to interference, but sociolinguistic and historical factors also play a prominent role. As a matter of fact, the perceived *prestige* of a given language can ignite the borrowing process: within the Peninsular context (as overviewed in 1.2), Gulf dialects of the UAE are sometimes perceived as more prestigious than other varieties, especially because of their use in public broadcasting and theatre shows or in the educational field, thus igniting a process of borrowing in the neighbouring dialects.

Historical factors may be long-term dominations of countries: examples of this are the Arabic and Spanish lexical adaptations in Italian or Persian borrowings in Omani Arabic. Another reason for lexical incorporation is the lack of terminology in the recipient language for the novelty, since "the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts is, obviously, a universal cause of lexical innovation" (Weinreich 1966: 56).

Before considering loanwords in the Omani dialect under investigation, a last prominent distinction needs to be made, that is between *adapted* and *non-adapted* loanwords. The process of adaptation can also entail structural factors, such as phonetic patterns and syntactic rules of the recipient language. Lexical borrowings are usually inserted in the phonotactic and phonologic system of the recipient language, sometimes undergoing even more complex processes, like blending (e.g. the English *smog* is the result of *smoke + fog*)[40]. Moreover, loanwords can be adapted both to the morphological system of the recipient language, especially for categories like gender and number, and to the syntax, e.g. agreement rules[41].

In order to recognise and study a loanword in any given language, additional factors need to be considered:

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[39] In this regard, Winford (2010: 175) states: "It seems uncontroversial that overt structural elements, both phonological and morphological, can be transferred from one language into another. But there appear to be strict limits on what can be transferred, and under what conditions. In most cases, such transfer is mediated by lexical borrowings, and may end up becoming part of the RL" (i.e. recipient language) "system."

[40] This specific linguistic process is not very common in European languages nor in Semitic. Holes (2004b: 112-113) reports the Arabic verb *haǧwal* "to get rid of something" as the probable result of a blending process between the imperative form *haǧ* "leave" and *wall* "go away".

[41] An example is the morphological system of Swahili, which presents 15 subclasses with different suffixes for singular and plural. Loanwords need, therefore, to be assigned to one of these classes on some criteria (Winford 2010: 174).

- the demonstration of a relationship of dependency between the lexical item in the source language and the borrowed one in the recipient language, even considering foreign languages that might have acted as mediators;

- the linguistic system in which the borrowed item is inserted, which may affect the use and the syntactic development of the loanword;

- the reconstruction of the historical events which led to the contact and interaction between two or more populations.

The historical framework for Oman has been given in Annex 1, and that will help in understanding the contact among different languages and populations in this geographical area. Moreover, the maritime trading in the Indian Ocean, where Oman played a prominent role, put the country in contact with the African coast and islands, on the one hand, and projected it towards the Indian and Persian shores, on the other hand. Thus, in the description of loanwords found in the speech of my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district, I have chosen to trace a linguistic line – as far as I could get – between the original source and the borrowing, also through the analysis of the different language systems.

6.3.1 Loanwords in CA and in the dialects

Arabic has a long history of contact with different languages, due to its prestige for being the language of the Quran, but also due to Arab expansion, especially in the early centuries of the Islamic era[42].

Loanwords have been attested by Arab grammarians in pre-Classical and early Classical Arabic: in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (one of the first and leading works on Arabic linguistics, dated around the VII century) two paragraphs (524 and 525) deal with the Arabisation of foreign lexical items[43]. One of the main source languages at this point in time was Aramaic, which has been "by far the most prolific contributor, including domestic terminology as well as terminology connected to economic, political, and religious concepts" (Kossmann 2013: 350). However, Aramaic also acted as mediator for the insertion of different foreign words into Arabic, such as from Greek and Latin (e.g. *ṣirāṭ* "way" < Aramaic *ʿṣṭrṭ* < Greek στρατα < Latin *strata*[44]).

Persian has also been a source language for Arabic, in a few cases having Aramaic as mediator (Noeldeke 1921, in Kossmann 2013: 350). Persian gave a huge number of

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[42] Although, Versteegh (2010: 634) points out that "this status belongs to Classical Arabic exclusively: the spoken Arabic vernacular has as little prestige as any other language".

[43] Kossmann (2013: 349).

[44] Kossmann (2013: 350).

loanwords to Arabic, especially in the semantic fields of administration, plants and herbs, and architecture (Versteegh 2010: 638), whereas Greek loanwords are most notably found in the fields of philosophy and medicine. These borrowings have been integrated into the morphological system of Arabic, e.g. *ustāḏ*, pl. *asātiḏa* "teacher" from Persian *ostāḏ* or the Arabic word *faylasūf* "philosopher" from the Greek *philosophos* (Versteegh 2010: 638).

The first layer in which a lexical borrowing is presented is the spoken language: as a matter of fact, a loanword will reach the written language only after being introduced at the speakers' level.

In the literature, not many works have been devoted to the collection and analysis of loanwords in the Arabian Peninsula: after the works by Jayakar (1889) and Reinhardt (1894) at the end of the nineteenth century, a big gap exists for vernaculars of this area in all their aspects. Reinhardt (1894: 126) dedicates a whole paragraph to the listing of foreign loanwords in the Banū Kharūṣ dialect (i.e. 11 from English, 6 from Hindi, 12 from Persian, 2 from Portuguese and only 1 from Swahili), and Jayakar (1889: 873), among the few loanwords from Hindi, Portuguese and Persian, reports only one English borrowing, although arrived through Hindi (e.g. *tanak* "tin").

Smart (1986) lists all the works that deal with the topic of borrowings in the Arabian Peninsula, but mainly those regarding the analysis of English loanwords, due to the discovery of oil in the 1930s. Without any doubt, though, the first leading work on linguistic borrowings after the 50-year gap, is Smeaton's (1973), which analyses lexical expansion and its functioning in the Ḥasāwi tribe of Saudi Arabia, mainly due to technological development[45].

The field of contact linguistics in the Peninsula and in the Gulf area is still very much left untouched and in the following subsections a modest contribution to fill in this gap for the Omani vernacular under investigation has been attempted. Following a few remarks on the phonological and morphological mechanisms loanwords undergo to be adapted in the recipient language, I present a list of foreign borrowings found in the Omani vernacular under investigation. As will be shown, there are six main source languages: Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Swahili, English, and to a lesser extent, Portuguese. These languages will be analysed in its historical phases in order to contextualise and support the specific loanword.

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[45] Although Smeaton's work was published in 1973, the data he reports have been collected during the years 1945-1949 (Smart 1986: 203).

6.3.2 Remarks on the phonology and morphology of loanwords in the Arabic vernaculars

Given the importance of Smeaton's (1973) work on loanwords in Ḥasā, I will use it as a starting point to give a picture of the adjustments loanwords usually undergo to be incorporated in the recipient language, in this case Arabic. This is even more important if we think that many loanwords are so integrated in the system that they are very difficult to identify.

Smeaton (1973: 61) finds three levels of "loanword naturalisation" in the morphology:

- the original word is intact, and no syllables or consonants have been elided; they may or may not present a plural form in *-āt*;

- the word is shortened or expanded in accordance with the Arabic pattern; their plural form, if any, ends in *-āt*;

- the word is fully naturalised in the Arabic morphological system: as a noun, it can present internal pluralisation; if a verb, it conjugates according to the norms.

Once a loanword has been uttered by a speaker it is assumed to be phonologically valid, but it still needs to be integrated in the consonantal and vocalic pattern of Arabic roots. As mentioned in 6.2, a conspicuous number of loanwords in the data present a quadriconsonantal pattern. This happens because the main tendency in the incorporation of a foreign lexical item is to accommodate it as far as possible to the triliteral or quadrilateral pattern of Arabic, whilst still considering the consonantal and syllabic characteristics of the original word[46].

A loanword can undergo a few phonological adjustments in order to meet the pattern rules of the recipient language. Smeaton (1973: 85) reports the statement of the encyclopaedist as-Suyūṭi (1445-1505), that gives a rough idea of how loanword incorporation works in Arabic: "The (ancient) Arabs took over foreign words, altering some of them by dropping letters or lightening what was heavy in the foreign form". Although stated in a very superficial way, what as-Suyūṭi says can be used as a starting point for the analysis of the phonological adjustments a foreign word undergoes. In this subsection a list of the main phonological phenomena found in the data are reported.

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[46] In this regard, Smeaton (1973: 84) states: "Thus, in typical Arabic words there is a qualitative structural difference between tri- and quadriconsonantal forms in that the latter are usually derivative from the former, both the derivative and the source form belonging to the same triliteral root. In the case of borrowed words, however, this contrast is suspended, the given word being accommodated insofar as possible to whichever of the two general types – triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal – it may chance to be closer to."

1. <u>CC(C)-initial cluster</u>. Many loanwords present a consonant cluster in first position, sometimes retaining the syllabic structure of the original word. In a few loanwords, unusual consonant clusters can be displayed, such as the ones resulting from *l*, *m* and *b*. This is because in Arabic, and as explained in 2.3 in the data under investigation, the CC(C)-initial cluster is accepted.

2. <u>Diphthongs</u>. Going against the apparent tendency for my data to monophthongise the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/[47], words of foreign origin (especially loans from English) usually display the original diphthongs (e.g. CayCaC), with the exception of monosyllabic words.

3. <u>Change of vowel quantity</u>. In a few instances, vowel quantity may change: if short /i, u/ and /e/ occur in the source language word, they can be lengthened to /ī, ū/ or /ē/, according to syllable structure rules of the recipient language.

4. <u>Emphasis</u>. Since emphasis in Arabic is a phenomenon that impacts not only on the consonants but also on the vowels involved, when a source language word presents a vowel of back quality, neighbouring consonants can be realised as emphatics.

On the other hand, morphological adjustments affect mainly fields like gender and number. According to the scale of "loanwords naturalisation" reported by Smeaton (1973), a well-integrated loanword will present a broken plural pattern, otherwise it will display a plural in *-āt*, or even nothing at all. As will be shown in the next subsection, the loanwords found in the data present different degree of integration. If the foreign word resembles any usual consonantal pattern of Arabic, it is easier for it to be integrated and also follow its structure in the plural formation. Loanwords in the data presented here show two main degrees of adaptation, namely the second and the third of Smeaton's scale. Thus, in terms of plural formation, they display either nothing at all or broken plural patterns for quadrilateral and triliteral roots (as shown in 3.4).

6.3.3 Persian loanwords

In the data, Persian loanwords constitute the most conspicuous group after English, although of more ancient acquisition. Most of these loanwords must have come during the pre-Islamic or early Islamic era, when Arabic was not yet an established language of prestige, unlike Persian. Before analysing the Persian borrowings found in the dialect, a brief introduction to the history of the language is needed. The reason for this lies in the different phases which Persian went through: as a matter of fact, some of the loanwords

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[47] On this, see 2.2.2.

found in the data comes either from Middle Persian or New Persian, as shown by the phonological structure.

Persian and Arabic have a long history of interconnections and interference. According to its structure, Persian can be distinguished in three separate languages:

- Old Persian (546-330 BC). This is the language used during the Achaemenids, and it is only known through their inscriptions, because most of the administrative communication was done in Aramaic (Khanlari's 1979: 152). The grammar of old Persian is very rich: it presents three genders, three numbers, and eight cases[48].

- Middle Persian (226-652 AD). This is the language used by the Sasanian empire, between the end of the Achaemenids and the advent of Islam. Although the phonological system of Middle Persian is based on that of Old Persian, the grammar differs profoundly: the simplification of the language structure involved primarily the number (i.e. from three to two) and the cases (i.e. only two)[49], and also the noun patterns (i.e. words were shortened, dropping their morphological endings).

- New Persian (VIII century onwards). What mainly distinguishes New Persian from Middle Persian is the Arabic element: Persian was still very prominent in fields like literature and administration, but its writing system employed the Arabic script and Arabic vocabulary (Lockwood 1972: 238).

As mentioned before, not all Persian loanwords entered Arabic directly: Old Persian loanwords usually had Aramaic as mediator, whereas Middle Persian loanwords entered directly into Arabic. The vast majority of Persian loanwords presented here are from New Persian, although a few can be traced back to Middle Persian. In this regard, Brockett (1985: 33) has a different opinion, stating that most Persian loanwords came into use in Oman in more recent times through Baluchi, an Iranian-origin dialect spoken by the Baluchi tribe in different parts of the Persian Gulf and Oman. However, this hypothesis is unlikely considering the new data presented here: first, the first wave of migration of Baluchi people into Oman dates back to the early Islamic era; secondly, there is insufficient data about the Baluchi dialect spoken in Oman to see the extent of the contact between the two languages; and thirdly, being the Baluchi tribe is very

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[48] Khansir and Mozafari (2014: 2361)
[49] Khansir and Mozafari (2014: 2361).

isolated in terms of lifestyle, it is very unlikely a contact with the people living in the area under investigation in this thesis.

In the following table, the Persian loanwords found in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district are given (both in the singular and, whenever possible, in the plural form), with their translation and the equivalent in the source language.

Arabic	English	Origin
bīdār / biyādīr	worker, farmer	*bidār* ("awake")
bandar / binādur	bay	*bandar* ("port")
tefaq / tfāq	gun	*tofang* ("matchlock")
nemūne	a sort, a kind	*na-mūne* ("example, specimen")
hest	very, many, a lot	*hast* ("to exist")
dahrīz / dahārīz	sitting room	*dahlīz* ("aisle, hallway")
rubyān	shrimps (coll.)	id.
zangabīl	ginger	*singavēr* ("id.")
drīše / derāyš	window	id.

Table 6.7 - *Persian loanwords*

The noun *bidār* is used to indicate the Indian or Pakistani workers of the palm-gardens so typical of this region. It is unclear how the Persian word developed semantically from "awake" to indicate this type of farmer: one attempt of explanation may lie in the social habit for these farmers to also work as night watchmen for the palm-garden owner. The noun appears to be well-integrated in the al-ʿAwābī vernacular structure, since it shows a broken plural of pattern CiyāCVC, which, although uncommon, reveals a certain degree of adaptation.

Bandar is a very common loanword found in some proper names of bays and coastal places near Muscat (e.g. Bandar Jissah, Bandar Khayran), and it comes from the New Persian word *bandar* for "port". It shows a certain degree of integration, displaying a broken plural of CVCVVCVC pattern for quadriliteral roots.

The word *tafaq* is one of the few Middle Persian loanwords (i.e. *tofang*, the sound [g] in final position is one of the main characteristics of this language) and displays a common phonetic adaptation from Persian to Arabic: given the lack of the phoneme [g], it transmitted to Arabic adapting to either /ǧ/ or /q/. Since the dialect under investigation lacks the phoneme [ǧ], it is likely that the dialect itself helped this type of adaptation, which is also shown by the broken plural of CCVVC pattern.

In *nemūne* ("a sort"), the original *na*, which in Persian is a marker of negation (cf. the *un*-marker in English: *unusual* = "not usual") and it is always separated from the word it

refers to, has merged with the word *mūne* ("type, kind")[50]. It is worth mentioning, though, that this borrowing is only used by my older informants with a low level of education (i.e. speaker 4, 8, 13), and it is being replaced by the Arabic *nūʿ* with the same meaning. In the data, there is no occurrence of a plural form for *nemūne*, although it appears a few times as dual (e.g. *namūntīn*, "two types").

The case of *hest* ("very, much") is also very interesting. It is used by old people in the district – both al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ – and is reckoned as old-fashioned by my younger informants. However, according to all the participants to this study, it is also very specific to the area under investigation. The semantic relationship between *hest* as "much" and the Persian *hast* "to exist" can be explained through the same relation that exists between the Omani *wāgid* "much, many" and the Arabic root WǦD ("to exist"). *Hest* is used adverbially, as the Omani *wāgid*, and therefore lacks a plural form.

An old way of indicating the "sitting room" is *dahrīz*, mainly used by elders in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. It generally indicates those parts of the Omani house where people are hosted for tea or coffee. This noun is also a clear example of the tendency, for speakers of this dialect, to switch the liquid consonants /l/ and /r/ (as mentioned in 2.1): the original Middle Persian form is *dahlīz*. Moreover, the fact that this is a Middle Persian loanword of ancient acquisition, indicates that the switching of liquid consonants is a longstanding phenomenon in this dialect.

Finally, *zangabīl* ("ginger"), a common spice in Omani cuisine and also found in many other Arabic dialects, is a very old borrowing from Middle Persian through Aramaic, i.e. *singavēr*. It is possible to note here a deep phonetic adaptation to the Arabic system: the phoneme [v], which Arabic lacks, was transmitted with the segment /b/ and the initial /s/ with the segment /z/. Moreover, commonly to what happens with other Persian loanwords in Arabic, long /ē/ is transmitted as long /ī/[51].

Amongst the loanwords presented in this subsection, Reinhardt (1894: 126) only reports *tefāq, kōš, bīdār*, and *drīše*. The others are not confirmed by my data.

Persian played such a prominent role in the administrative, economic and literary fields in a wide area from the Arabian Peninsula, to Near East, to India[52]. Although the contact with Arabic language completely changed the structure, the vocabulary and the writing

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[50] The vowel changing from *namūna* to *nemūne* can be explained according to the *imāla* rules (see 2.2.1).
[51] cf. Tafażżolī (1986).
[52] Persian influenced many Indian languages (e.g. Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi, etc.), and it was replaced by English, as second official language in India, only in 1832 (Khansir and Mozafari 2014).

system of Middle Persian into New Persian, it is still possible to find traces of the Persian language in Arabic, and in Omani Arabic specifically. Some of them are, for example, retained in the toponymy of Oman.

In addition to the coastal places that are named after the Persian word *bandar*, as already mentioned, there are proper names of cities that derives from this Iranian language: the city of Sīb, in the Bāṭina region, derives from the Persian word *sīb*, which means "apple"; and the name of the town of Rustāq, close to the area under investigation, is a very old loanword from the early Persian word *rustāg* "village" (cf. New Persian *rustā*, "id."[53]). Evidence for this is the final /q/ in the Omani name, that indicates the presence of a /g/ in the original name.

6.3.4 Hindi and Urdu loanwords

Hindi and Urdu belong to the family of Indo-Aryan languages. Indians and Arabs have been in contact mainly through trading: Indian merchants visited Mesopotamia and the Arabian Peninsula, acquiring from them some aspects of their writing system.

Regarding the Omani data under investigation, Hindi and Urdu loanwords can be explained through the strong migration of Indian and Pakistani workers into the country, especially in the last few decades. Only a few of the loanwords presented here are of older acquisition, probably due to trading between Oman and India through the Indian Ocean over the centuries. Most of these types of loanwords are terms related to the figure of the merchant or the goods. At the present day, many Omanis hire Indian and Pakistani people especially to work in the *mazraʿa* ("palm garden"), or they are relegated to jobs like window cleaners, construction workers, or tailors. Thus, in the last few decades, the need of communication between these communities grew and a few more adapted loanwords from Hindi/Urdu came into use, especially in the semantic fields of household and clothing.

Table 6.8 presents loanwords from Hindi and Urdu both in their singular and, whenever possible, plural forms, followed by the translation and the original word in the source language.

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[53] The elision of final endings is a key characteristic of the passage from Middle Persian to New Persian.

Arabic	English	Origin
banka	fan	*pankhā* ("id.") < Hindi
kurfāya / karāfī	bed	*chārpā'ī* ("four legs") < Hindi
gūṭī / gawāṭī	shoe	*juti* ("id.") < Urdu
hanqrī /hanāqra	rich	id. < Hindi[54]
bangri /banāgri	bracelet	id. < Hindi
gōḍrī	woollen blanket	*gūḍrī* ("id.") < Hindi

Table 6.8 – *Hindi/Urdu loanwords*

As shown in Table 6.8, only a few loanwords from Hindi and Urdu are well enough integrated in the Arabic system to have broken plural forms[55]. According to Smeaton's (1973) scale of naturalisation, only two of them (i.e. *banka* and *gōḍrī*) are at the first stage, not presenting any plural form, although with a certain degree of adaptation to the vernacular phonological system; *hanqri* and *bangri*, on the other hand, had been transmitted with no difference in respect of the original form, however they present a broken plural of pattern CVCVVCCV. In the data, these borrowings are of common use, with the only exception of *gōḍri* ("woollen blanket"), which is being replaced by the Arabic *baṭṭāniyya* with the same meaning and still used only in some villages of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ (i.e. Stāl and al-ʿAlya). The word *gūṭī* specifically indicates a shoe with strings, in contrast to *waṭīya* "sandal" and *ẓannūba* "flip flop". The absence of a plural form also indicates that the loanword is of recent acquisition.

From a phonological point of view, Hindi and Urdu loanwords show the substitution of segment /p/ with either /b/ (e.g. *banka < pankhā*) or /f/ (e.g. *kurfāya < chārpā'ī*), which is a phenomenon that also appears in other Arabic dialects when borrowing from eastern Asian languages[56]. The substitution of /ch/ with /k/, as in *kurfāya < chārpā'ī*, can be explained by the fact that in some remote villages of the mountains (e.g. al-ʿAlya) the /k/ is realised as [č].

Amongst the loanwords presented in this subsection, Reinhardt (1894: 126) only reports *gōḍrī* and *bangri*, whilst the others were not confirmed by my data.

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[54] In Hindi it also exists the word *hankārī* ("arrogant"), which might be a further derivation for this lexical item.

[55] The examples of *banka*, *gūṭī* and *kurfāya* are also reported by Smeaton (1973: 79-81) for the al-Ḥasā dialect, although he states that also their Arabic counterparts are often used. In my informants' speech, however, the Arabic counterparts are not in use.

[56] cf. al-Saqqaf (2006: 83).

6.3.5 Swahili loanwords

The number of Swahili loanwords in the data is very low, notwithstanding the long relationship between Oman and Zanzibar and the length of time an Omani Sultanate existed on the island[57].

Swahili is a language belonging to the Bantu group of the Niger-Congo family. It is spoken in different countries of central and eastern Africa and used as *lingua franca* in the whole area. The Swahili lexicon has been strongly influenced by Arabic, especially due to the Muslim conquest of this part of the African continent. However, the syntactic system is similar to that in Bantu languages[58]. The relationship between Oman and the eastern African coast has been explained in Annex 1, thus it is legitimate to presume that Swahili had an influence, at a certain extent, on the vernacular under investigation as well.

According to the Ethnologue website, Swahili is spoken in Oman in the coastal surroundings of Muscat and sporadically in the Bāṭina region[59]. Reinhardt (1894: 126) and Jayakar (1889: 847) each report only one borrowing from Swahili (i.e. respectively, *bībī* "grandmother, old lady" and *tītūn* "infant") which are still in use in colloquial speech; Brockett (1985) does not report any other. In the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, a few more Swahili loanwords have been detected:

Arabic	English	Origin
tītūn / *-īn*	newborn	*toto* ("baby, small kid")
mkebbe	tin, box	*mkebe* ("tin, vase")
mbāw	type of tree	*mbao* ("wood")

Table 6.9 – *Swahili loanwords*

Among the examples in Table 6.9, *mkebbe* for "tin" is very interesting: it shows a gemination of the consonant /b/ and the retaining of the initial cluster *mk-* in comparison to the original *mkebe*. The gemination can be explained based on the Arabic root KBB, which also means "faire des boulettes, des boules" (cf. Biberstein-Kazimirski 1860: 850). As a matter of fact, the word *mkebbe* is specifically used in the district to indicate the round plastic box for food storage. The initial *m-* might have been retained as a prefix for names of instrument, common in Arabic (see 3.1.2). There is no example of

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[57] For more details on the relationship between Oman and Zanzibar, see Annex 1.

[58] Swahili syntax displays different classes (i.e. 15) according to the type of noun or syntactic feature they encounter; each class combines a classifier which differs in terms of number. Following the example of *kitabu*: *ki-* is the classifier for singular in class 7, whereas *vi-* is the classifier for plural in class 8 for inanimate objects (Bertoncini 2004: 2).

[59] https://www.ethnologue.com/country/OM/languages

such a term in CA or in other Omani dialects for which we have documentation at the moment, thus a loanword from Swahili is the most reasonable explanation.

Swahili communities settled in the Sultanate especially in the area surrounding Muscat, however these communities are very close, and they usually live in separate parts of the town. Nevertheless, we need to acknowledge the common custom for Omani people to hire women of east African origin as housemaids. This practice might have influenced the use of specific words of Swahili origin in semantic fields like household or care. Admittedly, only three of my informants (i.e. speakers 7, 10, and 12) had Kenyan or Tanzanian housemaids at their service. The loanwords reported in Table 6.9 are commonly used by all my consultants, regardless of age, provenance or level of education.

6.3.6 English loanwords

With the opening of the country to foreigners and foreign enterprises in the Seventies, many more English loanwords came into use in Omani Arabic, especially in fields like technology and the oil business, because of the lack of such a terminology in the local varieties. This is true not only for Oman, but for many other countries of the Gulf region[60]. Oil explorations and excavations, started in the 1930s, brought in the Peninsula three main varieties of English: American, British, and Indian[61]. Al-Saqqaf (2006: 80) hypothesises that some of the English loanwords in Ḥaḍramī Arabic might have come through Indian people living in the area: in Indian English, in fact, "*w* and *v* have both merged in a voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ], which is perceived by Arabic native speakers as *w*". In the case of the data under investigation, this hypothesis can also be likely, since the Pakistani and Indian communities tend to mangle English words in order to communicate with the Arab-speaking people they work with.

Reinhardt (1894: 126) reports a list of English loanwords all relating to the semantic fields of war, weapons and constructions, which have not been found in the data I collected nor in the data elicited from my informants. The only one still in use is *bembe* ("pump").

The phonological and morphological integration of English loanwords appears to be different compared to the degree shown by the other borrowings. They display either a first degree (i.e. integrated with no changes from the original) or a second degree (i.e.

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[60] cf. Smeaton (1973), Holes (2011), al-Saqqaf (2006), and Smart (1986).
[61] cf. Smart (1986: 202).

rare display of plural forms), according to Smeaton's (1973) scale; only a few of them present a third degree of integration, with broken plural formations.

Arabic	Origin	Arabic	Origin
sīkil	bicycle	*layt ~lēt / -āt*	light, lightbulb
bembe	pump	*lamba*	lamp
blīwit	plywood	*glās*	glass
tšīnkū	zinc	*alumīnium*	foil
bāṣ	bus	*kūb*	cup
tānkī	tank	*rimūt*	remote control
rādyū / rwādu	radio	*gitār*	guitar
zigrīt	cigarette	*moṭār /mawāṭir*	vintage car
šaklīt	chocolate	*šārš*	charger
kōt /akwāt	coat	*buṭīn*	crème caramel
inǧenīr	engineer	*drāywal /-āt*	driver
wīkind	weekend	*grūb*	group (WhatsApp)
finniš	to fire, get fired	*swīk ~swīč*[62]	switch
šarraš	to charge	*saym saym*[63]	the same as
		tilifūn	telephone

Table 6.10 – *English loanwords*

Table 6.10 reports the English borrowings found in the data collected in the al-ʿAwābī district.

In *bemba* (< pump) and *lamba* (< lamp) is recognisable a segment substitution of group /mp/ with /mb/, mainly because Arabic lacks the sound [p]. The feminine ending *-a* is probably due to the impossibility for the vernacular under investigation phonotactics to end a word with a cluster like *-mb*.

In 2.2.2 it has been explained that diphthongs in the data undergo a process of monophthongisation in certain circumstances. When it comes to loanwords, a few exceptions are visible: the word *layt* "light" retains the diphthong in the speech of older speakers, whereas it is monophthongised to *lēt* in others (see also table 2.3); it also shows a plural in *-āt*, with a second degree of integration. It is worth mentioning here that this borrowing is only used to indicate artificial light, because "light" as contraposed to "dark" is indicated with the Arabic *nūr*. A further exception in this sense is the word *drāywal*, used to indicate not a general driver, but rather a professional one, which also displays a plural in *-āt* (with a second degree of integration). This term is also brought by Al-Saqqaf (2006: 80) as evidence of English loanwords arrived through

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[62] Affricated pronunciation found in some remote villages of the Wādī Banī Kharūṣ (e.g. al-ʿAlya).
[63] Also realised by some speakers as *sēm sēm*.

a median language (in this case, Indian English). Two things are to note: firstly, the /w/ is the result of the pronunciation of Indian English sound [ʋ], perceived by Arabic speakers as /w/; and secondly, the final /l/ is, again, the result of the liquid consonants swapping (i.e. /l/ and /r/) typical of my informants' speech (see 2.1 for more details).

In English loanwords, CC(C)-initial clusters are easily recognisable: words like *grūb*, *glās*, *tšīnkū*, *blīwit*, *swīk*, and *inǧenīr* display some unusual initial consonantal clusters. They have all been phonologically adapted to the pattern shown by the dialect under investigation, displaying a vowel lengthening in close syllable. The same phenomenon is observed in words like *kūb*, *kōt*, and *bāṣ*.

A few remarks on these loanwords are needed. The word *grūb* is only used among younger speakers in al-ʿAwābī town to indicate the WhatsApp group, whereas the Arabic *ǧamāʿa* is used to indicate a generic "group (of people, things, or animals)". The borrowing *glās* is used amongst my informants to indicate every kind of drinking glass, except the coffee and the tea cup, respectively *fingān* and *kūb*. The loanword *moṭār*, which in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and Rustāq is used to indicate a "vintage car", is an interesting process of semantic specialisation. The origin can be traced back to the first appearance of cars in the Sultanate, when American and British brought them over for oil explorations. However, no English native speaker would refer to a "car" with the term "motor", nevertheless the term is widely used also in other parts of the Arabian Peninsula[64]. A further evidence for this specialisation is the preferred way of indicating a "car" with the Arabic *siyyāra*, and the presence of a broken plural informs us that the borrowing is well integrated in the vernacular system.

The last interesting example to mention is the only occurrence of two borrowed verbs: *finniš*, which has both a transitive – "to fire" – and an intransitive meaning – "to get fired". The verb has been integrated in the vernacular under investigation as II derived form, it shows a s-stem and a p-stem conjugation and can display suffixed pronouns (e.g. *yifinniš-he* "he fired her"; *finništ* "I got fired"). The derivation is from the English "finish", although it presents here different semantics (i.e. to fire), especially if we consider that in the data the Arabic root ḪLṢ with the sense of "to finish, to end" is of common occurrence. In addition to this, *šarraš* ("to charge") – again II derived form – is of common occurrence in the speech of my informants.

No other verbs of foreign origin are present in the data collected in the district, although it is reasonable to think that many more are in use, especially amongst more literate

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[64] Smeaton (1973: 73).

speakers due to the broader use of English language in fields like business, marketing, engineering, and computing.

