

A STUDY OF THE ARABIC DIALECTS OF THE BELAD GHAMID  
AND ZAHARAN REGION OF SAUDI ARABIA ON THE BASIS OF  
ORIGINAL FIELD RECORDING AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE  
RELATIONSHIP TO THE NEIGHBOURING REGIONS.

A Thesis Presented to the University of Leeds.

BY

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FOR

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This dissertation has never been submitted  
to this or any other University.

## PREFACE

It is claimed by some Arab authors that the dialect of Belad Ghamid and Zahran is nearest to classical Arabic. Ahmad Abdul Ghafur Attar has said in an article\* that the language of the Hejaz, especially that which is spoken in Belad Ghamid and Zahran, is close to the classical language.

Fasiel Ghori, a famous scholar of Arabic literature wrote in his book QabaYil-al-Hejaz: "The Quranic Arabic upon which our Arabic grammar is based does not exist in any tribe. The only thing we can say is that there are some tribes whose language is much closer to classical language. The tribes of Belad Ghamid and Zahran are a good example of this".\*\*

Nothing can be said at this stage about the accuracy of this claim. It may be proved or disproved when details of the dialect features are examined thoroughly. The only thing that can be said at this stage is that this dialect is quite different and distinguishable from other dialects of the Arabic language.

The data of the present study have been obtained through field recordings made during the period September to November, 1966.

Al-Baha, the main town of Belad Ghamid and Zahran, was adopted as a base, from which journeys were made to the villages of the area. Some 40 villages within a range of 112 km. were visited: five weekly Bazars were attended. A total of 37 informants out of an estimated population of 15,000 were questioned and consequently their speech was recorded. Among these 37 informants 20 are illiterate, 6 are partly literate, and the remaining 11 claim to be educated. There are two reasons for the high proportion of illiterate informants: first, the educational provisions of Belad Ghamid and Zahran are such that

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\* "Where Fusha is spoken", published in the periodical Aladiib of *Beirut* August 1942.

\*\* (P.175, pp.1352 H). *Cairo* 1932

there is a high level of illiteracy among the population in general; secondly, it was felt that the speech of the least educated people was most likely to be free of alien influence and therefore most characteristic of local features. Informants were asked to give their name, age, profession, family, past history (including any travel), etc.

There was no fixed questionnaire, but standard questions covering certain basic areas of life (home, family, agriculture, etc.) as well as giving dialectal materials in phonetics and morphology were used. Specimens of free speech were likewise systematically gathered. Informants were also asked to repeat certain prayers or parts of the Qur'an to note the dialectal divergencies, and special effort was made to collect lexical materials which would lend themselves to comparison with the outside area.

Material was recorded by UHER - 400 tape-recorder at the speed of  $1\frac{1}{3}$ . Photographs illustrating objects mentioned in recorded conversations were also taken for the record. All tapes were transcribed into phonetic script and translated into English. The analysis of these tapes, together with phonetic field notes and photographs form the basis of this thesis.

Although there is virtually no previous work on the dialects of Belad Ghamid and Zahran which may be used for purposes of comparison, it has been possible to use published works on a number of related dialects to bring out by comparison the special features of the dialect of our region.

Johnstone's recent book Eastern Arabian dialect studies in particular has been of value for the arrangement of material and classification of the 2nd Chapter 'Morphology' as well as for the compilation of the comparison with Eastern Arabian dialects.

I should like to express my gratitude to H.E. Shaikh Mohammad Suroor el Sabban, the Secretary-General of the Muslim World League, Mecca, for granting me study leave along with his own support that made my stay in England possible.

It is my pleasure now to thank all those who helped me in this work. Foremost thanks go to my supervisor Dr. B.J.S. Isserlin whose keen interest, continued encouragement, and unfailing guidance have been of inestimable help.

I am also profoundly indebted to Dr. John Macdonald who helped me in many ways. I am most grateful to him for his invaluable suggestions regarding the arranging of the material in the final order.

I should like to thank Mr. W.R.B. Annan of the Department of Phonetics for his many suggestions regarding the phonetic symbols.

I am also grateful to all members of the staff of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, and the staff of the Brotherton Library.

A.A. Nadwi

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- " 27 - 1st Person singular ana
- " 28 - 1st Person Com. Plural
- " 29 - cl. anta (2nd masc. sing)
- " 30 - cl. hum (3rd masc. plural).
-



## ABBREVIATIONS

## A. Works referred to by the author's names and page numbers only.

- Cantineau "Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient". ANNALES DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES ORIENTALES D'ALGER, ii (1936), 1-118 and iii (1937), pp.119-237.
- Hurgronje Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten, The Hague, 1886.
- Johnstone Eastern Arabian dialect studies, London, 1967.
- Musil The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, New York, 1928.
- Rossi "Nuove osservazioni sui dialetti del Yemen". RIVISTA STUDI ORIENTALI Vo. XVII pp.230-265 and 460-471, Roma, 1938.

## B. Works referred to by short titles.

Horan

J. Cantineau Le dialect Arabe de Palmyre,  
Beyrouth, 1934.

Palmyre

J. Cantineau Les Parlers Arabes du Horan,  
Paris, 1946.

## C. Journals and series.

- AIEO Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger.
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies.
- RSO Rivista Studi Orientali.

## D. Other abbreviations and symbols.

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Act. Part.   | Active Participle.  |
| A.P.I.       | Association Phonetique Internationale.                            |
| A.V.         | After vowel.  |
| "C"          | Central sub-region of the dialects of Belad<br>Ghamid and Zahran. |
| Cl. Ar.      | Classical Arabic.   |
| Com.         | Common gender.  |
| E.A.dialects | The Eastern Arabian (Coastal) dialects.                           |
| fem.         | feminine.   |
| Gh/Z         | Belad Ghamid and Zahran.  |
| imper        | Imperative.   |
| imperf.      | Imperfect.  |
| Lit. Ar.     | Literary Arabic.  |
| masc.        | Masculine.  |
| Mec.         | The dialects of Mecca.  |
| N.Ar.        | North Arabian dialects.   |
| "N"          | Northern sub-region of Gh/Z.                                      |
| Perf.        | Perfect.  |
| Plur.        | Plural.   |
| Rw.          | The dialect of bedouin of <u>Rwala</u> .                          |
| "S"          | Southern sub-region of Gh/Z.                                      |
| S.W.         | South western Arabian dialects.                                   |
| V.N.         | Verbal Noun.  |
| Yem.         | The dialect of Yemen.   |
| <            | Deriving from.  |
| >            | Becoming.   |
| =            | Equal to / same as.   |

### TRANSCRIPTION

#### CONSONANTS:

|     |      |   |      |
|-----|------|---|------|
| ء   | ʔ, ʕ | ض | ð    |
| ب   | b    | ط | t̤   |
| ت   | t̤   | ظ | z̤   |
| ث   | θ    | ع | ʕ, ʔ |
| ج   | ʕ, j | غ | ɣ    |
| ح   | h    | ف | f    |
| خ   | x    | ق | g, q |
| د   | d    | ك | k    |
| ذ   | d̤   | ل | l    |
| ر   | r    | م | m    |
| ز   | z    | ن | n    |
| س   | s    | ه | h    |
| سین | s̤   | و | w    |
| ص   | s̤   | ی | y    |

#### Vowels:

The short vowels are transcribed as: a, e, i, a, o, u; and the long vowels: aa, <sup>ee;</sup>ii, oo; <sup>uu;</sup>the diphthongs: ay, ey.

Vowels which are short but which under certain conditions such as phonological vacillation are pronounced long, are transcribed a(a) i(i), etc.

#### Notes:

ʕ is a voiced palatal affricate. j is a palatal semi-vowel. To describe an accurate pronunciation of (j) a sonigram is provided below.

( Ǿ ) is transcribed generally as g which is the common pronunciation of it throughout the region, but when it is sounded in the traditional way it is symbolized by (q).

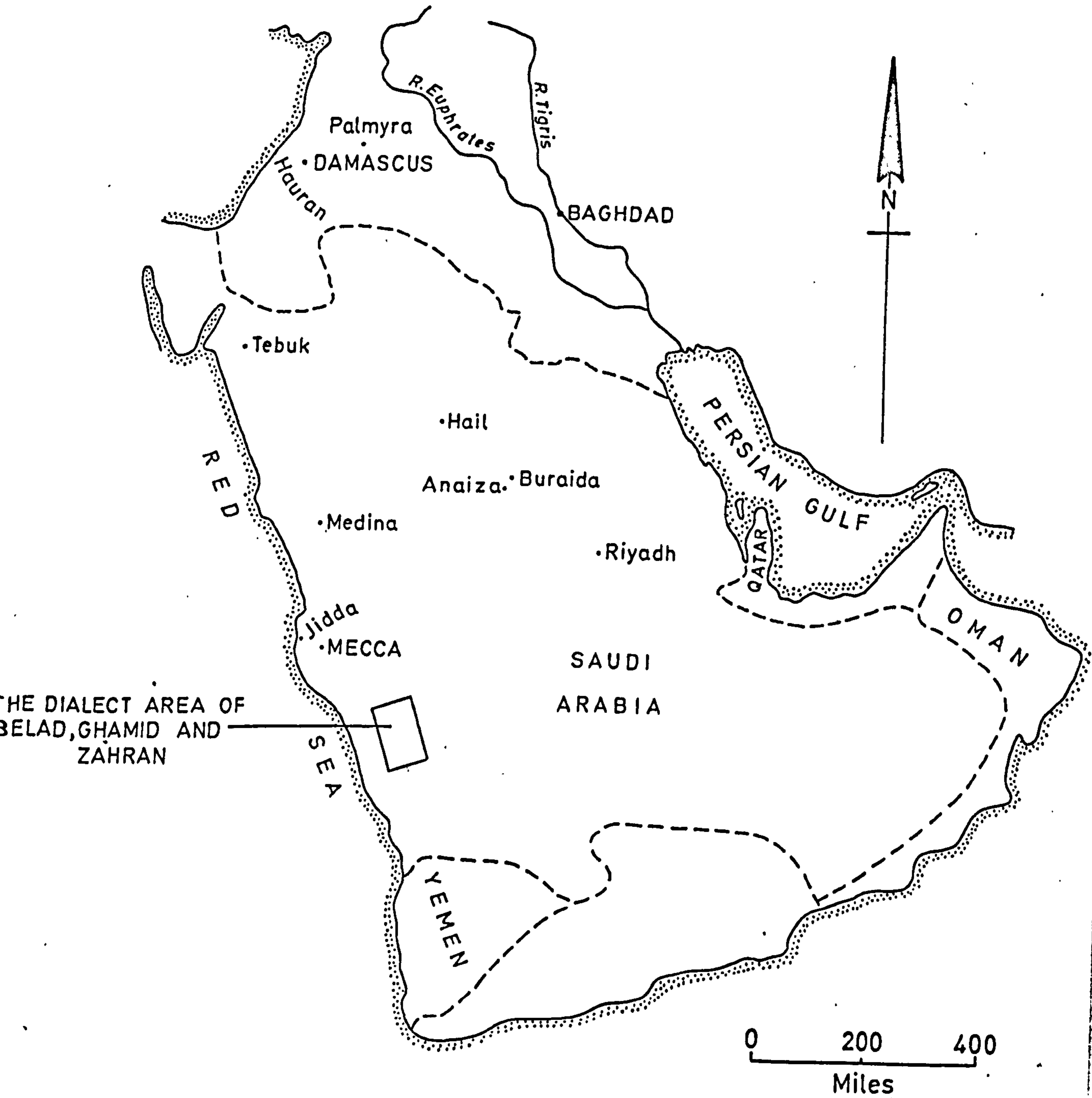
An initial hamza before a, i, o and u is assumed throughout the transcribed words of our dialect e.g. ard is always ?ard.

### TRANSLITERATION

For the transliteration of the titles of books, names, and quoted words of literary Arabic, the system used in BSOAS is followed here, except long (a) is throughout the work transcribed by double (aa) and double letters such as dh, gh, are not underlined.

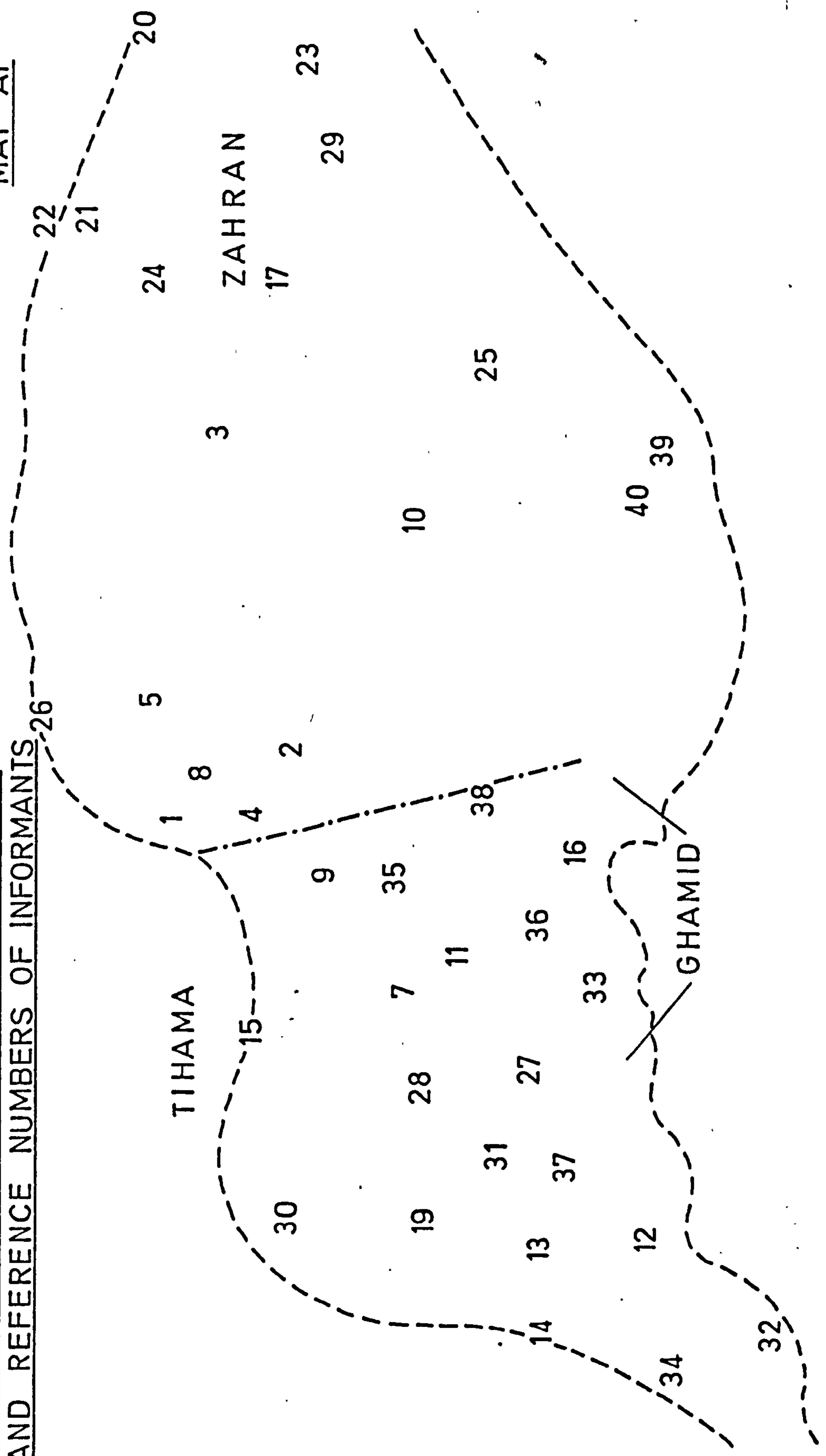
### References to the informants.

Every phrase and sentence quoted as an example is referred to the number of the informant according to their serial number. A full list of the informants with their particulars are given in the Introduction (B) pp.14-23. The most frequently used words, such as usages of the gender and numbers of the nouns, numerals, or compound words, are not referred to any particular informants because these are considered to belong to general vocabulary and usage of the area.