6.3.7 Loanwords from Portuguese and Spanish

This small subsection will cover the very few loanwords from Portuguese and Spanish found in the data. The Portuguese were in the country for about a century, as explained in Annex 1, and most of the loanwords are found in the nautical lexicon, which has not been taken into consideration for this work[65].

From Portuguese, *fifāy* ("papaya") and *mēz* ("table" < *mesa* "id.") are in use. The "papaya" is a fruit originally from South America, found also in the Philippines and south-eastern Asia; the original name is *papaw*, called *papaya* in Cuba, and *ababai* in the Caribbean, and known in the near East with the Perso-Arabic name of *ʾanbah-i-hindī* (lit. "the Indian mango")[66]. Phonologically speaking, the shift from /p/ to /f/ is easy to individuate, since Arabic lacks the phoneme [p].

The only occurrence of a supposedly Spanish loanwords in the data is the word *tšīkū*, used by two of my middle-aged speakers to indicate a "child" (i.e. speaker 2 and 7). This borrowing is also reported by Brockett (1985: 135), who derives it from the Spanish *chico* ("small, little child"); however, it is unclear how this item arrived in Oman, since no traces of Spanish explorers are recorded in the Sultanate. Nor could it have arrived through the Portuguese, since their language lacks this word[67].

6.3.8 Some remarks on food names of foreign origin

In the lexicon collected in the al-ʿAwābī district, many items indicating traditional food and fruit are of foreign origin, either because they are not geographically original from Oman or the Arabian Peninsula or because they were imported by foreign populations.

The etymology of some of these lexical items has been checked consulting Yule and Burnell (2008), here are reported the most commonly used by my consultants:

nargīl (نرجيل), "coconut"; it is originally a Sanskrit word (i.e. *narikila*) that comes into Omani Arabic through Persian (i.e. *nargīl*); medieval writers used to call the fruit "the Indian nut", which became in Arabic *al-ǧawz al-hindī* ("id.").

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[65] The two works by Agius (2002; 2005) report much of the nautical lexicon in use in Omani Arabic, and most of it derives from Portuguese words, when Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean as explorers and conquerors. In the data of the al-ʿAwābī district no nautical items have been found.

[66] Yule & Burnell (2008: 322-323).

[67] In this regard, one of the speakers (i.e. speaker 7) I worked with explained to me that the word *tšīkū* is used especially by Indians and Pakistanis with the same meaning, and therefore they started to use it to make themselves clearer.

anānās (اناناس), "pineapple"; a fruit original from Mexico and Panama, that reached Oman through Portuguese (i.e. *ananas* < Brazilian Portuguese *nanas*). It is found in Swahili as *nanasi*.

sanṭara (سنطرة), "tangerine"; from Hindi *sengterrah* ("id.") through Persian *sangtara*, which indicates a type of orange.

embē (امبا), "mango"; its origin derives from Sanskrit *amra* ("id.") through Hindi *ām/āmba*.

staʿfal (ستعفل), "large citrus fruit, custard apple"; it comes from Urdu *sitā-phāl* "Sita's fruit"[68].

ṣalūna (صلونة), traditional spiced meat dish with rice; it derives from Urdu *salonā*, an adjective that indicates something "seasoned, tasteful".

qabūle (قبولة), traditional chicken/lamb soup served with rice; the Urdu equivalent is *qabūlī*, a dish made of rice and gram-pulse (chickpeas) boiled together. Yule and Burnell (2008) reports the Arabic *qabūlī* and the Persian *kabūlī* to indicate the provenance from the city of Kabul, in Afghanistan, and used in Persia through that route.

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[68] Brockett (1895: 160).

Conclusion

This thesis had two main aims: providing a linguistic analysis of the Omani vernacular spoken in the al-ʿAwābī district (northern Oman), and comparing the new data collected with the set provided by Carl Reinhardt in 1894. These aims were answering a few urgent questions such as: is Reinhardt's *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in ʿOman und Zanzibar* (1894) still a reliable account of the vernacular spoken in the same area in the present day by speakers from the same tribes? How much of his material is still valid? To what extent does language variation range on the basis of the criteria of age, provenance and level of education chosen for this study? And finally, did the influence of more prestigious forms of Arabic or MSA used in broadcasting and education have any impact on the vernacular spoken nowadays?

In answering these questions, this work has been built on six chapters and three annexes, providing a reliable account of the dialect spoken by my informants in the al-ʿAwābī district.

The issue of the reliability of Reinhardt's (1894) work was addressed in different parts of this thesis: firstly, the examination of its strength and weaknesses in 1.1.1, which provided the impetus for this research.

Secondly, in chapter two on Phonology, we saw how syncope is a much more widespread phenomenon in Reinhardt's account of this dialect, whereas in my data it merely depends on vowel quality (see 2.2). Moreover, in my data, monophthongisation occurs more frequently than in Reinhardt's data, who examines it only with regards to some specific monosyllabic nouns (see 2.2.2).

Thirdly, in the chapter on nominal morphology, we saw how Reinhardt's set of data differs from mine only in the field of numerals and pronouns; however, in the verbal morphology we see more differences, both in the realisation of the conjugation of the strong verb (see, for example, table 4.1) and in the formation of the future tense (i.e. the use of the *bi*-prefix in my data, whereas Reinhardt reports the use of the *ḥa*-prefix). In addition to this, in the verbal morphology chapter, I gave an account of the use and occurrence of the AP, which Reinhardt's work lacks completely, and which constitutes an interesting characteristic of the dialect spoken by my consultants.

The chapters on syntax and on lexical analysis constitute the real novelty of this work: the description of the syntax in Reinhardt (1894) is restricted to the analysis of a very few sentence types; the lexicon – albeit very rich – lacks full systematisation and analysis.

In the syntax chapter, in particular, the major differences with Reinhardt's account can be seen in the use of the genitive exponent – demonstrating that *ḥāl* cannot be considered as a genitive exponent, but rather it is a preposition – , and in the negation system – the use of the clitic *-ši*, reported by Reinhardt, is only found in the speech of one old speaker in my data (i.e. speaker 13), completely substituted by the mainstream *mā* in all the others'.

The chapter on lexicon aimed to be a combination of the two main scopes of this thesis: thus, it analyses the lexical elements found in the speech of my informants comparing them, when possible, with Reinhardt's lexical core. The result was that some of Reinhardt's lexical items are now obsolescent and outdated, being replaced by forms found in other – more prestigious – dialects or in MSA (e.g. *baṭṭāniyya* instead of *gōḏri* "woollen blanket"). Moreover, the list of foreign loanwords has been expanded when compared to Reinhardt's (1894: 126), including many more from English, Swahili and Hindi. The account reported on quadrilateral roots, however, showed how still a consistent part of Reinhardt's material on this matter is valid and in use in the everyday speech of my informants, although providing more details on their formation and occurrence.

Considering these elements, the thesis demonstrates how much of Reinhardt's material is still in use nowadays in the district (i.e. much of the lexical material, but not of the syntactic features) – although limited to the number of my informants –, and how much in need of a reinterpretation of it was for the sake of Omani dialectological field.

With regards to the criteria chosen for the recruitment of informants – i.e. age, provenance, and level of education – we witnessed a discrete homogeneity between al-ʿAwābī and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, with the major differences found in the occurrence of *imāla* (e.g. *mustašfiyāt* "hospitals" in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ versus *mustašfayāt* in al-ʿAwābī) and use of archaisms in the lexicon – especially for cardinal points.

Level of education, as well, seems to go hand in hand with age, since access to education – as explained in Annex 1 – was guaranteed to the Omani population only from the 1980s. One big difference in terms of literacy of speakers is the use of the particle *inn-* to introduce complement clauses: according to the data shown, it is found in the speech of literate young speakers in the district, and never in the speech of illiterate ones.

Oman's exit from its isolationism certainly brought some extent of language change – as also noticed by Leila Kaplan (2008) in regard to her informants in Bahlā. This

variation is especially visible if we consider the criterion of age. As a matter of fact, speakers in the older group show a greater uniformity to Reinhardt's material, compared to the other two groups: in terms of phonology, for example, the elders' speech shows no occurrence of *imāla* and a lower occurrence of monophthongisation. In terms of morphology, we found the use of comparative forms of adverbs (e.g. *efwaq < fõq* "up, above") in the older group, which are very unlikely to be found in the speech of younger and middle-aged informants. Moreover, we saw how older speakers are more inclined to use an impersonal form of the active verb to express passivity – although the data are not enough to postulate it for certain. By contrast, we acknowledged that in the syntax domain, *bū* – the relative pronoun reported also by Reinhardt (1894) – occurs more often in the speech of younger informants, rather than in that of the elders', who tend to use the more mainstream *illi*. We found traces of the use of the clitic *-ši* and its emphatic counterpart *šīšī* in the speech of one old man in the district (i.e. speaker 13) and in two old women (i.e. speakers 8 and 15). However, the major differences in terms of age of informants are undoubtedly found in the lexicon. The older speakers showed a strong inclination towards the use of lexical items perceived as obsolescent by the rest of informants, often using archaisms and classicisms (e.g. *hest* "very, much" instead of *wāgid*, or *ġāwi* "beautiful" instead of *gamīl*). Differences are spotted also in the names of geographical items, such as the cardinal points, which also constitutes one of the few differences in speakers based on provenance. As far as regarding quadriliteral roots and loanwords, those seem to be of common occurrence in the speech of all my informants, regardless of the criteria mentioned above.

Although gender was not one of the criteria used for recruiting the informants – for the reasons explained in 1.4.1 –, the data showed an interesting differentiation in this sense, that is the use of the active participial forms *bāġī* (only used by male speakers) and *bāya* (only used by female speakers).

One more conclusion we can draw from the argument explained in this thesis is the degree of influence of forms from neighboring dialects perceived as more prestigious and MSA. Evidence of a certain extent of influence can be found in the use of relative pronoun *illi* – also found in Gulf, Ṣanʿānī, and Najdi Arabic – over *bū*; in the use of *bi-* as a prefix for future tense, whereas Reinhardt (1894) reported *ḥa-*; in the use of *mā* as negative marker for everything, except coordinated negative clauses and imperative mood, where is used *lā* instead. The latter is a clear evidence of MSA influence – brought by the education and the broadcasting – since in the district we have found

indications of other, older, forms of negation, which are also attested in neighboring dialects. Finally, the use of the particle *inn-* in complement clauses – found predominantly in the speech of literate speakers – is another evidence of MSA influence over this dialect.

With regards to the S- and B-dialects distinction, we demonstrated how difficult is to label varieties as exclusively belonging to one typology or the other. If, generally speaking, the dialect described in this work can be considered "sedentary" – we found the productive use of genitive exponents, and the realization of CA consonants *q, *ǧ, and *k as /q/, /g/, and /k/ respectively – , it showed also some B-traits. Amongst these, we found the retention of interdentals *t̲ and *d̲; the use of *šey* / *mā šey* ("there is, there is not") as existentials; and the retention of gender distinction in plural pronouns.

Through the description of the dialect as it is spoken today by 15 people of different age and level of education, we were able to show the extent of the diachronic change this Omani variety has witnessed since its first description in 1894. The speed with which this dialect is changing makes even more urgent the necessity of documenting the dialects of this part of the Arabian Peninsula, which may contain unexpected elements.

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ANNEX 1

An historic overview of the Sultanate of Oman

This annex is devoted to the report of the history of Oman from the earliest sources to nowadays. This narration is deemed appropriate in this study for the understanding, on the one hand, of the role the al-Kharūṣī tribe held in the Sultanate's history, and for tracing the political and commercial relationships which Oman enjoyed for the most part of its past, on the other hand. The language contact – analysed mainly in terms of loanwords in chapter 6 – is also the result of these economic and political affairs, and the historical reconstruction of them is one of the factors endorsing the argument developed in 6.3. Moreover, this account will show how the Sultanate of Oman developed as an independent country, also isolating itself from the other countries in the Arabian Peninsula and preserving its languages from external influence, at least until the Seventies.

In the next sections, it will be traced the history of Oman from the earliest sources to nowadays, examining its relations with the Portuguese, and the Swahili people in Zanzibar up until the Seventies, when a new era began. In the course of this account, I will refer to the Ibadism, the creed widespread in Oman, which great importance had throughout its history and in the al-ʿAwābī district as well. For a detailed analysis of its religious fundaments, the reader is referred to the work by Hoffman (2015).

1.History – From the earliest sources to nowadays

The earliest traces of civilisation in Oman date back to 30000 BCE, when evidences of human activities from the Stone Age are attested. However, the first proof of Omani activities goes back to the third millennium BCE, when on some Sumerian cuneiform tablets[69], Magan ships are reported to constantly anchor at the ports of Ur and Mesopotamia for trading onions, wood, copper, alabaster, and diorite. There is no doubt that the Kingdom of Magan consisted, at least in part, of present-day Oman territory[70].

Omani vocation towards the sea trade has been established farther into history, and by the end of the first millennium BC, present-day Dhofar was one of the most important centres for the commerce of frankincense in the Indian Ocean. It is known that Omanis were masters of navigation, especially being able to control the monsoon winds to steer the sails. Before the advent of Islam, Oman is reported by some Arab historians as the

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[69] Tablets of Sargon, king of the Akkadians (2371-2316 BC), as reported by Ghubash (2006:16).
[70] al-Maamiry (1982: 1).

al-Aḥqāf region, stretching between current Oman and Ḥaḍramawt. Sumerians had probably settlements here, it was subjected to the Himyarite kingdom which followed the kingdom of Saba, and the Abyssinians, too, were in the country for a while (Ghubash 2006: 17).

The area where present Oman extends has also been mentioned in Greek and Roman sources, the most important of which is probably the *Periplus maris Erythraei* ("Periplus of the Erythrean Sea"), by an unknown author and dated around the first century BCE. The *Periplus* describes the maritime routes from the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea, and to the Indian Ocean, but it is intended mainly as a guide for merchants, not for seamen[71].

The history of the Sultanate, however, starts to be detailed with the beginning of the big waves of migrations in the Arabian Peninsula. Historians hypothesised that people of Yemeni origin moved northwards in what is today Oman during the centuries: the first big migration was the one of the Yaʿrubites from Qaḥtān, in the region of Yaʿrūb[72]; the second big wave was the one of the ʾAzd, in the I century CE, that settled in the south-east of the country under the leadership of Mālek b. Fahm. The ʾAzd fought the Persians found in the northern part of the country in the battle of Salūt, declaring the complete defeat of the foreign population and establishing the current name of Oman[73].

The VII century, coinciding with the advent of Islam, saw the flourishing of the maritime trade for Oman and the resulting increase of naval construction. Thanks to its strategic position at the centre of the Arabian Sea and between the major trade routes in the Indian Ocean, it was inevitable for Oman to become one of the major junctions in the area. Omani sailors were known for their abilities and navigational skills, for their expeditions towards the East African coast and the Indian shores, as well as for their harbours. It was an Omani, Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Qāsim, to sail from the Persian Gulf to Canton and to return, 7000 km in about two years, and 800 years before Columbus reached America[74]. In the same period, the country became an asylum for many opponents of the Umayyad Caliphate (644-750 CE), especially for Kharijites and Ibadis. After restoring his control of the area, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik sent the remaining dissidents here, mainly Ibadis, who formed a coalition that soon transformed into an Imamate.

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[71] For more details on this, the reader is referred to the works of Casson (1989) and Schoff (1912).

[72] Ghubash (2006: 17).

[73] Ghubash (2006: 17): "Moreover, the al-ʾAzd gave Oman its name; according to Omani historians it comes from the name of a plateau the tribes of al-ʾAzd lived on near Maʾrib".

[74] al-Maamiry (1982: 2).

The first experience of an Imamate in the region was electing the Iman Ǧulandā b. Masʿūd, of the Ǧulandā family, who was killed in 752 CE by the Abbasid caliph who could not tolerate an independent state so close to his borders.

After this first experiment of an Ibadi Imamate, a more successful one was made by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAffān al-Yaḥmadī[75], who in 793 CE became Imam of Nizwa[76]. Amongst the first Imams of the Ibadism in Oman, we find three members of the al-Kharūṣī family (i.e. al-Wāriṯ b. Kaʿb, 795-808[77]; aṣ-Ṣalt b. Malik, 851-856; and ʿAzzān b. Tamīm, 890-893), following the dogma of the theological school of Rustāq.

In the X century, one of the major ports in Oman was Sohar, on the Bāṭina coast[78]. The greatness of this port gave birth to legends as well, like the one which inspired the adventure of Sinbad the Sailor from "Arabian Nights". The main goods traded by Omanis were aloes, wood, bamboo, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, and spices of all kinds (al-Maamiry 1982: 3). By this point in time, Omanis were great navigators, the first to know and use the monsoon winds to sail the Indian Ocean. Moreover, they were among the first to reach the eastern African shores and China, importing linen, cotton, wool, metal works, or tortoise-shell, ivory and leopard skins[79].

Around the XI/XII century, however, the political situation in Oman was as follows: an Imamate with Nizwa as capital to the north-east; Persian control of the coastline; and a Nabhānī government in the north[80].

1.1 Oman and the Portuguese

At the beginning of the XV century, countries in Europe knew nothing about Africa beyond the Sahara Desert. Explorers and travellers brought the news of foreign lands with spices and gold, but none of them had tried the journey by sea to the far lands of India, Arabia and China. Portugal was – and still is – a country at the westernmost point of the European continent, and as well as others on that side (e.g. France, England), they have always been excellent navigators. In 1488, Bartholomew Diaz sailed around the tip

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[75] The Yaḥmadī is a branch of the ʾAzd tribe, and recent descendants are the al-Kharūṣī and al-Khalīlī (Wilkinson 1987: 9).

[76] For a detailed history of the Ibadi Imamates in Oman, the reader is referred to the works by Wilkinson (1987) and Ghubash (2006).

[77] al-Wāriṯ b. Kaʾab is still well known in the area of Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. He fought against the Caliph Harūn ar-Rašīd at Sohar, and later died during the flood of a wadi near Nizwa.

[78] al-Maamiry (1982: 2) reports the description of Sohar made by the Arab geographer al-Istakhri: "the most populous and wealthy town in Oman and it is not possible to find on the shore of the Persian Sea nor in all the land of Islam a city more rich in fine buildings or in foreign wares than Sohar".

[79] cf. al-Maamiry (1982: 3).

[80] According to Wilkinson (1987: 11-12), the Nabhānī period was the darkest moment in the history of Oman, establishing a tyrannical supremacy.

of Africa, renamed it "Cape of Good Hope", "since they hoped that the way into the Indian Ocean was now open" (al-Maamiry 1982: 10). Although Diaz had to go back to Portugal without being able to proceed farther (his crew was too scared of the rough weather), the Portuguese tried to cross the Cape of Good Hope again and sail towards the Indian Ocean in 1497, with Vasco Da Gama.

This time the Portuguese reached different places sailing up the East African coast, once they had overcome the Cape of Good Hope on 19th November 1497: in March, they were in Mozambique; in April, they anchored in Zanzibar and Pemba[81]. In this area, they found some Omani sailors who indicated to them the route to India, and employed Aḥmed b. Mājid, "the most famous navigator of his time" (al-Maamiry 1982: 16). He had invented his own compass, more advanced than the one used by Vasco Da Gama, and with his help, the Portuguese managed to reach Calicut in May of the same year. Unaware of his role, Aḥmed b. Mājid was one of the people who helped the Portuguese to gain control of the commercial routes in the Indian Ocean previously controlled by the Arabs – and Omanis.

When Vasco Da Gama arrived back home again in 1499, "it was the beginning of the Golden Age for Portugal" (al-Maamiry 1982: 20). The interests of the Portuguese in the area were mainly economic, they had no colonial aims and did not interfere in the local affairs of the countries they were in contact with – and that is probably the reason why in the data presented in this thesis no many Portuguese loanwords are found, albeit many more are in the nautical lexicon presented by Agius (2002, 2005). On the other hand, the Portuguese presence on the Indian Ocean shores was very intense. They established a base in Kilwa with the intention of dominating the routes that lead to East Africa and controlling exports in the region[82].

At the beginning of the XVI century, the most influential man in the area was Alfonso de Albuquerque[83], who was appointed Governor, and soon after that, Viceroy, of India in 1506. Albuquerque was considered a military genius, and he got the idea that by blocking the access to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, the trade routes would have been controlled only by the Portuguese – and of course himself. In order to fulfil this aim, he occupied the island of Socotra in 1506 and later that year he also realised that Oman was in a very strategic position to control the maritime region and the Persian

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[81] al-Maamiry (1982: 12-13).

[82] al-Maamiry (1982: 28). Kilwa was later abandoned in 1512, when the Portuguese moved the base to Mozambique.

[83] Portuguese soldier and conqueror, who died in India in 1515.

Gulf. Therefore, he conquered the towns of Muscat and Qalhāt in 1507, destroying every single Arab vessel he encountered[84]. This area was still under Hurmūzī (i.e. Persian) control, which Albuquerque wanted to destroy at any price. He took advantage of the tensions between the Imamate, the Nabhānī tribe and the Persians, building an important stronghold in Muscat[85].

Although often challenged, the Portuguese managed to keep control over the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf for about a century, until 1650, when the last Portuguese stronghold was defeated in Muscat and the Yāʿrūbī dynasty came into power.

1.2 The Sultanate and Zanzibar

Notwithstanding the gap of about 700 years from the time of the *Periplus* about the historical events on the East African coast, it is known that the Arabs, including Omanis, settled down in the area[86]. However, the first proper information about the Omani presence in the region dates back to the XVII century, after the expulsion of the Portuguese and the election of the Imam Nāṣir b. Muršid al-Yaʿrūbī[87]. This is the start of a very important historical phase for Oman: under the al-Yaʿrūbī dynasty, the country rebuilt its prominence in the Indian Ocean and started to expand towards the Eastern African coast to the West, and towards the Persian shores to the East. The culmination of this process was the work of the Imam Sulṭān b. Sayf[88], who succeeded Nāṣir in leading the Imamate in 1649. He liberated Zanzibar, Pemba and Kilwa regions from the Portuguese presence, and successively confirmed Omani presence in this area, taking part in their commerce and deals[89].

During this time, Muscat became the most important port in the Indian Ocean, replacing Hurmūz. The Omanis could count on the biggest merchant fleet in the region, and managed to establish an Omani authority on Zanzibar, Kilwa, and Pemba that lasted for

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[84] Albuquerque described Muscat as "a large and very populous city […]. The harbour is small, shaped like a horseshoe and sheltered from every wind […]. It is a very elegant town with very fine houses and supplied from the interior with much wheat, millet, barley and dates for loading as many vessels as come for them" (al-Maamiry 1982: 34).

[85] Ghubash (2006: 50).

[86] al-Maamiry (1982: 4): "The word 'Swahili' is derived from Arabic 'Sahil' meaning coast, and the language 'kiswahili' – the language of the coast – is a mixture, having a Bantu grammar but many Arabic words".

[87] In 1624, in order to unify the nation and free it from the foreign occupation, the two schools of Nizwa and Rustāq reached an agreement and elected the Imam Nāṣir (Ghubash 2006: 55).

[88] Ghubash (2006: 58) reports a fragment of a letter written to the Imam, who was known for his wisdom and strength: "A skilled strategist, he engaged in intense activity in the country while it was temporarily pacified […] he equipped the country with a powerful navy which secured his victories over the Portuguese".

[89] "Omani culture was dominant, even though Swahili remained the most widely spoken language and the use of Arabic was limited to an elite of religious dignitaries and a few men in government and commerce" (Ghubash 2006: 59).

250 years. Zanzibar[90] consists of two main islands: Unguja, the actual Zanzibar where the capital – Zanzibar City – is, and Pemba, to the north, whose capital city is Chake Chake. Kilwa, on the other hand, is the coastal strip now belonging to Tanzania.

Map 3. Zanzibar Island

Relations between Zanzibar and Oman were enduring and productive for both countries[91]. In 1775, the Yaʿrūbī dynasty was replaced by a new one, the Āl Bū Saʿīd. After the death of the last Yaʿrūbī Imam, Oman entered a moment of great struggle for leadership and this benefitted a new foreign invader: in 1739, Nādir Shah of Persia invaded the country, having Ḫawr Fakkān as his stronghold[92]. However, the Persian presence did not last long: after expanding towards Muscat and Sohar, the Persians found some resistance in the town by its administrator Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Āl Bū Saʿīdī. Nādir Shah and Aḥmad b. Saʿīd made an agreement, which involved the payment of a tribute to the Persian ruler by the Omani administrators in order to have only Muscat under Persian domination[93]. This, however, did not play well for the Persians, since

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[90] The name "Zanzibar" – in Arabic *zanǧibār* - derives from the Persian compound *zanǧ* ("black") and *bār* ("coast"); therefore, the term would indicate *bilād az-zanǧ*, "the land of black people".

[91] cf. Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. and Voll, J.O. (2012), "Zandjibār", in *Encyclopeadia of Islam, Secon Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs.

[92] Ghubash (2006: 65).

[93] Ghubash (2006: 66)

Aḥmad b. Saʿīd restarted Omani maritime power precisely from Sohar, which weakened the Persian presence in the area. When in 1741 the Persians left the country permanently, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Āl Bū Saʿīdī was seen as the new liberator and elected new Imam.

At this moment of the Omani history, the first separation between the *imāma* system and the Sultanate started to see the light[94]. The reign of the first Imam of the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty lasted 39 years, during which Oman reached an incomparable increase in naval commerce and expeditions, and established a governorate on Zanzibar, Kilwa and Pemba. In 1783, after the death of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, "a new political map was to be established, and later a new national political culture taking in two systems, that of the *imāma* and that of the *sayyids*" (Ghubash 2006: 73, italics in the text).

In the Āl Bū Saʿīdī dynasty Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān had a prominent role, also known as Sayyid Saʿīd the Great, nephew of the founder Aḥmad b. Saʿīd. During his reign, Oman knew incredible growth and expansion: in 1793, Gwadur on the current Pakistani coast was annexed to the territory of the country (and so it remained until 1958); in 1798, he signed the first of a long series of agreements with Great Britain and the East India Company, especially because the English were strong opponents of French presence in the Indian Ocean[95], but also to establish the headquarters of the company at Bandar Abbas – one of the main ports of Iran now, but at that time part of the Omani territories. Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān was a merchant and a great strategist, he knew that he could have never competed with such an important company, therefore deciding to ally with it. He also worked very hard in order to expand Oman's trades and influence in the Indian Ocean and on the East African coast: in 1832, he decided to move to Zanzibar and make it its capital, so "instead of ruling East Africa from Oman, he began to rule Oman from East Africa" (al-Maamiry 1988: 3). In this regard, Zanzibar was an excellent strategic point, because its ports have very deep water that allowed any type of vessel to anchor[96]. He encouraged Omani people to move to Zanzibar: "merchants, investors, traders and ulama came to settle on the island" (Ghazal 2005: 51). And the most important councillor of Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, who accompanied him to Zanzibar, was

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[94] Ghubash (2006: 68, italics in the text): "The modern history of Oman can be divided into two closely linked stages: the first, the *imāma* system, which ended with the Yaʿrūbite state during the civil war of 1728-1737; the second, the sultanate system, which began with the reign of *imam* Aḥmed ibn Saʿīd (1741-1783)".

[95] cf. al-Maamiry (1988: 1-2).

[96] Ghazal (2005: 48) on this: "Oman and Zanzibar became sides of the same coin".

Nāṣir b. Jāʿid al-Kharūṣī (1778-1847)[97], a prominent scholar at that time. Zanzibar, thus, became the most significant metropolis on the East African coast, especially as centre of religious studies.

It started a great era for Oman: trade increased and prosperity in the whole country grew, especially thanks to goods coming from the East African possessions. Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān was also the bastion for the relationship between Oman and Great Britain, which remains influential even today. In 1822, the British forced Oman to eliminate slavery, and a new agreement was signed, although, this time, to the detriment of Oman, whose economy largely counted on slaves. Moreover, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had a big impact on Omani economy, and Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān spent the last years of his life in Zanzibar, paying only occasional visits to Oman.

With Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān started the era of the *sayyids*, or Sultans[98]: although they were given the title of Imams, it was not recognised by other *ulama*, and the one who started this controversy was another al-Kharūṣī, Jāʿid b. Abī Nabhān.

When the Āl Bū Saʿīdī ruler died in 1856, a big controversy arose between his sons, that was resolved by Great Britain in 1861: Zanzibar and Muscat needed to be separated, mainly because the British could not afford to have such a big Islamic Empire in the Indian Ocean[99]. Therefore, the British decided to make Majid b. Saʿīd the Sultan of Zanzibar, and Thuwayni b. Saʿīd the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. However, the new Sultan of Zanzibar was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Omani ruler in Muscat. Over the years, Great Britain enhanced its influence over the region, until the whole area became a British Protectorate in 1895, named East African Protectorate. This action ended the political and economic relationship between Zanzibar and Oman[100].

In the following decades, Oman was the scene of numerous internal battles, most of them suppressed by Great Britain. The economy of the country did not increase, and the situation was still bad even after the discovery of oil in 1964.

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[97] cf. Ghazal (2005: 53): "The Sultan relied on his friendship and religious authority when he sent him to Oman on several occasions to offer help and advice to his son Thuwaynī, his appointee in Muscat".

[98] The main difference between the two titles is clearly explained by Ghazal (2005: 59): "The Imām designates a legitimate ruler who represents the Ibadi community and who is elected or selected for his suitability to the job. 'Sultan' is a title used to refer to those who usually came to power without being conferred legitimacy from the representatives of the Ibadi community". The title of Imam for the rules of Oman was definitively abolished in 1811.

[99] cf. Ghazal (2005: 63).

[100] In 1963, the British Protectorate over Zanzibar ended, making it an independent country within the Commonwealth.

1.3 The Seventies: the birth of a new nation

The first oil well was found in Fahud in 1964 – al-Dāḫiliyya region –, and at that time the Sultan of Oman was Saʿīd b. Taymūr (1934-1970). This Sultan is known in the history of Oman to have been a despotic and autocratic ruler, who left the country closed in its borders with no possibility of growing[101]. Conventions report that Sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr's regime was harsh, however Pridham (1986) revises this "conventional wisdom" analysing a few points of his politics.

First, education[102]. At the end of the 1960s there were only three boys' schools in the whole Sultanate: the first two were open in 1940 and 1949, as part of an agreement made with the British government on the development of the country. On the other hand, Quranic schools were abundant, "one in almost every village" (Pridham 1986: 135). Roads and health structures are a different matter. Before 1970 there were no roads, but only paths in the mountains or the desert and, as also confirmed by my consultants, there were only two hospitals, one in Muscat and one in Ṣalāla. Sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr fought the last stronghold of the Imamate in what is remembered as the Ḫaǧar Mountains war: in 1959, the Sultan's army occupied the mountains in a surprise operation, found a way through Wādī Banī Kharūṣ. Not able to compete, the Imam fled to Saudi Arabia, leaving the country to the Sultan.

Whether or not Pridham's perspective is to be considered valid, the year 1970 was a big turning point for the history of modern Oman. On July 23rd, 1970 Qābūs b. Saʿīd b. Taymūr overthrew his father with a coup d'etat and became Sultan of Oman[103].

With him, the country saw a new growth and development increase. The main aim of Sultan Qābūs was to use oil incomes to build an internationally competitive state, and in order to do so he turned to all the Omanis that in the 1950s and 1960s left the country to found fortune elsewhere. In this way, he also used the experience and the skills gained by his compatriots abroad.

The new ruler primarily gave importance to the building of education and healthcare structures: "the Ministry of Education was not only concerned with educational

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[101] According to Jan Morris (2008: 6), Sultan Saʿīd b. Taymūr was "a paternal autocrat educated in India". He fought the Imamate, which was still standing in the interior regions but did nothing to improve the country either socially or economically. When Qābūs pushed his father off the throne, a period of prosperity started: "the name of the country was changed – it became simply Oman […] – and the schools, hospitals, roads and hotels so neglected by Saʿīd b. Taymūr were now erected at last" (Morris 2008: 157)

[102] cf. Pridham (1986: 135-137).

[103] At the time of his father, the country's name was Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, but Qābūs changed it in Sultanate of Oman (cf. Joyce 1995: 106).

opportunities for school age children of both sexes, but also with providing an opportunity for older Omanis who never before had the chance to learn to read and write" (Joyce 1995: 111). This process of constant literacy of the country led to the opening in 1986 of the Sultan Qaboos University, still the most prominent in the Sultanate. Omanis – and also students coming from neighbouring countries in the Gulf Cooperation Council – did not have to pay tuition fees to be taught. The development of the education system also improved the status of women in Oman[104], who started to work in the social sectors and express their own opinion on several topics, including the possibility for Omani men to take more than one wife (according to the Islamic custom). Moreover, hospitals increased in number and many more people could access healthcare services everywhere in the country, even in wadis and remote villages.

The construction of paved roads was also prominent: by the 1970s, the country was highly divided because of the absence of roads and links between villages spread in the desert, mountains and wadis. My consultants still remember when a paved road was built in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, that finally allowed people to move freely across the wadi, al-ʿAwābī and Rustāq.

People in Oman are very grateful to Sultan Qābūs, and indeed the country now plays a prominent role internationally and in the Gulf area, especially as a mediator in conflicts. The bonds with the United Kingdom remain, but nowadays the Sultanate has become highly competitive in many sectors.

Sultan Qābūs b. Saʿīd b. Taymūr has also adopted a policy of tolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities in the country, which is very diverse linguistically and culturally. This diversity is the result of the history we have traced so far, but also of the geographical position Oman holds, which keeps this country as the cornerstone of Arabia.

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[104] cf. Joyce (1995: 112-113).

ANNEX 2

Glossary

The lexical – and cultural – investigation took a major part of my fieldwork, in part on purpose and in part by chance. As mentioned in chapter 6, I was intrigued by the number of lexical items presented by Reinhardt (1894), but the lack of a systematization of his core prevented me from easily check the lexical items used by my informants, especially since they were always keen to provide me with interesting information on names and customs of the area. In addition to these factors, I often found myself struggling when I needed to check a term in the dialects of Oman for which we have documentation, both for general knowledge or for comparison purposes. This necessity also strokes me when discussing with other scholars in the field: contrary to other Arabic dialects for which we have either glossaries or vocabularies, the Arabic dialects of Oman lack any form of lexical codification, with the only notable examples of Jayakar (1889) and Brockett (1985). Reinhardt's lexical core, alongside Jayakar's, is of inestimable value; however, more recent research findings can improve it.

Thus, I have decided in this annex to compile a list of items collected in the al-ʿAwābī district with my consultants to take a first step in the direction of a full systematization of lexicon for Oman – which, nonetheless, needs further investigation of its dialects and languages.

The glossary is organised in roots, according to the traditional Arabic system: every term is presented in its singular and plural forms for a noun, where relevant, and in its s-stem and p-stem forms for a verb, according to their phonetic realisation in the area under investigation[1]. I provide the specific characteristics of the item (e.g. collective nouns, feminine form, adverbs, and diminutive for nouns; and transitiveness and intransitiveness, or the roman number for the derivative forms for verbs) in brackets.

When the same root presents contrastive meanings, the entries are divided into two with a number subscribed. Finally, the English translation is provided. Every item is compared to similar entries in neighboring dialects (e.g. Gulf Arabic, Najdi Arabic, and Yemeni Arabic) or in CA[2], whenever possible.

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[1] In a few instances the entry has only the singular form (for nouns) or the s-stem form (for verbs): this is because either plurals and p-stem forms are not in use, or my informants were not aware of them.

[2] The dictionaries used to establish this comparison are: Qafisheh, H. (1997) for Gulf Arabic; Piamenta, M. (1990-91) and Behnstedt, P. (1992, 1996, 2006) for Yemeni Arabic; Biberstein-Kazimirski (1860) for Classical Arabic.

Most of the words are of Arabic origin, but there are also lexical items that are loanwords from other languages (mainly Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, Portuguese and Swahili)[3]. In these cases, the original word is given in brackets next to the loanword. Most of my fieldwork research involved lexicon, especially lexicon linked to the customs and traditions of the people in the al-ʿAwābī district. For this reason, brief explanations of individual items are included in footnotes in the glossary, when applicable.

The material presented in this Annex comes from a variety of sources: primarily, my own fieldwork notes. The lexical items listed here are the result of elicitation notes taken during the months of fieldwork, submitting lexical lists – based on Reinhardt's material – and/or pictures to informants, but also extrapolating material from the audio recordings. Secondarily, I took into consideration the works of Reinhardt (1894), Nakano (1994), who mainly work on the Arabic of Zanzibar and, in a few instances, Brockett (1985), who focused its vocabulary on the agricultural semantic field. All the lexical items reported by these authors that are still in use in the speech of my informants or that they recognised as obsolescent have been included – in these cases, the name of the author and the page are indicated at the end of the given entry[4]. Jayakar's (1889) list was only used as a reference, since it is devoted to the Arabic dialect spoken in Muscat, and it was not incorporated in the present glossary. In addition to these works, a fundamental reference support has been the Behnstedt and Woidich's *Wortatlas* (2011).

Admittedly, there are lexical items commonly used in the everyday speech (e.g. verbs like *kel* "to eat", *keteb* "to write"; nouns such as *bēt* "house", *bint* "girl"; or adjectives like *kabīr* "big" and *ṣaġīr* "small") which are reported by the above-mentioned authors as well: in all these cases, the lexical item is to be interpreted as the one performed by my consultants.

The lexicon presented here covers different semantic fields. The novelty – in comparison with Reinhardt (1894) – is in the names of native plants and insects found in the al-ʿAwābī district and the names of specific diseases treated with *wasm*.

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[3] The dictionaries used for the foreign languages are: Merlo-Pick, V. (1978) for Swahili; Palmer, E.H. (1914); and Platts, T. J. (1974) for Hindi and Urdu.

[4] Specifically, obsolescent nouns are the ones used only by my older group of informants or found in Reinhardt's lexical core and recognised as now obsolescent by my other two groups of informants.

Glossary abbreviations

The list of abbreviations used specifically in this annex (alongside the one given at the beginning of this work) is given below:

adv.	adverb
B.	Brockett (1985)
coll.	collective
dim.	diminutive
f.	feminine
gen.	generic
geol.	geological
i.v.	intransitive verb
N.	Nakano (1994)
naut.	nautical
obs.	obsolescent
prep.	preposition
pt.	participle
so.	someone
sth.	something
tQ	*t*-prefixed quadriliteral
t.v.	transitive verb

ٮ

ʾBD	*ebeden* never
ʾBR	*bra / yibri* (i.v.) to pierce
	bra / briyāt (f.) needle, pin [cf. R.69, *boryāt*]
ʾBḌ	*ibāḍī / ebāḍīye* Ibadi
ʾBṬ	*bāṭ / ābāṭ* armpit
ʾBL	*ibil* (coll.) camels (cf. CA *ibil* "id.")
ʾBN	*bin / bnīn* son, belonging to a tribal group
	bney / bneyīn (dim.) little boy [R.68]
	bint / benāt daughter, girl[1]
	bnayya / -āt small girl [N.41]
	benāwe "stepdaughter"
ʾBW	*āb ~ bwe / bwāt* father
	bā daddy! [N.42]
	abu father; a male date-palm [B.49]
ʾṮR	*āṯṯar / yāṯṯar* (II) (i.v.) to be harmed, (t.v.) to induce pain [B.49]
	eṯar / āṯār trace [R. 43]
ʾǦR	*ugra* wage (cf. CA ʾaǧr "id.") [R.42]
	egir / ugra daily worker [R.74]
ʾḤD	*ḥad-ši* no one (< *ḥad šay)[2] [R.29]
	ḥad one, someone
	ḥid ʿašar eleven
ʾḤḎ	*ḥaḏ / yūḥiḏ* to take, to catch [cf. R.187, *ḥaḏ/yuḥoḏ*]
ʾḪR	*stāḫar / yistāḫor* (X; i.v.) to be late [R.193]
	āḫor different, other
	āḫir (f. *uḫra ~ āḫira*) last
	aḫḫar ~ āḫar at last, lastly
ʾḪW	*āḫ / ḫwe ~ eḫwān* brothers, members of a brotherhood
	ḫūyi! brother (addressing form) [N.43]
	ḫit / ḫawāt sister
	ḫweiyye / -āt (dim.) little sister

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[1] In the agricultural lexicon, *bint* is also used to indicate a "young palm-tree".
[2] Clitic negative form found only in poetry and in the speech of elderly people. For more details, see 6.3.

ʾDB   *daba / yādibu* to punish (cf. YA *adab* "to fine, impose penalty")

ʾDM   *ādam* man

            bin ādam human being

ʾDN   *idn* permit, authorisation, consent

ʾDY   *stāde / yistāde* (X) to be in need of money [R.177]

ḌN   *ḏin / uḏūn* (f.) ear

ʾRD   *urid* gorge, ravine

ʾRḌ   *arḍ / -āt ~ urūḍ* (f.) ground, land [R.72]

ʾZR   *uzār* loincloth (cf. YA *izre* "waistwrapper")

ʾSTḎ   *stāḏ / asātiḏ* professor, doctor (used mainly as title)

            esteḏ masterly

ʾSD   *esed / usūd* lion [R.72]

            asde slowly (< Urdu *āste* "gently, slowly") [B.51]

ʾSF   *āsif* sorry

ʾŠR   *aššar / yāššir* (II) to nod [N.69]

ʾKD   *ekkid / yākkid* (II; v.t.) to be sure of sth

ʾKL   *kel / yūkil* to eat

            mākūl / -āt food, nourishment

            ekkil / ekkilīn big eater, glutton [R.75]

            ekkāl / ekākil eater [R.76]

            mōkle / mwākil (PP) edible

ʾLʾ   *ilā* if (often shortened *lē* o *lā*)

ʾLF   *alf* thousand

            alfīn two thousand

ʾLL   *illi* indeclinable relative pronoun

            illā except, until

ʾLYN   *ilēn / lēn* up to (spatial), addressed to (letter), until (temporal)

ʾMB   *embē / embāyāt* mango [B.52]

ʾMR   *emar / yūmur* to order, to command

            emr / ewāmur command, order [cf. R.73 *emāre/emāyor*]

            māmar corridor, landing (part of the Omani traditional house)

ʾMS   *ems* yesterday

            awwel ems the day before yesterday

            wāl wel ems the day before the day before yesterday

ʾMM	*imāme* Islamic community
	imām / iyūmme Imam, leader
	umm / mmāt mother; a female date-palm
	mā mum!
	emme regarding, as of
	emme . . . emme or . . . or
ʾMN	*emen / yūmin* to believe, to trust, to have faith
	amīn honest [N.98]
ʾNṮ	*unṯe* feminine [R.63]
ʾNǦR	*angar* anchor (< Eng.) [cf. R.126, *anger*]
ʾNS	*ins* human, man
	insān human being, mankind
	nās (coll.) people
ʾNN	*inn* that, as
	l-inn because
	ke inn as if
ʾNY	*tēnne / yitēnne* (V) to be late, to delay [R.229]
ʾHL	*stāhel / yistāhel* (X) to be worthy [R.177]
ʾWF	*wef / ūwāf* disease, illness
ʾWL	*awwel* in/at the beginning
	min awwel before, otherwise
	awwel (f. *ūla*) first
ʾYN	*ēn* where?
ʾYY	*ayy ~ ēyy* each, every

B

B	*bi* to, in (space and time), next to, with, together (means), at (price), for, from, by (with passive verbs)
	bi-ḍ-ḍidd / bi-l-ḫilāf on the contrary, unlike
	bi-l-marra immediately, now, at once
	bi-lā /bidūn without
	bi-qader as much as
	bi-mā whose

	bēn ~ mā bēn between
	bi (prep.; <u>prefixed to the noun it refers to</u>) with
BʾR	*bīr / abyār* well
BBĠʾ	*babaġā* parrot
BBW	*bābū* Withania Somnifera (Indian ginseng)[3]
BTĞ	*bōtge* lard [R.44]
BḤR	*baḥḥār / baḥḥarīye* sailor
	baḥr / bḥūr sea
BḤŠ	*baḥaš / yibḥaš* to dig [N.76] [B.54]
BḤN	*baḥḥan / yibaḥḥan* (II) to doubt, to suspect [N.82]
BḤT	*bāḥat / yibāḥat* (III) to bet [N.61]
BḪR	*boḫḫār / baḫāḫir* warehouse (< Urdu *buḫārī* "granary") [R.76]
	buḫūr frankincense
BḪŠ	*baḫše / bḫaš* (f.) envelope, bag [R.57]
BḪL	*bēḫal / yibēḫil* (III) to be stingy [R.165]
	bḫīl stingy
	bḫīyil (dim.) a bit stingy [cf. R.47, *bḫeiyil*]
BDR	*bādra* (f.) tip, extremity [R.44]
BDL	*baddal / yibaddil* (t.v.; II) to change
	bedel – mbedel instead, instead of
BDN	*beden / bdāne* ship, boat [R.71]
BDNĞ	*badingān* aubergine
BDW	*bedwi / bedwān* Bedouin
BDY	*bede / yubdi* to begin
	bedew beginning
BD̲R	*bed̲er / abd̲ār* seed [B.56]
BRBR₁	*barbūr* penis [R.55]
BRBR₂	*barābur* right, correct, just right[4]
BRT	*bārūt* gunpowder [R.49]
BRTQL	*burtuqāl* orange (fruit)
	burtuqalī orange (colour)
BRĞ	*bergān* forgiveness (cf. YA *barağ* "to pay one's debt") [R.55]

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[3] Weedy plant, it usually occurs on the edge of cultivations. It is traditionally used to treat stomach cancer and as a source of ink.

[4] Used mainly to address Indians and Pakistanis.

BRḤ	*baraḥ / yibraḥ* (t.v.) to become tidy, clean
	tbarraḥ / yitbrraḥ (V; i.v.) to be cleaned, to get tidied
	il-bārḥa last night, yesterday evening [B.56]
BRD	*brid / yubrid* to be cold
	bārod calm, peace, rest
	bārid (f. *bārde*) cold, cool (cf. YA *mibrid* "calm, quiet")
	bwērid something cold
	burrāde / berārid (f.) villa, building
BRḎL	*berḏūl / berāḏil* lazy, loafer [R.45]
BRR	*burr* wheat, corn
	bārr (f. *bārra*) cloudless
	el-barr never, not at all
	barrā outside
BRZ	*barza / -āt* sitting room, covered reception area (cf. YA *burza* "nuptial pavilion" and *mabraz* "meeting place")[5] [B.57]
	berze / brez (f.) public, consultation, meeting
BRSM	*brism* nylon
BRŠM	*beršem* to sneer, to pull a face (cf. YA *baršum* "lip") [R.254]
BRṢ	*abū barīṣ* small lizard (not poisonous)[6]
BRḌ	*tbēraḍ / yitbēraḍ* (VI) to be ugly
BRĠM	*barġam / braġīm* horn
BRF	*barf* ice
BRQ	*brīq* kettle [cf. R.46, "plate"]; traditional Arabic tea-pot[7]
	baraq lightening
BRQNDŠ	*barqandūš* marjoram
BRK₁	*berke* (f.) / *abrāk* pond, tank
	bareke (f.) blessing [R.42]
	barīk / brīk abundant
	abrāk divine favours
BRK₂	*barak* to kneel (camel)
	barrak (II) to make a camel kneel
BRM	*mubrām* corkscrew (cf. YA *BRM* "to twist")

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[5] Now obsolescent. Mainly used by old speakers in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.
[6] Used in al-ʿAwābī. In Wādī Bānī Kharūṣ is *šaḥlūb*.
[7] Used in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

	burma pan made of clay (cf. YA *burm* "sesame-oil pot made of stone")
BRML	*barmīl* cask, barrel
BRNṮ	*branṯe* hermaphrodite [R.58]
BRNṢ	*barnūṣ* large blanket
BRW	*berwāni* tribal name
	barwe (f.) letter (< Pers. *parwān* "official written document") [R.57]
BRY	*barrīya* sardines (obs.)
BZǦ	*bezeg / yubzug* to leap/jump up
BZR	*bzār / -āt* spices (cf. YA *bizr* "spices, drugs")
BZZ	*bizz* valuable goods (cf. YA *bazz* "striped, streaky cloth") [R.42]
BZM	*bzīm* buckle [R.45]
BSBS	*bisbās* green pepper (cf. YA "chilly, very hot small pepper" and CA *bāsbas* "fennel")
BSTN	*bistān / bsātīn* garden (< Pers.)
	boṣṭān teaspoon [R.55]
BSS	*bass* but, enough
BSM	*tbassam* (V) to smile
	bisme near, next to
BSML	*besmel* <u>for Muslims</u> to say, write the *bismillāhi erraḥmāni erraḥīm* formula, "in the name of God, clement and merciful"
BŠT	*bišt / bšūt* a Bedu cloack (cf. CA *bušt* "a deep woolen cloack used by Bedouins") [R.42]
BŠŠ	*bašš* to rejoice
	bāšš happy, joyful
	ebešš happier
BṢR	*baṣar / yubṣar* to watch, to stare (cf. YA *ʾabṣar / yibṣir* "id.")
	buṣra insight, discernment
BṢṢ	*baṣṣ / ybuṣṣ + ʿale* (v.i.) to spy on
BṢṬ	*bṣāṭ* carpet
	bṣayyaṭ (dim.) little carpet
BṢL	*bṣal* (coll.) onions
BṬḤ	*baṭṭīḥ* (coll.) watemelons (cf. YA *baṭḫ* "plant with button-like round, tasty fruit")
BṬR	*boṭrān* fierce, wild (of an animal) – (cf. YA *buṭrān* "turbulent") [R.55]

BṬṬ	*baṭṭ* / *yiboṭṭ* to hit, to fight
	baṭṭ duck
BṬL	*baṭl* / *bṭāl* courageous, brave
BṬN	*bṭin* belly, womb (cf. YA *baṭn* "intestine")
	baṭṭānīya (f.) woollen blanket
BṬYN	*buṭīn* crème caramel
BḌR	*baḍar* / *yubḍur* to sow
	bżur seeds
BʿD	*tbāʿad* / *yitbāʿid* (VI) to remove, to deprive [R.171]
	beʿīd (f. *beʿīda*) far, distant
	beʿiyīd a bit far
	baʿad after, then, still
	baʿdīn afterwards
BʿR	*beʿir* / *boʿrān* young male camel [R.73]
	baʿar feces, dropping (goat/sheep)
BʿḌ	*baʿūḍa* / *baʿūḍ* mosquito
	baʿaḍ . . . baʿaḍ one another
	baʿaḍ some
BĠT	*baġte* ~ *ʿa baġte* suddenly, all of a sudden [R.114]
BĠZ	*baġaz* / *yubġiz* to feel, to touch, to squeeze [R.129]
BĠḌ	*baġad* / *yibġoḍ* to hate
BĠĠ	*baġġ* / *yibaġġ* to roar (cow) [N.94]
BĠL	*baġle* / *bġāl* mule [R.71] [N.90]
BĠM	*bġūmiye* stupidity [R.54]
	bġām (f. *bġāme*) / *boġmān* stupid, foolish, silly
BĠY	*baġā* / *yibġi* to want, to desire
BQR	*baqar* (coll.) livestock
	baqra / *baqar* cow
BQʿ	*boqʿa* / *bqāʿ* (f.) stain, spot [R.43]
BQQ	*baqq* bedbug
BQL	*bāqil* broad bean, fava bean [R.43]
BKR₁	*bekr* virgin
	bekra (f.) young female camel
	bukra (f.) kidskin

	bākur morning [R.43]
	bukra ~ bākor (f.) tomorrow
	wara bukra the day after tomorrow
BKR₂	*bākūra / bwākir* (f.) walking stick [R.76]
	bakkār pliers, pincers [B.62]
BKS	*buks* box (< Eng.)
BKM	*bkem* (f. *bekme*) dumb (cf. GA *bakam* "id.") [R.63]
	abkam (man) of few words
BKY	*bekē / ybkī* (VN *beki*) to cry
BLBL	*bulbul* nightingale [R.54]
BLD	*beled / belādīn ~ balādīn ~ bild ~ bildān* (f.) village, settlement
	blid (f. *blida*) stupid, ignorant, silly
	bēldi / bwēldi bucket (cf. YA *bawālid* "id.") [B.62]
BLR	*bellūr* glass
	blēlir / -āt small glass [R.46]
BLS	*blīs* demon (< ابليس)
	ebles demonic, diabolic
BLĠM	*belġam / yibelġem* to clear the throat
	belġam whooping cough, spitting mucus out [R.54]
BLL	*billa / bill* lemon's flower
	bill spring (season)
BLWṢ	*blawṣ* blouse (< Eng.)
BLY	*belīye / belāye* ruin [R.74]
BLYWT	*blīwit* plywood (< Eng.)
BMB	*bembe* pump for bicycle (< Eng.)
BNĞR	*bengri / benāgri* bracelet (< H.)
	bengri mšawaq bracelet with pendants
BNDR	*bandar / binādur* place on the coast, bay (< Pers. *bandar* "harbour")
BNDQ	*bendaq / bnēdiq* rifle, gun [B.63]
BNṢR	*binṣor* ring finger (cf. YA *bunṣur* "id.")
BNFSĞ	*banafsagī* purple
BNK	*bank* bank (< Eng.)
	banka (f.) electric fan
BNN	*bunn* coffee beans [R.42]

	bunnī brown
BNY	*benē* / *yubnī* to build
	bnīye construction, building
	bāni / *bennāye* bricklayer, construction worker [R.76]
BHŠ	*bhiš* (f. *bhiše*) big typing, character (of writing), thick
BHLL	*tbehlel* to shine
BHM	*bhīm* thumb (cf. YA *bhām* "id.")
BHYT	*bahyūt* (adv.) much, more
BW	*bū ~ bō* (indeclinable relative pronoun) which, who(ever), pertainig to
BWB	*bāb* / *bwāb ~ bibān* door
	ebwāb chapters (of a book)
	bābe piece, part, portion
	bwāb / *-āt* gate
	bawwāb / *bawāwib* watchperson, doorman [R.76]
BWBR	*būbra* / *būbar* pumpkin
BWS	*bāwas* / *yibāwus* (III) to kiss
	tbāwas / *yitbāwus* (VI) to kiss one another
	būsa / *-āt* (f.) kiss
BWŠ	*bōš* (coll.) camels (cf. *bīšān* "camels of any type"– Šarqiyya[8]) [R.41]
BWṢ	*bāṣ* bus (< Eng.)
BWQ	*tbawwaq* (V) to steal
	bawwāq / *bawāwiq* defamer, backbiter
BWM₁	*būm* owl
BWM₂	*būma* / *bwem* a pre-islamic hill-top cairn, trench, beehive-tomb[9] (cf. Sw. *boma* "fort, earthwork" or Heb. *bāmāh* "high place") [cf. R.70, "entranchment"]
BWN	*bōn* / *-āt* British pound (< Eng. *pound*)
	būn origin (cf. Pers. *bunyād*)
BYB	*bībi* grandmother (colloquial)
BYT	*bāt* / *ybāt* to spend the night, to stay overnight
	bēt / *buyūt ~ byūt* house
	bwēt (dim.) little house

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[8] Watson & Eades (2013: 177).
[9] Some of these are found in the Ẓāhira region, at Qubūr Juhhāl, near al-Ayn. In 1988, these constructions were declared World Heritage Sites by UNESCO.

	bwēte / *-āt* chest, trunk [R.46]
	bēt al-māl the Exchequer
BYDR	*bīdār* / *biyādīr* a hired date-palm worker, farmer (cf. Pers. *bidār* "awake")
BYR	*bīr* beer (< Eng.)
BYSR	*bēsar* / *beyāsor* freedman
BYḌ	*bīḍ* eggs
	byaḍ (f. *bēḍa*) / *būḍ* white
BYʿ	*bāʿ* / *ybīʿ* to sell
	bayyaʿ / *biyāʿa* seller
BYL	*bēle* ~ *el bēle* never
BYN	*bēn* between
BYW	*bāw* / *bīwān* board (< Sw. *bao* "playing board", made out of wood)

T

TBT	*tābūt* coffin [R.49]
TBʿ	*tabaʿ* / *yitbaʿ* to follow
	ttābaʿ / *yittāʿub* (VI) to chase
TBĠ	*tabaġ* tobacco
TTN	*tītūn* newborn, infant (< Sw. *toto* "baby, small kid")
	twētin / *-īn* (dim.) dwarf
TǦR	*tāgur* / *tiggār* rich merchant
TḤT	*taḥt* below, under
	etḥat minor, lower
TḪN	*tḫin* millet, chaff [R.41]
TRB	*trāb* soil, ground, dust
TRTR	*tartar* sand [cf. R.54, *terter*]
TRS	*teras* / *yitris* to fill (up) [R.144]
	tors / *-āt* ~ *trūs* sign
TRʿ	*teraʿ* / *yitraʿ* (v.i.) to burp
TRF	*taraf* / *yitrif* to blow, to inflate
	truf (f. *torfe*) lasting, constant
TRK	*terek* / *yitruk* to leave, to abandon

	terk /*trūk* (VN) leftovers, leaving
	trīke / *terāyuk* widow [R.73]
TSʿ	*tisaʿ* (f. *tisaʿa*) nine
	tāsoʿ (f. *tāseʿa*) nineth
	tisaʿatʿšar nineteen
	tisaʿīn ninety
TŠʾ	*tšā* a few, a little[10]
TŠNK	*tšīnkū* corrugated iron/zinc roofing (< Eng. *zinc*)
TZQ	*ntazaq* / *yintazaq* (VII) to be surprised, astonished
TʿB	*tʿub* / *yitʿub* to be/get tired
	taʿbān tired, weary, ill
	bi-t-taʿab unlikely [R.120]
Tʿʿ	*taʿʿ* / *ytuʿʿ* (v.t.) to pull
TFḤ	*tuffāḥ* apple
TFR	*tafr at-tēs* Haplophyllum Tuberculatum (lit. "the smell of a male goat")
TFQ	*tefaq* / *tfāq* gun (< Pers. *tufang* "gun, fusil") [R.42] [B.67] [N.40]
TFL	*taffal* / *ytaffil* to spit
	tfil (f. *tufle*) insipid, flavourless
	tuffāl saliva (cf. YA *duffal* "id.")
TLF	*telef* / *yitluf* to waste, to die, to fester
TLFN	*tilifūn* telephone, mobile (< Eng.)
TMB	*timbi* rigid bracelet embellished with big pearls
TMR	*tamr* / *tumūr* dates
TMM	*temm* / *ytemm* (i.v.) to remain, to last, to stay
	temm / *ytemm* (t.v.) to keep on doing sth.
	temīme (obs.) leader, sheikh [R.58]
TNR	*tennūr* oven, cooking stove
TNK	*tānkī* tin, jar
TNN	*tnīn* dragon
	fākiha t-tnīn dragon fruit
TNY	*tenne* / *yitenne* (II) to be late
TWḤ	*tōḥ* a pleasant smell
TWR	*tāra . . . tāra* from time to time; step by step [R.114]

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[10] Mainly used in Rustāq area.