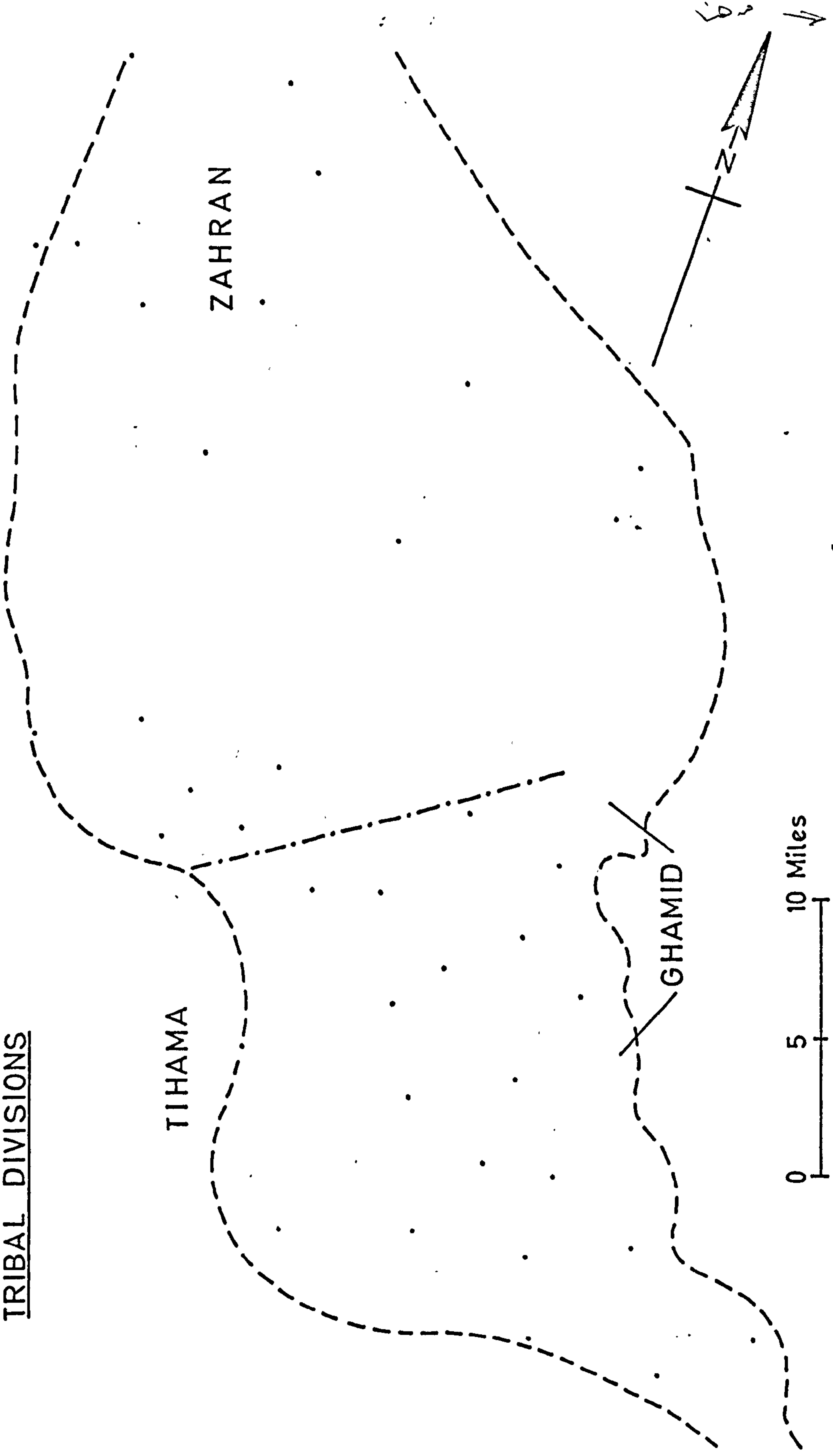
AREA INVESTIGATED SHOWING LOCATION  
AND REFERENCE NUMBERS OF INFORMANTS

MAP A1



AREA INVESTIGATED SHOWING MAIN  
TRIBAL DIVISIONS

MAP A1a

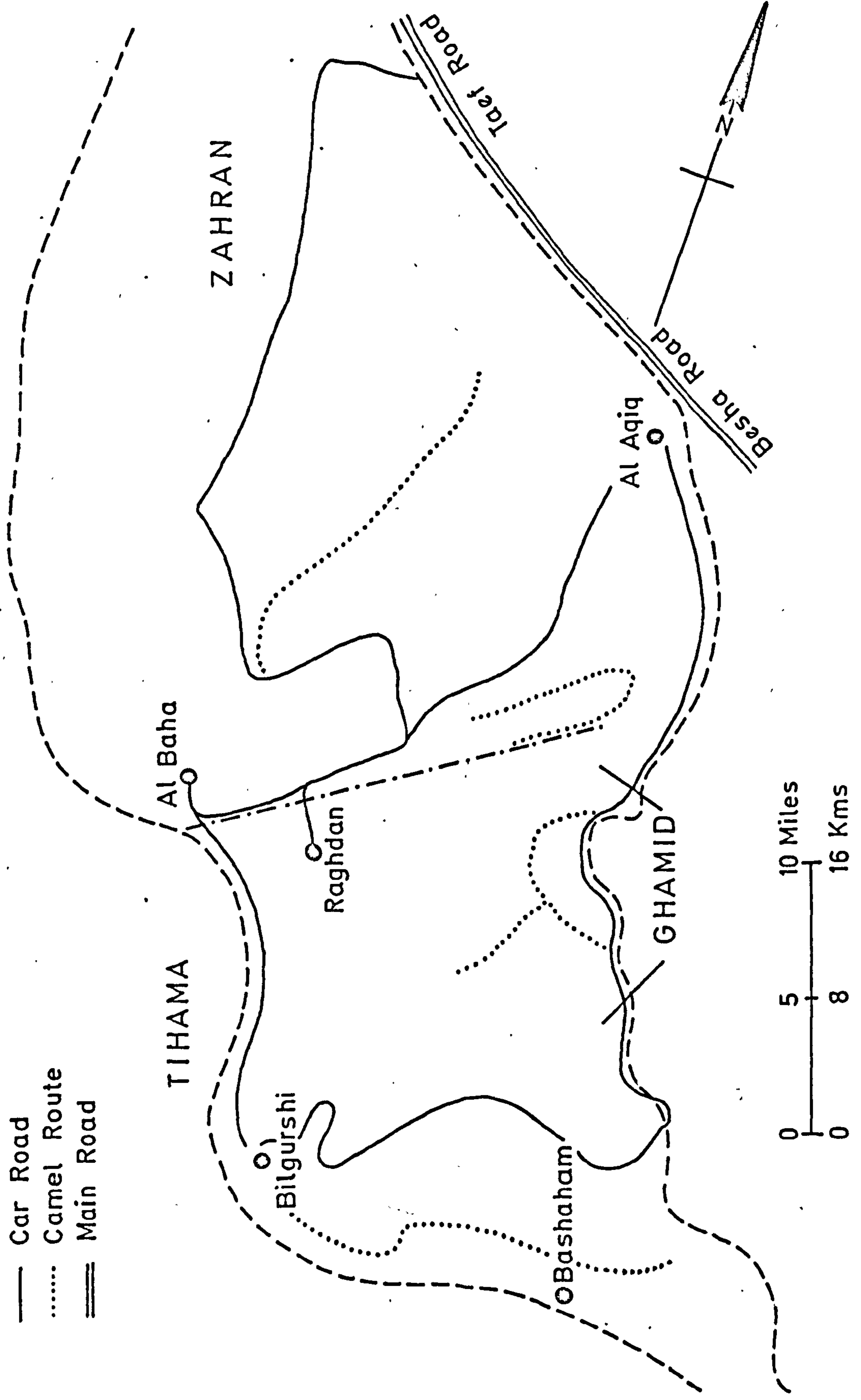


0 5 10 Miles  
0 8 16 Kms.

DIALECT AREA

- Car Road
- ..... Camel Route
- == Main Road

MAP Aii





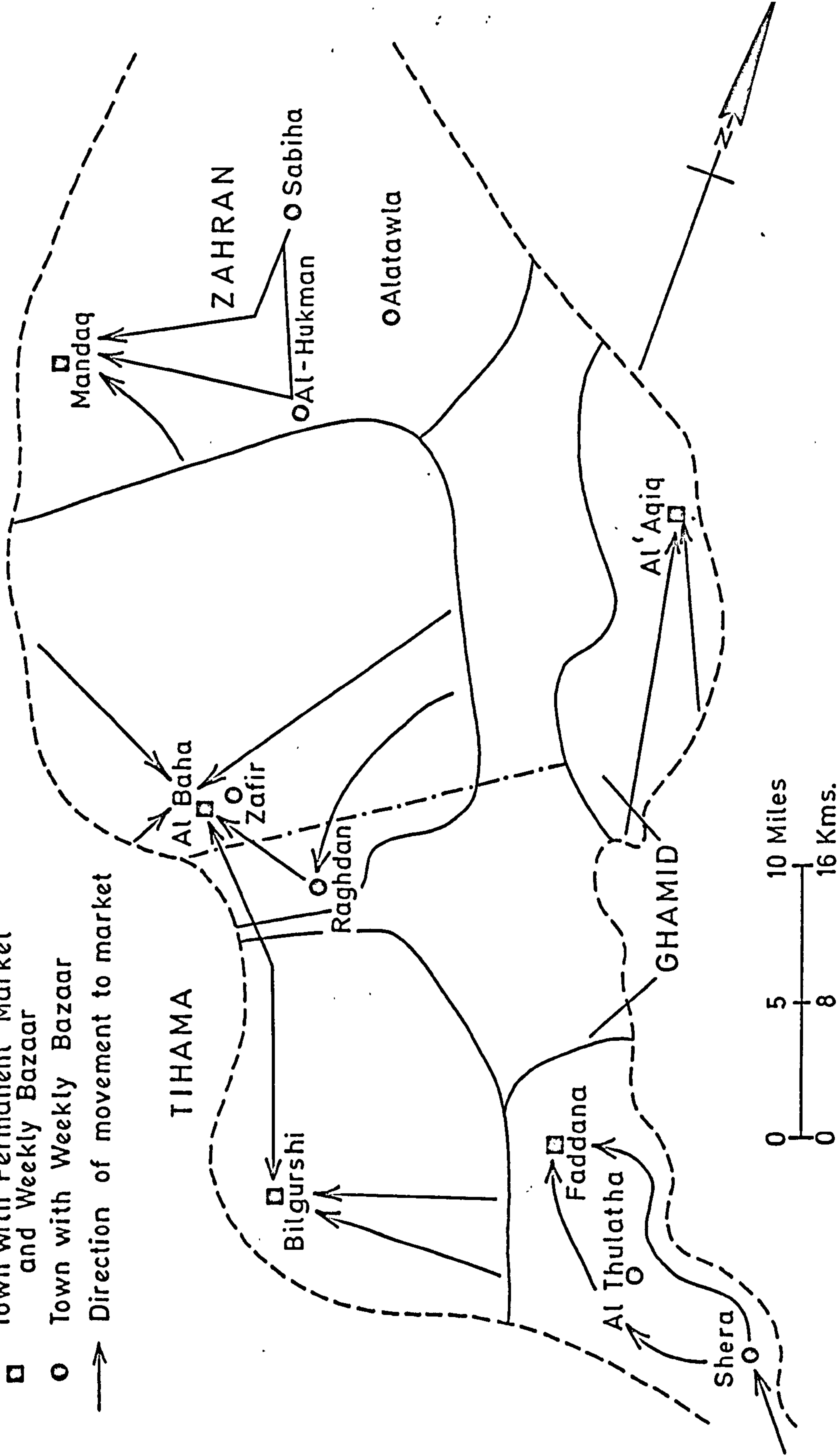
MARKET LOCATIONS

□ Town with Permanent Market and Weekly Bazaar

○ Town with Weekly Bazaar

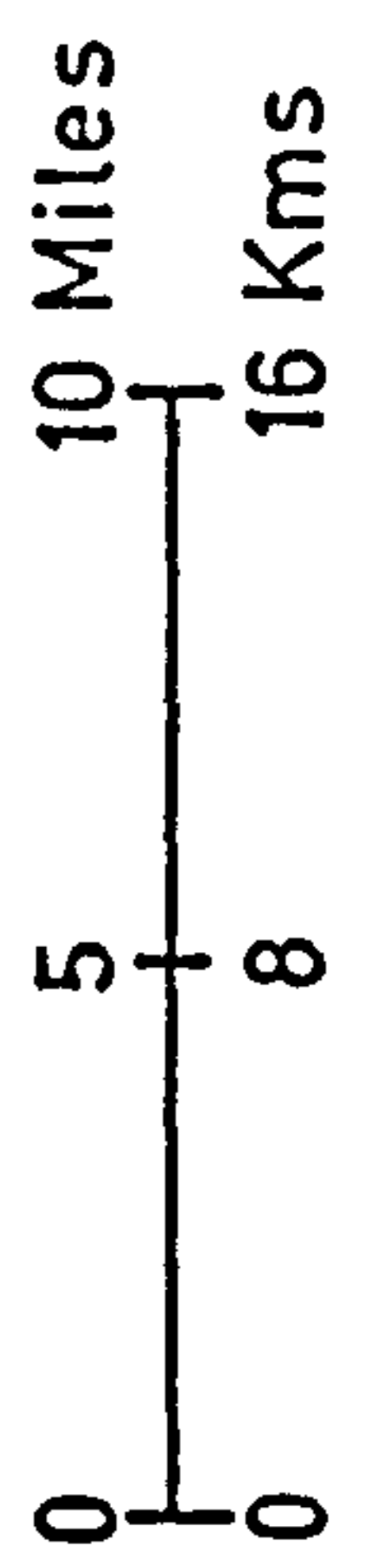
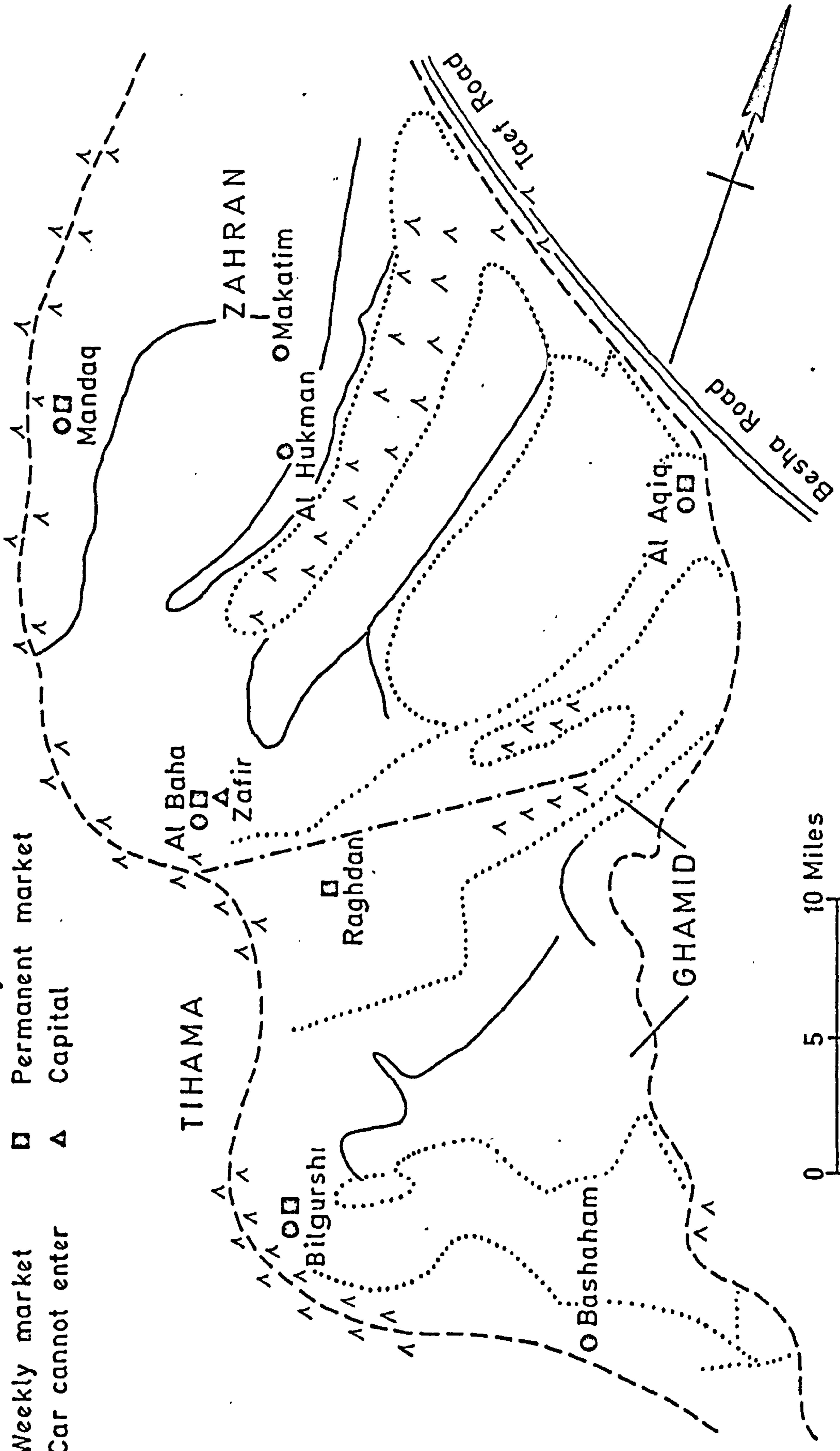
→ Direction of movement to market

MAP Aiii



MAP Aiv

- ^ Chain of Mountains
- == Main Road
- Weekly market
- Car cannot enter
- ..... Caravan Route now used as Car Road
- - - - - Boundry between Zahran and Ghamid
- Permanent market
- △ Capital



## INTRODUCTION

### (A)

#### 1. The Geographical position of Belad, Ghamid and Zahran:

The districts of western Saudi Arabia known as Belad Ghamid and Zahran are located in the highlands of southern Hejaz, reaching from Lt.18° to 20°, and extending from approximately Lt.42° to 42° 30' in the north and from Ld.42° 45' to 43° in the south.

The relief of the area is determined by the chain of mountains known as el Akabat; this begins N.E. of Taif, presently runs to the S.W., turns north of Lith to the S.E., finally taking up a southerly direction.\* The height normally ranges from 9,000 ft. to 10,000 ft. rising in certain parts to 12,000 ft. above sea-level.

It is beyond this chain, in the mountainous area which the Bedouin designate by the term Hejaz<sup>1</sup>, that the regions of Ghamid and Zahran lie, in a situation of relative isolation; they lie midway on or rather near to, the Taif-Abha road, but communications with major towns outside the area such as Mecca, Taif and Besha are poor even in modern times, there being no direct connection by primary roads.<sup>2</sup>

The slope facing the sea and the coastal plain are known as Tehama. Burckhardt records that at the date of his Arabian expedition (1814), parts of these adjoining districts of Tehama were in the possession of the tribes of Ghamid and Zuhran (sic).<sup>3</sup>

#### 2. Political Geography and History:

Concerning the tribes of the pre-Islamic era in our region, only the most summary data are available; it is said that the Khas'am, coming from the north, were the original possessors of the land, but

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\* E.B. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen, Wiesbaden 1952 Vol.2, p.402.  
(1) J.Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, London, 1829. p.46.  
(2) V. below Para 3.  
(3) J.Burckhardt, op.cit., p.409.

were forced by the invasion of the Azd from the south to move out towards Besha and Turaba.<sup>1</sup>

With the advent of Islam an extraordinarily large emigration of the Azd to Iraq and Khurasan occurred.

At this time the land was occupied virtually exclusively by Azd, actually the Zahran or their branch of Daus, the Ghamid and the el Hijr, whose branch of Shahr in particular falls within our territory. The tribe of Ghamid is said to derive its descent from Ghamid bin Abdullah of al Azd of Kahtan who moved northward in the migration from the Yemen and settled in the area now known as Belad Ghamid.

The Khas'am extended from the north-east between the Hijr and Ghamid; today they have managed to retain their separate identity in the mountainous region, while disappearing or merging with other tribes in the district of Besha. The Hijr, known in modern times as Rijal al Hajar, are now confined to Asir.

It should be noted that the present day tribes are not necessarily connected with those of historical times by proven genealogical links, for the historical awareness of these tribes, in particular of the settled branches, is rooted in the region rather than in the tribe.

Modern concepts are as ambivalent in this respect as in the time of Hamdani, who observes that names such as el Hijr/Hajar, Ghamid and Zahran may denote both tribes and regions.

Broadly, we may define our territory as being bounded on the north by tribes of esh-shalaawi, on the eastern side by Shamran and Khusan, by Alqarn on the southern side and by Zahran on the west.

In terms of physical geography, in particular soil structure and climate, it would be quite possible to identify our region with the Yemen or with Asir, but natural boundaries do not dictate political boundaries, and those of our region have shifted several times in recent centuries.

---

(1) Al Hamdani, Sifat al Jazirat al 'Arabia, V.2. Leiden 1928, p.38.

In the eighteenth century, being near Hali, the region was reckoned to belong to the Hejaz, and remained so even during the Egyptian occupation which followed the campaigns of Muhammad Ali and his son Ibrahim Pasha during the early nineteenth century on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II.

The Turkish campaign of 1817 brought about the first major change, for the territory was then allotted to the Asir district of Yemen.

Because, apart from Mecca, the centres of power lie further south, in the uplands of Asir and in the part of Tehama known as Mikhlaf el Yemen (Jezan, Midi, Sabja, Abu Arish), this border country has never been in a position to play a major part in history independently, and lines of allegiance, like political boundaries, have tended to fluctuate, further complicated by the presence of powerful local chiefs. At the beginning of the last century native leaders such as Muhammad and Abd el Wahhab Abu Nukta, Tami Ibn Shua'ib, and the el Aid ruled the uplands of Asir for the Wahhabis, opposed by the Sherifs of Abu Arish, who, with the Idrisi, originated from the Mikhlaf el Yemen.

In fact, before the First World War, the Arabian peninsula as a whole was within the sphere of influence of the Ottoman Empire, but also subject to the rule of local dynasties, chiefs of the various principalities, most notably that of the Sherif of Mecca. The Sherif was entitled to the epithet Hashemite, for he was a descendant of the race of Hashim, the Meccan family from which the Prophet himself sprung; he also bore the title of Emir, and exercised power transmitted hereditarily since the thirteenth century, although bound to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, whose claim to Arabia was first lodged in the early sixteenth century by Sulaiman the Magnificent.

Our territory was divided by lines of allegiance to these two ancient authorities, and to the chiefs of local lineage; Ghamid and Bani Shihr owed allegiance either to the Turks or to the Sherif of

Mecca, while Zahran, Shomran and Bal Garn (Alqam) were under the sway of the Idrisi who in Tehama, incidentally, enjoyed greater prestige than either the Turks or the Grand Sherif.

At the outbreak of the First World War, Emir Husein threw in his lot with the Allies, more tempted by their promises of aid to emergent national feeling than by the pan-Islamic ideology propagated by the Ottoman Empire.

It is known that certain tribes of the Hejaz engaged in the campaigns commanded jointly by Feisal and T.E. Lawrence, but it has not been possible to make any certain identification of any of these tribes with those of our region.<sup>1</sup> Most probably the remote highland area, like the uplands of the neighbouring province of Nejd, avoided being drawn into the conflict.

Non-involvement was a conscious policy on the part of the Wahabite Sultan of Nejd, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, for it enabled him to concentrate on consolidating his ancestral power against rival Emirs in northern and central Arabia until it extended to the borders of Hejaz.

In the ensuing struggles of 1920-21, the region, characteristically, did not respond in uniform fashion to the claims of rival authorities; Bani Shihr pledged its loyalty to the Ibn Aid, while Zahran threw in its lot with the Wahhabis.

The sequel to the internal struggles brought a greater degree of administrative unity at last; before the war, the village of el Zafir had been the administrative centre of Ghamid, but with the establishment of the Saudi-Arabian government, Ghamid and Zahran have been administered as a unit, and the seat of local government transferred to Biljershi, a town situated some fifteen miles south of el Zafir.<sup>2</sup>

---

(1) T.E. Lawrence, Revolt in the Desert, London, 1927.

(2) The name of Biljershi denotes a group of twenty-four small settlements scattered over a wide plain, and it is four of these settlements, viz. el 'Awadha, Alsilâ'iyya el rugba and el ghorga, collectively referred to as Dar el Şuk, which constitute the nucleus of the administrative and marketing centre.

The steps whereby Ibn Saud gained the upper hand over Husein are not our present concern; but the characteristics of the Saudi State, established by military force in 1925 and retained by dint of firm and prudent rule, are of relevance to the development of our region and to the predominant features of its society, best summarized as a marked conservatism combined with a cautious move towards acceptance of western influence, with corresponding cultural effects.

The Saudi state was essentially a conservative one, governed by a ruler who, though absolute, observed most strictly the tenets of Islamic public law, as interpreted by Wahhabite tradition. Nevertheless, attempts at improvement in social conditions were made, in particular the creation of agricultural colonies intended to induce the Bedouin to settle down and engage in productive labour: our region, as we shall see later, is predominantly agricultural, with the conservatism which is the usual feature of such a society.<sup>1</sup>

This cautious policy was, however, given tremendous impetus by the discovery of oil in Arabia, and the ensuing wealth hastened progress in a fashion totally unforeseen. From 1933, when Aramco began to exploit the Arabian oilfields, the Saudi government has seen airlines, schools, hospitals blossom under its aegis. Western influence, still rigidly excluded in the political sphere, has begun to penetrate the economic and technical areas of life, so much so that it is discernible in the lexical features of our region. The influence of European languages may be seen in the adoption into the local vocabulary of words designating tools, machines (motors, tractors, etc.) and imported goods such as tinned foods, and luxury goods such as certain brands of cigarettes.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally we may expect to see more far-reaching effects of the new prosperity in the near future, and certain of these will most

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(1) R.B. Winder, Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century, New York, 1945. pp. 78 - 79

(2) Cf. below Ch.2. (2.6)

certainly affect the linguistic features of our region, most notably the extension of literacy; as yet these influences are limited.

Our region, less a political than a geographical entity, has by reason of its isolated situation always been outside the mainstream of Arabian history, and yet, as a border country, always subject to the intervention of rival factions and neighbouring states which have gained ascendancy at different times, and it might be expected that such intervention would affect the dialect features of our region. In fact there is very little; the interval of Egyptian occupation has left no legacy of linguistic influence; the long period of Ottoman suzerainty has had some effect on lexical features. The administration at local level of the Saudi government does not constitute a foreign influence. The Emir, governor of the northern region, is a member of the Sudeyri, a major local family since the eighteenth century; most of the officials are chosen from the Hejaz. Thus, apart from the influence in lexical features of European languages referred to above, there has been little foreign influence on linguistic features attendant on the new regime. It may be that modifications in dialect features will appear as the employment of Iraqi and Jordanian teachers becomes commonplace.

### 3. Trade, Commerce and Communications:

The geographical situation of Belad Ghamid and Zahran makes for climatic conditions conducive to fertility, productive farming, and fairly intensive settlement in the valleys. (The hills are completely unproductive, and not even suitable for grazing).

The climate is temperate, the highest temperature during the summer months rarely being recorded above 72° Fahrenheit, and the average annual rainfall is between 9 and 11 inches. Despite the natural springs which flow down the valleys and keep them green, the low incidence of rain, and a water table of 40-60 feet necessitate the sinking of wells for drinking purposes; it is however beyond the power of the inhabitants to do this for themselves, and it can only



be achieved through state aid. Hence the frequent use of polluted or muddy water for drinking purposes which has resulted in a generally low standard of health amongst the indigenous population. Against this, the cultivable land is very fertile, and produces abundant food crops, barley, beans, wheat, and fruits such as oranges, apples and pomegranates; wheat is also grown but has to be supplemented by imported grain from main centres outside the region.

Indeed, agriculture is the main occupation in the region, the great majority of the population engaging in it directly or indirectly.

Progress in the development of new agricultural techniques is slow, despite efforts on the part of the government to introduce mechanical farming and to induce farmers to use modern implements. As yet, the local farmers have no more than the most rudimentary concepts of measuring the acreage they own.

The nomadic Bedouin are pastoralists, fulfilling their traditional role as breeders of sheep and camels for loading and hauling purposes: other animals are bred for trade.

These Bedouin form one of the two major groups, formerly hostile, into which the tribes of our region are divided: The other is the Hadar or the settled people. Settlement has taken place in the valleys known as Rinya, Bekha, Turba and Dawasir, and it is not uncommon for the Bedouin to encamp in the valley which a related settled tribe has made its home. Such branches are known by the names of their forefathers who gave up Bedouin life and established settlements which later developed into towns and villages. The most well-known branches are as follows:-<sup>1</sup>

|             |           |
|-------------|-----------|
| Banu Zābyān | بنو ذبيان |
| Banu Kabīr  | بنو كبير  |
| Al Humrān   | الحميران  |
| Āl Ramaḍān  | الرمضان   |
| Azzāfir     | أظافر     |
| Azzu, alat  | أزولات    |

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(1) 'Omarraḍa Kaḥhala, Mu'jam Qabā'il et 'Arabiyya, Cairo, 1930, pp.30-1

|              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| Al Farza'at  | الفرزعات   |
| Banu 'Omar   | بنو عمرو   |
| Banu Lām     | بنو لام    |
| Al Muntazar  | المنتظر    |
| Balmufaddal  | المفضل     |
| Al-shu'ban   | الشعبان    |
| Bal'auar     | بالأعور    |
| Banu Nuqma   | بنو نعمة   |
| Banu Khuraid | بنو خرايد  |
| Bdl Aswad    | بدر الأسود |

There is a slight difference in the linguistic forms of the Bedouin and the Hadār, for the Bedouin of the northern and southern regions preserve certain ancient dialectal features. Apart from this qualification, no distinction in dialectal features can be made within the region on a tribal basis, for any such distinction which may previously have obtained has been obliterated by intermarriage, commercial intercourse, and, within the last two decades, the increased facility of movement from one area to another which has been made possible by the use of motor vehicles.

#### Traditions and Customs:

4. All the people of these tribes belong to the Sunni sect of the Hanbali school. The traditional Islamic faith and practices are very strictly maintained. Shops are closed down at prayer times. Smoking is traditionally prohibited. Riding on camels, shooting competitions and mountaineering are their favourite games. They have no indoor games.
5. They have special ceremonies when a child is born. His or her head is shaved after seven days of birth, a procedure called Aqīqa. At such occasions sheep are slaughtered and a feast is held to entertain friends and relatives. In the case of a male child, his circumcision is carried out the same day. In a marriage ceremony they fire guns in the air to make the occasion one of rejoicing.
6. 'arda is a very special occasion for these tribes. It is celebrated in two parts, i.e., 'ardat saif (عرضة السيف) and 'ardat shi'r (عرضة الشعر).

The former is performed by dancing with unsheathed swords and the latter is a competition in the composing of extempore poetry. Poets stand facing each other, with their supporters, called repeaters <sup>لواحي</sup> behind them. The repeaters repeat in chorus the last line of the verse said by the poet while he takes a pause and thinks of a new verse. The other party acts in the same way.

It has been demonstrated that our regionais characterised as an agricultural, conservative society, largely homogeneous in terms of occupation, religion and social status. A slight rise in social status such as may be accorded by appointment to a post in the government service does not seem to have any marked effect on dialect. A real change in status effected by the acquisition of wealth or education generally results in a move to a large city such as Taif where opportunity of advancement is greater. A contributory factor to the blurring of tribal linguistic distinctions has been the intermingling of groups from all areas which takes place on Bazar day, the only mode of internal commercial exchange.

### Bazār Day.

7. Bazar day has a truly social significance in the life of these tribes. On this day people from various neighbouring tribes, nomads and settled, come and gather together at one place once a week. On this occasion they meet friends and relatives, make acquaintances, do the shopping and attend to other sorts of business. Bazar Days are called:<sup>1</sup>

|                |   |                  |
|----------------|---|------------------|
| Saturday Bazar | - | Albaḥa - al-Baha |
| Sunday "       | - | Raghdan          |
| Monday "       | - | Alqurn - al-Qurn |
| Tuesday "      | - | Biljershi        |

(See mapAIII)

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(1) Misfar mizrah al Ghāmdī, Jolāh fi Rubū' al Mamlakah, Vol.1, Jeddah, 1955, pp. 101-102.