TWM	*tawmi / yitawmi* to bear twins
	twām twins
TWW	*taww* now, recently
	lēn taww up until now
TYB	*tīb / yitīb* to give (< *tā + *bi-*)
TYǦ	*tāg / tīgān* crown [R.73]
TYS	*tēs* billygoat (cf. YA and GA *tays ~ tēs* "id.")
TYN	*tīn* (coll.) figs (cf. YA *tīn* "cactus pear")

Ṯ

ṮBT	*ṯābit* (AP) compacted, solid [R.137]
ṮBR	*ṯebor* debris (geol.)
ṮǦL	*ṯegel / yiṯgil* to calm down, to settle down [R.130]
	ṯāgil (AP) calm, quiet [R.137]
ṮRM	*ṯram* (f. *ṯerme*) toothless (cf. YA *ṯaramah* "one having a fallen tooth or more") [R.63]
ṮRW	*ṯerwe* (f.) heritage
ṮʿLB	*ṯaʿlib* fox [cf. R.46, *ṯaʿeleb*]
	ṯʿēlub foxlike, Pomerian
ṮQB	*ṯaqab / yiṯqub* to penetrate, to enter
	ṯuqb hole [R.42]
ṮQL	*ṯqīl / ṯqāl* heavy
ṮLṮ	*ṯalāṯ* (f. *ṯalāṯa*) three
	ṯāliṯ (f. *ṯālṯa*) third
	ṯalāṯ ʿšar thirteen
	ṯalāṯīn thirty
	yom iṯ-ṯāliṯ Tuesday
ṮLǦ	*ṯallāga* (f.) fridge
ṮM	*ṯum / ṯāme* mouth
ṮMR	*ṯamar / yiṯmar* to bear fruits
	ṯemra blossom
ṮMM	*ṯumme ~ ṯumme min baʿad* after, then
ṮMN	*ṯamān* (f. *ṯamāniye*) eight

	ṯāmin (f. *ṯāmine*) eighth
	ṯamānt ʿašar eighteen
	ṯamānīn eighty
ṮNY	*ṯenney* (II) to go back
	nṯene / *yinṯni* (VII) to go/move away
	tnīn (f. *ṯnīne*) two
	ṯāni (f. *ṯānye*) second
	ṯnā ʿšar twelve
ṮWB	*ṯṯāwab* / *yiṯṯāwab* (VI) to yawn
ṮWR	*ṯār* / *yṯūr* (i.v.) to stand up, to rise up
	ṯawwar (i.v.) to boil
	ṯōr / *ṯyrān* bull
	ṯōr el-ǧinn slug
	ṯora (f.) pit
ṮWM	*ṯūm* garlic
ṮYB	*ṯōb* / *ṯiyāb* clothes, dress
ṮYR	*ṯēra* (f.) humidity

Ǧ

ǦBL	*gebel* / *gbāl* mountain
ǦBN₁	*gbin* cheese [R.41]
ǦBN₂	*gābin* (f. *gābne*) mashed [R.62]
	gbīn forehead
ǦTR	*gitār* guitar (< Eng.)
ǦṮṮ	*giṯṯa* corpse
ǦṮL	*gṯīl* / *giṯāl* thick, large [R.62]
ǦṮM	*geṯem* frost, snow
	gāṯum frozen, condensed
ǦḤ	*goḥ* watermelon
ǦḤḤ	*gaḥḥ* / *yiguḥḥ* to wander (obs.)
ǦḤL	*gaḥle* (f.) clay jug
	gḥēle little jug
ǦDB	*gedeb* / *yugdub* to take a breath, to breathe [R.145]

ĞDD	*gedded / yigeddid* (II) to wash before prayer (Muslim ritual ablutions), to renew, to replace
	tegdūd religious ablution
	gedīd (f. *gadīda*) / *gded* new
	gidd grandfather, old man
	gidda grandmother, old woman
	gdēd grandpa (colloquial)
	gēddīya ancestors
ĞDR	*gidār / gidrān* wall [R.73]
ĞDF	*gadf* (VN) discharge
	mugdāf / mgādīf oar, rudder (cf. YA *gidf* "thick and solid piece of wood")
ĞDL₁	*gādel / yigādil* (III; VN *mgādle*) to haggle
	gadal big bat[11]
ĞDL₂	*geddāl* rope maker [R.48]
	gdil / gidlān rope
ĞDW	*gadwīya / gdāwi* jar, small *gaḥle*
ĞDY	*gdī* kidskin [R.47]
ĞḌR	*gḏor / gḏūr* trunk
ĞḎʿ	*gḏoʿ / gḏūʿ* palm-tree
ĞḎW	*gḏo* timber, beam
ĞRB	*tegrīb* (VN II) trying, attempt
	tegurbe / tgārub practice, attempt, experience
ĞRĞR	*gurgur* (f. *gurgra*) naked [R.63]
ĞRḤ	*tgarraḥ / yitgarraḥ* (V) to get wounded
	gruḥ fresh wound
	gerīḥ wounded
ĞRD	*garāda* (f.) grasshopper
ĞRDF	*gerdef / yigerdef* to force, to compel
ĞRR₁	*grīr* (f. *grira*) unsheathed (sword) [R.62]
ĞRR₂	*garra / grīr* vase, jar, jug (< Eng.)
	garrīn throat
ĞRZ	*garūz* (f. *garūza*) greedy [R.62]

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[11] It eats fruit.

	egraz greedier
ĞRF	*grāf* giraffe
ĞRM	*gurm* strength, capacity
ĞRWB	*grūb* (WhatsApp) group
ĞRY	*garā* / *yigrī* to flow
ĞZR	*gezīre* / *gezāyor* island, cultivated land
	gezar carrot
ĞZZ	*ngezz* / *yingezz* (VII) to be cut
	mgezz hoe
ĞZL	*gizle* / *gezāzil* date basket (obs.) [R.76]
ĞZM	*gezem* / *yugzum* to assess
ĞZW	*gezo* part, portion (obs.) [R.42]
ĞSR	*tgēsar* / *yitgēsar* (VI) to give courage (cf. YA *tigāsar* "to be brave")
	gesūr (f. *gesūra*) brave
ĞSS	*gāsus* / *gewāsis* spy
ĞSM	*gism* / *gsūm* body
ĞʿD	*geʿede* / *gaʿd* (f.) sheep, ewe
	gaʿada Teucrium Stocksianum[12]
ĞʿL	*gaʿal* / *yogʿal* to do sth.
ĞFR	*gufra* / *gfar* ~ *gefāfir* hole, den [R.70]
ĞFL	*gfil* / *yugfil* to look after sth.
	geffāl tame (of animals)
ĞFN	*gfin* / *gfūn* eyelid
ĞLBB	*tgelbeb* (II) to wear the *ǧilbab* (woman's dress)
ĞLĞL	*gilgil* anklet made of little bells (cf. YA *gulgul* "a piece of iron")
	[cf. R.54, "bell"]
ĞLD	*gelād* skin
	gild leather, fur
	gild cabbage
	mgelled / *-āt* band, taper
ĞLS	*geles* / *yiglis* (VN *glūs*) to sit, to stay
	gellis / *gelālis* shareholder, associate [R.76]

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[12] The name indicates the wool-like texture of the leaves, very similar to the goat's fleece. It is a woody perennial herb, that can grow up to 30cm. The whole plant is boiled, and the juice produced is used as a remedy drink to treat diabetes, high blood pressure and kidney-related diseases.

ĠLĠ	*gelaġ* / *yuglaġ* to wax, to shave
ĠLL	*galīl* (VN) composing, composition [R.46]
ĠLYS	*glās* a drinking glass (< Eng.)
ĠMD	*gamad* to freeze (cf. YA *gamād* "ice, snow")
ĠMZ	*gemez* / *yugmiz* (VN *gemiz*) to leap, to jump
ĠMʿ	*gammaʿ* / *yugammiʿ* (II) to sweep
	tgāmaʿ / *yitgāmaʿ* (VI; VN *gemāʿ*) to gather, to collect
	gummāʿa trash
	mgummaʿ broom[13]
	gumʿ fist [R.42]
	gāmiʿa university
	yōm l-gummʿa Friday
ĠML	*tgāmel* / *yitgāmel* (VI) to meet
	tgēmel / *yitgēmel* (VI) to load the camel
	gamal / *gmūl* camel
	gumle many, a lot
	gamīl (f. *gamīla*) beautiful
ĠMN	*gamin* / *gumnāt* oath
ĠMHR	*gemhūr* team, group [R.55]
ĠNB	*gānib* face, aspect, look, appearance
	gānub South
	gamb ~ *ʿa gamb* side, beside, next to [R.109]
ĠNḤ	*gināḥ* / *ginḥān* wing (cf. YA *ginuḥ* "wing, shoulder")
ĠNDB	*gindūb* / *genādub* grasshopper
ĠNR	*gennūr* barn [R.48]
ĠNS	*gins* sex[14]
	gēnis nature [B.75]
	ginsīya temperament
ĠNN	*tgēnen* / *yitgēnen* (VI) to be crazy, mad
	gnūn crazyness, madness
	magnūn (f. *magnūna*) mad, crazy
	ginni jinn

[13] Traditional Omani broom, made out of palm leaves.
[14] *gins* is often used in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ instead of *ḥāl* in the question *kēf ḥāl?*, resulting in *kēf gins-iš* "how are you (f.)?" or *kēf gins-ik?* "how are you (m.)?".

	ginnīyāt (coll.) crimes
ǦNY	*gūnīye / gewāni* sack (< H. *gon / gonī*) [R.73] [N.33]
ǦHD	*gtehed / yugthid* (VIII; VN *gtihād*) to struggle
	mugthid (f. *mugtohde*) / *mugtohdīn* diligent
ǦHR	*gāhar / yigāhor* (III) to contradict, to gainsay
	gōhar gem, jewel
ǦHZ	*gahaz / yigahaz* to prepare
ǦHL	*gāhil / guhhāl* ignorant, stupid [R.62]
ǦW	*gaww* air, atmosphere, weather (cf. YA *gaw* "wind")
ǦWB	*gāwab / yigāwib* (III) to answer
ǦWD	*gewwad /* (II) to grasp tightly
	gōde (f.) goodness, generosity
ǦWDY	*gūdi* dry dock (<H.) [R.126]
ǦWḌR	*gōḏri* woolen blanket (<H., obs.) [R.126]
ǦWR	*gār / gīrān* neighbour
ǦWZ	*gūz* nuts (cf. YA *gawz* "nutmeg") [N.16]
	gōze (f.) malleolus
ǦWʿ	*gūʿān* hungry
	gāʿi hunger
ǦWṬY	*gūṭī / gawāṭi* shoes (< Urdu *jūtī* "shoe, slipper")
ǦWF	*gwēfe* guava-tree/fruit (cf. YA *ǧawfī* "kind of whitish grapes") [Bro.]
ǦY	*gā / ygī* to come (< *ǦʾY)
ǦYB	*gāb / ygīb* to bring (< *gā + bi-)
	gēb / gyūb button [R.42]
	gīb wallet (cf. YA *gayb* "pocket")
ǦYD	*geyīd* efficient
ǦYZ	*mgāze / mgāyiz* part of the mosque for women
ǦYŠ	*gāš* mule
ǦYF	*gīfe* (f.) corpse (cfr. YA *gīfe* "carrion; stinker")

Ḥ

ḤBB[1]	*ḥabb / ḥbūb* berry, grain, stone of a bracelet [cf. R.41, "berry"]
ḤBB[2]	*ḥabb / yiḥubb* to like, love

	ḥobbō / ḥobbāyāt grandmother [R.56]
	mḥabbe love
	mḥobb / -īn lover, friend
	ḥobāb mister, sir, man
ḤBR	*ḥobbār / -āt* squid
ḤBS	*ḥabis / ḥobse* leper, leprous (obs.) [R.62]
ḤTT	*ḥitt / yiḥitt* (i.v.) to drop, to droop (of leaves)
	ḥatte even, neither
	ḥatta to, until, up to
ḤTF	*ḥatef / yoḥtuf* to bump into, to nudge
ḤṮṮ	*ḥaṯṯ / yiḥiṯṯ* to drive, to push, to hurry
	bi-l-ḥaṯṯ immediately, instantly [R.114]
ḤṬṬ	*maḥṭaṭ* wallet
ḤǦB	*ḥageb / yoḥgub* to prevent, to prohibit
ḤǦǦ₁	*ḥagg / yiḥigg* to go on the pilgrimage
	ḥegg pilgrimage
ḤǦǦ₂	*ḥigga / ḥiggān* eyebrow
ḤǦR	*ḥaggar / yiḥaggir* (II) to delay
	ṯḥaggar / yitḥaggir (V) to be delayed, detained
	ḥagrān delay
	ḥagra / ḥagar rock, big stone
	ḥigra / ḥugra (f.) room[15]
ḤǦZ	*ḥaggaz / yiḥaggiz* (II) to make a furrow [R.160]
ḤǦṬ	*ḥāgoṭ* priority [R.43]
ḤǦL	*ḥgil* anklet (cf. YA *miḥǧǧal* "anklet")
ḤǦM	*maḥgem* suction cup [R.50]
ḤDB	*ḥdeb* (f. *ḥadbe*) hunchbacked (cf. NA *aḥdab* "curved") [R.63]
ḤDṮ	*ḥadaṯ* story
	ḥādiṯ accident
	ḥadīṯ (f. *ḥadīṯa*) / *ḥdūṯiye* new
ḤDD	*ḥadd / yḥidd + ʿalā* to turn aside
	ḥadid (VN) composition, formation
	ḥaddā (coll.) sharp stuff

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[15] Used mainly by old and middle-aged people in al-ʿAwābī.

	ḥaddād blacksmith
	ḥadīd iron
ḤDR	*ḥādīr* seawards (cf. YA *ḥadar* "bottom of valley")
	ḥadrā downwards, south
ḤDQ	*ḥadīqa* (f.) garden
ḤDK	*ḥdūkiye* dirtiness [R.54]
ḤDY	*ḥadē / yiḥodī* to plague, harass
ḤDR	*tḥaḏḏar / yitḥaḏḏar* (V) to guard against [R.168]
	ḥaḏūr (f. *ḥaḏūra*) cautious, careful [R.62]
ḤDF	*ḥaḏef / yoḥḏuf* to beat, strike, hit
ḤDQ	*ḥāḏoq / ḥoḏāq* proficient, capable, able
ḤDW	*ḥḏā ~ bi-ḥaḏu* (+ <u>suffix pronoun</u>) aside, next to, nearby (obs.) [R.109]
ḤRB	*tḥārb / yitḥārb* to make war
	ḥarb / ḥrūbāt war
	moḥrāb miḥrāb (a niche in the wall of a mosque, at the point nearest to Mekkah, toward which the congregation faces to pray), sanctuary
ḤRR₁	*ḥurr* free
ḤRR₂	*ḥārr* (f. *ḥārra*) hot, strong
	ḥarār ~ ḥurūra heat
	il-ḥārr summer, the hot season
	ḥarrīye summer seed
	ḥārriyya sorghum[16]
	ḥarīr silk
ḤRZ	*ḥarza / ḥarāz* stone of a bracelet
ḤRṢ	*ḥaraṣ / yiḥriṣ* (t.v.) to wait for
	ḥarīṣ / ḥorṣā stingy [R.73]
ḤRF	*ḥārif* farmer (socially higher than a *fallāḥ*)
	ḥarf / ḥurūf letter, character
ḤRQ	*ḥroq / yoḥraq* to be burnt, to burn
	ḥaraq soot
ḤRQṢ	*tḥarqaṣ / yitḥarqaṣ* (tQ) to be badly afflicted [R.255]
ḤRK	*tḥarrak / yitḥarrak* (V) to move
ḤRM	*ḥurma / ḥarīm* (f.) woman, wife

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[16] So-called because it is planted in high summer.

	ḥurmit waldī daughter-in-law
	ḥurmit abūyī stepmother
	ḥrēme / -āt mistress, wife
	ḥarām prohibited
	ḥaram a house/garden boundary [B.80]
	ḥarām / ḥarāmīye thief, robber, burglar
ḤZQ	*ḥazzaq / yiḥazzaq* (II; t.v.) to reach
	tḥazzaq / yitḥazzaq (V; i.v.) to surround
	ḥzāq / ḥizqān belt
	ḥizaq elastic band on the waist of Omani traditional trousers
	mitḥazzoq (pt. V) surrounded
ḤZM	*maḥzem / mḥazūm* waist
ḤZN	*ḥuzn* sadness
	ḥazīn sad, sorrowful
ḤSB	*ḥasab / yuḥsib* to count
	ḥassab / yiḥassib (II) to calculate, to think
	ḥisbe (VN) calculating, counting, insight
	ḥesāb / -āt calculation
	ḥassib / ḥasāsib astrologer[17] [R.76]
ḤSD	*ḥased / yoḥsid* to envy
	ḥasūd (f. *ḥasūda*) envious, jealous [R.62]
ḤSS	*ḥass / yiḥass* to realise, to notice, to sense
ḤSN	*ḥassan / yiḥassin* (II) to cut (hair)
	mḥassin (pt. II) barber (cf. GA *mḥassin* "id.")
	aḥsant (f. *aḥsanti*) (IV) thank you, well done??[18]
	tḥassen / yitḥassen (V) to shave [R.168]
	ḥasin (f. *ḥasne*) good, beautiful
	aḥsin better
ḤŠŠ	*ḥašš / yḥišš* to weed [R.178]
	ḥašiš grass [R.46]
	mḥašše grass sickle [R.50]

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[17] Here it represents a person who knows the stars, their names and their functions in relation to the *falağ* system.

[18] This is one of the very few fourth derived forms found in the data. It is mainly used in the singular form to emphasise the gratitude, as in "Thank you, well done". Moreover, among women the verb is used to refuse politely an offer, sometimes accompanied by the Swahili *sana* "much".

ḤŠD	*ḥašed / yoḥšid* to dig
ḤŠR	*ḥašar / yoḥšor* to ruin, to destroy
ḤŠM	*ḥašīm / ḥašem* estimable, appreciable
ḤŠW	*ḥašū* sweet potatoes[19]
ḤŠY	*ḥašā / yiḥši* (i.v.) to spread along the ground
ḤṢD	*ḥaṣad / yaḥṣid* to harvest, to pick (wheat)
ḤṢR	*ḥaṣīr / ḥṣor* mat, door mat [R.71]
ḤṢṢ	*ḥaṣṣ / yḥaṣṣ* to disgust, to nauseate
	ḥaṣṣaṣ / yiḥaṣṣiṣ (II) to arouse disgust
	ḥoṣṣ (f. *ḥoṣṣa*) / *-īn* impure, dirty
ḤṢL	*ḥṣil / yoḥṣil* to be locked up, to go to jail [R.135]
	ḥaṣṣal / yiḥaṣṣal (II) to receive, to get
	ḥoṣlān affected by misfortune or illness
ḤṢN	*ḥaṣān* stallion
ḤṢY	*ḥaṣa sēl* hailstorm
	ḥaṣā / ḥaṣa stone
ḤḌR	*ḥaḍri* urban resident
	ḥad il-ḥāḍor right now, at once [R.113]
ḤḌF	*maḥaḍāf / mḥaḍīf* inaccessible
ḤḌN	*ḥḍān* womb
ḤḌY	*ḥaḍīya* (f.) fringe of the *wuqayya* (type of woman's veil)
ḤṬB	*ḥaṭba* stick of wood
	ḥaṭab wood
	ḥaṭṭāb / ḥaṭāṭib woodworker, carpenter
	bāb ḥaṭab wooden gate
ḤṬṬ	*mḥaṭṭa* station
ḤFR	*ḥāfur / ḥawāfir* hoof
ḤFḌ	*ḥafaḍ / yoḥfoḍ* to protect [R.145]
ḤFL	*ḥetfāl* (VN VIII) evile eye
	ḥafla (f.) party, celebration
ḤQB	*ḥiqbāʾ* white striped
ḤQD	*ḥaqad / yoḥqid* to flare up [R.144]
	ḥaqūd (f. *ḥaqūda*) impassive [R.62]

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[19] Used by speakers over 60 years old. Young and middle-age speakers use *findāl*.

ḤQR	ḥaqar / yoḥqor not to pay in full (cf. YA ḥagar "to insult" and GA ḥigar "to despise")
	ḥaqīr / ḥuqārā wretched, miserable [R.74]
ḤQṢ	ḥaqqaṣ (II) to castrate
	ḥqoṣ (f. ḥoqṣa) tight, uncomfortable
ḤQQ₁	ḥaqqaq / yiḥaqqiq (II) to verify
ḤQQ₂	ḥoqqa (f.) chick
ḤKK	ḥakk / yḥikk to scratch (cf. YA ḥakk "to itch")
	ḥakke (f.) itch
	ḥakāk scratching
ḤKM	ḥakam / yiḥkum to prevail, to govern, to rule
	ḥākum / ḥukkām governor, ruler
ḤKY	ḥukāye story, chronology
ḤLB	ḥalāb (VN) milking
	ḥalīb milk
	ḥallāb / ḥalālib milker
ḤLZ	ḥalzūn el-māy snail
ḤLF	ḥalaf / yaḥluf (VN ḥilf) to swear
	ḥilf (VN) oath
	ḥalif / ḥolfe ally, confederate
ḤLQ	ḥolqa / ḥilq finger-ring (without a jewel)
	ḥalq throat
	ḥalāqa barber's shop
ḤLKLK	ḥliklik small black lizard
ḤLL	ḥall / yḥill to weed
	ḥalāl allowed
ḤLM	ḥlum / yoḥlim (VN ḥilmān) to dream [R.135]
ḤLW	ḥelū (f. ḥolwe) / ḥelwīn sweet[20] [cf. R.64, ḥolu]
	ḥalwa cake, sweets[21]
	mā ḥelū tasteless
	eḥle sweeter

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[20] Also used as an exclamation, "nice!".

[21]The ḥalwa is also a typical Omani pudding, sticky and gelatinous. The foundation is made of water, sugar, and cornflour; while cardamom, rosewater, saffron, eggs, nuts and dates can be added depending on the type of ḥalwa and the area of the country.

ḤLY	*ḫle* type of (fish) soup
	ḥelyān rusty [R.52]
ḤMḤM	*tḥamḥam / yitḥamḥam* (tQ) to cough intermittently, to clear one's throat [R.255]
ḤMR	*tḥēmar / yitḥēmar* (VI) to load a donkey
	ḥmarr / yoḥmarr (IX) to be red
	ḥomār (f. *ḥmāra*) / *ḥmīr* donkey
	ḥamar wine
	ḥmar (f. *ḥamra*) / *ḥamrīn ~ ḥumur* red
	aḥmar more red
	sukkar aḥmar brown sugar
ḤMS	*ḥmisa* turtle
ḤMḌ	*ḥmūḍa* hurtburn, bitterness (cf. GA *ḥmūḍa* "acidity" and YA *ḥumūḍah* "id.")
	ḥāmoḍ acid, sour
ḤMQ	*ḥmuq / yaḥmaq* to get angry
	staḥmaq (X; i.v.) to rage with anger
	ḥomqān upset [R.52]
	ḥmoq (f. *ḥomqa*) furious, outraged
ḤML	*ḥtemel / yuḥtmil* (VIII; VN *ḥetmāl*) to bear, to tolerate
	ḥamel goat (obs.) [R.42]
	ḥamūle load
	ḥāmil (f.) pregnant
	ḥamel male lamb
	ḥammāl / ḥammālīye porter, carrier
ḤMM	*ḥomm / yiḥamm* to be feverish
	ḥumma fever
	ḥumma l-halālīya high and persistent fever
	ḥammām bathroom
	ḥamāma (f.) pigeon, big bird
ḤMY	*ḥmāye* protection, defense
ḤMW	*ḥamāwe* (f.) heat, sultriness
	ḥamū / ḥemyān sweaty, overheated
ḤNṮ	*ḥaneṯ / yoḥniṯ* to perjure, to forswear

ḤNǦR	*ḫungra* (f.) gorge
ḤNǦL	*ḫangūle* (f.) circumference, circle [R.55]
ḤNŠ	*ḫanša* (f.) snake (obs.)
ḤNY	*ḫanā / yuḥni* to bend
ḤWT	*ḫūt* whale
ḤWǦ	*aḫweg* very needy
	muḫtāg needy, poor
ḤWZ	*ḫāwaz* (III; t.v.) to contain
	ḫoz / ḫawiz boundary [B.86]
ḤWŠ	*ḫāši / ḫawāši* young camel [R.73]
	ḫōš backyard, courtyard
ḤWṬ	*ḫāṭ / yḫūṭ* (i.v.) to roam around
	ḫāyoṭ protection (cf. YA *ḫūṭan* "amulet") [R.43]
ḤWL	*ḫāwal / yiḫāwil* (III) to try
	ḫāl status, condition
	ḫāl for, to
	ḫōl cycle
	bi-l-ḫāl immediately, instantly
	ḫawal around
	ḫwel (f. *ḫawle*) cross-eyed [R.63]
ḤYT	*ḫīt* beside, up to
ḤYS	*ḫās / yḫīs* to spin (cf. YA *ḫēs* "mosquito")
ḤYK	*ḫāka / yiḫāki* to imitate
ḤYN	*el-ḫīn* now
	delḫīn now, at the moment (< *ḏā-l-ḫīn) [R.113]
ḤYY	*ḫayy* (t./i.v.) to give life (of God)
	ḫayy (f. *ḫayye*) alive
	ḫiyān living being
	ḫayawān (coll.) animal

Ḫ

ḪBB	*ḫobb / yeḫobb* (VN *ḫabib*) to trot, to gallop
ḪBṮ	*ṯḫēbeṯ / yiṯḫēbeṯ* (VI) to be very bad, despicable

ḫubṯ badness

ḫaboṯ (VN) hitting, beating

ḫabīṯ / ḫubāṯ morally bad, poor

ḫabaṯ filth

ḪBR   *ḫabbar / yiḫabbar* (II) to inform

ḫābar / yiḫābir (III; t.v.) to greet so.

mḫābra (VN III) welcome

staḫbar / yistaḫber (X) to inform, to inquire

ḫbēr / -āt news, rumour

ḪBZ   *ḫabez / yoḫbiz* (VN *ḫabāz*) to cook bread, to bake

ḫabbāz / ḫabābiz baker [R.76]

ḫubz bread [R.42]

ḪTM   *ḫātim / ḫtūm* ring (cf. YA *ḫatim* "ring without decorations")

[cf. R.43, *ḫātum*]

ḪTN   *ḫattan* (II; t.v.) to circumcise

ḫtāne circumcision

ḪǦL   *ḫagel* (VN) being ashamed, blushing

ḫagūl (f. *ḫagūle*) shameful [R.62]

ḪDD   *ḫadd / ḫiddān* cheek

ḪDʿ   *ḫadaʿ / yoḫdaʿ* to deceive, to cheat

ḪDM   *ḫadam / yuḫdum* (VN *ḫidme*) to work, to serve

staḫdem / yistiḫdem (X) to use

ḫādum / ḫiddām servant, slave (obs.) [R.76]

mistaḫdum (VN X) employee, partner, offering a service

ḫadūm (f. *ḫadūma*) well served [R.62]

ḪD̲L   *ḫd̲il / yoḫd̲il* not to be able to walk (cf. YA *ḫad̲al* "to tremble, to shake")

ḫid̲lān invalid

ḪRB   *ḫarbān* (f. *ḫarbāne*) damaged, broken

ḪRBṬ   *ḫarbaṭ / yiḫarboṭ* to mix

ḪRǦ   *ḫarag / yuḫrug* to go out, to flee

ḫarrag / yiḫarrag (II) to draw out, to extract, to take out

maḫrag exit [cf. R.49, *maḫreg*]

maḫrūg (VN) expense, outgo

ḫarīg / ḫirgān gulf, inlet

	ḫārig outside, out
ḪRḪŠ	ḫarḫuš rattle (for kids)
ḪRDL	ḫardel mustard
ḪRR	ḫarr / yiḫorr to leak out, to drain
	ḫorr ḥadīd iron slags [R.78]
ḪRS	ḫarras / yiḫarras (II; t.v.) to soak
ḪRṬ	ḫaraṭ / yoḫroṭ to strip leaves or berries
	ḫariṭa (f.) bag, rucksack (cf. YA ḫariṭah "purse")
ḪRṬM	ḫarṭūm face, muzzle (for animals) - (cf. YA ḫurṭum "nose" and GA
	ḫarṭūm "proboscis, garden hose") [R.55]
ḪRF	ṭḫarraf / yitḫarraf (V; v.i.) to chat
	ḫarrūfe funny story, joke [R.48]
	ḫurfe female lamb
	ḫarīf autumn, autumn rain[22]
ḪRQ	ḫarraq / yiḫarraq (II) to perforate [cf. B.91, ḫarrag]
	ḫurq hole, pit
ḪRY	ḫarā / yoḫra to defecate [R.224]
	ḫrū feces, droppings (cattle, man)
ḪRWṢ	ḫarwaṣ / yiḫarwaṣ to get sth. dirty, soil
ḪZR	ḫazar / yoḫzor to go on his own way [R.129]
	ḫezrān bamboo
ḪZF	ḫazf / ḫizfāt a group of people [cf. B.91, ḫazf "swarm"]
ḪZY	ḫazē / yuḫze to be discouraged, to give up (cf. YA ḫaze "to be shy")
ḪSR	ḫsor / yoḫsor to lose sth.
	ḫisrān loser [R.53]
ḪSS	ḫass / yḫiss to ruin, to wreck [R.178]
ḪSF	ḫasaf / yuḫsif (t./i.v.) to mess, to mix up
ḪŠŠ	ḫašš / yiḫišš (t.v.) to go into, to put into
	ṭḫaššaš / yitḫaššaš (V; i.v.) to be inside
ḪŠF	ḫašef / yoḫšuf to knock [R.145]
ḪŠM	ḫšēm / -āt prostitute
	ḫšim (f.) beautiful, cheerful girl
	ḫšum / ḫšūm mouth, face (obs.) [R.72]

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[22] The rainy season in Dhofar, that runs between May and late August

ḪṢB	*ḫāṣab / yiḫāṣab* (III) to rinse
ḪṢṢ	*ḫāṣṣa / ḫṣūṣ* particular, detail, private, (adv.) especially, particularly
ḪṢM	*ḫaṣim / ḫoṣme* enemy, opponent, adversary [R.74]
	ḫuṣm dispute
ḪṢN	*ḫaṣīn* axe [B.92]
ḪṢY	*ḫoṣwe* scrotum
	maḫṣāy (VN) elongation, stretched (cf. GA *ḫiṣa* "to castrate", *maḫṣi* "castrated")
ḪḌR	*ḫḍarr / yoḫḍorr* (IX; i.v.) to be green
	ḫuḍarā ~ ḫuḍrawāt vegetables (lit. "green things")
	ḫaḍar (f. *ḫaḍra*) / *ḫḍur* green
	ḫḍūriye ecology [R.54]
	mḫoḍrāni greenish
ḪḌḌ	*ḫaḍḍ* to split, to knock (cf. GA *ḫaḍḍ* "to shake", *ḫaḍḥaḍ* "to stir") [Rein.]
ḪṬB	*ḫaṭṭīb* (f. *ḫaṭṭība*) fiancee
ḪṬR	*maḫṭar* travel (obs.) [R.50]
	ḫāṭor / ḫoṭṭār guest, foreigner
	ḫaṭīr dangerous
ḪṬṬ	*ḫaṭṭ / ḫṭūṭ* letter, line
	mḫaṭṭa / mḫāṭṭ station
ḪṬF	*ḫaṭaf / yuḫṭuf* (t.v.) to go along, to cross, (i.v.) to rush off, to pass
ḪṬY	*ḫaṭā / yoḫṭa* to make a mistake [R.224]
	ḫṭiye sin, offense [R.54]
ḪFǦ	*tḫaffeǧ / yitḫaffeǧ* (V; VN *tḫuffāǧe*) to be soaking wet [R.168]
ḪFR	*ḫaffir / ḫafāfir* watchmen, sentinel
ḪFŠ	*ḫaffāš* small bat[23]
ḪFF	*ḫaff / ḫfūf* camel's hoof
	ḫafīf (f. *ḫafīfa*) light, easy
	aḫaff easier
ḪFQ	*ḫafaq / yoḫfoq* to be mean, coward
	ḫāfoq (f. *ḫāfqa*) low, humble
	eḫfaq lower, shorter

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[23] It eats insects. In al-ʿAwābī it is called *ʿanfūf*.