There are no permanent shop fixtures, but in a wide open space the traders unroll their mattresses and set out the commodities for sale. Almost all necessary items of daily use can be had from this Bazar, e.g. fresh fruits, vegetables, food grains, sheep, cows, donkeys, camels, Arabian gowns, dresses of all sorts, olives, silver ornaments and watches, etc.

Naturally trade also occurs with the outside world, and modern routes have developed, in general, from the old caravan routes established for commercial and religious purposes, as for the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The only primary roads which impinge on our region are the Taif-Bisha road, which defines the eastern boundary of Belad Ghamid and Zahran, and the Bisha-Abha road, which defines their southern boundary.

A number of secondary roads branch out from the primary road from Taif:-

- i) South to el 'Aqiq and a little beyond. (see map No.IV)
- ii) Another branch of the same road joining up with the main Taif-Bisha road. It is therefore possible to reach Taif or Bisha from el 'Aqiq, the northern-most town of our region.
- iii) Running in a more south-westerly direction to Bani Sar and el Zafir (North of el Zafir, a secondary road runs N.C to el 'Aqiq (Ghamid), and continues as a trail to meet the main Taif to Bisha road). South of el Zafir the road continues as a trail to Biljershi and beyond along the western boundary of our region. This trail appears to correspond roughly, but by no means certainly, with the pilgrim caravan route from Mecca to Sana in Yemen, which Burckhardt tells us was known as the 'Hadj el Kesy'.

There are a number of other trails (by which is meant stony tracks just viable for motor vehicles) established on the old caravan routes, all running in a S.W.-N.E. direction, as does the el Zafir - el 'Aqiq road to join the Taif-Bisha road.

- i) (N. to S.) Shamrakh Road to Taif road.
- ii) el 'Arq Road. " " " .

- iii) Sanah Road (to el 'Aqiq)
- iv) Manzil Road to Taif Road.

The recognized safe route from Taif is approximately 250 km. long and can be covered by a good vehicle in 10-12 hours. The bus service from Taif to Belad Ghamid is semi-regular, and an interesting feature of the journey is the cafes which have sprung up along the route to provide for the needs of travellers. Lighting in these cafes is provided by patromaxes. Every party is supplied with rugs to sit on, and is served with black coffee and small jars of water. Tea is also served in tea-pots along with small glasses ( *خناجين* ). A type of Hookah known as 'hubble-bubble' will be supplied on request to any traveller who wishes to smoke, but despite these services, travellers are expected to supply their own food.

There is some influence on dialectal features from these modes of contact with areas outside our region, but it is limited. There are no great merchants resident in this area, for even local men who acquire wealth will soon move to the more prosperous district of Taif and Mecca. Most trade is at local level, and the inhabitants of outlying districts who only come to the larger towns on the Bazar days are in no way influenced by the dialect of traders in transit. Such influence as exists is found only in the larger towns of the north, such as Biljershi, el Zafir and el Baha, which act as intermediate centres for the sale of local produce to such major towns as Taif, Mecca, Jedda and Bisha. These towns have largely superseded Mokhawa, once the chief corn supplier to Mecca, in this intermediary role, and this commercial exchange, together with the flow of pilgrim traffic, has resulted in the adoption of features of the Meccan dialect, especially amongst small shop keepers and brokers. Otherwise the influence of trade on the dialect of our region cannot be said to be considerable as yet.

## 8. EDUCATION:

Responsibility for the staffing and administration of all schools

in our region lies with the Ministry of Education; the Director of Education has his offices in Taif. The large majority of teachers are from Jordan, but the post of headmaster normally goes to a Saudi. There is only one secondary school, in Biljershi, but every big town has a primary school. Despite this, the percentage of those who can read and write is still very low. The unfortunate example of a shepherd can be quoted who, having received a letter on a Bazar day, could not find any one who could read that letter for him until next Bazar day. Even those informants who were conversant with Cl. Arabic tended to lapse very easily into the local dialect.

There is some indication that recent developments are beginning to bring about changes in the educational conditions of Belad Ghamid and Zahran: since about 1940 the growth of oil companies in the eastern province of Nejd has brought increasing wealth to the government, and the effects of this in terms of greater economic and educational progress have just begun to be felt in our region. The older generation remain unaffected, but 15% of those who undergo primary education go to the larger towns for further education.\*

Thus, those children born in rural areas who are most highly educated do not remain in their home region, so that their potential influence on the linguistic and literary skills of relatives and neighbours is not realised.

It is to be expected, however, that within the next few decades, the steady influx of government teachers from Jordan and Iraq will begin to have some influence on the dialect of a greater proportion of their pupils, and also, that a higher level of literacy will influence the dialect through greater familiarity with Cl. Arabic.

#### 9. THE PRESENT STUDY:

The comparative inaccessibility of our region has already been

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\* This information was obtained from the Director of Education in Taif in a personal interview.

indicated. Philby, who in 1920 surveyed the greater part of southern Arabia, was unable to gain access to the region, and there has been limited improvement in communications since that date. Consequently, although there is a little information available on the history, natural geography and culture of Belad Ghamid and Zahran, there has been no previous linguistic enquiry employing modern methods of investigation, such as might be used to check field notes.

(B)

REEL 1

INFORMANTS AND THEIR GROUPS

Reel I

(1)

MARZUQ BIN SA'ĪD

A 40 year old illiterate peasant who has not been outside his area for a long time; from al-bahr (Zahran).

Recorded speeches: Answers to the questions designed for Phonetic purposes and some vocabulary.

Also Reel 3 No.1.

(2)

SA'ĪD ZAHRANI

-TD

A 35 year old partially literate labourer from the village of Mesheni of Belad Zahran who lives in Mecca.

Recorded speech: The names of the tribes. Answers to the phonetic items and lexical features. His speeches are also recorded in Reel 2 under the No.1 and Reel 3, No.26.

(3)

SĀLEH BIN AHMAD KIRĀT

About 40 years old, illiterate peasant and dealer in vegetables from al-Baha (Zahran)

Recorded speeches: Answers to the questions about the customs of the area, information about health, economic conditions, in addition to the phonetic problems.

(4)

SĀLEH BIN SA'ĪD



An illiterate dealer in vegetables and a peasant about 60 years old or 40 years on his own assumption), frequent visitor to other districts of Saudi Arabia since his childhood (al-Baha, Zahran).

Recorded speeches: Some vocabulary. Customs and tradition of tribes regarding marriage and other festivals, his own story of his first job and how he gradually established himself. Speeches show a good example of free speech and 'chat', useful for syntax.

(5)

SAYYĪD 'UTHMĀN

A 62 year old landlord. Notable person of his area, partially literate.

Recorded speeches: A talk about his own adventures, problems of his area when Ibn Sa'ud invaded the district and disputes with Sharif Husain and rulers of the Hedjaz. The method of teaching when he was young.

REEL 2

(6)

SA'ĪD ZAHRANI

Informant No. 2 Reel 1.

Recorded speeches: Names of the tribes, repetition of a story told by informant No.5. Some recitation of the Qur'an.

(7)

SHAIKH 'ABDURRASHEED

50 year old religious head of the area, literate.

Recorded speech. His conversation with an old bedouin peasant who came to his office asking him to send a leader of prayer

(Imam) to his village (Burni). The bedouin was unaware of the recording, and his speeches are hardly audible. Some sentences are not transcribed.

(8)

A FEW VILLAGERS AND A PHOTOGRAPHER

Recorded speeches: Mixed voices in a local office for the issue of identity papers. The audible conversation casts a strange light on the manner of office affairs. The villagers were unaware of the recording.

(9)

MISFIR BIN MUHAMMAD

About 50 years old, a broker who described his occupation as "Jehd"<sup>ā</sup> from the tribe of Banu Sar.

Recorded speeches: Answers to various questions to ascertain syntacti-  
cal items and phonetic features such as intona-  
tions, stress, etc.

(10)

An employee of the office for the issue of identity papers explaining to a villager the aim of 'A'. (the writer)

(11)

MUHAMMAD BIN MISFIR

A 15 year old unsettled bedouin shepherd from Belad Zahran, illiterate but appeared to be intelligent.

Recorded speeches: Some vocabulary. Answers to the questions about the life of unsettled bedouin. At first he asked 'A' to stop the recording in order to give him time to think about the matter (this is recorded as well).

(12)

SA'ĪD) BIN MOHAMMAD

About 25 years old, shepherd, illiterate, from the unsettled bedouin of Belad Ghamid. Counterpart of informant No.11.

Recorded speeches: Some vocabulary, Answers to the questions about his life, and a song.

(13)

BARIK BIN BAKHĪT

30 year old peasant from Belad Ghamid, illiterate.

Recorded speeches: a folk song.

(14)

ABDULLAH BIN HASAN

A 50 year old peasant, illiterate, from the village of Jofa.

Recorded speeches: Answers to unpremeditated or spontaneous questions to obtain information on lexical items about costume and dress.

(15)

SA'ĪD) 'URAIIBI

A 40 years old illiterate peasant from the tribes of Quraish in Tihama.

Recorded speeches: Answers to the questions set for phonetic investigation.

(16)

SA'ĪD) BIN MOHAMMAD

About 40 years old, a driver from Bani Shanan. Illiterate.

Recorded speeches: a folk song, some recitations from the Qur'an.

(17)

A YOUNG GIRL

from the village of Al Atawala of Belad Zahran. Asked by the wife of a Pakistani doctor to give information about some vocabulary.

Recorded speeches: A few words about dress worn by women of the area.

REEL NO. 3.

(18)

MARZUQ BIN SA<sup>IP</sup>LEB

The same man as No.1, Reel 1.

Recorded speeches: Answers to lexical inquiries about household, building and farms.

(19)

'ABDULLAH (no other name given)

A peasant of the village of Misheni of Belad Ghamid. About 60 years old, illiterate.

Recorded speeches: lexical points, parts of dress, names of weapons usually owned by bedouin and their various parts.

(20)

HAMID BIN AHMAD

30 years old, educated in Mecca. Employee in the local office of the Agricultural Department. Village of Mandaq of Belad Ghamid.

Recorded speech. A poem in the bedouin style of singing.

(21)

A SELLER OF ORNAMENTS

An illiterate bedouin teenage boy selling ornaments on a weekly market

day at the village of Mandaq.

Recorded speeches: names of ornaments.

(photograph No.3)

(22)

A CAMEL MAN

On the weekly market day of the village of Mandaq, where sheep, camels and other animals were sold.

Recorded speech: "What do you want? My name? No I will not let you know". Along with some voices and speeches of others.

(23)

MOHAMMAD BIN AHMAD

About 25 years old, camel man on a market day at Mandaq. Obviously illiterate, but seemed to be familiar with the speech of literate people, as he used some phrases like tab'an 'of course' repeatedly.

Recorded speeches: Names of the parts of a camel's body.

(Photo No. 4)

(24)

SA'ID ZAHIRANI

Mentioned in No.2 Reel 1 and No.1 Reel 2.

Recorded speeches: Names of trees and plants.

REEL 4

(25)

SA'EED AND JUM'AN

Two bedouin from the village of Bayhakam belonging to the tribe of

Ziyab. They are illiterate peasants.

Recorded speeches: Answers to various questions about their life in the village, agriculture, animals, etc.

(26)

YAHYA BIN IBRĀHĪM ZAHRANI

45 years old, literate broker from the village of Nusban, belonging to the tribe of the Banu Shanan.

Recorded speeches: 1. A brief talk bidding welcome to visitors to the village in which he tried to imitate sophisticated addresses delivered on special occasions and often broadcast by the local radio.  
2. Answers to questions designed with a view to phonetic items.

(27)

SHABBAB BIN 'AWAD

About 25 years old, a shepherd from the village of Kahil of Belad Ghamid, illiterate.

Recorded speeches: Answers to questions about life in the village, traditions and marriage customs, etc.

(28)

UMM KHADRA

About 60 years old, a woman who came to the mobile office for the issue of identity papers.

Recorded speech: Inaudible talks with photographer. A few sentences can be transcribed.

(29)

A. BEGGARMAN

About 70 years old, a bedouin from the tribe of Dos.

Recorded speech: Answers to questions about his occupation, family and personal life, some recitation from the Qur'an (useful for phonetic notes).

(30)

GHURMALLAH

A 70 year old fruit seller at Bilgurshi, a large town of Belad Ghamid, illiterate. In reply to the question about his age he said, "God knows, may be 40, 50, 60 or 70."

Recorded speech: Names of the items in his shop, names of fruits, their varieties and other lexical features.

(31)

SĀLEH BIN SULTĀN

40 years old. Partially educated, an employee at the office of the local religious controller.

Recorded speeches: Answers to the questions about the work and function of his department, his own life and interests, his comments on the people and young men of the town. The speech is useful as an example of a partially educated person's talk.

(32)

HAMID BIN 'ABDUR RAHMAN

25 years old, a student of a local secondary school.

Recorded speech: Vocabulary, answers to the questions about the method of education at secondary level.

(33)

MOHAMMAD HANASH

30 year old policeman, ex-soldier. Partially literate, now on duty at the office of the religious controller.

Recorded speech: The informant has given his own story and experiences when he was with a patrolling group on the border of Saudi Arabia and Israel in 1952. An example of the speech of a bedouin who had been to army headquarters and mixed with people from various parts of the country.

(34)

ALI BIN A'ALA

20 year old student of a secondary school from Bilgurshi.

Recorded speech: Some vocabulary.

(35)

AHMAD BIN MOHAMMAD

A 17 year old bedouin who recently came to the town to receive education at a primary vernacular school in the village of Nusban 10 miles from Bilgurshi.

Recorded speech: Answers to various questions about his aims, desires, etc.

(36)

IBRAHIM BIN YAHYA, 10 YEARS

MOHAMMAD BIN 'ABDULLAH, 8 YEARS

Children of a primary school at Nusban.

Recorded speech: Vocabulary, answers to questions about their life at school.



REEL 6.

(37)

AHMAD BIN MOHAMMAD

45 year old illiterate gardener. Recording took place in the garden in the village of MESHINI 15 miles from Bilgurshi.

Recorded speech: Answers to the question about fruit, seasons and other items related to agriculture for phonetic and lexical points.

(38)

MOHAMMAD BIN HANASH

A 40 year old bedouin living in a tent, a shepherd, obviously illiterate; recording took place in his tent 30 miles from the town of Bilgurshi.

Recorded speech: Customs and traditions of the life of bedouin living in tents. A typical example of a bedouin speaker who is not nervous of recording and careless about it.

(39)

'AZIZ BIN TOREYH

A 20 year old shepherd in the village of *Misheni*, illiterate poet, careless about recording.

Recorded speech: Some vocabulary, a folk song.

(40)

MO'AD BIN 'ALI

60 year old illiterate poet of the district of 'Aqiq, who called himself 'Poet of Belad Ghamid'.

Recorded speech: Answers to the questions about costume and dress. Poem of his own, composed by him and sung along with other readers in the traditional way of singing, story of his first composing poetry and the relevant occasion.

THE GROUPS OF INFORMANTS

1-1 The total number of our informants is 37, from which five have been dropped because their recorded speeches are too limited in extent to be useful. Among the remaining 32 informants, 20 are illiterate and engaged in various occupations; most of these are peasants and others are gardeners, two labourers, two grocers, one driver, two camel men and three shepherds. Six of them are partially literate; another six are regarded as educated, including students of a vernacular secondary school.

People who are described as 'partially literate' are those who had been to a Qur'anic tutor, traditionally called قرعوى (qar'aawi) and who had learned in their early youth some chapters of the Qur'an and the fundamentals of the Islamic faith and practice (an example of the method of learning and memorizing these things may be noted in Reel V of the informants under No.36). Those who had worked away from their districts for a long while, on account of their trade, service or any other business, and had an opportunity of mixing with people of other districts, who influenced their dialects, are reckoned among the partially literate.

By 'literate' or 'educated' are meant those who received a complete primary education in any (Egyptian-type) vernacular primary school or in an institution of Islamic teaching called Madarsa Diniya.