ḪQQ	*ḫaqq / yiḫaqq* to fear, to dread
	ḫaqūq (f. *ḫaqūqa*) / *ḫaqūqyn ~ ḫaqāqa* afraid, timorous
ḪLḪL	*tḫalḫel* (tQ) to shrink, to make sth. smaller
ḪLṢ	*ḫallaṣ / yiḫallaṣ* (II) to finish, to end
	ḫalāṣ (indeclinable adj.) finished, that's it
	ḫāliṣ blood brother
ḪLʿ	*ḫilaʿ* (f. *ḫalʿa*) paraplegic [R.63]
	ḫlaʿ (f. *ḫalʿa*) limp
ḪLF	*ḫalif / yiḫalif* to stop over, to stay
	ḫālif / yuḫālif (III; t.v.) to conflict with so.
	iḫtalaf / yiḫtalif (VIII) to make a difference, to stand out
	ḫitlāfe (VN VIII) difference [R.51]
	ḫlāf then, after that
	muḫtalif different
ḪLQ	*ḫalqa* (f.) rag
	ḫalq humanity
	ḫalūq affable, kind, gentle, human
ḪLL	*ḫalla / yiḫalli* to stop, to cease, to let, to leave
	ḫall vinegar
	ḫall ġāwi perfume (lit. "excellent oil")
ḪMR	*ḫamir* syrup
	ḫumra date (< Pers. *ḫurma*)
	ḫmīra yeast
ḪMS	*ḫams* (f. *ḫamse*) five
	ḫāmis (f. *ḫāmse*) fifth
	ḫamsʿašar fifteen
	ḫamsīn fifty
ḪMŠ	*ḫumš / ḫmūš* double handful (measurement) [R.72]
ḪMʿ	*ḫmaʿ* (f. *ḫamʿa*) lame, cripple [R.63]
ḪML	*maḫmul* velvet
ḪNǦR	*ḫanger / -āt ~ ḫanāgor* (f.) dagger[24] [R.54]
ḪNDQ	*ḫandaq / ḫanādoq* moat, ditch
ḪNZR	*ḫanzra* (f.) hammer (cf. NA *ḫinzīr* "inner tube") [R.54]

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[24] The typical Omani dagger.

ḫanzīr / ḫanāzīr pig (cf. Egyptian Ar. *ḫanzīra* "big car" and, by antithesis, *ḫanāsīr* "bad people")

ḪNṢR	*ḫinṣor* pinkie finger
ḪWḪ	*ḫwoḫ* (f. *ḫūḫa*) very soft
	ḫōḫ peach
ḪWR	*ḫōr / ḫīrān* harbor, creek (cf. CA *ḫawr* "bay")
ḪWZ	*ḫāz / yiḫūz* (i.v.) to move out of the way, (t.v.) to take sth. away [R.202]
	ḫawāz ~ ḫayāz (VN) takeaway, removal
ḪWF	*ḫāf / yiḫāf* (VN *ḫōf*) to fear, to be afraid
	ḫīfān afraid, timorous [R.62]
	eḫwef more afraid
ḪWL	*ḫāli / ḫwāli* uncle (maternal)
	ḫālti / ḫālāti aunt (maternal)
	ḫwūliye kinship by uncle [R.54]
ḪWN	*staḫwēn ~ stḫān / yistḫān* (X) to betray, to cheat on [R.214]202
ḪYT	*ḫēt* wire, yarn
	ḫwēt little yarn
ḪYR	*staḫyar / estaḫyor ~ estḫīr* (X) to carry on
	ḫēr / ḫerāt good
	ḫayyur polite
	aḫyar more polite
	ḫyār cucumber
ḪYS	*ḫās / yiḫīs* (i.v.) to stink
	ḫāys (f. *ḫāyse*) smelly, stinking, rotten, stale (of fruit) [R.62]
ḪYṬ	*ḫāṭ / yiḫīṭ* to sew
	ḫyāṭa tailor's shop, dressmaker
	ḫayyāṭ tailor [N.50]
	ḫīṭ / ḫyūṭ thread
ḪYL	*ḫēl / ḫiyūl* horse
ḪYM	*ḫīma / ḫyam* tent

D

DʾW	*dāw*[25] one-masted ship (200 tn capacity), dhow
DBB₁	*debb* / *dwebb* insect (cf. YA *dabba* "larva") [cf. R.44, *dābbe*, "animal"]
DBB₂	*dabb* / *dbāb* pot
	debbe (f.) plastic water container (cf. YA *dabba* "metal box") [B.95]
DBǦ	*debbāg* speaker, chatterer [R.48]
DBDB	*ddebdeb* / *yiddebdeb* (tQ) to have bumps on the body (cf. GA *dabdab* "to walk heavily and noisily") [R.254]
DBS	*debbūs* banana leaves [R.48]
DBŠ	*debeš* / *yidbiš* (v.i.) to scurry (of ant or fly)
DBY	*dibī* a large hornet (cf. YA *dabā* "plant pests")
DǦǦ	*digāg* /*dgāg* chicken
	dgāg (coll.) poultry
DḤB	*doḥbe* (f.) hump
DḤS	*daḥas* / *yidḥas* to dissolve
	dāḥūs backpain, backache [R.49]
DḪL	*daḫal* / *yidḫil* to enter, to come in
	daḫḫal (II) to put, to place, to lay
	dāḫal / *ydāḫil* (III) to frequent so.
	dāḫil inside, indoor
DḪN	*duḫḫān* smoke (cf. YA DḪN "to evaporate") [R.48] [N.24]
DḪW	*dḫaw* (f. *daḫwe*) grey
DRB	*darb* / *-āt* (f.) street, road
DRBǦ	*derbeg* / *yiderbeg* to run
DRBN	*dorbīn* binoculars (< Pers. *dūr-bīn* "far-sighted, telescope")
DRǦ	*durga* / *darag* (f.) stairs; rank
	durg / *drāg* drawer
DRS	*madrase* / *madāris* school [cf. R.50, *mderse*]
	dars field
DRŠ	*drīše* / *derāyš* (f.) window (< Pers.) [R.73]
DRHM	*derham* / *derāhum* golden coin, dirham

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[25] The origin of the word is uncertain. *Dāw* was the name used by colonialists for local ships.

derāhum (coll.) finance, money

DRWZ	*dorwāz* / *derāwiz* (f.) big indoor market (cf. GA *dirwāza* "city gate")
DRWŠ	*dderweš* / *yidderweš* to live as a dervish
	derwīš dervish
DRY	*derriyye* braided ring (used to tow or knock) (cf. YA *darīyeh* "braid")
DRYWL	*draywal* ~ *drīwal* / *-āt* driver (< Eng.)
DSTR	*destūr* usage (< Pers. *dastūr*) (obs.) [R.55]
DŠDŠ	*dišdāša* long vest (men), dishdasha
DSʿ	*desaʿ* / *yidsaʿ* to cough
	desiʿ (VN) cough
DŠQ	*dušaq* / *dawāšiq* mattress
DSML	*dismāl* woman's scarf
DʿṮR	*daʿaṯar* / *yidaʿṯor* to confuse, to get into a mess (cf. GA *daʿaṯar* "to drop"; *tdaʿaṯar* "to fall") [R.255]
	ddaʿaṯar (VIII) to collapse
DʿK	*daʿak* / *yidʿuk* to clean, to dust
DʿW	*duʿa* (f.) prayer
	dʿūn palm-tree leaves/branches
DĠDĠ	*daġdaġ* / *yidaġdoġ* to tickle [R.255]
DFTR	*defter* / *defātir* notebook (< Pers.)
DFDF	*defdef* / *yidefdef* to push
DFR	*dafar* / *yidfur* to push
	dāfar / *yidāfor* (III) to insist, to push so.
DFʿ	*mdēfeʿi* gunner (cf. YA *daffaʿ* "to shoot with a cannon")
	medfaʿ / *medāfoʿ* cannon
DFF	*daff* / *yidiff* to hide
	ndaff (VII) to be hidden
DFN	*dafan* / *yidfin* to bury (cf. YA *madfan* "storage placed under ground")
DQQ	*daqq* / *yiduqq* to knock, to split
	ddāqq / *yiddāqoq* (VI) to fight with weapons
	daqāq (VN) to squashing
	daqīq delicate, soft
	doqqāqe trash, garbage (obs.) [R.48]
DQL	*daqil* mast, pylon (naut.)

DQM	*daqame* / *dqūm* (f.) face (obs.)
DKTR	*duktūr* doctor (< Eng.)
DKN	*dikkāne* (f.) bank (obs.)
	dukkān / *dukkāne* ~ *dekākīn* shop[26]
DKY	*dekye* / *-āt* ~ *dkāy* pillow, cushion
DLK	*delek* / *yidlik* (v.t.) to squeeze rice into a bowl in the palm of the hand; to make the *madlūk* [B.100]
	madlūk sweet made of spiced, kneaded dates
DLL	*delle* / *dlēl* (f.) coffee-pot
DLHM	*tdelhem* / *yitdelhem* (tQ) to get cloudy, to be dark (cf. NA *yidlahamm* "to get dark")
	mudlhim (f. *mudlhima*) dark, cloudy
DMS	*dāmūs* caterpillar
DMʿ	*damʿ* / *dmūʿ* tear
DMK	*dāmūk* rotten date, dropped from the palm
DMLK	*damluk* bracelet, bangle
DMM	*dimm* / *yidimm* (v.t.) to fill in [B.101]
	damm blood
DNTL	*dantal* rim of the cuff embroidered with stones[27]
DNǦ	*dengo* chickpeas
DNW	*dunya* world, Earth
	dinyāwi secular
DHD	*dehdē* currently, instantly (obs.) [R.114]
DHDR	*ddehdar* / *yiddehdar* to confuse, to garble
DHR	*ndahar* / *yindahar* (VII) to hurry
DHRZ	*dahrīz* / *dahārīz* aisle, courtyard, hallway (< Pers.)[28] [R.126]
DHN	*dahhan* / *yidahhan* (II) to paint
DWʾ	*dē* disease, illness
	dē l-fīl elephantiasis
DWD	*dūd* insect
	dūda l-arḍ warm
DWR	*dār* / *ydūr* (v.t.) to look/search for

[26] Also realised as *dikkān* / *dkākīn* in Rustāq, but now spreading in al-ʿAwābī as well.
[27] Traditional Omani dress for women.
[28] Mainly used by old people in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

	dawwur /*yidawwur* (II) to wander
	dōr / *adwār* the next of a series
	dār (f.) house (obs.)
	duwār / *dwāwir* wheel [R.76]
	mdawwar (f. *mdawra*) circle, round
	dōr dayōr all around
DWS	*dās* / *ydūs* to tremble, to shake, to beat [R.202]
DWQ	*dōq* calm sea, lack of wind [R.41]
DWL	*dōle* / *duwel* government
DWM	*dōm* ~ *dāymen* always, (negative) never
DWN	*dawīn* low quality
	edwen poor quality
	dūn (prep.) next to, close to, near, (adv.) without
DWY	*dāwa* / *ydāwi* to cure, to heal
	ndawe / *yindawi* (VII) to fall
	duwā / *duwāyāt* ~ *edwiye* medicine
DYB	*dīb* wolf
DYD	*dīd* breast
DYR	*dār* / *ydīr* to start
DYK	*dīk* / *diyāke* rooster [R.46]
	dwēk cockerel
DYN	*dīn* religion

D̲

D̲BB	*d̲bāba* / *d̲bāb* (f.) fly
D̲BḤ	*d̲ebaḥ* / *yid̲baḥ* to slaughter [R.129]
	d̲ebīḥa slaughtering
D̲RB	*d̲d̲ērab* / *yid̲d̲ērab* (VI) to give courage
	med̲rūb very brave (of man)
D̲RY	*d̲rā* protection; windbreak
D̲RYD̲	*d̲rīd̲u* (coll.) small things
D̲KR	*d̲d̲akkar* / *tid̲d̲akkar* (V) to remember, to remind
	ted̲kira memory

	ḏeker manly
ḎLM	*ḏalām* darkness
ḎMR	*ḏḏemmar / yiḏḏemmar* (V) to be ready
ḎN	*ḏin / uḏūn* ear
ḎHB	*ḏihab* gold
	ḏehbī golden
ḎHL	*ḏhil / yiḏhil* to forget, to neglect, to omit [R.135]
ḎYB	*ḏīb / ḏyūb* jackal
ḎYL	*ḏīl* tail

R

R ʾS	*rās / rūs* head, leader
	rās māl assets [R.78]
R ʾF	*rāf / yirūf* to pay attention to so./sth. [R.188]
R ʾY	*rā / yrā* to see, to dream
RBB	*rabba / yrabbi* to take care, to look after, to raise
	rabbnā Allah (lit. "our Lord")
RBḤ	*rboḥ / yorbaḥ* to win [R.135]
	marbaḥ profit
RBḪ	*rabaḫ / yirbaḫ* (v.i.) to be soft
	rabḫ soft, flabby (cf. YA *rabiḫ* "weak")
RBŠ	*rabša / -ēt* trouble, skirmish, indiscipline[29]
RBṢ	*rubbāṣ* dirt, filth [R.48]
RBḌ	*rabaḍ / yorboḍ* to lie down [R.130]
RBṬ	*rabaṭ / yurbuṭ* to tie, to bind
	rābṭa (iron) joint
	rabāṭ bandage
RB ʿ	*raba ʿ / yurba ʿ* to gallop (cf. NA *ribā ʿ* "to run") [R.144]
	rāba ʿ / yirāba ʿ (III) to accompany so. [R.165]
	rabī ʿ / rabā ʿ companion
	rbā ʿa together

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[29] Used especially when addressing naughty kids.

	ir-raba ʿ spring season
	rub ʿa / arbā ʿ piece, portion, part
	arba ʿ (f. *arba ʿa*) four
	rābo ʿ (f. *rāba ʿa*) fourth
	arba ʿat ʿšar fourteen
	arba ʿīn fourty
	yōm ir-rubū ʿ Wednesday
RBY	*rubyān* shrimps (< Pers.)
RǦRǦ	*tregreg / yitregreg* to wiggle back and forth
RǦ ʿ	*rega ʿ / yarga ʿ* to return, to go/come back
	ragga ʿ / yirugga ʿ (II) to return, to give back
RǦF	*regef / yurguf* to tremble, to shiver [R.145]
RǦL₁	*rgil / rgūla* (f.) foot, leg
RǦL₂	*riggāl / rgāl* man, husband
	ergel manhood, masculinity
	rāgle (f.) scaffolding [R.44]
RǦM	*mirgām* bolt, deadlock
RǦY	*ragā / yargi* (v.t.) to expect
RḤB	*marḥaba* welcome
RḤT	*rāḥit el-keff* (f.) handbreadth
RḤRḤ	*traḥraḥ / yitraḥraḥ* (tQ) to take a rest
RḤḌ	*raḥaḍ / yurḥaḍ* to beat, to hit [R.145]
RḤY	*rḥā* handmill [N31.]
RḪS	*ruḫsa* (f.) permission, license
RḪṢ	*rḫīṣ* cheap
RḪM	*raḫma* volture
RDD	*radd / yridd* to return, to go/come back, to respond
	merdūd (VN) income [R.51]
RD ʿ	*rada ʿ / yurda ʿ* to prevent
RDN	*rudn / rdūn* sleeve [B.108]
RDW	*rādyū / rwādu* radio (< Eng.)
RDL	*riḏḏāle* (f.) committee [R.48]
RZḤ	*razaḥ / yurzaḥ* to gather, keep [R.143]
RZZ₁	*razz* to be stubborn, recalcitrant

RZZ₂	*rizz* / *rzūz* limit, boundary [R.42]
	rizz rice (< Eng)
RZQ	*marzūq* / *-īn* blessed by God
RSS	*ress* swamp, marsch [R.41]
RṢĠ	*risaġ* wrist
RSL	*rasel* / *yursil* to send
	rāsel / *yirāsil* (III) to send
	rsāle (f.) letter, mail
RSM	*rasam* / *yursum* to draw (a picture)
RSML	*tresmel* (tQ) to finance, to gain a fortune (cf. YA *rāsmāl* "funds" < *rās māl*) [R.254]
RSY	*rāsye* rock, cliff
RŠB	*rišbe* (f.) the smoking apparatus (bottle) in which the smoke passes through water, hookah [R.42]
RŠŠ	*raššāša* shower [N.24]
RŠN	*rōšen* / *rwāšin* shelf in the wall (< Pers. *rōšn* "window") [cf. Rein., "terrace, verandah"]
RŠW	*rašwe* / *ršāwi* bribery, tip
RŠY	*rišyān* unconscious [R.53]
RṢḤ	*raṣaḫ* / *yurṣaḫ* to lie in wait
RṢṢ	*rṣāṣ* / *rṣāṣa* bullet
	ruṣāṣ graphite, plumb, lead
	ruṣāṣī grey
RḌM	*roḍḍāme* mush [R.48]
RṬB	*rṭub* / *yurṭub* to be wet, to wet
	raṭab type of date, very ripe[30]
	traṭṭab / *yitraṭṭab* (V) to be soaking wet [R.168] [N.78]
	rṭub dump
RẒʿ	*raẓaʿ* / *yurẓaʿ* to suck (at mother's breast)
RʿF	*ruʿuf* / *yurʿuf* to have nosebleed [cf. R.134, *rʿof*]
	roʿfān nosebleeds [R.52]
RʿY	*rʿīye* / *rʿāye* flock, herd
RĠB	*rġub* / *yorġub* to desire

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[30] Used during the holy month of Ramaḍān to break the fast.

RĠĞ	*raġġāge* bellowing (camel) – (cf. CA *raġā* e NA *rġa* "gurgling of protest of the camel") [R.48]
RĠŠ	*rġīš* (f. *rġīša*) dried, wilted [R.62]
RĠF	*raġīf* / *ruġfān* roll
RĠW	*ruġwa* foam, bubbles
RFF	*raff* / *yruff* to fix, to arrange
RFṢ	*rufṣa* / *rfaṣ* step
RQB	*raqab* / *yorqub* to wait
	raqbe / *rqāb* (f.) neck
RQD	*raqqād* sleepyhead
	marqad hotel, hostel, place to sleep
RQṢ	*raqaṣ* / *yurquṣ* to dance
	raqqāṣa / *-āt* dancer
RQṬ	*raqaṭ* / *yirqoṭ* to gather, to pick up
RQQ	*roqq* / *rqūq* precipice, cliff, (anatomy) tendon [R.42]
	raqīq the (edible) last stage of creamed milk
RQM	*rqām* / *-āt* cork
	raqm / *rqūm* number
RKB	*rakab* / *yurkub* to climb, to board, to ride, to mount
	rkūb (VN) boarding (on a ship or on a horse)
	rākub (AP) jockey
	merkeb / *mrākub* ship
	rukbe / *rkeb* knee
	rakba dune, hill
RKZ	*rukze* / *rkez* pole, support (cf. YA *rakaz* "to erect a tend")
RKS	*rikas* / *yirkis* (v.i.) to sink
RKḌ	*rākaḍ* / *yrākoḍ* (III) to bet
	rakūḍ (f. *rakūḍa*) speed
RKN	*rukne* / *rken* large branch
	rakīn coarse
RMBL	*trambal* / *yitrambal* to hang out
RMṮ	*rumṯān* worm-eaten
RMḤ	*ramaḥ* / *yurmaḥ* to throw spear
	rumḥ / *-āt* (f.) spear

RMD	*rmid* / *yormid* to have an eye disease, eye infection [R.134]
	ramād ash
	rumdān ophthalmia [R.52]
RMZ	*rāmūz* ground, soil
RMS	*ramas* / *yermas* (v.i.) to spend the night chatting
	ramis evening conversation (cf. GA *ramis* "to talk, chat")
RMḌ	*rumḍān* month of Ramaḍān
RML	*raml* / *rmūl* sand, desert
RMM	*ramm* countryside, private land
RMN	*rummān* pomegranate [R.48]
RMWT	*remōt* remote control (< Eng.)
RNB	*arnab* hare
RNǦ	*reng* / *ernāg* shade of colours (< Pers. "colour")
RNǦḤ	*trengaḥ* / *yitrengaḥ* to swing
	mrangaḥ child's swing
RNǦWN	*rengwēn* cuckoo clock [cf. R.253, "bell"]
RNḤ	*mranḥa* Datura Fastuosa (Devil's trumpet; Thorn apple)[31]
RND	*randa* plane
RHB	*rhub* / *yurhub* to be scared, afraid of
	rahhāb scary
RHZ	*rahaz* / *yorhaz* to lie down
RHṬ	*trēhaṭ* / *yitrēhaṭ* (VI) to ruin, to spoil
	rhaṭ soft
RHF	*trēhef* / *yitrēhef* (VI) to be poor
	rahīf thin, slim, skinny
RWṮ	*rāṮ* / *yirūṮ* to stroll, to amble
RWǦ	*rāg* / *yirūg* to be restless, unsteady
RWḤ₁	*rāḥ* / *yirūḥ* to go
	rawwaḥ (II) to leave
	rūḥ / *-āt* ~ *erwāḥ* (f.) spirit, ghost
	marwāḥ dry place, pasture [R.50]
RWḤ₂	*trawwaḥ* / *yitrawwaḥ* (v.t.; V) to smell

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[31] Annual leafy herb with branched stems, that can grow up to 1.5m; very toxic in overdose, but with moderation is used as a sedative. The seeds are particularly narcotic. Farmers sometimes mix this plant with old dates (*marīs*) and give it to cattles which refuse to eat to stimulate their appetite.

RWD	*arād / yurīd* (IV) to desire, to want
	marād request
RWḌ	*rāḍ / yriḍ ~ yrāḍ* to wait [R.203]
RWʿ	*trawwaʿ / yitrawwaʿ* to rest
RWM	*rām / yrūm* to be able to
RWH	*mrāh* empty, free space [R.50]
RWY	*rawē / yorwi* to hand down
	rāwe / yrāwi (III) to show, to dispaly
RYʾ	*ryā* lung
RYṮ	*rēṯ* dirt, trash (obs.)
RYḤ	*rīḥ / -āt ~ riyāḥ* (f.) wind, storm, smell
	mrūḥa / mrāwoḥ fan
	rīḥ hernia
RYZ	*rēze rēze* gradullay, particularly
RYŠ	*rīša / rīš* feather
RYʿ	*rāʿi / rʿāt* owner
RYQ	*rāq / yrīq* to urinate [R.202]
	rēq only (obs.) [R.116]
RYL	*ryāl / -āt* ryal (Omani currency)

Z

Zʾʿ	*zāʿ / yzūʿ* to vomit [N.20]
ZBB	*zibīb* raisins [cf. R.45, *zbīb*]
ZBD	*zubbād* foam [R.48]
	zabda (f.) butter
ZBR	*zebar / yizbor* to get angry, to be enraged
ZBQ	*zēbaq* mercury, quicksilver [R.44]
ZBL	*mezbel / mezābil* lip (obs.) [R.75]
	zibīl basket
	zibāla (f.) trash, rubbish[32]
ZǦR	*zigar / yizgar* (v.t.) to draw water by ox [B.115]

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[32] More frequently used by the middle-aged group of speakers in al-ʿAwābī.

	zēgra well, water sampling point
ZĠRT	*zigrīt* cigarette (< Eng.)
ZĠL	*zēgel* twine
ZḤZḤ	*tzaḥzaḥ* / *yitzaḥzaḥ* (tQ) to move, to make some space (cf. YA *zaḥzaḥ* "to take away")
ZḤF	*zḥuf* / *yizḥuf* to go, to move away
ZḤLQ	*zeḥlaq* / *yizeḥlaq* to slip, to slide
ZḪM	*zḫām* (VN) inciting, stimulating
ZḪRF	*tzaḫraf* / *yitzaḫraf* (tQ) to decorate
ZḪY	*zāḫi* dust
ZRBL	*zerbūl* / *zerābīl* stocking (obs.) (cf. GA *zarbūl* "woollen stocking")[33] [R.76]
ZRR	*zarrar* / *yzurrur* (II) to split
	zurrār saliva [R.48]
ZRZR	*tzerzer* / *yitzarzor* (tQ) to dress up with an *izār* (bedu loincloth, ritual dress of muslim pilgrims)
ZRʿ	*zaraʿ* / *yizraʿ* to cultivate, to plant
	zrāʿa (f.) seed
	mazraʿ palm-garden
ZRQ	*zraq* (f. *zarqa*) blue, light blue
ZʿBR	*zaʿbūr* squad [R.55]
ZʿṬṬ	*zaʿaṭūṭ* idler, wastrel (cf. YA *zaʿṭaṭ* "to refrain for fear") [R.55]
ZʿL	*zʿil* / *yizʿil* to be upset, angry
ZĠM	*zaġam* / *yizġum* to bellow (cow) [R.129]
ZFF	*zeffe* (f.) bride (cf. GA *zaffa* "wedding procession") (obs.) [R.41]
ZQZQ	*zaqzaq* / *yizaqzaq* to chirp (cf. YA and GA *zagzag* "id.")
ZQQ	*zaqq* / *yzuqq* (v.i.) to defecate (man)
	zqūqiye badness [R.54]
ZKM	*zukmān* nervous, feverish [R.52]
ZKY	*zekā* (f.) ritual alm
ZLZL	*tzelzel* / *yitzelzel* to shake, to tremble (cf. YA *zilzilat ʾarḍ* "earthquake")
ZLĠN	*zilġān* stocking
ZLF	*zelef* / *yizluf* to drink greedily [R.130]

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[33] In young and middle-aged speaker it is replaced by *zilġān*.

ZLQ	*zīlaq* noise [cf. R.44, *zēlaq*]
ZLM	*zellime* trunk
ZLY	*zōliye* (f.) carpet, rug
ZMBʿ	*zumbeʿa* (f.) beard
ZMR	*zamor / yizmor* to produce music
	zamor / zmūr flageolet, whistle
ZMṬ	*zāmoṭ* (AP) cheerful [R.137]
ZMN	*zemān* sometime
	min zemān before, in the past; otherwise; for a long time
ZMY	*zamāy* cornrows (African-style braid)
ZNǦBR	*zingibār / zingibāryāt* inhabitant of Zanzibar
ZNǦBL	*zangabīl* ginger
ZNǦR	*zengar / yizengir* to be quiet, to stand still (cf. GA *zanǧar* "to rust")
	zungār boiled date water
	zengir (coll.) rich people
ZND	*zend / znūd* forearm
ZNDQ	*zendiq* brat
ZNY	*zennē / yizenni* (II) to be offended
	znē illicit relationship, adultery [R.41]
ZHB	*zeheb / yizhab* (v.i.) to be ready
	zāhub (f. *zāhbe*) ready
ZHR	*zhār* (coll.) flowers
	zaher florescence, blooming
ZHW	*zehwe* (f.) holiday (obs.) [R.42]
ZHY	*zehē / yizhī* to establish
ZWǦ	*tzawwag / yitzawwag* (V) to get married
	zōg / zawāg husband
	zōg mmī stepfather (lit. "the husband of my mother")
	zōga / -āt (f.) wife
ZWR	*zōr* palm leaves [N.89]
ZWY	*zāwye* (f.) noise
ZYB	*ezyeb* North (cf. YA *ʾazyab* "South wind")
	ezyeb Tramontane (North wind)
ZYT	*zaytūn* guava (cf. YA *zaytūn* "red grape")

	zaytūn aḥḍar olive
	zayt oil
ZYD	*zād / yzīd* to increase
	zāyd more
	ezyed major, greater, more
ZYR	*zār / yzūr* to visit so.
ZYN	*zēn / zenīn* beautiful, good
	ezyen more beautiful, better
	mizān ornament
	nzēn! well done!, good!

S

S''	*sāʿa* (f.) watch, hour, time
	swēʿit ḥīn a moment
S'L	*sēl / yisīl* to ask
	swāl question
S'M	*sām / yisam* to hate
SB'	*sebē* wild (animal)
SBB	*sebbābe* (f.) index finger [cf. R.56, "middle finger"]
	sabab / asbāb reason
	bi-sebab because, as
SBḤ₁	*msabḥa* prayer beads [R.50]
SBḤ₂	*sabaḥ / yisbaḥ* to take a bath, to swim
	tsebbaḥ / yitsebbiḥ (V) to bathe, to wash oneself
	tesbūḥ (VN II) swimming, bathing [R.51]
SBR	*sbor* (VN) watching
	sebbāra (f.) ladle [R.48]
SBʿ	*asbūʿ / asābīʿ* week
	sabaʿ (f. *sbaʿa*) seven
	sāboʿ (f. *sābaʿa*) seventh
	sabaʿat ʿšar seventeen
	sabaʿīn seventy
SBQ	*sboq / yisboq* to arrive earlier [R.135]

	sābaq / *yisāboq* (III) to anticipate, to prevent
SBL	*sebāl* (f. *sebāle*) / *-āt* monkey
	seble (f.) part of the house used to receive or host visitors (< Sw. *sebule*)
STT	*sitt* (f. *sitte*) six
	sittaʿšar sixteen
	sittīn sixty
STR	*stār* / *-āt* banister
	stāra / *-āt* (f.) curtain, tent
	sitra shelter
STʿFL	*staʿfal* large citrus fruit (< Urdu *sītā-phāl* "Sita's fruit, custard apple")[34]
SǦḤ	*segaḥ* / *yisgaḥ* to hang [R.129]
SǦD	*masgid ~ misgid* / *masgdān* mosque [R.50]
	segde / *sgūd* prostration (to God)[35]
	siggāda prayer mat
SǦF	*sigāf* hem on the *surwāl* and on the upper part of the traditional Omani dress for women
SǦN	*sigin* prison
SḤB	*saḥab* / *yisḥab* to pull
	sḥāb / *sḥūb* cloud
SḤḤ	*suḥḥ* (coll.) dates
SḤR	*saḥḥar* / *yisaḥḥar* (II) to have the *saḥūr*, the last meal before the sunrise during the holy month of Ramaḍān (cf. YA *saḥūr* "dawn")
	sḥūr last supper before sunrise during Ramadan
	seḥḥāra (f.) box (for jewels) [N.33]
	sēḥor / *sḥor* magician, illusionist [R.71]
SḤQ	*saḥaq* / *yisḥaq* (v.i.) to crawl
SḤL	*saḥal* / *yisḥil* to polish, to finish, to smooth [R.143]
	saḥḥal (II) to plane
	sāḥil / *sawāḥil* coast, shore
	soḥḥāle scrap wood [R.48]
	misḥal plane, file
SḤM	*suḥḥām* charcoal

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[34] In some villages it is called *mistafāl*.

[35] Usually done during the daily prayers in the direction of the Kaʿba at Mekkah (Saudi Arabia).

	soḥme (f.) river rock
SḪṬ	*saḫaṭ / yisḫoṭ* to be angry [cf. R.144, *yisḫaṭ*]
SḪF	*sḫīf* thin, light (of clothes)
SḪL	*saḫal* (f. *saḫle*) / *sḫal* goat-kid
SḪM	*suḫḫām* hob, cooking stove
SḪN	*sḫin* (f. *suḫne*) hot, scorching
SDD	*sadd / ysidd* to fill, to be enough
SDR	*sidir* Zizyphus spina-christi[36]
SDRY	*sdīriyya* vest [N.10]
SDS	*sādis* (f. *sādse*) sixth
SDK	*sedek / yisduk* to complain, to push [R.130]
	saddak / yisaddak (II) to put pressure on so.
	sāduk mournful, whingey [R.137]
SRD	*sardīn* sardines
SRR	*surr* secret, mistery [R.42]
	srār navel [R.44]
	srūr delight, happiness [R.45]
	misterr / -īn happy, pleased
SRQ	*saraq / yisroq* (VN *sarōq*) to steal
	sārqīn (AP) thief, robber (cf. YA *sarrāgin* "thief")
SRK	*srek* (f. *serke*) lame, cripple [R.63]
SSL	*sōsel* pineapple plant [R.44]
SṬḤ	*saṭḥ* roof
	misṭāḥ flattened area
SʿD	*seʿid / yisʿid* to thrive
	sāʿad / yisāʿid (III) to help/aid so.
	sāʿid forearm
SʿR	*sāʿar / yisāʿor* (III) to go to the market
	sāʿūr painful cough, blaze
	musāʿira (PP) commerce, trading
SʿF	*saʿaf* palm leaves/branches
SʿL	*saʿal / yisʿal* to cough

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[36] This plant can grow up to 10m and it is found along wadis and gravel plains. The fruits (*naboq*) are edible and the leaves, crushed, are used by women as a shampoo.

SʿM	*seʿem / yisʿum* to abhor, to hate [R.143]
SFR	*sāfar / yisāfir* (III) to travel, to leave
	sefri globetrotter, wanderer
	safar travel, excursion, trip, hike
	safāra embassy
SFRĞL	*sfargal* an orange-sized citrus fruit, quince (cf. YA *sifargal* "apple")
SFʿ	*tsāfeʿ / yitsāfaʿ* (VI) to slap [R.171]
SFF	*seff / yisuff* to weave
SFL	*sāfil* far (in the direction of the North)[37]
SFN	*safan* pestle
	safīna ship
SQSQ	*saqsaq / yisaqsaq* to have diarrhea [R.254]
SQL	*sqil* aloe vera
SQM	*sqīm* (f. *sqīme*) ill, sick [R.62]
SQW	*sqēw* (سقيو) / *soqwān* little chicken
SQY	*saqā / yisqa* (v.t.) to water, to irrigate
	masqay (f. *masqaya*) watered, irrigated
SKB	*sakab / yiskub* to pour
SKT	*sakat / yiskit* to be silent, to stop talking
SKR₁	*skor / yiskor* (VN *sekor*) to be/get drunk
	sekkār / sekkāra drunkard
	sekker sugar
SKK	*sukke / skīk* side road, shortcut [R.74]
SKL	*sīkil* bicycle (< Eng.)
SKN₁	*sukkān* tax, duty
SKN₂	*sekkīn / sakākīn* (f.) knife [R.49]
SKN₃	*sakkūn* rudder
SLB	*selāb* (coll.) weapons (cf. YA *salāb* "dagger, sharp sword") (obs.) [R.45]
SLSL	*salsal / yisalsal* (v.i.) to trickle [B.125]
SLṬ	*sulṭān ~ surṭān / sulṭne* sultan
	seliṭ (palm or sesame) oil
	salaṭa salad (< Eng.)
SLʿ	*silʿa / slaʿ* goods, product [R.70]

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[37] This lexical item is now obsolescent, mainly used by old people in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

sillāʿ thorn [N.89]

SLF   *sālef / ysāluf* (III; VN *selef*) to borrow sth.

SLL   *sill* emaciation [R.42]

SLM   *slum / yislem* to stay healthy

sallem / yisellum (II; VN *teslīm*) to greet so.

staslām (X) to become a Muslim, to convert to Islam

salām Muslim greeting

muslim / -īn Muslim

islām Islamic religion, Islam

silm portion of the cuff closer to the hand, usually embroidered[38]

salma Acacia Ehrenbergiana[39]

SLHB   *selheb / yiselheb* to embitter, to exacerbate

SM   *sum / sāme* name (< *ʾSM)

SMT   *semet / yismit* to be silent, quiet

SMǦ   *tsēmeg / yitsēmeg* (VI) to bother, to be annoying

smug (f. *sumge*) annoying, awkward [R.41]

SMḤ   *sāmaḥ / yisāmiḥ* (III) to allow, to forgive

semāḥa ~ semḥān (f.) forgiveness

smoḥ (f. *sumḥa*) kind, generous [R.63]

SMḤL   *tsemḥal / yitsemḥal* (tQ) to proceed with care [R.255]

SMD   *samad / yismid* to fertilise [B.126]

SMR   *mismār / msāmīr* nail

SMSM   *tsemsem / yitsemsem* (tQ) to swell up and itch (of a *samsūm* bite)

samsūm small black (biting) ant

sumsum sesame

SMʿ   *smoʿ / yismaʿ* to hear, to listen to

SMK   *samak* fish

SMM   *sāmām* kitchen utensils [R.49]

smām / -āt bridge, catwalk [R.69]

SMNT   *smint* cement (< Eng.)

SMW   *seme / semāwāt* sky, heaven

SNBR   *snōber* fir [R.55]

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[38] Traditional Omani dress for women.
[39] Large spiny shrub that can grow up to 4m. The hard wood of this plant is used to create small items, such as camels' saddles and tent posts.

SNBQ	*sanbūq / sanābīq* sailing or motorised vessel[40] (< Sans.)
SNBL	*senbūl / senābil* penis (cf. *sunbula / sanābil* "spike") [R.76]
SNǦB	*sangūb* squirrel
SNḤ	*senaḥ / yisnaḥ* to hang (branch) [R.129]
SNDS	*sindās* clothing [R.55]
SNR	*sennūr* (f. *sennūra*) / *senānīr* cat [R.48]
	sennūr el-ginn hairy caterpillar (Lackey Moth)
SNSḤ	*tsensaḥ / yitsensaḥ* (tQ) to slither, crowl [R.253]
SNSL	*sinsla / sanāsil* (f.) necklace
SNṬR	*sanṭara* (f.) tangerine
SNN₁	*sunnī / sunnīye* Sunni
SNN₂	*sann / yisinn* to sharpen, whet
	sinn age
	msann knife sharpener
SNY	*sene / snīn* year
	sneyyāt (dim.) a few years
SHB	*sahūb* vapor
SHǦ	*seheg / yishug* to wander, to go without knowing the way [R.130]
SHR	*shor / yishor* to be restless, to wake up
	msāhir insomnia
	sohrān sleepless [R.52]
SHF	*shuf / yishef* to be thirsty
	sāhef / ysāhuf (III) to have a persistent, constant thirst [R.165]
SHL	*shīl* (f. *sahla*) light, easy
	eshal lighter, easier
SHM	*sehem / shūme* part, portion, piece
SWḤL	*sawwāḥli* Swahili
SWD	*swedd / yiswidd* (IX) to be/get black
	swūdiye blackness
	swed (f. *sōde*) / *sūd* black
	msūdāwi appearing black
	eswad more black
SWQ	*sāq / yisāq* to drive

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[40] A type of *dhow*, that presents a characteristic design with a sharp curve right below the top of the prow.

sūq / *swāq* market

SWK *miswāk* toothbrush [R.50]

swīk ~ swīč switch (< Eng.)

SWM *samma* / *yisammi* (II) to name, to call

sum / *asāmi* name

SWY *sawwe* / *yisawwi* (II) to do, to make

stawe / *yistwi* (VIII) to happen, to become, to be suitable

SYB *sībe* / *syeb* (f.) entrenchment, fortification [R.70]

SYḤ *sīḥ* / *syūḥ* free area, empty lot (of land) [R.72]

SYD *seyīd* / *sāde ~ sādāt* mister, owner, lord

SYR *sār* / *ysīr* (VN *sēra*) to go, to lead

sāyir (III) to be alongside so./sth.

mesīr course, way, path

siyyāra / *-āt* car

SYS *sāys* / *siyās* ostler, jockey

SYF *sēf* / *syūf* sword

SYL *sāl* / *ysīl* to flow

sēl / *syūl* flood [R.72]

SYM *sāmān* (coll.) furniture

sēm sēm ~ saym saym same as, like (< Eng.)[41]

Š

Š' *šē* (شاة) / *šawāt* she-goat [R.69] [B.129]

Š'T *šāt* t-shirt (< Eng.)[42]

ŠBB *šebb* / *yišubb* to stoke (fire) [R.178]

tšebb / *yitšebb* (V) to look/get younger

šābb / *šubāb* lad, young man

šābba / *-āt* unmarried girl

šyebb (coll.) youngsters

mšebbe (f.) hand-fan (originally made of palm leaves)

ŠB' *šbo'* / *yišbu'* to be satisfied, full, stuffed

šub'ā / *-īn* stuffed, sated

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[41] Used especially when talking to Indian or Pakistani people.

[42] Used mainly by the youngest generation (up to 25 years old).

ŠBK	*šubbāk* net, wrap
	šebīke mouse-trap [B.130]
ŠBH	*šboh / yišbah* to resemble, to look like [R.145]
ŠTT	*šetti* sheet, ticket (< Eng. / cf. Urdu *ćiṭṭhi* "letter, note, bill")
ŠTW	*šetwīye* winter sowing [R.54]
	šite winter
ŠǦR	*šegre / šgār* (f.) tree
ŠǦˁ	*tšēgaˁ / yitšēgaˁ* (VI) to be really brave
	šigāˁ / šugeˁān corageous
ŠḤR	*šaḥir* panting
ŠḤRǦ	*tšaḥreg / yitšaḥreg* (tQ) to have an oppressive cough
ŠḤṢ	*šaḥṣ* Dodonaea Viscosa[43]
ŠḤṬ	*šaḥaṭ / yišḥaṭ* (v.t.) to tighten [B.131]
ŠḤQ	*šāḥiq* high (of mountains) [N.102]
ŠḤLB	*šaḥlūb* small lizard (not poisonous)[44]
ŠḤM	*šaḥam* lard
ŠḤY	*šaḥā / yišḥi* to skin
ŠḪR	*šaḫar* Calotropis Procera (Sodom's apple)[45]
ŠḪŠḪ	*šaḫšaḫ / yišaḫšaḫ* to urinate frequently
ŠḪṬ	*šaḫaṭ / yišḫoṭ* to draw lines, to rule (lines) [R.144]
	mišḫiṭ writing, drawing
ŠḪL	*šaḫel / yišḫel* (v.t.) to sieve
	mišḫel sieve [B.131]
ŠDD	*šadd / yšidd* to close, to shut
	šedīd strong, violent, intense
	ešedd stronger
ŠDF	*šidfe / šdūf* (f.) tree stump, stub [R.71]
ŠRB	*šrub / yišrab* (VN *šurb*) to drink
	šerbet syrup, squash, a drink of lemonade
ŠRḤ	*šroḥ* (f. *šorḥa*) airy [R.63]
ŠRḪ	*šaraḫ / yišraḫ* (v.t.) to tear apart, to lacerate

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[43] Evergreen shrub or small tree that can grow up to 2m. The leaves are usually wrapped around the spicy meat to make the traditional Omani *shuwā* during Eid celebrations, to give to it a delicious taste.

[44] Also called *abū barīṣ* in al-ʿAwābī.

[45] A shrub with milky latex, very toxic, indicator of overgrazing. The wood is traditionally burned to make gunpowder, and the leaves are used to cover kids' hand with henna paste to make it lasts longer.

tšarraḫ / yitšarriḫ (V) to break, to smash, to crack

šerriḫ band

ŠRR   *šerāra* (f.) spark

ŠRŠ   *šarraš* (II) to charge (batteries) [B.132]

šārš battery charger

šrīš Azadirachta Indica[46]

ŠRṬ   *šarṭ / šrūṭ* condition, state [R.71]

šurṭa police

ŠRF   *šaraf / yišruf* to look down [R.145]

šarraf / yišarruf (II) to visit so.

šāraf / yišāruf (III) to visit so. frequently

šurfe (f.) abyss, precipice [R.42]

ŠRQ   *šrūq* dawn, sunrise

šarq east

šriq companion, friend, mate

ŠRK   *šārak / yišārik* (III) to share

mušrik polytheist, of different faith

ŠRNĞB   *šringibān* Solanum Incanum (Palestine nightshade)[47]

ŠRNF   *šarnafa* (f.) chrysalis

ŠRY   *štarā / yištri* (VIII) to buy

ŠZZ   *šazz / yšazz* to flee [R.178]

ŠṬB   *mušaṭṭab* engraved, inoculated, vaccinated

ŠṬR   *šāṭor* doctor (obs.) [R.43]

šāṭor (f. *šāṭra*) excellent, brilliant, very good

ŠṬŠṬ   *šaṭšaṭ /yišaṭšoṭ* to crackle, to sizzle (meat)

ŠṬṬ   *šaṭṭ* coast, shore

mšoṭṭ comb, little brush [R.50]

ŠṬF   *šuṭfe / šaṭāṭif* (f.) piece, fragment, shard

ŠṬN   *šiṭān* Satan, Devil

ŠʿR   *šaʿar / yišʿar* to sing, to poetise

šāʿor / šʿār poet, singer

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[46] Evergreen tree that can grow up to 15m. It is usually grown as a shady tree inside courtyard of houses. The leaves are used for the treatment of abdominal pain, colic, chicken pox, and for reducing fever.

[47] A small shrub, very toxic (can cause death), indicator of overgrazing. The tomato-like fruit are crushed to a paste and used to remove the hair from the hides of animals before being tanned.

	š ʿīr barley
Š ʿŠ ʿ	*ša ʿša ʿ /yiša ʿšo ʿ* to croak (frogs)
Š ʿY	*šē ʿit* as soon as
ŠĠB	*šaġab / yišġab* to look up [R.145]
ŠĠL	*štaġal / yištġil* (VIII; VN *štiġāl*) to work, to be busy
	šuġl (VN) job, work
	šāġūl handworking, labourer [B.134]
	šaġġāl / -īn servant
	šaġġāla / -āt housemaid
ŠFR	*mešfār / mšāfor* lip
ŠFF	*šeff / yšeff* to side, to give so. preference
ŠFY	*šfiye / šefāye* (f.) present, gift
	šife healing, recovery
	šiffa / šafāyif (f.) lips
	mustašfā / mustašfāyāt ~ mustašfīyāt hospital
ŠQṢ	*šaqaṣ / yišqoṣ* to result
ŠQF	*šuqfa* (f.) mountainn-gorge [B.134]
	šquf (f. *šuqfe*) difficult, hard
	ešqaf harder
ŠQQ	*šaqīqa* headache
	šaqq dress décor
ŠKR	*škor ~ šukrān* thank you
ŠKK	*šekk / yšukk* to doubt, to suspect
	šekk doubt
	miškāk / mšakīk meat skewer
	lā šekk doubtless, absolutely
ŠKL	*šakil* form, figure, shape
ŠKLT	*šaklīt* chocholate (< Eng.)
ŠKW	*šīku / šiko* kid, baby (human or animal)[48]
ŠKY	*šekwe* (f.) legal action [R.42]
ŠLB	*šilb* husked rice
ŠLL	*šill / yišill* to take

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[48] This noun might be a Spanish loanword (from *chico*, "kid"), but since there is no evidence of Spanish people coming into the country, another possible origin is the Hindi word. In any case, the item is used when talking to Indian and Pakistani people or to emphasise the nastiness of a kid.

	šelle / *šlel* war song [R.70]
ŠMǦ	*šmugīye* related to marriage, matrimonial [R.53]
ŠMḪ	*šamaḫ* / *yišmaḫ* (VN *šemḫ*) to scratch
ŠMR	*šemmār* / *šemāmir* a leather-worker, cobbler, shoemaker [R.75] [B.136]
ŠMZZ	*šmezz* / *yišmezz* to be disgusted of sth.
ŠMS	*šems* / *-āt* (f.) sun
ŠMŠM	*tšemšem* / *yitšemšem* to smell, to scent [R.255]
ŠMṢ	*šamaṣ* big lizard (not poisonous and edible), green lizard[49]
ŠMʿ	*mišmāʿ* / *mšāmīʿ* candle
ŠML	*šemāl* East wind, trade wind
	šmāl north
ŠMM	*šammām* honeymelon
ŠNBR	*šanbar* head ornament, circlet[50]
ŠNǦB	*šangūb* grasshopper
	šangūb el-baḥr crab
ŠNṬṬ	*šanṭūṭ* ribbon
ŠNQʿ	*tšanqoʿ* / *yitšanqoʿ* (tQ) to lie on the back (cf. YA *šangaʿ* "to turn upside down", *tšangaʿ* "to fall")
ŠHB	*šhāb* flame [N.24]
ŠHT	*šhīt* bed sheet (< Eng. *sheet*)
ŠHD	*šehed* / *yišhid* to testify, depose
	šāhid / *šuhūd* witness
	šhid / *šawāhid* index finger ring[51]
ŠHR	*šahar* / *šhūr* month
ŠHM	*šhum* / *yišhem* to avoid
ŠHN	*šāhīn* peregrine
ŠWʾ	*šūwā* smoked meat[52]
ŠWB	*šobe* / *šwēb* Omani pancake, about 1 inch across
ŠWR	*šāwar* / *yišāwar* (III) to consult [N.60]
	mešwara (VN) resolution, debate
	šwīr (f. *šwīra*) high, elevated

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[49] Also called *ḍebb* in al-ʿAwābī.

[50] Type of jewel that embellish the head, made of golden chains on the forehead.

[51] It takes this name because it is the finger a person uses to point at someone.

[52] On the first day of Eid al-Fitr, the meat is buried underground and left to smoke for three days. This meat is, then, eaten on the third day of Eid.

	ešwar higher
	šūr height
ŠWRB	*šwārib* moustache [N.3]
ŠWʿ	*šāʿ* / *yšūʿ* to stretch
	mišwāʿ (VN) dawn, sunrise
	šūʿa Moringa Peregrina[53]
ŠWF	*šāf* / *yišūf* to see, to look, to understand
	šawwaf / *yišawwaf* (II) to show
	tšawwaf / *yitšawwaf* (V) to look closely at
	inšāf / *yinšīf* (VII) to be visible
	štēf / *yištūf* (VIII) to view, to have a look at
	šīfe appearance
ŠWK	*šūka* (f.) fork
ŠWM	*šūm* / *yšūm* to go inland (obs.)
	tšāmo / *yitšāmo* (VI) to insult [R.171]
ŠWY	*šawa* / *yišwi* to grill, to roast
	šāwi / *šawāwi* shepherd
	šweyy (f. *šweyya*) a bit, a little, a few
	šweyya šweyya slowly, step by step
	mišwi barbecue
ŠY	*šay* ~ *šey* ~ *šī*/ *ešye* thing
	šīšī – šīšši nothing[54]
ŠYB	*šayyab* / *yišayyab* (II) to become white-haired [B.139]
	šēb / *šyūbe* ~ *šāyb* old man
	šāyub hoary, white-haired
	ešyeb more hoary
ŠYḤ	*šāḥ* (coll.) ovine
ŠYḪ	*šayḫ* / *šyūḫ* Shaykh, an influential person
ŠYD	*inšād* / *yinšīd* to question about sth.
ŠYŠ	*šīše* petrol-pump [B.140]
ŠYṢ	*šīṣa* (f.) thrombosis

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[53] Deciduous tree. The oil extracted from the seeds is used for aliments to help the digestion, or to ease childbirth, or as a skin lotion.

[54] As mentioned in 6.3, this negative form is now obsolescent, and used sporadically by very old people in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ and Rustāq.

ŠYK	*ištāk / yištīk* to complain
ŠYL	*šāl / yšīl* to carry
	šēle / šyel woman's over-garment[55]
ŠYM	*šyem* property
ŠYN	*tšēyen / yitšēyen* (VI) to be ugly, bad
	šēn ugly, bad, nasty
	ešyen worse, uglier

Ṣ

ṢBB	*ṣabb / -āt* massif (of metal) [R.63]
ṢBḤ	*ṣabaḥ / yiṣbaḥ* to become
	ṣabaḥ morning
ṢBR	*ṣabar / yiṣbor* to be patient, to put up, to stand [R.130]
ṢBṢB	*ṣabṣub /yiṣabṣub* to pour, to scatter, to spread
ṢBʿ	*ṣboʿ* (f.) finger
ṢBĠ	*ṣabaġ / yiṣbaġ* to dye
	mṣabbāġ painted (of a wall)
ṢBN	*ṣābūn* soap
ṢBY	*ṣābi* conceited, vain
ṢTT	*ṣatt / yṣitt* to watch, to stare, to contemplate in silence [R.178]
ṢǦǦ	*ṣagg / ṣgūg* bank, shore [R.72]
ṢǦRǦ	*ṣgurga / ṣgārig* china bowl [B.141]
ṢḤB	*ṣāḥab / yiṣāḥub* (III) to accompany so. [R.165]
	ṣāḥib / ṣḥāb friend, partner, lover, companion
ṢḤḤ	*ṣaḥḥ / yiṣaḥḥ* to be right, to get better [R.178]
	ṣāḥḥ (exclamation) right!
ṢḤR	*ṣaḥḥar / yiṣaḥḥar* (II) to cover
ṢḤN	*ṣaḥan / ṣḥūn* plate, saucer
ṢḪḪ	*ṣaḫḫ / yiṣaḫḫ* to be silent (cf. GA *ṣaḫḫa* "silence, stillness") [R.178]
ṢḪL	*ṣaḫl* (f. *ṣaḫle*) little goat
ṢḪM	*ṣoḫḫām* charcoal, coal [R.48]

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[55] Type of veil used by women. This veil can be short or long and is adorned with precious stones.

ṢDR	ṣdur breast, chest
ṢDʿ	ṣadaʿ / yiṣdaʿ to harass, to bother [R.144]
ṢDQ	ṣadūq / -īn sincere, honest
	ṣidq truth, correctness
	ṣadīq / ṣidqān friend
ṢRB	ṣrūbe slaughter, butchery [R.45]
ṢRǦ	ṣrāg / ṣurg lamp, light [N.32]
ṢRḤ	ṣarīḥ to scream, to shout
ṢRḪ	ṣarrīḫ date cricket[56]
ṢRR	ṣarr / yṣarr to yell, to cry (for kids) [R.178]
	mṣarr men's traditional Omani headcloth
ṢRṢR	ṣarṣur cockroach
ṢRN	mṣārīn belly
ṢRWL	ṣurwāl trousers of the traditional Omani dress for women
ṢḌR	tṣāḍr / yitṣāḍor (VI) to fight, to battle [R.171]
ṢʿB	ṣʿība difficult
ṢĠR	ṣġur smallness
	ṣaġīr (f. ṣġīra) / ṣġār young, small
	ṣaġayyur / ṣaġayyirīn (dim.) youngster, boy, kid
ṢFD	ṣaffed / yiṣaffid (II) to mend, to repair [R.159]
ṢFR₁	ṣfarr / yiṣfarr (IX) to be/get yellow
	ṣfār (f. ṣāfra) yellow
	mṣufrāni yellowish
	ṣufr brass, copper
	ṣufrīye / ṣafāri large cooking pot, pan[57] [R.72]
ṢFR₂	ṣfar / yiṣfir to wither [N.89]
	ṣēfūr marine signal (cf. YA ṣuffāra "ship hooter")
ṢFṢF	ṣafṣūf / ṣafāṣif sparrow [R.76]
ṢFʿ	ṣafaʿ / yiṣfaʿ to slap [N.66]
ṢFY	ṣafā / yiṣfi to melt, to dissolve
ṢQR	ṣaqar falcon
ṢLB	tṣēleb / yitṣēleb (VI) to show a big courage

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[56] When the insect produces a sound, it means that the dates are ready to be collected.
[57] Originally made of copper.

	ṣalb difficult, hard, tough, strong
ṢLḤ	*ṣlāḥ* (f., coll.) weapons
ṢLḪ	*ṣāloḫ* (f. *ṣālḫa*) naked, nude [R.62]
ṢLṢL	*ṣalṣal /yiṣalṣil* to run slowly, drop by drop [R.254]
ṢLF	*ṣālfa / ṣwelif* chat, story
ṢLN	*ṣalūna* fish-soup (< Urdu *salōna* "curry of fish, meat or vegetables")
ṢLY	*ṣalli / yiṣelli* (II) to pray
	mṣalle / mṣālli prayer mat
	ṣalā / ṣalāwāt (f.) prayer
	ṣala (f.) sitting room (sometimes used for prayers) (obs.)
ṢMBˁ	*ṣambaˁ / yiṣambiˁ* to slap
ṢMT	*ṣamūt* (f. *ṣamūte*) quiet, calm
ṢMM	*ṣamm* (f. *ṣamma*) deaf
ṢNDQ	*ṣandūq / ṣnādiq* box
ṢNM	*ṣanam* doll [N.62]
ṢWB	*ṣōb* next to, near, close (obs.) [R.109] [B.145, "a side"]
ṢWT	*ṣōt ~ ṣawt* voice, sound
ṢWḪ	*tṣuwwaḫ* (V) to overhear, to listen in
	ṣṭāḫ / yiṣṭāḫ (VIII) to sound out
ṢWR	*ṣwār* weir (river, canal) [R.44]
	ṣūra / ṣuwar picture, photograph
ṢWF	*ṣūf* wool
ṢWM	*ṣām / yṣūm* to fast
	ṣyām fast
	uṣēm / uṣām thin, slim, slender
ṢWN	*ṣīniyya / ṣwāni* tray [N.29]
ṢYḤ	*ṣāḥ / yṣīḥ* to roar
ṢYR	*ṣār / yṣīr* to become
	yṣār left
ṢYĠ	*ṣāyoġ / ṣiyāġ* silversmith
ṢYF	*ṣayyaf / yiṣayyaf* to harvest, to pick, to reap (grain, sorghum, rice)
	ṣēf wheat, summer (cf. YA *ṣēf* "rainy season")
	ṣēf fruit (obs.) [R.57]
ṢYM	*ṣīm* leg

Ḍ

ḌBB	*ḍebb* green lizard[58]
ḌBL	*ḍabla* (f.) wedding ring
ḌĞR	*ḍgor / yiḍgor* to get bored (cf. YA *ḍaǧir* "to get angry") [R.135]
	ḍugrān bored [R.52]
ḌḤK	*ḍḥuk / yiḍḥuk* to laugh, to smile
	ḍoḥke laughter
ḌḤY	*ḍāḥye / ḍwāḥi* plot of land, property
ḌRB	*ḍarab / yiḍrub* (VN *ḍarb*) to shoot, to hit, to beat
	ḍḍārb / yiḍḍārb (VI) to clash with each other
	ḍarbe (f.) blow, knock
ḌRʿ	*ḍrāʿ* arm (unity of measure)
ḌRY	*ḍarā / yiḍra* to be/get used to [R.224]
ḌʿF	*ḍʿuf / yiḍʿuf* to be weak, mean
	ḍāʿif weak, mean
	ḍʿīf (f. *ḍʿīfa*) bad, wrong, spoilt
ḌFR	*ḍfūr* (coll.) nails
ḌMM	*ḍamm / yiḍumm* to keep, to hide, to collect
ḌNB	*ḍannūba* flip flop
ḌNN	*ḍann / yiḍann* to think
ḌHR	*ḍhur* midday, noon [R.41]
ḌYF	*ḍāyf* guest, client

Ṭ

ṬBB	*ṭabīb* (f. *ṭabība*) doctor
ṬBĞ	*ṭōbeg* pan
ṬBḪ	*ṭabaḫ / yiṭbaḫ* (VN *ṭabāḫ*) to cook
	ṭabbāḫ / ṭabābīḫ cook
	maṭbaḫ kitchen

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[58] Used in al-ʿAwābī. In Wādī Banī Kharūṣ is *šamaṣ*.