Persons who received further education in a secondary school or up to College level and then took a higher post in Government offices, or worked as teachers in a secondary school, have not been asked to record their speech or give information, because a 'natural way of speaking was not expected of them.

Apart from one informant, viz No. 26, Yahya B. Ibrahīm, who was aware of the importance of the recording of speech, and thus proved to be microphone-conscious, all were indifferent to recording.

According to their area and tribe, 12 belong to Zahran, i.e., a descendant tribe of Ben 'Abdullah, of Azd, one to Daham and 8 to the semi-settled Bedouin called Beni Sayyah, and others to the Belad Ghamid,

i.e. descendants of Qahtaan.

In the following pages an attempt is made to investigate major features of the differences in their dialects.

**SPEECH DIVERGENCIES**

*speech divergencies*

1-2 The Consonants

(a) Informants No. 3 and 11 pronounced Palatal stop (ʃ) as /y/ Palatal semi vowel. Informant No. (1) is a peasant of al Baha, illiterate, and No. (11) is an unsettled bedouin of the Belad Ghamid area. The common factor in both is their illiteracy.

(b) /θ/ and /ð/ (ث, ذ), dental fricatives, often shift to the (s,z) pronunciation, especially when they are preceded or followed by a long vowel, e.g., /heys/ < Hays and /Laziiz/ < /ladiid/ (informant 1); /zoolaga/ < /doolaga/ ذولقة 'long Arabian shirt without a sleeve', /ma<sup>(a)</sup>hu saabit/ < /ma hu θaabit/ 'it is not confirmed' (No.5, a partly illiterate landlord of al-Baha), /Lu sawaab/ < /Lahu θawaab/. 'For him there is a reward (from God)', No.15 an illiterate grocer of Tihama, residing at al-Baha (Zahran). The common factor is that all of them resided in a town of the Zahran district, that is al-Baha.

(c) Again /ð/ resembles a dental stop /d/ ( > ) when it is in an open syllable, or followed by a long vowel, e.g. /daak/ < /ðaak/ < /ðaalik/ 'that', is in the speech of informants 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10 of Zahran district and 31 and 34 of the Ghamid district. The common factor in all of these is that all are engaged in business and mixing with other people on weekly Bazaar days.

(d) An uvular stop /q/ which has the commonly approved pronunciation of a velar stop, voiceless (g), sometimes becomes a voiceless velar stop (k) when it occurs at the end of a syllable, e.g. /hak/ < /hag/ 'belonging to ....' (No.7, an educated official of Ghamid, No.27 an illiterate shepherd of Ghamid). At the beginning of a syllable but before ق is rarely pronounced K /'akiik/ < /'agiig/, 'name of a village'. (No.36 a bedouin of Ghamid).

They all belong to Belad Ghamid. But /ʔibriik/ < /ʔibriig/ comes in the speech of No. 15, a grocer of Tihama who lives in Zahran. Hence there is no truly common factor among them.

(e) In the case of the cluster of two consonants, Nos. 13 and 19 (both illiterate peasants of Ghamid) dropped the last consonant, e.g. /mill/ < /milh/ 'salt' and /ʔux/ for /ʔuxt/ 'sister'. But a peasant of al-Baha (Zahran), No.1, said 'ʔuxt' and 'bint', but /busr/ 'date half ripe' (No.14, a gardener of Ghamid).

A shepherd boy of Al-Sayyah (semi-settled bedouin) (No.36) was heard to say /gabur/ < /gabr/ 'grave, tomb'. Another bedouin from an unsettled tribe, viz. No. 31, said /milah/.

Here, therefore, in the case of a consonant cluster, we have three varieties:

1. with literary pronunciation, i.e. vcc (peasants of Zahran and some from Ghamid).
2. with dropping of second consonants, i.e. vc (Ghamid).
3. with an anaptyxis vowel between two clustered consonants, i.e. vcvc (Bedouin).

### 1-3 The Vowels

(a) Informants Nos.1, 2,4, ,9 of Zahran and No. 7 (who now resides in Zahran), 13, 14 and 19 of Belad Ghamid, tend to use a half close central vowel for the words /balad/ 'area, or farm' /melh/ 'salt'. /bazzr/ 'boy' or 'child' /gerd/ 'monkey' /bent/ 'daughter', and in prepositions attached to nominal suffixes, e.g. /benteh/ 'His daughter', /dareh/ 'His house', while informants No.5 of Zahran, 26, 27, 28, 34 of Ghamid and No. 38 and 39 of the Bedouin use the same above mentioned words with a close front /i/, e.g. bilad, bizzr, bint, and /'ilb/. Nothing is common to all of these informants. The only thing that may be said is that most of group I who use (e) are from tribes of Zahran or are influenced by the Meccan dialect, and the others either belong

to Ghamid or to Bedouin tribes.

(b) In the case of diphthongs, i.e. prepositions /'ala/, /'ila/ attached to the nominal suffix (h), the tendency to (ey) a half open central vowel is common among Nos. 1 to 7, 17, 20 (all of Zahran except No. 7), but Nos. 30 to 34 and 36, 37 of Ghamid and the Bedouin turned this vowel into an open front intermediate to central vowel (ɛ), e.g. /'Lɛeh/ <sup>أله</sup> /'alaha/ 'on it.'

1-4 Imāla

A slight influence of Imāla is observed in Informant 1, who is an illiterate peasant of al-Baha of the Quraish tribe: /zibday/ < /zibda/ 'cheese'. But it is very clearly observable in Informant 26, a partly literate one of Zahran, e.g. /mahkamey/ < /mahkama/ 'a Government Department /beysey/ 'a proper name!! It is also observable in the speech of Informant 33, a policeman of Belad Ghamid from :- Kebdeh < Kibdah; <sup>Liver</sup> /habbey/ < /habba/ 'one, or seed'.

1-5 Tafkhīm and Tarqīq

(a) of ص and ض .

Tafkhīm of ص is observable in the speech recorded by Nos. 4, 5, 7 of Zahran, but not of ض ; both with tafkhīm are observable in the speech of No. 8. A mixed conversation took place in an office at al-Baha, and in the speech of No. 9, a 40 year old broker who belonged to Banu Sar of Zahran, only ض with tafkhīm, and without it, have not been observed throughout the area. In Ghamid and Bedouin only tarqīq of ص is noteworthy in the speech of schoolboys (36) (tape No. 5). These boys came from Bani 'Abdullah, a branch of al-Saleh of Shamran.

Generally speaking it may be said, as the evidences prove, that educated people tend to pronounce ص with tafkhīm, but not ض .

(b) ط , ظ. tafkhīm of ' ط ' has not been observed. Its tarqīq is noticeable in the speech of 1, 3, 11 of Zahran, and 26 of Ghamid. But ' ط ' has same fate in tafkhīm relative to ' ض ' ; for example, in all dialects, wherever the word طيب or its abbreviated forms ط /tab/

or /ta/ ( ط ) only 'good' are pronounced, tafkhim is also noticed; but they may be taken as dialectal forms because in other words like طهارة /tahara/ 'cleanness' (No.1) the sound is pronounced clearly with tarqiq. It is also noticeable that ط loses its tafkhim when it is preceded by an unemphatic dental stop ( ت ) e.g. ينظرون , /le yattahhar/ 'to get cleaned' (No.3). The Bedouin of Ghamid preserve tafkhim of ط more than settled tribes, i.e. in the speeches of 36, 37 it is observed more clearly than in the others.

(c) ( ع ) has its simple pronunciation of a velar voiced fricative. Its tafkhim is observed only in a sophisticated recitation of the Qur'an by learned men; otherwise in normal speech it always preserves tarqiq.

In the speech of illiterate men the tarqiq is softened when it occurs followed by a long vowel, e.g. No. 30 of Ghamid:

( عمري و الله عالم ) 'My age? Allah knows'.

In the speech of the Zahran district: tafkhim of ع has not been observed. It is observable in the speech of No.36, an unsettled bedouin (Reel V).

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2. THE MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Pronouns

(i) The independent forms of the personal pronouns.

- |            |       |   |
|------------|-------|---|
| 1.C. Sing: | ana   | at the beginning of a sentence (Nos. 7,8,9).  |
|            | aani  | ..... (No.26)                                 |
|            | na    | Preceded by negative particle (Nos. 1,21,32). |
|            | ni    | ..... (Nos.3,9,11).                           |
| 1.C. Pl.   | Nahno | At the beginning of a sentence (Nos.5,7).     |
|            | nehna | ..... (Nos. 1,2,3,16,<br>18,23,24,26,26).     |

- ehna ..... (Nos. 4, 29, 32).
- hinna ..... (Nos. 36, 38, 40).
- 2. M. Sing. intu ..... (No.7).
- ant common i.e. no variant form is observed.
- 2.F. Sing. intii ..... -do-
- 2.M. Pl. intuu ..... -do-
- 2.F. Pl. intuu ..... -do-
- 3.M. Sing. howa common
- hu when preceded by negative particle /ma/ or /mo/ (Nos.1, 31).
- ho after interrogative /<sup>h</sup> / (No.4).
- 3.M. Pl. humma ..... (Nos.7, 26, 32).
- uum when preceded by preposition, e.g. /minuum/ 'from them' ..... (Nos.4, 15).
- hum when preceded by preposition, e.g. /minuum/ 'from them' ..... (Nos. 1, 3).

Overall view

A common factor among the above informants is virtually absent. Neither tribe nor occupation is a common factor. Only literacy can be considered for the moment as a suitable criterion for classifying.

(ii) The pronominal suffixes

Disregarding what is common to all, only variant forms are mentioned here:-

Cl. hu is absent from this dialect. Its dialectical form consists in putting (h) on the end preceded by a long (u) e.g. Kitaabuh < cl. Kitaabuhu 'his book'. Now the dialect has two forms of this:

(1) e.g. Kitaabuh, i.e. with closed syllable with the ending 'h', which is observed in the speech of Nos. 3,4,5,11 (Zahran), No.15 of Tihama, No. 19 of Ghamid and No. 36, a Bedouin; all these are illiterate except No.5 who is partially literate.

(2) Another form consists in saying Kitaabu, i.e. open syllable without the sound of (h). This form is represented in the speech of Nos.1, 13 and 32; all are illiterate peasants belonging to Zahran and Beduin Ālsayyah. Therefore no grouping is here possible.

Cl. ha (3rd P.F.Sing.) is pronounced clearly in the speech of 32, 36 - both are Bedouin. On the other hand, Nos. 1-11, 18-22 and 26 pronounced it ḥaa, i.e. (h) is replaced by Hamza.

(iii) The demonstrative pronouns

Cl. haada was heard from No.3, a partially literate labourer of Zahran and No.7, an educated man from Ghamid, residing in Zahran.

hadaak from Nos. 1, 2; 4, 9, 10 (see 1-2C) of Zahran and 31, 34 of Ghamid (illiterate peasants); when it is attached to the following nouns it becomes /ha/, i.e. shortened with intonation of /ha/ and doubling of the following consonant, e.g. (min han nahiyya) 'and like this' (No.1).

IV. A special form for the demonstrative pronouns (Plural).

Cl.

|      |          |         |
|------|----------|---------|
| dol  | No.1. 5. | Zahran  |
| dola | No. 13.  | Ghamid  |
| "    | No. 36.  | Bedouin |
| "    | No. 15.  | Tahama  |

V. The demonstrative pronouns

Cl.

|     |          |       |                   |
|-----|----------|-------|-------------------|
| الى | (?allii) | No.1  | Zahran, 19 Ghamid |
| الى | (?alley) | No.3  | "                 |
| ل   | (la)     | No.36 | Bedouin           |

VI. The interrogative pronouns

Cl. سا . سا .

min (for man cl.) No difference is observable.

?سا 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of Zahran, 14 of Ghamid.

ša (assimilated into the following noun; e.g. šasmu 'What is



his name?' No. 23, camel man of Zahran, 36 a Bedouin.

VII. The indefinite pronoun

Cl.

|        |        |         |
|--------|--------|---------|
| had    | No. 1  | Zahran  |
| waahid | No. 36 | Bedouin |

VIII. The negative pronouns

Cl. ma before a verb; e.g. ma ja had, 'Nobody has come'.

No.1 had ma yakrah<sub>2</sub> lxeyr 'Nobody dislikes a good thing'.

Or

before a personal pronoun as

mani šaa'er 'I am not a poet'.

No. 26 (Ghamid).

muu before 3rd P.M. Sing. Personal pronoun; e.g.

مو هو سوا 'It is not the same'. (regular usage).

mow: (with semi vowel) e.g. mow fii šey 'There is nothing', No. 29

(a beggarman at the tribe of Dos manhab).

Other forms of the negative particle are:

maš No.1 Zahran (Al Baha) 16, 38 and 32 Badouins

mašii No. 32 Ghamid (Shira)

maafii No. 2, 3, 4 and 25 of Zahran tribes, No. 11 of the  
Badouin and 7 and 30 of Ghamid.

2-2

The Nominal Patterns

Only peculiar forms of nominal patterns are given below, other forms that agree with or vary little from Cl. Arabic have not been mentioned here, because this work has been done in Part 2 (Morphology).

(1) The trilateral root CaCC (فعل) becomes:

|        |    |               |            |           |                   |
|--------|----|---------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| CiCC   | as | šibr < šabr   | 'patience' | No. 8     | Zahran.           |
|        |    | šikl < šakl   | 'kind'     | No. 9, 35 | Ghamid.           |
|        |    | sitr < satr   | 'curtain'  | No. 15    | (Tehama)          |
| CaCaC  | as | baḥar < baḥr  | 'sea'      | No. 1     | Zahran.           |
|        |    | ?akal < ?akl  | 'food'     | No. 7     | Ghamid.           |
|        |    | barad < bard  | 'cold'     | No. 30    | Ghamid.           |
| CaCuC  | as | xabur < xabr  | 'news'     | No. 23    | Zahran.           |
| CuCaac | as | buraad < bard | 'cold'     | No. 29    | Zahran.           |
| CuCC   | as | buṣr < baṣr   | 'opinion'  | No. 36    | Bedouin Alsayyah. |

(ii) CaCaC <sup>فعل</sup> becomes:

|       |    |                   |                |            |          |
|-------|----|-------------------|----------------|------------|----------|
| CaCC  | as | mahl < mahal      | 'place'        | No. 12     | Ghamid.  |
|       |    | wald < walad      | 'son' or 'boy' | No. 19, 37 | Ghamid.  |
|       |    | bald < balad      | 'country'      | No. 38     | Bedouin. |
| CaCiC |    | wariq < warag (q) | 'leaf'         | No. 14     | " .      |

(iii) CaCiC <sup>فعل</sup> becomes:

|       |    |               |        |        |               |
|-------|----|---------------|--------|--------|---------------|
| CaCaC | as | malak < malik | 'king' | No. 40 | Ghamid 'Aqiq. |
|-------|----|---------------|--------|--------|---------------|

(iv) CiCC <sup>فعل</sup> becomes:

|        |    |                |          |        |         |
|--------|----|----------------|----------|--------|---------|
| CaCC   | as | tafl < tifl    | 'child'  | No. 8  | Zahran. |
| CuCaac | as | šubaay < šibay | 'colour' | No. 31 | Ghamid. |
| CiCaac | as | šišaar šī'r    | 'poetry' | No. 37 | Ghamid. |

(v) CuCC <sup>فعل</sup> becomes:

|      |    |             |         |        |         |
|------|----|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| CiCC | as | 'išb < 'ušb | 'grass' | No. 4  | Zahran. |
|      |    | zifr < zufr | 'nail'  | No. 15 | Tehama. |

(vi) CaCCa (h) فحله becomes:

|        |    |                |                      |        |         |
|--------|----|----------------|----------------------|--------|---------|
| CaCaCa | as | xaṣafa < xaṣfa | 'mat'                | No. 19 | Ghamid. |
|        |    | talaga < talga | 'shoot'              | No. 20 | Zahran. |
|        |    | ḥafana < ḥafna | 'part of camel body' | No. 22 | Zahran. |

(vii) CiCCa (h) فحله becomes:

|       |    |               |                      |        |         |
|-------|----|---------------|----------------------|--------|---------|
| Cucca | as | buḍra < biḍra | (colloq. 'children') | No. 19 | Ghamid. |
|       |    | kuffa < kiffa |                      | No. 30 | Ghamid. |

(viii) A special pattern فعلان (fa'laan) to describe a transient action (a temporary adjective) and that is common to all dialects: Jo'aan 'hungary', bardān 'who got cold' is heard in a variant form from the following informants:

|         |             |              |       |         |
|---------|-------------|--------------|-------|---------|
| (bṛid)  | for bardaan | 'got cold'.  | No. 9 | Ghamid. |
| (tṛ'ib) | for ta'baan | 'got tired'. | No. 2 | Zahran. |

But Jo'aan 'hungary' is heard from the same informants, viz 2. Zahran.