ṬBʿ   *ṭabaʿ / yiṭbaʿ* (v.i.) to sink, to fill

ṬBNQ   *ṭabnīqa / ṭabāniq* (f.) central part of Omani trousers, crotch

ṬBQ   *ṭboq / yiṭboq* to hang [R.135]

           ṭābūq concrete bricks (cf. Pers. *ṭāboq / ṭābiq* "id.") [B.150]

ṬBL   *ṭabel / yiṭbil* to play the drum [R.144]

           ṭabil drum

           ṭabbāl / ṭabābil drum-player [R.76]

ṬǦY   *ṭagīya* cap

ṬḤṬḤ   *ṭṭaḥṭaḥ / yiṭṭaḥṭaḥ* (tQ) to drop

ṬḤN   *ṭaḥan / yuṭḥan* (VN *ṭoḥne*) to grind

           ṭaḥīn flour

           ṭḥana (f.) blender

           ṭaḥḥān / ṭaḥāḥin miller

ṬḤNN   *ṭaḥnān* noise [R.52]

ṬḤṬḤ   *ṭaḥṭoḫ / yiṭaḥṭoḫ* to blow on sth. (to make it cooler)

ṬRB   *ṭrub / yiṭrub* to desire

ṬRḤ   *maṭraḥ* anchorage (cf. YA *maṭraḥ* "stop for travellers") [R.49]

ṬRD   *ṭard* (VN) offending, insulting, backbite [R.41]

ṬRZ   *ṭarz* side panel of the décor on the traditional Omani dress for women

ṬRŠ   *ṭarraš / yiṭarraš* (II) to send, to despatch

           ṭāriš / ṭurrāš messenger, courier [R.72]

           ṭarše times, once (obs.) [R.114]

ṬRF   *ṭarf* end, tip

           eṭ-ṭarfi the outermost

           ṭaraf / ṭrāfe palm-leaf [B.151] [R.74]

ṬRQ   *ṭarīq / -āt ~ ṭurq* (f.) road, path, street, way [R.71]

ṬRM   *ṭarrūme* sharp (knife), top, peak

ṬŠŠ   *ṭašš / yiṭišš* to jump, to leap, to splash

ṬŠY   *ṭišše* little, a little time (obs.) [R.116]

ṬʿM   *ṭaʿam / yiṭaʿam* (v.t.) to feed (humans and animals) [B.151]

           ṭʿām food

ṬFF   *ṭaffa / yiṭaffi* (II) to put off, to extinsguish

ṬFL   *ṭafil* (f. *ṭafla*) / *aṭfāl* child, kid, young boy

           ṭfēl (dim.) infant

ṬLB	*ṭaleb / yiṭlub* to search, to look for, to research [R.130]
	ṭalab / yuṭlub to ask for
	ṭilbe (VN) petition, request [R.42]
ṬLʿ	*ṭlaʿ / yiṭlaʿ* (VN *ṭlūʿ*) to go up, to rise
	ṭālaʿ / yiṭālaʿ (III) to browse, to have a look (books)
	muṭlāʿ uphill, slope (up)
	ṭalaʿ palm-flower
ṬLQ	*ṭalaq / yiṭluq* to unfasten, to set free
	ṭallaq / yiṭallaq (II) to divorce
	ṭilq open
ṬMR	*ṭammar / yiṭammar* (II) to bury
ṬMṬM	*ṭamāṭ / -īn* tomato (< Eng.)
ṬNF	*ṭanaf / yiṭnif* (v.t.) to take camels out [B.153]
	ṭannāf / ṭanānif camel-herdsman [R.76] [B.153, *tannēf*]
ṬNN	*ṭunn / aṭnān* ton (unit of measure)
ṬNY	*staṭnā / yistaṭnā* (X) to rent
ṬWʿ	*ṭōʿa* (f.) stick, nightstick
ṬWQ	*ṭāq* sole (shoes)
ṬWL	*inṭawal / yinṭawal* (VII) to reach/go far [B.154]
	ṭwīl / ṭwāl high, long, tall
	ṭawla table
ṬWY	*ṭawī / -āt ~ ṭuwyān ~ twī* (f.) well, fountain
ṬYB	*ṭīb / yiṭīb* (v.t.) to calm down, to appease
	ṭīb good will, will power
	bi-ṭ-ṭīb willingly
	ṭayīb (f. *ṭayba*) good, kind
ṬYḤ	*ṭāḥ / yiṭīḥ* to fall, to fall down
ṬYR	*ṭayr / yiṭīr* to flee, to fly
	ṭayr / ṭyūr bird
	ṭayra (f.) airplane
	maṭār airport
ṬYF	*ṭāyfe* origin, root, tribe, ancestry [R.44]
ṬYN	*ṭīn* mud, clay

ع

ʿBṮ	*ʿabeṯ / yoʿbiṯ* to process, to edit [R.144]
ʿBD	*ʿabad / yaʿbid* to adore, to worship
	ʿabid slave, servant [R.43]
ʿBR	*ʿobrī / ʿobrīye* passenger [B.156, *ʿabri/ ʿabriyya*]
ʿTQ	*ʿotq* (VN) realising [R42.]
	ʿatiq / ʿotqa freedman [R.71]
ʿTM	*ʿatīm* evening
ʿĞB	*ʿaggūbe* strange story, joke [R.48]
	ʿagbe / ʿagāyub miracle, wonder
	ʿagab so[59]
ʿĞĞ	*ʿigg / ʿugūg* gum
ʿĞZ	*ʿagūz / ʿagāyiz* old woman[60]
ʿĞL	*staʿgil / yistaʿgil* (X) to hurry
	mistaʿgil hurry, in a rush
	ʿogil (f. *ʿugle*) veal, calf
ʿĞM	*ʿagem* (f. *ʿagme*) dumb, quiet
ʿĞN	*ʿaggān / ʿagāgin* dough mixer
ʿDD	*ʿaded* number, count
ʿDS	*ʿadis* lentils
ʿDL	*ʿoddāl* in front of, opposite [R.112]
	ʿadil (f. *ʿadla*) fat, plump (of humans)
ʿDW	*ʿado / ʿodwān* enemy [R.73]
ʿḌQ	*ʿiḍiq / ʿuḍūq* beam of dates or bunch of fruit
ʿRB	*ʿarab / yoʿrub* to explain, to speak out
	ʿarabī (f. *ʿarabīya*) Arab
	ʿarabīye Arabic
	ʿarab / ʿorbān Bedouin, Arab people
ʿRĞ	*ʿareg* (f. *ʿarge*) lame, cripple [R.63]
ʿRS	*ʿarras / yiʿarrus* (II) to marry

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[59] According to my informants, this expression is peculiar of al-ʿAwābī.
[60] In the agricultural lexicon, *ʿagūz* is also used to indicate an "old palm-tree".

	ʿarūs / ʿarāyis bride
	ʿarīs groom
	ʿars wedding, marriage
ʿRŠ	ʿarš back/top of the hand
	ʿarīš an open hut made of palm-tree branches
	ʿaraš Ricinus Communis (Castor oil plant)[61]
ʿRʿR	ʿarʿur golden pendant[62]
ʿRF	ʿaruf / yuʿraf to know, to be aware of sth.
	iʿtarif / yiʿtarif (VIII) to recognise
	maʿarfe knowledge
ʿRQ	ʿarraq / yiʿarruq (II) to borrow, to lend
	tʿārq / yitʿāroq (VI) to defend (with weapons)
	ʿarq vein
	ʿarq an-nisā sciatic nerve (lit. "woman's vein")
ʿZY	ʿaze mourning[63]
ʿSR	ʿašār pregnant (of animals)
ʿSS	ʿass / yʿiss to wipe [N.33]
ʿSQ	ʿisqa / ʿisaq beam of dates [R.70]
ʿSKR	ʿaskri / ʿasākor soldier
ʿSL	ʿasel honey
ʿSM	ʿosem (f. ʿasme) cripple [R.63]
ʿŠʾ	tʿaššā / yitʿaššā (V) to have dinner
	ʿašā dinner
ʿŠR	ʿašar (f. ʿašara ~ ʿašra) ten
	ʿašrīn twenty
ʿŠN	ʿašān because of, in order to
ʿṢB	ʿaṣab / yoʿṣub to help, to aid
ʿṢR	ʿaṣar / yuʿṣur to squash, to squeeze
	ʿaṣīr juice
	ʿaṣr afternoon
ʿṢṢ	ʿuṣṣ hard, solid, tough

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[61] Erect perennial, can grow up to 2m. The seeds contain the Ricin poison, which is water soluble. This oil extracted (ḥall ʿaraš) is used for body massages.
[62] Single golden pendant, usually worn on the forehead by women.
[63] Mourning in Oman, as in other parts of the Islamic world, is observed by receiving visitors and consolences, and avoiding decorative or colourful clothing and jewelry.

ʿṢFR   *ʿaṣfūr / ʿaṣāfīr* sparrow, little bird

ʿṢL   *ʿaṣīl* (f. *ʿaṣīla*) */ ʿaṣāl* noble, thoroughbred (of horses) [<*ʾṢL]

ʿṢY   *ʿaṣa / ʿaṣyāt* stick

ʿṬR   *ʿaṭṭar / ʿuṭṭur* perfume, fragrance, scented extract, medicine

              krāz ʿaṭṭar pocket-size perfume

ʿṬŠ   *ʿoṭiš / yoʿṭiš* to be thirsty

              tʿaṭṭaš / yitʿaṭṭaš (II) to sneeze [N.3]

ʿFD   *ʿafid* (VN) jumping, jump [R.43]

ʿFN   *ʿofin* (f. *ʿofne*) rotten, rank [R.63]

ʿQB₁   *ʿaqāb* eagle

ʿQB₂   *ʿoqb* after, then (cf. CA *ʿaqaba* "to follow") (obs.) [R.108]

ʿQD   *ʿāqīd* (f. *ʿāqda*) ripe

              ʿaqīd / ʿoqdā officer [R.73]

ʿQR   *ʿāqor* infertile (cow)

ʿQRB   *ʿaqrab / -āt* (f.) scorpion

ʿQṢ   *ʿoqṣ / ʿuqūṣ* braid, tress

ʿQQ   *ʿaqq / yʿuqq* to throw sth. away

ʿQL   *ʿaqil* intelligence, brilliance, talent

              mʿaqqal camp

              ʿaqīl / ʿuqāl ~ ʿoqqāl smart, intelligent, brilliant

              ʿāqil (AP) wiseman

              ʿoqāl / ʿoqlān headscarf

ʿKB   *ʿekub / ʿkūb* heel [N.6]

ʿLB   *ʿulbe / ʿoleb* big, large branch

ʿLQ   *ʿallaqa* (f.) hanger, coat hanger

ʿLM   *ʿallam / yʿallim* (II) to teach

              tʿallem / yitʿallim (V) to learn

              ʿālim / ʿulamāʾ scientist

              ʿalāma trace, sign

              mʿallem teacher, professor

ʿLW   *ʿal ~ ʿala ~ ʿa* on, above, up there, to, toward, next to (direction), against, to the detriment of, related to, in order to, because of

              ʿilwā south[64]

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[64] Only used by speakers in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

ʿLY   *ʿāli* (f. *ʿālya*) high[65]

ʿMD   *ʿamd* intention, purpose [R.41]

              ʿamāde purposely, intentionally, wittingly

ʿMR   *ʿamar / yuʿmur* (v.t.) to be the caretaker of sth.

              ʿumur age

ʿML   *ʿamal / yaʿmal* to work

              staʿmal / yistaʿmal (X) to use

              ʿāmil / ʿommāl worker, employee [R.72]

              ʿamal / aʿmal job, work

ʿMM   *ʿamm / ʿomūme* uncle (from father's side) [R.74]

              ʿam(m)ti / ʿammāti aunt (from father's side)

              ʿamāma turban

              ʿāmme in general

ʿMN   *ʿomān* (f.) Oman

ʿN   *ʿan* from, according to, because of, to, for, on behalf of, except that, without against, instead of

ʿNB   *ʿinab* grapes

ʿNF   *ʿanfe / ʿunf* lobe

ʿNFF   *ʿanfūf* small bat

ʿNKB   *ʿankabūt / ʿanākib* spider

ʿNY   *yaʿni* that is, that is to say

              maʿne meaning, sense

ʿWB   *ʿābye / ʿawābi* cultivated soil, cropland [R.73]

ʿWǦ   *tʿēweǧ / yitʿēweǧ* (VI) to skew

ʿWD   *ʿōd* big, huge (obs.) [R.61]

              ʿōd / ʿīdān branch, node, stalk [R.73]

              ʿūd lute

ʿWR   *ʿowor / yoʿwor* to be blind [R.134]

              ʿawwar (II; t.v.) to hurt (cf. CA "to damage")

              tʿawwar (V) to hurt, to be painful, to hurt oneself

              ʿawar pain

              ʿawār blindness, wound or recovering wound

              ʿewar (f. *ʿawra*) blind [R.63]

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[65] It also means "north" in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

ʿWZ   *ʿawīz* (f. *ʿawza*) bent, curved

ʿWS   *ʿūs* wolf

ʿWḌ   *ʿawaḍ* instead, instead of

ʿWQ   *ʿawwaq* (II) to get sick, ill

             iʿtawaq (VIII) to be sick, ill

             ʿōq sickness, disease

             ʿāwiq (f. *ʿāwwiqa*) sick, ill, wick

ʿWL   *ʿawāl* dried fish [N.90]

ʿWM   *ʿūma* sardines

ʿWN   *ʿowwān* / *ʿawāwin* palm grove

             mwāʿīn (coll.) tablewares, cutlery

ʿYD   *ʿīd* / *ʿyād* to celebrate, to feast

             ʿād correct, right!

ʿYR   *ʿayār* / *ʿayāyir* dodger, idler

ʿYŠ   *ʿāš* / *yʿīš* to live

             istaʿīš (X) to earn a livelihood

             ʿīš ~ *ʿayš* susteneance, food ("rice" in Oman)

ʿYM   *ʿām* year

ʿYN   *ʿēn* / *ʿoyūn* (f.) eye, spring

             ʿowēne / *-āt* brook

ʿYY   *ʿayy* / *yʿia* to get tired

             ʿayyān tired [R.52]

Ġ

ĠʾĠʾ   *ġāġā* Mentha Longifolia[66]

ĠBR   *ġēbor* sparrow

             ġabār dust

             ġbar (f. *ġabra*) ashy

ĠBŠ   *ġabše* daily (obs.) [R.113]

             ġabša (f.) dusk, early morning

ĠBY   *ġabbī* stupid, dumb

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[66] Aromatic perennial herb that can grow up to 50cm. It is used to preserve delicate fruit, such as grapes or *būt*, when it is carried in locally-made baskets from the mountains down to local markets.

ĠTR	*ġatar / yoġtor* to deceive [R.129]
	ġattār / ġatātir trickster
ĠTM	*ġtem* (f. *ġatme*) stutterer
ĠDʾ	*ġadē* lunch
ĠDF	*ġadef / yoġduf* to jump high, + *ʿale* to break into
	ġadf above, across, on the other side
	il-ġadfi the maximum, the highest
	ġadfa (f.) long woman's veil[67]
ĠDY	*ġādi* distant, far away, ahead, over there
	fil ġādi ~ min hene (bākor) w-ġādi ~ min ḥīn u ġādi from now on, henceforth
ĠRB₁	*ġarbī* west-wind
	ġarb West
ĠRB₂	*ġrāb / ġurbān* crow [R.73] [N.92]
	ġarīb / ġurb guest, foreigner
ĠRR	*ġarr / yġurr* (II) to betray, to cheat, to deceive
ĠRŠ	*ġarše / ġraš* bottle [R.57]
ĠRĠR	*ġarġar / yiġarġor* to rattle (cf. GA *ġarġar* "to gargle")
	ġurġur peas[68]
ĠRF	*ġaraf / yoġruf* to pour into another vase [R.129]
	ġurfe / ġraf (f.) room [R.70]
	muġrāf jug
ĠRQ	*ġroq / yoġroq* to sink, to be drowned [R.134]
ĠZL	*ġazāl / ġizlān* antelope, gazelle
ĠSL	*ġasal / yuġsil* to wash, to clean
ĠŠŠ	*ġišš* dirt, filth
ĠŠY	*ġašya* (f.) gastritis
ĠḌB	*ġḍub / yoġḍub* to be angry
ĠḌḌ	*ġaḍḍ* unripe, raw [B.167]
ĠṬṬ	*ġaṭṭā / yġaṭṭi* to lay
ĠFR	*ġāfri / ġāfriye* military efficiency, tribe name
ĠFL	*mitġāfil* forgetful, absent-minded

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[67] Usually worn with a second veil, called *lesō*.

[68] Only used by the speaker within the al-ʿAwābī district. Elsewhere, they use *basilla*.

	ġafla suddenly
ĠFF	*ġuffe* (f.) chaff, tatch, straw
ĠFY	*ġaffāy* sleepyhead
ĠLB	*ġaleb* / *yoġlub* to win, to defeat [R.145]
	ġilbīye defeat
ĠLQ	*ġluq* (f. *ġilqa*) hard to understand [R.63]
ĠLL	*ġalle* (f.) hollow, room [R.57]
ĠLM	*ġlām* boy, lad
ĠLY	*ġale* expensive
ĠLYN	*ġalyūn* tobacco for waterpipe (< Pers. *ġalyūn* "waterpipe"; cf. YA *ġalyūn* "pipe")
ĠMR	*ġmor* / *yoġmor* to faint, to pass out [R.135]
	ġomrān / *ġomrārīn* unconscious
ĠMŠ	*ġmeš* (f. *ġamše*) shortsighted [R.63]
ĠMM	*ġamma* / *ġamām* (f.) cloud
ĠNḌR	*tġanḍar* / *yitġanḍer* (tQ) to faint
ĠNM	*ġanma* / *ġunum* goat
	ġanem (coll.) goats, sheep
ĠNY₁	*ġani* / *ġinye* rich, wealthy
ĠNY₂	*ġanna* / *yġanni* to sing, to recite
ĠWZ	*ġāzi* / *ġwāzi* money, cash
ĠWL	*ġūl* / *ġīlān* snake (cf. CA *ġūl* "evil spirit, ogre") [R.42]
ĠWY	*ġūwyān* by mistake [Rein.]
	ġāwi (f. *ġāwiye*) beautiful, excellent (obs.) [R.62]
	eġwe more beautiful
ĠYB	*ġāb* / *yġīb* to get astray, lost
ĠYR	*ġār* / *yġār* to envy, to be jealous
	ġayyar / *yġayyar* (II) to exchange, to change
	ġēr other, different
	ġēr except, without
	ġēr inno unless
	min ġēr without, but
ĠYM	*ġēm* / *ġyām* cloud

F

FʾR	*fãr* mouse
FTḤ	*fataḥ / yuftaḥ* to open
	miftāḥ / mafātiḥ ~ mfātiḥ key
FTK	*fatak / yuftik* to pick (fruit), harvest
FTN	*fitne / ften* (f.) intrigue, conspiracy, plot, dispute [R.70]
	fettān intriguing
FǦR	*fagr* dawn
FǦL	*fgil* radish
FḤR	*faḥar / yufḥor* to scarpe with pews (cow) [R.129]
FḪḌ	*faḫaḏ /fḫūḏ* thigh [N.6]
FRǦ	*farrūg* little bird, birdie
FRḤ	*faraḥ / yufraḥ* to be joyful, happy, glad
	forḥān (f. *forḥāna*) glad, happy, joyful
	farraḥ pop-corn
FRḪ	*farraḫ / yifarraḫ* (II) to blossom, to bloom [B.170]
	forāḫa (f.) flower
	farḫ / frūḫ a teen, young boy
	farḫa / -āt a teen, young girl
FRD	*frad* (f. *farde*) one-eyed [R.63]
	fard / -īn eyeglass
FRR	*firār* (VN) fleeing
FRS	*faras* (f.) mare, horse
	fāris / fursān knight
FRŠ	*faraš / yufriš* to spread
	farāša (f.) butterfly
	frāš / furš carpet, rug
FRṢḌ	*furṣāḍ* (coll.) berries
FRḌ	*furḍa* (f.) customs office/house
	farīḍa / ferāyoḍ percentage, salary, wage
FRFR	*farfur / yifarfur* to flutter
	ferfūr / frāfir wing

FRQ	*tfarraq / yitfarraq* (V) to separate, to part
	tfārq / yitfāroq (VI) to divorce [R.172, *tfārqo*]
	farqa (f.) parting (hair)
	mefraq crossroads, fork
	mafraq head ornament[69]
FRQʿ	*tfarqaʿ / yitfarqoʿ* (tQ) to rattle (of fire)
FRKN	*ferkūn / ferākīn* knuckle
FRN	*furn* oven
FRNS	*fransīsi* French
FZʿ	*fazāʿa* scarecrow[70]
FSTQ	*festqī* fluorescent green
FSḪ	*fasaḫ / yufsaḫ* to take off, to move out [R.144]
FSKL	*feskūl* middle finger (swear word)
FŠŠ	*fešš* cuttle-fish
FSḪ	*fasḫ* sth. that guarantees the authenticity, authentic [R.41]
FḌḌ	*foḍḍa* silver
FṬḤ	*faṭḥa / fṭāḫ* buttock
FṬR	*fuṭūr* breakfast
FṬN	*faṭan / yifṭan* (v.t.) to assess, to consider, to understand [R.252]
	faṭūn (f. *faṭūna*) shrewd
FḌL	*tfaḍḍal* (f. *tfaḍḍli*) please
FʿY	*faʿā / foʿyān* (f.) snake
FQR	*faqīr / fuqarā* poor
FQḤ	*faqḥa* anus
FQFQ	*tfaqfaq / yitfafoq* (tQ) to cackle (with laughter)
FKR	*fteker / yuftkor* (VIII; VN *fetkār*) to think, to believe
	muftkor thinker, scholar
FKH	*fawākih* (coll.) fruit
FLS	*fulūs* (coll.) money
FLT	*fallat / yfallit* (II) to untie
FLǦ	*feleg / aflāg* traditional gravity-fed irrigation system, stream, flow
FLFL	*filfil* pepper, chilly

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[69] This is a jewel positioned on the parting that embellish the forehead.
[70] Also called *waʿār* in al-ʿAwābī. It is made with bones of animals.

	filfil rūmī green pepper
FLQ	*felaq* / *yuflaq* to cut, to split
FM	*fam* mouth
FNĞN	*fingān* / *fanāgīn* coffee cup
FNDL	*findāl* / *fanādil* sweet potato [R.55]
FNZZ	*fanzūz* weevil
FNŠ	*finniš* (II) to get fired, to resigne, to get retired (< Eng. *finish*)
FHQ	*fahaq* / *yufhaq* to hiccup, to sob [R.145]
FHM	*fhum* / *yifhum* to understand
	fehūm (f. *fehūme*) wise, clever
FWĞ	*fāge* (f.) stable
FWḤ	*fwaḥ* flat, plane
	efwaḥ flatter, (adv.) beyond
FWḪ	*tfōḫa* / *yitfōḫa* (VI) to sit straddling [R.172]
FWD	*fwād* / *fūde* soul, feeling [R.72]
FWR	*fōra* (f.) steel
	fwāri raw
	fūra / *fūrāt* corner, edge
FWFL	*fōfil* nutmeg [cf. R.44, *fōfel*]
FWQ	*fōq* (prep.) on, upstairs, (adv.) above, top
	al-fōq the highest, maximum
	fōq baʿaḍ . . . baʿaḍ upside down
FY	*fī* in, inside, at, on, near
	fī kill mekān everywhere
	fīh there is/are
FYF	*fīf* pipe (< Eng.)
FYFY	*fīfāy* papaya (fruit/tree)[71] – (< Port.)
FYL	*fīl* / *fyēle* elephant

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[71] *Asimina Triloba.*

Q

QʾL   *qāl / yiqūl* to say, to tell

QBB   *qubb / yiqubb* make a dome

qabīb (f. *qabībe*) small, narrow (of space)

qabb / qbūb stick [R.72]

qubbe / qbīb dome

QBḤ   *qabīḥ* mean, ugly

QBD   *stoqbād* receipt

QBR   *qabar / yoqbar* to bury

qabur / qbūr grave

maqbara graveyard [cf. R.50, *mqubra*]

QBL   *qabil* before

qabil at the beginning

mqābil in front of

min qabil before, otherwise

qibla the direction of Mekkah

qabūle chicken/lamb soup (served with rice)[72]

qabīla / qabāyil tribe

QTT   *qatt* clover, trefoil, alfalfa [R.41]

QTDL   *qatdīl el-baḥr* jellyfish

QTL   *qatel / yoqtil* to kill

tqātl / yitqātl (VI) to defend (with weapons)

qatīl / qitle killed, murdered

QḤḤ   *qoḥḥ* genuine, pure, real, straight, true

QḤF   *qaḥf / qḥāfe* fragments [R.75]

QḤM   *qḥom / yoqḥum* (VN *qḥūm*) to descend, to come down (obs.) [R.135]

QDR   *qadar / yuqador* to be able to

qador / -āt (f.) earthen pot [cf. R.43]

maqdra power

qadar about, more or less [R.119]

QDF   *qadaf / yiqduf* to row

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[72] Typical Omani dish.

	muqdāf / *mqādīf* oar, paddle
QDM	*qdum* / *yuqdem* to grow old [R.146]
	qadīm old
	qiddām in advance, in front of, forward
QRʾ	*qarā* / *yiqra* to read
	qurān Quran [R.52, *qurˁān*]
QRB₁	*qrub* / *yoqrub* to approach
	tqārb / *yitqārb* (VI) to approach, to agree
	staqrab (X) to borrow, to lease, to rent
	qarīb close
	qarbo! Come in!
	qarb close, near, beside, next to
	qarīb soon
QRB₂	*qarbe* / *qrab* hose [R.70]
QRR	*qorra* / *qrīr* frog [R.74] [B.177]
QRŠ	*qurš* shark
QRṢ	*qarrūṣ* jellyfish
QRḌ	*qaraḍ* / *yoqroḍ* to lend sth. to so. [R.129]
QRṬ	*qaraṭ* / *yuqruṭ* to chew
QRṬṢ	*qorṭāṣ* paper
	qorṭāṣe (f.) document [R.55]
QRF	*qarfa* / *qarāfa* playing cards
QRQḤ	*qarqaḥ* / *yiqarquḥ* to knock, to hi
QRQˁ	*maqraqāˁ* Physalis Angulata[73]
QRQR	*qarqūr* shark
QRN	*qarn* / *qrūn* horn
	qorne (f.) place[74]
QRNFL	*qranfel* clove [R.55]
QRY	*qarye* village, settlement
QSM	*qisme* (f.) part, portion, section
QŠR	*qašar* / *yuqšur* to scratch
	qaššar / *yqaššar* (II) to peel

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[73] A weedy annual plant, found in cultivations. The fruit is used by children to produce sounds, as it clapps between hands.

[74] Used by my informants in the al-ˁAwābī district to indicate a place that both speakers know.

	qiššār bark, crust, rind
QŠʿ	*moqšāʿ* / *mqāšiʿ* knotty stick
	qāšʿa sardines[75]
QṢB	*qaṣṣāb* / *qaṣāṣīb* butcher
QṢR	*qṣīr* (f. *qṣīra*) short
QṢṢ	*qaṣṣ* / *yquṣṣ* to cut, to slice
	qiṣṣa / *qṣuṣ* story
	mqaṣṣa (f.) scissors
QṢṬ	*qāṣaṭ* / *yqāṣoṭ* (III) to save up, to keep
QṢF	*qaṣṣaf* / *yqaṣṣaf* (II) to wrap up, to fold
QḌM	*qoḍḍāme* mash
QḌY	*qāḍi* judge
QṬ	*qaṭ* cat (< Eng.)
QṬʿ	*qaṭaʿ* / *yuqṭaʿ* (VN *qaṭaʿ*) to cross, to ferry
	qṭāʿa difference, division
	qāṭʿa blade
QṬN	*qṭin* cotton (< Eng.) [N.11]
QʿD	*staqʿad* / *yistaqʿed* (X) to rent (house), to borrow, lease [R.177]
	qoʿod rent [R.177]
QʿR	*qʿor* seabed
QʿQʿ	*qūʿqū* upside down [R.55]
QFD	*qafed* nape
QFR	*qfīr* / *qfor* ~ *qufrān* basket
QFS	*qafaṣ ṭēr* aviary
QFL	*qafel* / *yoqfil* to close, to lock [R.144]
	qāfle (f.) caravan [R.44]
QFW	*qafe* after, behind, back
QLB	*qalb* / *qlūb* heart
	qalbe (f.) pendant of the necklace[76]
QLṢ	*qalaṣ* / *yoqloṣ* to prune, to trim, to clip
QLʿ	*muqlāʿ* slingshot [R.50]
QLF	*qalfa* cinnamon [N.21]

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[75] Only used in proverbs.
[76] Positioned more or less on the heart.

QLL	*qall / yqill* to set up, to establish
	qalīl little, (adv.) a little
QLM	*qalem / qlāme* pen
QLY	*qalā / yiqli* to fry
	maqlī (PP) fried
	muqla frying-pan
QMḤ	*qamḥa* (f.) wheat
QMR	*qamrīye* full moon night
	qamar moon
	qamāra (f.) central tower of the traditional Omani house[77]
QMS	*qāmūs* dictionary, vocaboulary
QMŠ	*mqamše / maqāmiš* spoon
QMṬ	*qammāṭ / qamāmīṭ* fishmonger [R.75]
QNB	*qannūb* onion flower [B.181]
QNDL	*qandil* manual lamp
QNṢ	*qanaṣ / yuqnuṣ* to hunt [N.46]
QNṬR	*qanṭra* bridge (cf. YA *qunṭurah* "shoe") [R.46]
	qnēṭra (dim.) little bridge [R.46]
QNFḎ	*qanfaḏ* hedgehog
QHR	*qahar / yoqhar* to catch, to grab [R.145]
QHW	*qahwa / yqahwa* (v.t.) to give so. coffee and dates
	tqahhawa / yitqahhawa (V) to drink coffee
	qahwa coffee
	mqahwi owner of a coffee shop
	maqhā coffee shop
QWS	*qūs al-maṭar* rainbow[78]
QWḌ	*stoqwaḍ / yistoqwaḍ* (X) to finish (a job)
QWṬ	*qūṭi / qwāṭi* tin
QWF	*tqāfe / yitqāwf* (VI) to chase
QWM	*qōm* troops
QWY	*quwwa* strenght, power
	qawī (f. *qawīyya*) strong, powerful

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[77] Here it is usually stored the water tank.
[78] In al-ʿAwābī is also called *qūs r-raḥma* or *qūs allāh*.

qawaya (f.) iron

QYS   *qāyas* / *yqāyis* (III) to compare

qyās analogy

QYM   *qayyam* / *yiqayyam* (II) to wake up

qyām (VN) lifting up

qāme / *-āt* ~ *qyem* shape, form, figure, profile

qāma (f.) central panel of the décor on the upper part of the traditional Omani dress for women

K

KBB   *kabb* / *ykubb* (v.t.; VN *kebub*) to spill, to dribble

mkebbe / *mkēbb* tin (of milkpowder), plastic box (for food)

KBT   *kebet* cupboard, closet, wardrobe (< Eng.)

KBR   *kbor* / *yukbor* to grow up, to get bigger

tkēbar / *yitkēbar* (VI) to be wild

kbor greatness

mitkēbor proud

kbūrīye pride, boldness [R.53]

kebīr (f. *kebīra*) / *kbār* big, old, large

ekbar bigger

kebārāt notaries [R.69]

KBRT   *kabrīt* matches

KBD   *kubd* / *-āt* (f.) liver

KBŠ   *kebš* / *kobāš* mutton [R.72]

KTB   *keteb* / *yuktub* (VN *ketub*) to write, to text

kāteb / *yikātub* (III) to reply (to a letter)

ktābe handwriting

kitāb / *ktub* book

kettīb / *ketātīb* writer

maktab office

KTR   *kittāra* saber (< H.) [R.126]

KTL   *ketel* kettle (< Eng.)