(ix) Pattern (fu'laan) فعلان can be heard, for which Cl. Arabic has فحل = (حمر) (humr) patterns:

humraan < humr 'red', plural of 'ahmer': No. 9 Ghamid.

Other plurals of this pattern have some changes in the vowels:

|                   |           |        |         |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|---------|
| nuswaan < niswaan | 'women'   | No. 32 | Ghamid. |
| xurṣaan < xirṣaan | 'earring' | No. 20 | Zahran. |

(x) The pattern (fi'laan) is also used for the plural form:

|            |            |        |         |
|------------|------------|--------|---------|
| (wir'aan)  | 'children' | No. 23 | Ghamid. |
| (bildaan)  | 'villages' | No. 14 | Ghamid. |
| (diifaaan) | 'guests'   | No. 15 | Tahama. |

But the plural of (deyf) 'guest' is doyuuf in the speech of No. 1, 5 and 26 of Zahran tribes and No. 9 of Ghamid.

As an overall view, it may be taken as conclusive that the pattern ending on --aan has two functions in the dialect: (1) to indicate a transient action or state for which Cl. Arabic has a CaCiC pattern; (2) as a form of broken plural regardless of the first vowel, as we have observed: bidraan, war'aan, 'children' and Juddaan 'forefathers' (a Bedouin 36 Ghamid), Judraan 'walls' (No.30, Ghamid); but no variant forms of these plurals have been observed, neither Cl. (ʔaʔdaad) or (judr) nor dialectal ones.

(xi) Patterns of a long vowel after 2nd radical (fa'aal), (fu'aal) and (fi'aal) type have their common usage as plural forms; and they have minor differences in the first vowel from speaker to speaker; this is not helpful for grouping purposes. But where it is used for the singular, it shows some different tendencies:

|        |           |                                   |         |
|--------|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Jumaal | ] 'camel' | Nos. 15, 19 and 28                | Ghamid. |
| Jumal  |           | No. 4                             | Zahran. |
| Jamal  |           | Nos. 2, 5, 8. Zahran; 36 Badouin. |         |
| humaar |           | No. 28                            | Ghamid. |
| himaar |           | No. 7                             | Ghamid. |

It is not possible to say why two people from Ghamid should pronounce a word differently (last two examples).

2-3

The Verb

(1) An Overall View

The present dialect of Belad Ghamid and Zahran has no sign of Cl. gender distinguishable by inflexion, and thus a stopped 't' serves both first person singular and 2nd P. Masc. Sing: Katabt 'I wrote', Katabt 'You (masc.sing.) wrote' (informant No.2, Zahran). The feminine gender is distinguishable by a long vowel (closed front ii):

Kabattii 'You (Fem. Sing.) wrote' (No.2, Zahran).

For the number, apart from the dual which is lost from the old dialects, the plurals of both masculine and feminine, instead of the Cl. (tum) and (tunna) suffixes, have a long rounded back vowel i.e. uu:

zaraʔtuu 'You (Masc. Pl) planted' (No. 4, Zahran).

talabtuu 'You (Fem. Pl) asked' (No. 2, Zahran).

As for the first person plural suffix of (naa) it does exist, but it is used for the singular and it is very rare to hear the talabt (uu) type forms.

In gender and number no variant form is observable except where we have an informant who is partly educated, wanting to appear sophisticated in his speech such as informant No.7 from Ghamid and No. 27 from Zahran. Thus in this case, gender and number as a basis for grouping the informants are out of the question.

(ii) In the use of verbal themes it is noticed that where some informants use trilateral roots, especially strong and hollow roots, others use for the same purpose a derived theme of (ii) as:

tarraknaʔ(ha) '(we) I left it' (No. 9).

nazalna '(we) I entered' (No. 6), but further

examples of a derived theme used instead of a simple theme of strong roots are not in our data, but there are many examples of this in weakened themes, especially, as mentioned above, in themes of hollow roots:

ruhna Nos. 1, 2, 4, (Zahran) 9, (Ghamid).

rawwahna Nos. 28, 31 and 37 (Ghamid).

maʕit ʔana No. 4 (Zahran).

Maʕʕeyna No. 28 (Ghamid).

These likewise may be observed in the imperfect.

tismaḥ ʔaruḥ 'let me go' No. 1, Zahran.

xallina narrawḥ 'let me go' No. 28, Ghamid.

wahid ma yasibʕlxejr 'one does not leave the good (opportunity)  
No. 3, Zahran.

ma nassyib ḥalaal 'we do not leave the animals', (No. 37 Ghamid).

With the transitive meaning the most frequently used derived form is II فعل and it is common to all, but still it is used for intransitive purposes in some dialects, where simple themes of a strong root could be used:

|          |                              |       |         |
|----------|------------------------------|-------|---------|
| naxassil | 'we take a bath or we wash'. | No. 1 | Zahran. |
| nagattā  | 'we cut (it)'.               | No. 1 | Zahran. |
| baddal   | 'he changed'.                | No. 3 | Zahran. |

(iv) The theme VII with an intransitive meaning is not observed; it is changed to Form X as in the speech of No.4 of Zahran.

tastanfā 'minho ul xawaariḥ' 'outsiders get benefit of it'. But in the speech of Informant No.38, a Bedouin from Ghamid, it was noticed that he used II instead of VII:

ba'd ma kassar al kob 'when the cup was broken'.

But it is a very rare example; in general the common tendency in this case is to adopt Form V, but not VII.

|          |                |       |         |
|----------|----------------|-------|---------|
| ḥakassar | 'broken'       | No. 9 | Ghamid. |
| talawwan | 'got coloured' | No. 4 | Zahran. |
| taḥamimā | 'gathered'     | No. 4 | Zahran. |

In Form IX أفعل, where (y) is the final radical, the hamza of أفعل is replaced by a long ā after the first radical, provided that first radical is glottal or pharyngal:

'aatii < ?u'tii 'I give' No.1 Zahran.

This is not so in other roots which have a consonant other than ع :

?akrim (ho) < ?ukrimho 'I respect him' No. 1 Zahran.

The Hamzated root is always changed to 'w' in derived

|           |                          |        |         |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------|---------|
| tawaraxuu | 'they dated' < ta?arraxū | No. 28 | Ghamid. |
| yowaxxir  | 'he removes' < yo'axxir  | No. 1  | Zahran. |
| ?owaddi   | 'I perform' < ?u?addii   | No. 1  | Zahran. |

But when a hamza is the 2nd radical, it remains as Cl. Arabic in some dialects, and is changed in others by transferring it to derived Form II, then replacing it by w:

ruht, 'I want', gaal, 'he said', gult, 'I said', No.1, 2, 5  
Zahran.

rawwahna, dawwarit 'I looked for' Nos. 28, 30 Ghamid.

but not always is this true of other roots; e.g.

šufna, 'we saw' No. 28 Ghamid.

qumna 'we arose' No. 30 Ghamid.

When a hamza is the final radical, the simple theme is rarely used --- and is frequently changed to II theme; but when it is used, hamza is replaced by y in first person singular and plural and in all genders, but in 3rd person masculine it is changed to 'w' and 'y' forms a diphthong along with preceding vowel.

grayt grayna, greyt, No.1 Zahran.

malayt mayna maleyti No.9 Ghamid.

and {grau} 'they read' No.3 Zahran.

gro No.2 Zahran.

The verb of final y and medial hamza, i.e. a doubly weak root, is pronounced as:

(raa) the sound of hamza is dropped No. 3 Zahran.

3rd P.M. raaū the sound of hamza is dropped No. 3 Zahran.

3rd P.M. raa (h) the sound of hamza is dropped No. 2 Zahran.

3rd P.M. row (a change by the same informant) No.2 Zahran.

No differences have been discerned in the other gender and number. In the case of final hamza and medial alif the position of 3rd P.M. is the same as in (r?aa). In 3rd P.M. it becomes:

Jaaū No. 1, 2, 4. Zahran.

Jō No. 36 Bedouin.

Jow̄ No. 9 Ghamid.

Finally, a major difference is seen only in the vowel followed by prefixes of the imperfect. It is in some speeches i and in some others u; examples:-

1. Strong roots: -i- after imperfect prefix

tisbah 'You put your hand on dust in order to

|            |                  |       |         |
|------------|------------------|-------|---------|
| get clean' |                  | No. 1 | Zahran. |
| tifham     | 'you understand' | No. 1 | Zahran. |
| nizra'     | 'we sow'         | No. 4 | Zahran. |
| nirgud     | 'we sleep'       | No. 9 | Ghamid. |
| tiʃlis     | 'you sit'        | No. 2 | Zahran. |
| tiʻmal     | 'you do'         | No. 4 | Zahran. |

-u- after prefixes:

|        |              |        |          |
|--------|--------------|--------|----------|
| nurgud | 'we sleep'   | No. 27 | Ghamid.  |
| nphrus | 'we protect' | No. 15 | Tehama.  |
| yoxbur | 'he informs' | No. 16 | Ghamid.  |
| tudmus | 'you buried' | No. 36 | Bedouin. |

2. Weakened Hollow roots:-

|        |  |        |         |
|--------|--|--------|---------|
| noguul |  | No. 14 | Ghamid. |
|--------|--|--------|---------|

But noḡul is common to all; this pattern varies in -a- and -u- as:

|         |           |        |          |
|---------|-----------|--------|----------|
| yaṣuuf  | 'he sees' | No. 5  | Zahran.  |
| tuṣuuf  | 'you see' | No. 1  | Zahran.  |
| ?azuur  | 'I visit' | No. 9  | Ghamid.  |
| ?aazuur | "         | No. 36 | Badouin. |
| noruuh  | 'we go'   | No. 36 | Badouin. |
| naruuh  | "         | No. 3  | Zahran.  |

3. In final y imperfect the vowel followed by prefixes is -i- and -a-.

|               |            |           |          |
|---------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| tiʃii, ʔyʔʃii | 'you came' |           |          |
| yidʻii        | 'He calls' | Nos. 1, 3 | Zahran.  |
| taʃii         | 'you came' |           |          |
| yadʻii        | 'He calls' | No. 27    | Ghamid.  |
| naaʃii        | 'we came'  | No. 36    | Badouin. |

3. Participles.

3-1. The Active Participle:

Here differences are not in the forms but in the places of its use:



|                           |                                |        |         |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|---------|
| ?ana ?iʃii Kum (verb)     | 'I will come to you'.          | No. 1  | Zahran. |
| ma howa <u>ʒaa'ii</u> Kum | 'He is not coming to see you'. | No. 10 | Zahran. |
| ʃuf how <u>hamilha</u>    | 'See he is loading it (F)'.    | No. 16 | Ghamid. |
| ma how <u>raadii</u>      | 'He does not agree with'.      | No. 3  | Zahran. |
| ?aakul ha (imperfect)     | 'I eat it'.                    | No. 8  | Zahran. |
| nəhna <u>ʃaaribha</u>     | 'We drink it'.                 | No. 27 | Ghamid. |

Thus informants No. 10, 16, 3 and 27 use the participle in a place where informants No. 1 and 8 use an imperfect verb.

### 3-2. The Passive Participle:

These have different forms of simple and derived themes and no rule can be established. I.e. some of the informants use a passive participle of the simple verb and others of derived themes for the same purpose:

|                                       |  |         |         |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------|---------|
| <sup>a</sup> syare maʃhuuna le ʒeddah | 'A loaded car <del>fort</del> ʒeddah'. | No. 4   | Zahran. |
| <sup>a</sup> syara muʃaḥhana bandora  | 'A car loaded with tomatoes.           | No. 15  | Tehama. |
| yiiʃii fii ʃihqaq <u>moʃabbara</u>    | 'It (tomatoe) comes in a packed tin'.  | No. 4.  |         |
| ʒawaanii maksuura                     | 'broken pots'                          | No. 12. |         |
| graaya'makassara                      | 'broken reading'                       |         |         |

### 4. 4. The Imperatives:

4-1. Since the dialectal conjugation consists of only four forms, two for masculine singular and plural and two for feminine singular and plural, the differences among the informants occur in the last form, i.e. Fem. Plu. as a group of informants use the form of the Masc. Plu. for Fem. Plu. as well. Besides this, the other difference concerns the vowel process. Both kinds of difference may be observed side by side, as following:-

From strong root 'Katab' to write

From weakened root (hamza *leḏ*) (graʔa) 'l̄read'.

|              |                |                     |            |                |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|----------------|
| Masc. Sing.- | ?oktob (1)     | ?oktub (3, 5 and 9) | ?agra      | (all of them). |
| Plu.         | - ?oktobuu (1) | ?uktobu (3 and 9)   | ?agōw      | ?agruu (5).    |
| Fem. Sing. - | ?oktubnah (1)  | ?uktobii (3 and 9)  | ?agrii (3) |                |
|              | ?oktubnah (1)  |                     | ?agōw      | (all of them). |

The same conjugation as above is collected from the speech of informant Nos. 31, 18 and 26 of Ghamid in this way:-

|             |          |        |
|-------------|----------|--------|
| Masc. Sing. | ?aktub   | ?igra  |
| Plu.        | ?aktobuu | ?igro  |
| Fem. Sing.  | ?aktobii | ?egrii |
| Plu.        | ?aktobuu | ?igro  |

Some odd forms that are enough to give an idea of other forms; those which have been collected from the speech of different informants are given below to illustrate 1) Imperative forms from derived themes, and 2) the differences among groups of informants:

|         |        |                        |         |             |
|---------|--------|------------------------|---------|-------------|
| Form II | rawwəḥ | 'go (away)'            | ruh     | 'go (away)' |
|         | sayyeb | 'leave'                | siibuuh | 'leave'     |
|         | ḥaddin | 'Protect' (imperative) |         |             |
|         | waxxir | 'get back'             |         |             |

From the reduplicated radicals Imperative forms are noted as following:

|          |        |        |
|----------|--------|--------|
| M. Sing. | ṣalley | 'Pray' |
| F. Sing. | ṣallii | "      |

### 5. The Forms of the Plural

As far as the جمع سالم, or sound plural, is concerned, what is common to all is that they have no -uun pattern of the active participle, e.g. muslimuun. The only surviving pattern is of the -ēn suffix for both active and passive participle plurals.

There are some kinds of difference in the usage of broken plurals,

but the patterns of broken plurals have no peculiarity in the dialect. Since all of them are endorsed by Cl. Arabic, the difference occurs in the tendency of some informants to depend on a certain pattern rather than on others. Another difference is in the usage of a pattern that is peculiar in a word, as 'ašyaat أَشْيَات (No. 4 Zahran) instead of أَشْيَا; this is commonly used and recorded by informants as follows:-

|    |                |     |         |    |                 |    |         |
|----|----------------|-----|---------|----|-----------------|----|---------|
| I  | <u>haflaat</u> | 3,5 | Zahran. | 2. | <u>hafayel</u>  | 22 | Zahran. |
|    | <u>tankaat</u> | 2,4 | Zahran. |    | <u>tawaanik</u> | 30 | Ghamid. |
|    | <u>?asbaak</u> | 15  | Tehama  |    | <u>sabaayak</u> | 29 | Ghamid. |
| 3. | <u>baḍuura</u> | 1   | Zahran  | 4. | <u>bidraan</u>  | 29 | Ghamid. |
|    |                |     |         |    | <u>wir'aan</u>  | 17 | Zahran. |
|    |                |     |         |    | <u>bildaan</u>  | 34 | Ghamid. |
|    |                |     |         |    | <u>buldaan</u>  | 8  | Zahran. |
|    |                |     |         |    |                 | 9  | Ghamid. |

The single words used only for the plural and having no singular are much used by informants 29, 34, 36 and 38 of Ghamid: e.g.-

|                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>halaal</u>               | 'cattle'.             |
| <u>belaad</u>               | 'agricultural farms'. |
| <u>xasab</u> <sup>(1)</sup> | 'woods'               |

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(1) In lit. Arabic (xasab) is plural and to describe its singular a t is added: خَشَبَةٌ

6. The Conclusion

To place the informants whose speech is similar in separate groups according to the variations noted in the above pages and to reach a reasonable conclusion, we have to bear in mind the following points;

- i) The various tribes and their branches no longer preserve any distinctive speech characteristics. This may be a result of their movements from place to place which have been greatly facilitated during the last two decades by new modes of transport which have largely superceded the camel, their mixing with the people of other tribes on Bazar days, intermarriage, or any other factor that has had the practical result of reducing the differences from tribe to tribe.
- ii) Occupation does affect speech, but in the case of these tribes it may be seen from the list of information that the majority of the people are engaged in agriculture. Those who are not peasants and engage in other occupations, such as shepherds, milkmen,\* grocers and labourers, are also connected directly or indirectly with agriculture, either as part-time workers or by doing labouring jobs on farms, or farming their own smallholdings. Thus the inhabitants of our area are not distinguished from one another by trade or occupation.
- iii) Communal religious differences are not operative in this area as all the inhabitants adhere to the Sunni branch of the Muslim faith.
- iv) Changes in speech consequent on changes in the social status of a person have also no place in this area because people who become wealthy move to the big cities of the kingdom such as Mecca, Jedda

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\*These men are engaged in mixed farming which includes small-scale dairy farming, their surplus produce, milk, and sometimes butter and cheese, being sold for profit. Occasionally cattle are sold for meat, generally to local butchers.)

and Taif, leaving their native villages to the poor peasants. There are famous trading firms in Jedda, Riyadh and other cities of the Kingdom belonging to natives of Zahran and Ghamid.

Those who hold low ranking jobs in any Government Department, for instance in the lesser clerical grades of the Post Office or Revenue Office, have a big enough change in their social status to distinguish them from the rest of the population, but their speech does not show any special characteristics.

v). The effect of education on speech may be observed to some limited extent and it is known in all dialects that educated persons try their best to speak, especially to foreigners, in classical Arabic or in semi-Classical style. In this area there were some who were partially literate and who tried to be sophisticated in their speech but were unable to continue for long in this way, especially when they were interrupted by cross questions.

Hence the only distinctions which may be observed are the differences linked with the area to which informants belong and our distribution maps show that our informants are differentiated in terms of three zones:-

- i) Those who live in a central town, like al-Baha, al-Zafir and Raghdan and their suburbs, are under the influence of the Meccan dialect and their speech is distinguishable from the rest of the area.
- ii) Those who live in the Northern part of Zahran and those who live in the Southern part of Ghamid make special groups which sometimes agree with each other and sometimes not.

If this view is correct, we can assume three groups in all:

1. Central region.
2. Northern region.
3. Southern region.

( See Map A1 )

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE DIALECTICAL VARIATIONS

We now study the variant features occurring in the speech of our region as listed above (6.1.) according to their geographical distribution. Map No. (A-1) shows the location of our informants and the speech variations occurring in the materials obtained from various informants will be plotted accordingly.

1. Phonology (Cf 1-2)

(a) (ɶ) is pronounced as English /ɶ/ and it also resembles /y/, a palatal semi vowel. If both pronunciations are plotted in the map it will appear that /ɶ/ resembling /y/, i.e. palatal semi vowel, is pronounced once in the central area by informant No.5 and in the northern region of the map by Nos. 3, 17, and 29. /ɶ/ is common to the whole central northern pocket of 'Aqiq and throughout the southern region (Map Ph.I).

(b) /θ/ (cf.2,b) has three variants: (i) as English (th) in (thing), (ii) as unvelarized /t/ and /s/. Maps No.2 and 3 show that the /s/ pronunciation (informants Nos. 4, 5, 9 and 15) occurs only in the central west, the /t/ pronunciation occurs (informants Nos. 36, 33, 39 and 40) in the central east and /θ/ is common everywhere.

(c) /ḏ/ (cf.1-2C) has three pronunciations: /ḏ/, /z/, and /d/ (Cf.1-2 b,c). When these variations are plotted on the map it shows that:

/ḏ/ (informants Nos. 1,4, 8, 9, 15) is pronounced in the centre and in the north of our region.

/z/ (informants Nos. 3, 14, 34, 19 and 31) occurs mainly in the south and sporadically in the north.

The /d/ pronunciation has only one example (viz.No.30); it is in the south (Map No.4).

(d) /q/ has two pronunciations; /g/ and /k/ (cf. 1-2d).

/g/ is common to most of the informants throughout our region except on the border between north and south.

/k/ (informants Nos. 15, 11, 36 and 28) is found only in the west-south and centre; see Map No. 5. It occurs only in the final position.

(e) Consonant clusters (see S 1-2 E). There are three ways of dealing with clusters:

- 1) Both consonants are pronounced without anaptyxis;
- 2) With anaptyxis;
- 3) The final consonant is dropped.

After plotting these variants on the map it will appear that:

No.1 (both consonants pronounced without an anaptyxis vowel)

(Informants Nos. 3, 20, 29, 32 and 34) is found in the north, northern fringe of the centre and the extreme south.

No.2, viz. pronounced with an anaptyxis vowel, (informants Nos. 35, 36 and 16) is found in the eastern central area.

No.3, viz. final consonant, is dropped (informants Nos. 19 and 31) is found in the southern central area. (Map No 6)

(f) The Vowels

/e/ = /ɛ/ (cf.1-3A ) occurs clearly in the north together with the borderland and central area (informants Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 26, 3, 29, 23 and 25).

/i/ = /I/ (informants Nos. 7, 11, 36, 31 and 19) occurs in the southern region; (see Map 7).

(g) The Diphthong (uw) (cf.1-3B) is pronounced in two ways: as /ey/ and as long /aa/ before nominal suffixes. /ey/ (Nos. 5, 20 and 11) it occurs in the centre and the north. /aa/ is heard from informants Nos. 28, 31 and 27 in the eastern part of the southern area.

(h) Imāla

The only sort of Imāla observed (that is /a/ to /é/) occurs in the north and once in the centre. (informants Nos. 1, 26, 33). (Map 7)

## 2. MORPHOLOGY

(a) anaa has four different forms (cf 2.1);

- 1) anaa Informants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31 and 32.
- 2) aani Informants Nos. 10, 13, 16, 23, 27, 33, 36 and 39.
- 3) aana Informants Nos. 12, 20 and 30.
- 4) aane " " 14.

If these four forms are plotted on the map, it appears that anaa occurs all over the greater part (south, centre and north) of our area, but not in the east, centre and north).

aani occurs in the east, north and south (including centre).

aana occurs in the west, south and north (but not in centre).

aane occurs only once in the north. See Map No. 5.

(b) anta has four forms (cf. 2.1);

- 1) int informants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 35, 16, 23 and 29.
- 2) into-, intu informants Nos. 7, 13, 30, 31, 33, and 35.
- 3) inta-inte " " 5, 26 and 29.
- 4) att " " 10, 12 and 14.

If these four forms are plotted on the map, it appears that int occurs in the centre (E and W) and also in a pocket in the extreme north.

into/intu occur only in the south.

inta/inte occur scattered over the edges of mountainous regions in the north and centre.

att occurs only in the extreme south. See Map No. 9.

(c) anti has two forms:

- 1) int - informants Nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 23, 20 and 27.
- 2) intif - informants Nos. 5 and 11.

If these two forms are plotted on the map it appears that:



intli is apparently common.

int is scattered and rare in the west-central area. see Map 10.

(d) howa The various forms of howa are:

- 1) huu informants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 18, 24, 25 and 28.
- 2) hoo " " 11.
- 3) ho " " 12, 13, 19, 20, 23, 28, 29 and 31.
- 4) huuwa " " 7.
- 5) howa " " 10, 22 and 32.
- 6) how<sup>1</sup> " " 4.

If these forms are plotted on the map, the following facts emerge: we can divide these forms into two main groups: those without (w) and those with (w).

A. forms without (w):

huu is found in the central area south and east, and also in a pocket in the north.

hoo occurs once as a variant to huu in the centre.

ho occurs in the extreme north and in the south of our area, but not apparently in the centre.

B. forms with (w).

huuwa occurs once in the western central area.

howa occurs scattered in the north and south.

how occurs once in the south (see Map No. 14).

(e) nahnu has four forms:

- 1) nohno informant No. 5.
- 2) nehna informants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 15, 26 and 32.
- 3) rehna informants Nos. 7, 10, 23 and 24.
- 4) hinna " " 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 27, 29, 33, 34, 37 and 40.

---

(1) hu + howa.

If these forms are plotted on the map the following facts emerge.

We can divide these forms into two sub-groups:

A) with /n/;

B) without /n/ and where there is initial hamza:  $\text{rehna} < \text{nehna}$   
nahnu, ~~ehnu~~ ~~ehnu~~.

A) with /n/ nohno occurs once in the western centre.

nehna occurs in the western centre and in pockets in the north and once in the extreme south.

hinna occurs in the south and sporadically in the north.

rehna occurs in the north and once in the south.

See Map No. 12.

(f) antum has two forms:

intuu - informants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 15, 16, 24, 25, 33 and 37.

intom/intum informants Nos. 5, 14, 30 and 38.

If these two forms are plotted on the map it appears that:

intuu occurs in the centre, west and east and in a pocket in the north.

intom occurs in the extreme south and in the south of the centre.

See Map No. 13.

(g) hum has five variant forms:

1) hum informants Nos. 9, 15 and 25.

2) huum " " 1, 2, 3, 8, 26 and 27.

3) humma " " 4, 5, 20, 24 and 40.

4) um " " 7, 32 and 33.

5) umma " " 10, 11, 14, 16, 19 and 34.

If these forms are plotted on the map it appears that:

hum occurs in the centre and north.

hum occurs in the centre and once in the north.

humma occurs in the centre and in the north.

um occurs in the west and east and in the centre (towards the south).

umma occurs in the south and on the border and the centre (south/north).

See Map No. 14.

(h) haða has two forms:

haað/haaða informants Nos. 1, 4 and 5.

hadaak informants Nos. 7 and 3.

The map shows that:

haaða occurs in the western centre.

hadaak occurs in the north and south of the centre.

See Map No. 15.

*hā u l a i*

haa'u-laa'ey has two dialectal forms:

1) dodl informants Nos. 1 and 5.

2) dola informants Nos. 13, 15 and 36.

The map shows that dol occurs in the central west and on to the north, and dola occurs in the south and along the western border to the south.

See Map No. 16.

(i) ma (negative particle) has two forms:

ma informants Nos. 5, 9 and 26.

mow informants Nos. 13, 20 and 20.

The map shows that ma occurs in the western centre and on towards the north, and mow occurs in the south and in the extreme north.

See Map 17

If we now review our findings as a whole we see that there are three regional sub-groups as follows:

- 1) the South.
- 2) the North.
- 3) the Centre.

The southern part is sometimes linked with the north in particular features. The centre is often linked with a pocket in the north, but often stands alone.

The main characteristics of these three sub-regions are as follows:

A. The Southern Region:

1) In this area the pronunciation of ( ج ) as /J/ is preserved, no variant sound being heard throughout the area. ( ق ) is pronounced commonly as /g/, but on one occasion it has been recorded as /k/ in the final positions. ( ك ) is usually pronounced as /d/ and has once been heard as /d/. ( ت ) is pronounced as /θ/ as a common feature, but near the border between Ghamid and Zahran it is sounded as /t/ (dental stop unvelarized). In the case of vowels, a closed front short vowel is used in its closest position as /I/ of A.P.I. as in (bilaad).

As a general tendency the final consonant of a cluster is dropped, as ('ux) for ('uxt), but in some parts it is used without an anaptyxic vowel.

2) With regard to Morphology, a paradigm of the Personal Pronouns may illustrate the characteristics of the region:

1st P. Sing. ana - as a general form, but sporadically aana .

2nd P.M. " . into/intu - is common, but sometimes att (i.e. without the 'n').

2nd P.F. " . intii.

3rd P.M. " . ho - but sometimes how i.e. (/w/ as a consonant).

1st P. Plu. hinna - is common; in one case only, near the border line, it was heard as ehna.

2nd P.M. " . intom.

3rd P.M. " . uma and om .

For the demonstrative pronoun haad for masc. haadii for fem. are recorded.

For the lexical features this group is distinguished from others as it has some words used with a different meaning from that in other regions, e.g. kursi; in other areas it is a special kind of bed, but is used here for any kind of seat; likewise ibriig is used in other areas for a special kind of water-jug, while in this region it may apply to any vessel used for water.

Apart from these and certain other examples, this region preserves Cl. Ar. words in their unchanged meanings, e.g. (darJ) (to walk) arsad (to lead).

#### B. The Northern Region:

It is distinguishable from other sub-regions in the following respects:-

In phonology the ( ث ) pronunciation is linked with the south, as it is pronounced as /θ/, but in some parts of this region it resembles the /s/ sound. ( ق ) in some parts of this region is pronounced as /k/, but in final position only. The Imala of (alif) to an /e/ sound is one of the characteristics of this region which does not occur in the other two sub-regions. As for the diphthong, especially in the nominative suffixes, /ey/ is sounded as in /'aleyha/, while in other regions it becomes /'alaaha/. Clusters are pronounced without an anaptyxis vowel; e.g. /milh/ (salt).

In Morphology a paradigm of personal pronouns may once again illustrate the facts more clearly:

|             |       |  |
|-------------|-------|--|
| 1st P.      | Sing. | <u>anaa</u>  |
| 2nd P.M.    | "     | <u>intu</u> is common, but in some parts / <u>int</u> / with a closed syllable is heard. |
| 2nd P.F.    | "     | <u>int</u> - as for M in other parts.  |
| 3rd P.M.    | "     | <u>how</u> - as in the Southern region.  |
| 1st P. Plu. |       | <u>ehna</u> - is common and <u>hinna</u> (as in the south) is found sporadically.        |

2nd P.M. Plu. intu - is common, without any distraction from  
2nd P.M. Sing.

In demonstrative pronouns haada is common, and for F. haadii  
without an /b/ sound after (d) is used.

The special pronoun (هُوَلَا) for the Plu. in Cl. Ar. has the form  
dola in this region.

In lexical features this region is distinguishable from the centre;  
e.g. safar is used for 'knife' as in the southern region, while in  
the central region it is used for a woman's breast. In other features  
the region agrees with the south, but not with the centre.  
See maps 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and also (cf.4.5).

### C. The Central Region:

This is distinguishable from the rest of the main regions in  
phonology as follows:

( ع ) is pronounced commonly as /J/, a semivowel with palatal sound  
resembling /y/, throughout the area.

In the pronunciation of /θ/ and /ð/ this region agrees with some  
parts of the north. ( ق ) is everywhere as /g/.

A short close front vowel /I/ is pronounced here as A.P.I. / ɿ /.  
half close to half open, e.g. /bɿlaad/ for /bilaad/ in the south and in  
the north.

In Morphology its features are illustrated by the following paradigm  
of the personal pronouns:

1st P. Sing. ana.

2nd P.M. " . int.

2nd P.F. " . intii - sometimes it becomes int, i.e. without any  
distinction between 2nd P.M. and F.

3rd M. " . huu.

1st P. Plu. nehna - is common, rarely nahno.

2nd P.M. " . intuu or into is common (both in an open syllable  
and in final).

3rd P.M. " . hum/huum is common. um or uum is also heard, but  
only once.

For the demonstrative pronoun haada is common.

For the negative particle ma is in common use. No variant such as /mo/ is observed as it is in the southern region.

As for lexical features, most of the foreign words are used in this region (cf.4,5). In other features it often agrees with some parts of the north, but rarely with the south.