KTN   *kittān* linen [N.11]

KTR	*kātar / yikātor* (III, VN *ktār*) to increase, to multiply [R.165]
	ktir more, much
	ektār usually, mostly
KDS	*kids* pile, heap, lot
KDʿ	*kadaʿ / yikdaʿ* to bite
KDF	*kidf / kdūf* shoulder
KḎB	*kūḏib / yikūḏib* (III) to lie
	keḏḏāb / keḏāḏib lier
KRB	*karrūbe* (f.) braid, tress
KRR	*karr / krūr* dew
KRSY	*kursī / karāsī* chair, sofa
KRŠ	*korš / -āt ~ krūš* (f.) stomach, belly [R.71]
KRʿ	*karʿ* leg
KRF	*kraf* (f. *karfe*) cripple [R.63]
KRFY	*kurfāya / karāfi* bed, bedstead, charpoy (< Pers. *chārpā'ī* "four legs")
KRK	*karak / yukruk* to burn, to brood [R.144]
KRM	*tkēram / yitkēram* (VI) to accomodate so.
	mitkērum hospitable
	krīm / krām charitable
KRH	*tkērah / yitkērah* (VI) to be ugly, bad
	krīh (f. *krīha*) contemptuous [R.62]
KRW	*korūwe / kerāru* dove
KZKZ	*kezkez / yikezkez* to shiver, to chatter from the cold
	kazkaz very cute
KSB	*keseb / yiksib* (v.t.; VN *kesub*) to rob, to deprive (cf. NA *kisab* "to raid a loot")
	kissāb / kissābe highwayman, bandit [R.76]
KSR	*kasar / yiksur* (VN *kesor*) to break
	tkāsr / yitkāsr (VI) to insult, to offend
	nkesar / yunksor (VII) to get out of order, to be broken
	minksor (f. *minkisra*) broken, fracture
	nuksāra (VII) defeat
	mukassarāt (coll.) nuts
KSL	*kislān* (f. *kislāna*) hypocrite

KŠR	*kašra* (f.) rubbish, trash
KDD	*kaḍḍ* / *yikoḍḍ* to drive, to push [R.178]
KF	*kef* top part of the hand
KFR	*kuffāra* atonement (cf. YA *kuffāreh* "sum of money payed in place of a vote") [R.48]
KFL	*kāfil* enough
KLB	*killāb* hoe [R.48]
	kelb (f. *kelbe*) / *klāb* dog
	klēb puppy
KLT	*klōtiyye* (dim.) little hat for kids
KLF	*kelf* (VN) forcing, coercing [R.41]
KLL	*kill* all, every
KLM	*kālem* / *ykālum* (III) to talk to so.
	tkallam / *yitkallam* (V) to speak
	kalām speech
	kilma / *kalimāt* word
	kellim shareholder
	mitkellum / *mitkellemīn* master of *kalām*, theologian, scholar
KMTR	*kummitra* (f.) pear
KML	*kmil* pile, heap
KMM	*kumme* / *kmīm* traditional Omani skull-cap
	kmēme (dim.) bonnet [R.46]
KN	*kana* Echinops Erinaceus (Globe thistle)[79]
KNS	*knīs* without air and light, claustrophobic [R.62]
	miknasa (f.) vacuum cleaner
KNŠ	*kanīša* church
KHRB	*kahraba* ~ *karhaba* (f.) electricity
KHS	*kāhes* / *yikāhis* (III) to work hard, to toil, to struggle [R.165]
KHL	*čhil* wife (cf. YA *kahlah* / *čahleh* "old woman")[80]
KWB	*kūb* tea cup (< Eng.)
KWT	*kōt* / *akwāt* coat (< Eng.)
KWZ	*kōz* / *kizān* little earthen jar [R.73]

[79] Erect perennial with grooved, bristly stems that can grow up to 2m. It is browsed by camels.
[80] This lexical item is now obsolescent according to my informants, altough it is used by old speakers in al-ʿAlya (Wādī Banī Kharūṣ).

KWS	*kūsa* (f.) courgette
KWSL	*kōsel / kwāsil* consul
	kislān lier, so. unreliable (cf. YA *kaslān* "carefree")
KWŠ	*kōš / kīšān* shoe (< Pers.)
	kwēš (dim.) little shoe [R.46]
	kōš south-wind
KWʿ	*kōʿ / kīʿān* elbow [R.56]
KWL	*kūli* a foreign labourer (< Eng. *coolie* "id.")
KWN	*kān / ykūn* to be, to exist
	mekān / -āt place, spot
	bū kān whoever, somebody
KYF	*kēf* how, like, as
KYL	*kīlo / kilwēt* kilogram (< Eng.)

L

L	*li-* to, for (to mean belonging), in order to, for the benefit of, because of, in the interests of
	ilēn to, until
Lʾ	*lā* no
	lā . . . u lā neither…nor
LʾLʾ	*lūlū* pearl
LBD	*lābid* probably, maybe
LBS	*labis / yilbes* to get dressed, to wear
	labs / malābis dress
LBQ	*labbaq / ylabbaq* (II; v.t.) to burn, to light/turn on
LBN	*libān* type of milk
LĞĞ	*legūg* (f. *legūge*) desiring everything at once [R.62]
LḤḤ	*laḥḥa* rim on the cuff[81]
LḤS	*laḥas / yilḥas* to lick
LḤF	*liḥāf / loḥf* woman's veil with no décor and unicolour
LḤQ	*lḥoq / yilḥoq* to hit

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[81] Traditional Omani dress for women.

	tlāḥaq / yitlāḥoq (VI) to chase
LḤM	*laḥam* meat, flesh
LḤY	*loḫye* beard, chin [R.42]
LḪM	*loḫme* (f.) calf (leg)
LDD	*laḏīḏ* (f. *laḏīḏa*) / *lḏūḏ* tasty, delicious
LZM	*lāzim* must, need
LSS	*lass / yliss* to touch
LSN	*lisān* tongue
LṢṢ	*luṣṣ* thief
LDD	*laḍḍ / ylaḍḍ* to go away
LṬF	*laṭīf* (f. *laṭīfa*) / *lṭūf* pleasant, nice
LʿB	*laʿab / yilʿub* to play
	luʿub game, match, play
LʿN	*luʿan* nausea
LĠĠ	*loġġāy* chatty, talkative
	luġġe / lġūġ gecko
LĠLĠ	*tlaġlaġ / yitlaġloġ* (tQ) to flood
LĠW	*luġa / -āt* language
LFF	*laff / yliff* to roll up
LQY	*lqī / yilqa* to meet
LKŠ	*lekeš / yilkiš* to seize [Rein.143]
LKN	*lākin* but, however, although
LMʿ	*lamaʿ / yilmaʿ* to sparkle, to shine, to flash [N.85]
LMB	*lamba* (f.) lamp (< Eng.)
LMN	*laymūn ~ līmūn* lemon
LHB	*milhāb* bellows [R.50]
	mlehbe (f.) hand-fan
LḤWZ	*lahwaz / yilahwiz* to lick
LWB	*lūbye* beans
LWḤ	*lawwaḥ / yilawwaḥ* (II) to swing, to wave, to shake (hand, head)
	lōḥ / līḥān axis, plank [R.73]
	lwēḥ (dim.) little axis
	lōḥa / lwaḥ longer way, detour [R.72]
LWN	*lōn / elwān* colour

LYT   *lēt ~ layt / -āt* light, lamp, lighbulb, headlamp (< Eng.)

LYḤ   *layḫ / alyāḫ* fishing-net

LYŠ   *lēš* why?

LYL   *lēliye* all night long [R.54]

           lēle / leyāli night

           lēlit ems last night

LYN   *leyīn* tender, soft

           elyen softer, more tender

M

MBW   *mbāw* Cordia Myxa (< Sw. *mbao* "wood")[82]

MṮL   *meṯel* for instance, for example

MḤT   *meḥēt* near, next to (obs.) [R.109]

MḤR   *maḥāra* (f.) shell

MḤŠ   *moḥše / mḥāši* tendril [R.74]

MḪḪ   *moḫḫ* brain [R.42]

MḪR   *mōḫra* nose

           muḫḫār nostrils

           mwēḫra (dim.) little nose [R.46]

MḪḌ   *maḫaḍ / yumḫiḍ* to skim (milk) [R.129]

MDḤ   *madaḥ / yumdaḥ* to praise

MDD₁   *madd / yimidd* to extend, to lengthen

           mudde (f.) duratio

MDD₂   *madād* ink

MDN   *medīne / mdin* (f.) city, town [cf. R.71, *medāin*]

           medīne Medine (holy town in Saudi Arabia)

           medenī citizen, civil

MRʾ   *mrā* woman

MRǦL *margal* big pot

MRR₁   *mrūr* (VN) passing, overcoming [R.45]

           marra again, at once

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[82] Also knows as *qāw*, the fruit of this plant is edible, and it is used to treat abdominal conditions; the pulp is also used as a glue.

	marra / *marrāt* time (once, twice, etc.)
	marra . . . marra step by step, bit by bit
	b-marra ~ bi-l-marra now, instantly, completely
	kill marra everytime
	emrār often
MRR₂	*murr* bitter
MRṢĠ	*marṣaġ* wrist
MRḌ	*mroḍ* / *yumroḍ* to be sick
	tmarraḍ / *yitmarraḍ* (V) to get sick
	marīḍ (f. *marīḍa*) sick, ill
	marḍ / *amrāḍ* disease
	mumarriḍa (f.) nurse
MRṬ	*marṭ* (VN) depriving, robbing (cf. YA *maraṭ* "to swallow") [R.41]
MRQ	*maraq* chicken soup (served with rice and potatoes)[83]
MRW	*mrūwe* masculinity
MRY	*murrīya* / *mrāri* necklace (with pendant)
MZḤ	*mazaḥ* / *yimzaḥ* to joke, to fool
MZZ	*mezze* (f.) force, temperament [R.41]
	mizz silversmith [R.42]
MSʾ	*mse* evening, late afternoon
	mse late
MSBḤ	*msebbḥa* (f.) middle finger
MSKN	*miskīn* / *misākin* poor (used mainly as commisaration)
	msēkin poor guy
MŠMŠ	*mišmiš* apricot, plum
MŠW	*māšūwa* ship, boat (use for fishing) (< H.) [R.126]
MŠY	*meše* / *yumši* to walk, to go
	tmaššā / *yitmaššā* (V) to stroll, to amble
	māšyān by foot
MṢR	*miṣrī* Egyptian
	miṣr (f.) Egypt
MṬR	*maṭar* / *emṭār* rain
MṬWR	*moṭār* / *mawāṭir* vintage car (< Eng.) [84]

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[83] Typical Omani dish.

Mʿ	*maʿ* near, with, to (to express belonging)
MĠḌN	*maġḍan* knee joint [R.56]
MKK	*mekki* Mekkah (holy town in Saudi Arabia)
MLḤ	*malḥ* salt
	māluḥ salty
	malḥlaḥ Dyerophytum Indicum[85]
MLK	*melik / mulūk* king
	melike / -āt queen
	malka (f.) engagement
MLL	*melle / mlāl* bowl
	mlēle (dim.) little bowl
MN	*min* among, a little, a piece of (as partitive), for, because of, due to (factitive), by (with passive verbs), in relation to, compared to, than (after a comparative)
	min qadā ~ min gāmb ~ min ṣōb from
	min wara from the rear, back
	min fōq from the top, above
	min taḥt from underneath
	min wusṭa ~ min wasaṭ in the middle of
	min maʿa ~ min ʿand ~ min mʿand from, by
	min ēn from where?
	min qabil ~ min sāboq before, beforehand, in the past
	min baʿad later, afterwards
	min ḫāruǧ from the outside
	min dāḫil from the inside
	min ġēr ~ min dūn without
MNWR	*manwār* warship (< Eng. *man-of-war*) (obs.) [R.126]
MHʾ	*mahā* Arab oryx [86]
MHR	*mhor* stamp [R.41]
MW	*mū* (interrogative pronoun) what?, (relative pronoun) what
MWZ	*mōz* (coll.) banana

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[84]According to my informants, it is especially used in Rustāq and Wādī Banī Kharūṣ.

[85] Erect shrub, can grow up to 2m. The whole plant is covered by a salty powder and it is sometimes used in cooking as a substitute of salt. The leaves are eaten as a sald with dried sardines (*saḥnāt qāšʿa*), onions and a drop of lemon juice.

[86] This is especially used in al-ʿAwābī. The generic term used elsewhere in Oman is *waʿl* "gazelle, ibex".

MWL   *māl / emwāl* resource, property

MY   *māy / māye* water

MYʾ   *mia* a hundred

MYT   *māt / ymūt* (VN *mōt*) to die

MYZ   *mēz* table (< Port.)

MYL   *mēl* mile (< Eng.)

N

NBŠ   *nebbeš / yinebbiš* (II) to search, to rummage through [R.159]

NBQ   *naboq* fruit of the Sidr tree

NBH   *nabih / yinbah* to bark

NBY   *nabī* prophet Muhammad

NṮY   *naṯe* female

NǦR   *neggār / negāgīr* carpenter [R.75]

              mangar chisel [B.201]

NǦRZ   *ngrēzi* English

NǦM   *nagum / ngūm* star

NǦNR   *inǧenīr* engineer (< Eng.)

NḤF   *naḥaf / yinḥaf* (v.i.) to become dry

              neḥīf dry

NḤL   *naḥl* bee

NḤY   *nāḥye / nwāḥi* landscape

NḪR   *naḫar /yinḫar* to snore

NḪL₁   *noḫḫāle* sieve [R.48]

NḪL₂   *naḫal / naḫīl* date-palm

NDS   *mandūs / mnādīs* wooden chest (used to store clothes)

NDY   *nede* dew

NRǦL   *nargīl* coconut

              nargīl (f.) coconut palm

NZZ   *mnezz / mnāzz* cradle [R.75]

NZʿ   *nāzaʿ / ynāziʿ* (III) to scold, to fight with so. [R.164]

              tnāzeʿ / yitnāzaʿ (VI) to quarrel, to fight [R.171]

              mnēzeʿi polemical, controversial

NZQ	*ʿa nezqa* suddenly, all of a sudden (obs.) [R.114]
NZL	*nezel / yinzil* (VN *nzūl*) to go down
	manzil house
NZW	*nizwe* Nizwa (town in Oman)
	nezāwi Nizwa inhabitant
NSB	*nisbe* (f.) origin, beginning
NSĞ	*nasag / yinsig* to weave
	nessāg / nesāsig weaver, textile worker
NSR	*nisr* vulture
NSW	*niswe / niswān ~ nse* woman
	nsēwi feminine
NSY	*nsī / yinsa* to forget
NŠB	*niššābe / nšāšib ~ niššāb* arrow
NŠḤ	*našaḥ / yinšaḥ* (v.t.) to sprinkle
NŠW	*nšē* starch
NṢR	*naṣr* triumph
NṢṢ	*noṣṣ* a half
NṢṬ	*nṣāṭ* handle (knife) [N.31]
NṢF	*nṣāf* through
NḌĞ	*nḍūgīye* maturity [R.53]
NḌR	*naḍar / yinḍar* (v.t.) to see, to look at
	manḍra / mnāḍor mirror
	mnēḍra (dim.) compact mirror, rear-view window (car)
	naḍḍāra (f.) glasses, spectacles
NḌF	*naḍḍaf / yinaḍḍif* (II; VN *mnaḍḍaf*) to circumcise
	mnaḍḍaf (PP) circumcised
	nḍīf clean
NṬR	*naṭāra* (f.) fraud, deception
NṬL	*naṭle / nṭal* woman's anklet [R.70]
NʿŠL	*naʿšel / yinaʿšel* to confuse, to mess up
NʿNʿ	*naʿnaʿ / ynaʿnoʿ* to nod
	naʿnaʿ (pepper)mint
NFḪ	*nafaḫ / yinfaḫ* to blow, to inflate
	minfāḫ fan, blower [R.50]

NFR   *nefer / enfār* person [R.72]

NFS   *tnaffas / yitnaffas* (V) to breathe

                nefs / -āt (f.) soul

                nfīs (f. *nfīse*) precious, valuable

                enfes more precious

NFNF   *nafnuf* woman's over-garment[87]

NFH   *nfih* full of light and air, airy

NQB   *munqāb* beak

NQṢ   *naqṣa / nqaṣ* a concret pillar, corner-post (part of the house)

NQʿ   *tnāqeʿ / yitnāqeʿ* (VI) to bomb, to shoot, to burst

NQF   *naqaf / yinqaf* (v.t.) to transport

NQL   *naqqal / yinaqqal* (II) to separate

NKB   *menkeb* scapula [R.56]

NKR   *neker / yunkor* to deny, to contest, to protest, to criticize

NKL   *nekile* (f.) weakness (caused by an effort)

NKH   *nekeh / yunkeh* to be tasty, good

NMR   *nimr / nmāra* tiger

NMWN   *nemūne ~ nemne* (f.) a sort, a kind, type (< Pers. *na-mūne* "example, specimen") [R.45]

NHB   *nehub* (VN) robbing, depriving [R.43]

NHR   *nhāriye* all day long, daily [R.54]

NHŠ   *neheš / yinheš* to pull with teeth [R.146]

NHḌ   *nahaḍ / yinhaḍ* (VN *nhūḍ*) to get/wake up

NHM   *nehem / yinhem* to call so., to shout

NHY   *nehi* prohibition, ban [R.42]

NWB   *nōbe* also [R.119]

NWH̬   *mnāḫ / menāḫāt* battlefield

NWR   *nār / yinūr* to shine, to flash

                nār / -āt ~ nīrān (f.) light, fire

                nwēra (f.) fire

                menāra lighthouse

NWṢ   *naṣī* straight

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[87] Type of veil used by women at weddings or on traditional dresses. This veil is usually transparent and has only the rim embroidered with specific designes or stones.

	enṣa straighter
NWʿ	*nōʿ / enwāʿ* way, manner
NWQ	*nāqa* a she-camel
NWM	*nām / yinām* to sleep
	menām dream, sleep
NWN	*nūn / nwān* breast, nipple [R.71]
NYL	*nīlī* dark blue
NYY	*nayy* raw, unripe (fruit) [N.19]

H

Hʾ	*hā ~ ā* no (negation)
HʾD	*hādi* (f. *hādya*) quiet, calm [N.97]
HBB	*habb / yihubb* soffiare
	hebūbe (f.) wind (obs.) [R.45]
HBŠ	*hebše / hebābiš* handful, fistful [R.76]
HBṬ	*hbūṭ* (VN) falling
HǦR	*higgra / huggarāt* room
HǦS	*hgis / yohgis* to feel [R.135]
HǦL	*hagula / hawāgil* simple anklet, with no decorations
HǦY	*hgē* spell, enchantment, alphabet
HDB	*hidub* eyelashes
HDR	*hūdār* skillful, experienced, capable
HDY	*hude* guidance, right path, true faith, direction
	hadīya / hadāya (f.) gift, present
HRBL	*tharbel / yitharbel* (tQ) to form small waves
HRǦ	*muhrāg* broad beans [N.13]
HRR	*harr / yhorr* to defecate (of humans) [R.178]
HRS	*harrās / harāris* boiler for the *harīs*[88]
HZZ	*hezz / yhizz* to shake
HZL	*hezlān* emaciated, gaunt, pinched
HST	*hest* more, much, very, many, a lot (< Pers. *hast* "to exist")

---

[88] Typical Omani dish, consisting of meat and wheat.

HŠŠ	*hišš* tender, sensitive, gentle
HṬZ	*hoṭz* circle, round
HL	*hel* family (< *ʾHL)
HLQ	*helqa* / *hilāq* earrings
HLK	*hlok* / *yohlek* to get wasted, to spoil [R. 142]
HQM	*haqam* head jewel
HMM	*hamm* / *hmūm* concern, worry [R.72]
HND	*hindi* Indian
HNQR	*hanqrī* (f. *hanqrīye*) / *hanāqra* landowner, merchant (< H.) [R.63]
HNW	*henāwi* / *henāwiye* loveable, gentle, tribe name
HNY	*hinā* here
	hināk there
HWD	*hawwad* / *yihawwad* (II) to call out before entering into a house/place
	hod hod may I come in? (< Sw. *hodi*)[89]
HWR	*hōri* / *hewāri* ship, boat (< H.)
HWŠ	*hōš* (coll.) ovine (sheep and goats)[90]
HWN	*thāwan* / *yithāwan* (VI) to get better (from illness)
	hwīn (f. *hūne*) light
	ehwen lighter, better (also used for illness)
HWY	*hewe* / *yuhwi* to ovethrow, to drop sth roughly
	hawyān sometimes
HYB	*hīb* crowbar [R.42]
HYS	*hēs* / *yhīs* (v.t.) to plough
	hēs / *hyūs* plough
HYŠ	*hāyše* animal (cf. YA *hāyše* "horse")
HYL	*hīl* cardamom
HYW	*hewāwi* careless

---

[89] The answer is "*Qarbo! Qarbo!*".
[90] As opposed to *boš* ("camels").

W

W	*w* and, so
W'ʿ	*wāʿa* squash
WBḪ	*tawbīḫ* blame
WBṢ	*wabaṣ / yūbaṣ* (v.i.) to shine (of light)
	webaṣ brightness
	wbaṣ bright
	awbaṣ brighter
WBL	*webbel / yiwebbil* (II) to have the ability of doing sth.
WṮQ	*waṯaq* (f. *waṯqa*) solid
	awṯaq more solid
	mawṯaq (f. *mawṯaqa*) reliable
WǦD	*weged / yūgid* to find
	wāgid many, much, more
	mawgūd (f. *mawgūda*) there is, there are
WǦʿ	*wagaʿ / yūgaʿ* to hurt, to ache
	wigaʿ pain
	wgīʿ painful, aching
WǦH	*wāgah / ywāgih* to meet
	wegh /ugūh direction, type way
	wugh face
WḤD	*twaḥḥad / yitwaḥḥad* (V) to live alone, by oneself [R.187]
	stawḥad / yistawḥad (X) to be alone, in solitude [R.200]
	waḥde loneliness, solitude, isolation
	wāḥid (f. *waḥda*) one
	yōm el-aḥad Sunday
WḤŠ	*wḥīš* wild, savage
	waḥš beast, wild animal
WḤY	*waḥa / yūḥi* to finish, to complete, to get to the end of sth.
	wāḥye hurry, rush
WḪB	*moḫbe / mḫābi* pocket [R.76]
WḤḌ	*waḥiḍ* robbery [R.46]

WḪL	*mōḫal* sieve [R.50] [B.217]
WDʿ	*weddaʿ* / *yiweddoʿ* (II) to dismiss, to discharge [R.196]
WDY	*wādī* riverbed
	widyāni a wadi inhabitant
WRB	*tawrīb* double meaning
WRṮ	*warriṯ* / *yewarriṯ* (II) to inherit
	wāriṯ inheritance
WRD	*warda* / *ward* rose, (gen.) flower
	warde rose garden
	wardī pink
WRQ	*warraq* / *ywarraq* (v.t.) to wake so. up
	warqa (f.) written sheet, cetificate, bond
	warqa / *waraq* leaf
WRWR	*twarwar* (tQ) to throw
WRY	*wara* back, behind
WZR₁	*wazīr* minister
WZR₂	*wzār* loin-cloth, sarong
WZN	*wezen* / *yūzin* to weigh
WSḪ	*wsuḫ* (f. *wasḫa*) dirty
	awsaḫ dirtier
	wasaḫ filth
WSD	*ūsada* (f.) cuschion, pillow
WSʿ	*wāsaʿ* wide, broad
	awsaʿ broader
WSM₁	*mēsem* iron brand, brand
	wasm cauterisation[91]
	wsīm (f. *wsīma*) thin, lean, narrow
WSM₂	*mōsem* / *mawāsim* season, monsoon (cf. YA *mōsim* "rainy season")
WSY	*mwās* / *-āt* razor, shaver
WŠB	*twēšeb* / *yitwēšeb* (VI) to be hard, thick
	wušub (f. *wišbe*) thick, fat [R.63]
	wešub thickness

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[91] Traditional Omani medical treatment, consisting of a brand on specific parts of the human body according to the medical problem. The brand is made with a heated piece of iron.

WŠK	*twāšek / yitwāšek* (VI) to hurry, to rush
	wešāke (f.) hurry, rush
WṢṬ	*woṣṭ* half, middle, center
	el-waṣṭi the most central
	wuṣt in the middle of, at the centre of
	wuṣṭa (f.) middle finger
WṢL	*wṣil / yūṣal* to arrive, to reach a place
	waṣṣal / yiwaṣṣal (II) to send, to accompany
WṬN	*waṭan / awṭān* nation, state, homeland
WṬY	*waṭa / yūṭa* to press sth. down, to tread, to step on
	wuṭīye / waṭāye woman's sandal
W ʿR	*w ʿor* wild, dangerous (cf. NA "difficult, steep")
W ʿL	*wa ʿl* gazzelle
WFR	*wāfor* high
	awfar higher
WQT	*waqt / awqāt* time (cronological)
	min waqt soon, early
WQR	*waqor* sheaf (of wood or hay) [R.43]
WQ ʿ	*mūq ʿa* a mortar (for pestle)
WQF	*wquf / yūqaf* to stop, to stand
	waqqaf / yiwaqquf (II) to keep, to maintain [R.196]
	wāqaf / yiwāqof (III) to agree with
	uqif / woqfān countryside, field [R.73]
	woqaf vertical décor lines on traditional Omani dress for women
WQY	*wuqāye* type of woman's veil with fringes
WKD	*wekked / yiwekkid* (II) to finish, to end [R.196]
	wākid (AP) real, true
WKL	*wekāle* (f.) authorization, proxy
WKND	*wīkind* weekend (< Eng.)
WLD	*weldit / tūlid* (v.t./i.) to give birth to
	wālde / -āt mother
	weled / awlād boy
	mawlūd (PP) born
	milād birth, nativity, birthday

WLM	*welm* favorable wind
WLY	*wāli / wilāy* governor
	wilāya governorate, province, district
WNN	*wenn / ywenn* to groan, to complain [R.194]
WHR	*whor* (f. *wohra*) big, huge, massive
WYR	*wāyr / -āt* wire (< Eng.)

Y

YBS	*ybas / yības* (v.i.) to dry
	ybūsiye drought
	yebs narrow, (prep.) through
YTM	*yetīm / -īn ~ yitme* orphan [R.74]
YD	*yid* (f.) hand, forearm
	ydeyāt hand in hand, by the hand
YRQ	*yarqa* (f.) larva, caterpillar
YSR	*ysir / yisra* captured
	yāsīr prisoner
YMN	*yemn* oath
YHB	*yhāb / yuhbān* fur
YWM	*yōm / -āt ~ iyyām* (f.) day
	yūwēwāt (dim.) for some days
	yom when
	il-iyyām for some time
	il-yōm today
	kill yom everyday

ANNEX 3

Proverbs

The proverbs presented in this annex have been collected in Stāl and al-ʿAwābī with the help of speakers 7, 2, 12, and 15. For each expression is given the transcription and the equivalent English proverb; if not available, it is given the translation and a brief explanation of the ways of use.

The collection of proverbs was not one of the aims of this thesis, however once in the field I managed to have a robust core and decided only afterwards to include them in this work. The reason is simple: in doing so, I also trace a continuity with Reinhardt's (1894) work, especially since two of these proverbs were reported by the German author as well. Admittedly, I did not check the whole list of proverbs in Reinhardt (1894: 396-418) with my informants, but rather they spontaneously provided me with some of them. Thus, there might be different ones which will correspond entirely to Reinhardt's with an in-depth analysis and collection – which, however, needs to be postponed to another study.

متى طلعت القصر قال امس عصر

matā ṭalʿat el-qaṣr qāl ems ʿaṣar

Translation: "After seeing the castle, he says yesterday is old".

Meaning: something that was the normality before turns to be outdated after seeing someone else's fortune.

ابليس ما يكسر وعيانه

iblīs mā yikassar wa ʿayyāna

Translation: "The Devil does not break his kitchen stuff".

Meaning: nothing good can happen if the Devil is supporting you or is on your side, he helps you in not getting caught if you behave badly.

كسير وعوير و ابليس ما فيه خير

ksīr wa ʿawīr wa iblīs mā fīh ḫēr

Translation: "There is no good in defeat, blindness and Iblis".

Meaning: often used for people who have bad luck.

يوم خلص العرس جا الشايب يرقص

yōm ḫallaṣ el-ʿurs gē eš-šāyb yarqaṣ

Translation: "When the wedding is over, the elders start to dance".

Meaning: often used in busy situations when only a few are working hard, and when everything is done the others started to be active again.

لا تسرف و لو من البحر تغرف

lā tisruf w-laww min el-baḥr taġraf

Translation: "Do not desire always more, even if your source is the sea".

English: "Desire has no rest".

يعيبو على الناس والعيب فيهم

yaʿyyibū ʿalā n-nās wa l-ʿayb fī-hum

Translation: "Who criticises people, the shame is in them".

English: "One does the blame, another bears the shame".

Meaning: criticising someone you only embarrass yourself.

البيدار ما له خص يوم الهنقري راضي

el-bīdār mā la-hu ḫaṣṣ yōm el-hanqrī rāḍī[1]

Translation: "Nothing belongs to the farmer when the rich is satisfied".

Meaning: while the landowner is making his fortune, the farmer is suffering and does not enjoy any of that fortune.

المستعجل ما كل شوبه ني

al-mustaʿgil mākil šōbe nay

Translation: "The person in a hurry eats the ripe things".

English: "Grasp all, lose all".

الفار يوم ما ينطال اللحم يقول خايس

al-fār yōm mā yinṭāl el-laḥm yiqūl ḫāys

Translation: "When the mouse cannot jump to the meat, it says it's rotten".

English: "Sour grapes".

حد في همة و سيفوه يغلي الكمة

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[1] Also reported by Reinhardt (1894: 400).

ḥad fī humma wa sēfū-hu yaġlī el-kumma

Translation: "Someone is very busy and Sayf is playing with his kumma"

Meaning: often used to address people who are sitting doing nothing, while someone else is busy working.

<div dir="rtl">

جرة ولقيت غطاها

</div>

garra w-laqīt ġiṭā-he

Translation: "Every pot has its own lid"

English: "One size does not fit all"

<div dir="rtl">

تولف العد والحربي

</div>

tūllef el-ʿid wa-l-ḥarbī

Translation: "al-ʿid and l-ḥarbī combined"

Meaning: the *al-ʿid* and the *al-ḥarbī* are two smaller wadis in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ that originate in al-ʿAlya. They are very dangerous when their flood combines during the rainy season.

<div dir="rtl">

بو يتكل على غيره واقل خيره

</div>

bū yatkall ʿalā ġēr-o w-qallal ḫēr-o

Translation: "Who depends on someone else, loses his good things".

Meaning: never emulate anyone, always be yourself.

<div dir="rtl">

الشيفة شيفه والمعاني ضعيفة

</div>

ašīfa šīf-he wa-l-maʿānī ḍaʿīfe[2]

Translation: "The appearing is shown, and the meaning is weak"

English: "The cowl does not make the monk"

Traditional song

The traditional song presented here has been recorder with speaker 13, a man from Dakum in Wādī Banī Kharūṣ, whose relatives fought in the Ḥaǧar Mountains war (see 1.3 in Annex 1).

mṣarr al-ʿōd mā tā-ynn-o

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[2] Also reported by Reinhardt (1894: 401).

who is bringing to him the big mṣarr

min smāhil šārā-ynn-o

bought in Smāhil

w-fōq ar-rās dā-ynn-o

and is putting it on the head

wa ʿan eš-šams taḥmanī

because the sun is burning

wa ʿan il-ḥumma tīginī

unless you got the fever

w-iḏa gīt w-int aīt w-int aġbār w-anā afrāḥ

If he goes and you are poor and I am happy

w-ḥad-ši bēni-nā islāḥ

and no one is between us to mediate

min šyuḫīn wa ʿorbān

among shaykh and people

mā min šyuḫ ahel-ši d-dār

because these shaykhs are not from this tribe (family)

w-eḏann mā agī aḫsār

and I think I won't lose anything

w-agīb mṣarr min el-kbar

I bring the biggest mṣarr (lit. "a mṣarr among the biggest")

w-atmīyaḥbō bi-l-bilād

I will show off in the place

w-qalū l-ī l-boḫal ḍayyil (= wāgid)

They told me I am very stingy

w-ḍammūnī ḫuwān-ī

Brothers, give me a hug

w-ḍammūnī banī slīma

Give me a hug, Banī Slīma (i.e. name of tribe)

šillō ʿan-nī al-qima

They took my dignity