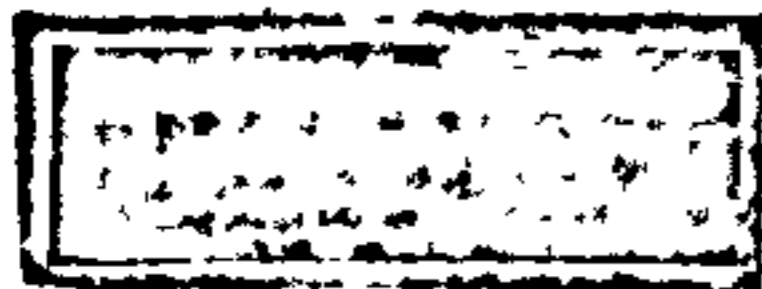
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PART I

THE LINGUISTIC DATA

(Chapter I)

PHONOLOGY



The phonological system of the dialect of Belad Ghamid and Zahran is, as is that of other Arabic dialects, made up of consonants, semi-vowels and vowels as well as certain stress patterns.

1.1. Consonants:

The classification of the consonants is related to the place and the manner of the articulation; thus according to the place of the articulation the dialect has bilabial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, pharyngal, and glottal; according to the manner of the articulation we have: plosive, nasal, lateral, fricative, flap, roll, semivowel and velarized consonants.

A full set of consonants of the dialect may be drawn as follows:-

(Note: In the transliteration of the dialect, the plosive voiced velar is transcribed as (g), as the uvular (q) of the Cl. Arabic does not exist in the dialect).



|   | BILABIAL | LABIO-DENTAL | DENTAL           | ALVEOLAR         |
|---|----------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| PLOSIVE                                     | b<br>p   |              | t<br>c           | d<br>s           |
| NASAL                                       | m<br>r   |              |                  | n<br>ɲ           |
| LATERAL                                     |          |              |                  | l<br>ɭ           |
| FRICATIVE                                   |          | f<br>ɸ       | θ<br>s<br>ʃ      | ʒ<br>N<br>ʃ      |
| FLAP & ROLL                                 |          |              |                  | (r)              |
| SEMIVOWELS                                  | w<br>ɥ   |              |                  |                  |
| WITH PLOSIVE<br>VELARIZATION.<br>FRICATIVE. |          |              | ʈ<br>ɓ<br>ʂ<br>ʄ | ɟ<br>ɠ<br>ɳ<br>ɰ |

|   | PALATAL    | VELAR        | UVULAR | PHARYN-<br>GAL | GLOTTAL |
|---|------------|--------------|--------|----------------|---------|
| PLOSIVE:                                    | ʃ<br>ç     | k<br>g<br>gʷ |        |                | ʔ / ʔ̥  |
| NASAL                                       |            |              |        |                |         |
| LATERAL                                     |            |              |        |                |         |
| FRICATIVE                                   |            | x<br>ç       | ɣ<br>ʕ | ħ<br>ç         | ħ<br>ʕ  |
| FLAP & ROLL                                 |            |              |        |                |         |
| SEMIVOWELS                                  | ɣ < j<br>ç |              |        |                |         |
| WITH PLOSIVE<br>VELARIZATION.<br>FRICATIVE. |            |              |        |                |         |

1-2. An Overall view of the above consonants:

There are eight groups of the unvelarized consonants: Velarized consonants are discussed separately in the appropriate section below.

- 1) Plosives: There are six plosives represented by b, t, d, k, g and ʔ; these occur in all positions (initially, medially and finally).

Examples of their use in various positions may be given as follows:-

|    |               |           |                |            |                           |                 |
|----|---------------|-----------|----------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| B. | <u>beyt</u>   | "a house" | <u>tibʔa</u>   | "you wish" | <u>turaab</u>             | "dust".         |
| T. | <u>turaab</u> | "dust"    | <u>martiin</u> | "rifle"    | <u>beyt</u>               | "house".        |
| D. | <u>dalw</u>   | "bucket"  | <u>bidaal</u>  | "exchange" | <u>b ʔtʔd</u>             | "cold".         |
| K. | <u>kabiir</u> | "big"     | <u>bukra</u>   | "tomorrow" | <u>mabruuk</u>            | "blessed".      |
| G. | <u>gaal</u>   | "he said" | <u>yoguul</u>  | "he says"  | <u>hag</u>                | "belonging to". |
| ʔ. | <u>ʔibn</u>   | "son"     | <u>soʔaal</u>  | "question" | <u>laaʔ</u> or <u>laʔ</u> | "no".           |

The glottal catch (i.e. a (ʔ) sound) may also occur, as any consonantal sound, in a two-consonantal cluster at the beginning of a word; tʔaxxar "to be late", ʔalf "thousand"; when the glottal catch is initial and followed by a vowel, it disappears if there is a liaison with the preceding word; xuuya < ʔaxuuya "my brother", and buuya < ʔabuuya "my father". It also disappears when the following consonant is a pharyngal h or ʕ or when it is preceded by a central a vowel, thus:

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| <u>ʔaarif</u>  | <u>ʔaʔrif</u>    |
| <u>had</u>     | <u>ʔahad</u>     |
| <u>madriif</u> | <u>maʔadriif</u> |

## 2. Fricatives:

There are eleven non-velarized fricatives; seven are voiceless: f, θ, s, ʃ, x, h and h; and four are voiced: ḏ, z, ɣ, and ʔ. All of these fricatives occur in all three positions, except that "h" and "ʔ" are rarely used in the final position, thus:

|    |               |          |                 |              |               |               |
|----|---------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| f. | <u>fagiir</u> | "poor",  | <u>haafiz</u>   | "protector", | <u>xelaaf</u> | "opposition". |
| θ. | <u>θamar</u>  | "fruit"  | <u>muθmir</u>   | "fruitful"   | <u>hayθ</u>   | "as".         |
| s. | <u>slaam</u>  | "peace"  | <u>muslim</u>   | "Muslim"     | <u>baas</u>   | "stop".       |
| s. | <u>ʃukr</u>   | "thanks" | <u>yiʃtaʃil</u> | "he works"   | <u>blaas</u>  | "for nothing" |
|    |               |          |                 |              | OR            |               |
|    |               |          |                 |              | <u>maas</u>   | "nun".        |

|    |                |             |                 |                              |                |              |
|----|----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| x. | <u>keyr</u>    | "good"      | <u>?axbaar</u>  | "news"                       | <u>taariix</u> | "date".      |
| h. | <u>haafiz</u>  | "protector" | <u>mahfuuz</u>  | "protected"                  | <u>baareh</u>  | "last night" |
| h. | <u>humma</u>   | "they"      | <u>ʃahla</u>    | "ignorant of<br>your people" | <u>bulh</u>    | "stupid".    |
| d. | <u>dubaab</u>  | "fly"       | <u>biidʃaan</u> | "egg-plant"                  | <u>ladiid</u>  | "delicious". |
| z. | <u>zirfaal</u> | "pipe"      | <u>mizbala</u>  | "dirt"                       | <u>xurz</u>    | "hole".      |
| .  | <u>yanam</u>   | "cattle"    | <u>laɣwat</u>   | "language"                   | <u>ʃubaay</u>  | "colour".    |
| ʃ. | <u>ʃaagil</u>  | "clever"    | <u>ma'luum</u>  | "known"                      | <u>maʃ</u>     | "with".      |

### 3. Affricates:

The only affricate in this dialect is /ʃ/. The affrication of k to ʃ that is found in some northern dialects is not observed here.

### 4. Nasals:

The two nasals, represented by 'n' and 'm' occur in all positions.

### 5. Semi-vowels:

The two phonemes represented by /w/ and /y/ function as consonants in all positions. But where morphological change puts /y/ between two other consonants, it functions as the respective vowel /i/, as in yargud - 'he sleeps': when it is prefixed by the 'l' preposition it becomes ʃlirgud - 'for his sleeping.' (5) Likewise /w/ passes into the vocalic role of "u" when it is brought between two consonants, as:- ?iθney uʃisriin < ?iθney wa ʃeʃriin "twenty-two". Numbers 21-29 are pronounced similarly except in deliberate speech. ①

A. voiced palatal semivowel /y/ is a variant pronunciation of a voiced palatal affricate /ʃ/, heard by informants Nos. 1, 9 and 27.

① see P. 59 footnote

6. Lateral:

The non-velarized lateral represented by "l" is pronounced as an English "l" and velarized "l" has an emphatic voice (see note on velarization).

7. Flap:

The alveolar flap is produced without pharyngalization only when it is preceded by a front close vowel (i) or half closed (e) as (riɖl) "foot" or (treba), "entrust".

8. Roll:

The alveolar roll represented by "rr" occurs only in the final position, as in "burr", "wheat", but not when final "r" is preceded by a long vowel, as "asir", "barley", "babuur", "ship", "kubaar", "big ones".

1-3. Velarization (1)

In the dialect of Belad Ghamid and Zahran the velarization falls into two groups; phonemic and non-phonemic.

A. Phonemic

Forming contrasting pairs with s, t, d and z are the velarized consonants ṣ, ṭ, ḍ and ḏ. (The last one, i.e., ḏ, is very rare and is commonly produced like (ḍ) except in deliberate speech). These pharyngalized consonants are independent phonemes; examples:-

tiin "figs", mēdaan "field", seyr "distance";  
tiin "clay", daan "sheep", yaṣir "becomes";  
and zafra "hair-bun", and zafiir "name of a town".

---

(1) By "deliberate speech" is meant the dialect of those (contd.)

B. In non-phonemic velarized consonants we have two groups:

conditional velarization and stable velarization.

i) Any consonant, except glottals (?) and (h), may be produced as velarized if it occurs before or after a phonemic velarized consonant, as in ṭabla, "drum", ḍars, "hauberk", ḡuṣayyar, "very little" and zaalim, "villain". But on the other hand it is also observed, especially in the dialects of ~~the~~ groups (1, 8 and 26), that a non-velarized (s) passes its influence to a phonemic velarized ; sawwii sabur < ṣabr "keep patient" but this is rare.

ii) Another set of consonants often receives velarization in (r) followed by a central unrounded short vowel /a/ or a rounded back vowel "u":- rabbil-ka'ba, "owner of a ka'ba", ruhnaḥ beyt, "we went home". /l/ is commonly velarized when its positioning brings it into the middle of a syllable; 'aalim, 'oluum, "sciences". An initial /l/ sometimes receives velarization: labbayk, "I am present". The most commonly occurring but exclusive instance of its velarization is the word 'Allāh or Wallāh.

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## 2. The Vowels System:

As for other Arabic dialects it seems best to envisage the vowels as arranged in two sub-systems of short and long vowels.

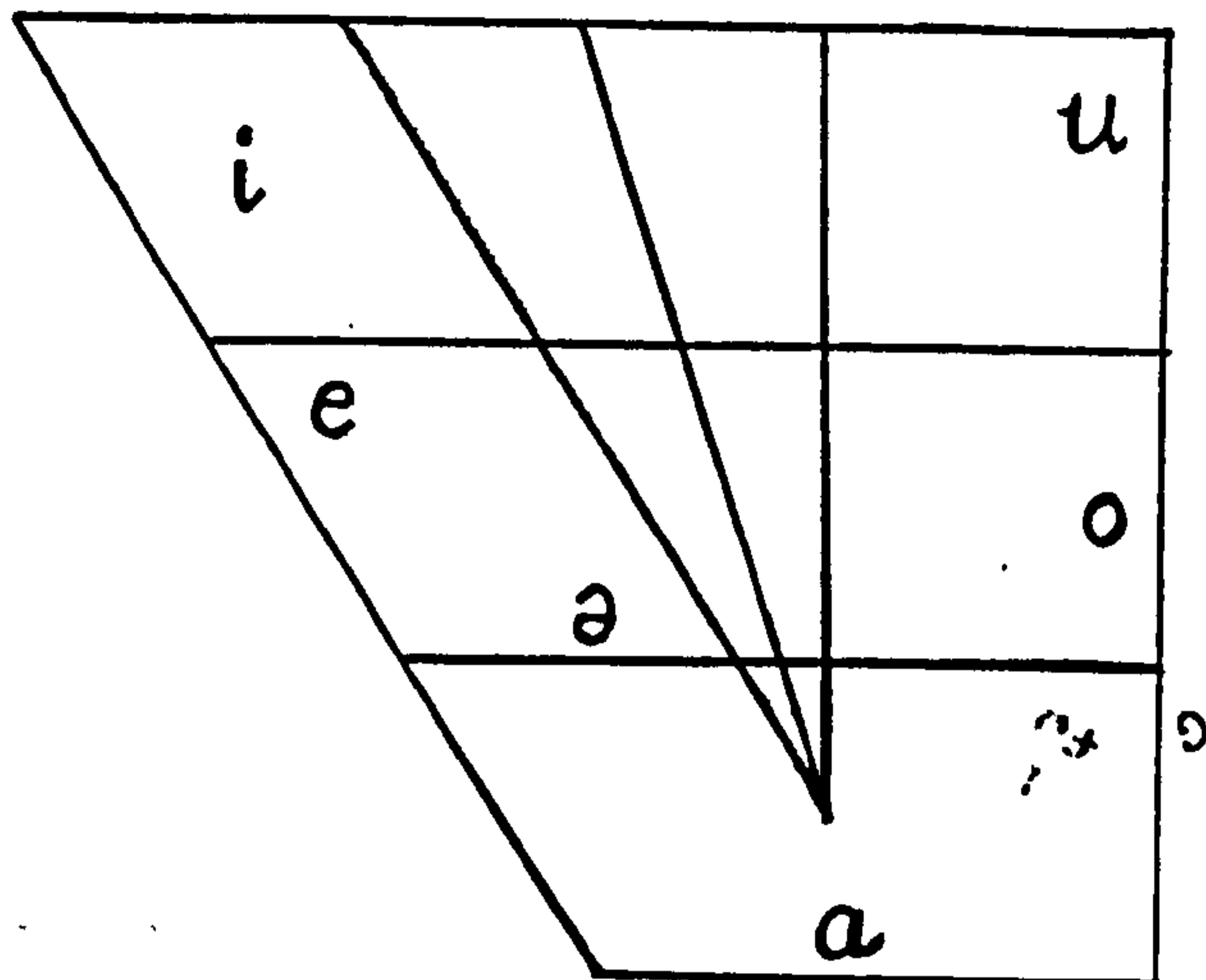
The approximate tongue positions of the short vowels in this dialect, as a whole, are indicated by the diagram and by the details relating to each below:-

4-63-77

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(Contd. from back page) partly educated informants in which certain words are recorded very consciously, in order to attain the "correct" level of speech, as defined by the traditional manner of reciting the Kuran.

(2) Velarization. Consonant sounds are sometimes modified by the raising of the back of the tongue.



i)=(I) A short front unrounded close vowel with centralization and slightly forward, occurs in all positions, but it is often stressed when it occurs in initial and final positions; thus:-

|         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| bildaan | "land, country" |
| fidaar  | "in the house"  |
| iwa?    | "yes"           |
| illa fi | "yes, there is" |
| int     | "you" (F.M.)    |

/ə/ = ( ʔ ) A lower high half close front unrounded short vowel occurs only in medial positions and has no long equivalent;

|        |                         |            |
|--------|-------------------------|------------|
| bəlaad | "village, land or farm" | (1, 9, 36) |
| kətaab | "book"                  |            |
| xəyaam | "tent"                  |            |

/e/ A half close to half open unrounded short front vowel occurs in all positions but rarely in initials;

|          |                             |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| behakam  | "proper name"               |
| medaan   | "field"                     |
| imbaareh | "last night" or "yesterday" |

"Imala" is indicated by this vowel and the following are examples of its use in the final position;

|           |               |   |            |
|-----------|---------------|---|------------|
| ḡadde     | "proper name" | ) |            |
| kiode     | "kidney"      | ) | (22)       |
|           |               | ) |            |
| musajjale | "recorder"    |   | (18 and 3) |

/a/ = An open central vowel with no lip rounding, when it occurs in the contiguity of an emphatic consonant and often in contiguity with bilabials, sounds as (a) back quality.

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| ḡadar | "settled tribes"     |
| ḡomal | "camel"              |
| Sallu | "pray (Imperative)." |

It is also sounded as (æ) when it occurs in contiguity with the emphatic and guttural consonants;

|       |          |                |                           |
|-------|----------|----------------|---------------------------|
| walad | {wælxəd} | "child"        | (4)                       |
| xabar | {xæbær}  | "news"         | (2)                       |
| ḡag   | {ḡægg}   | "belonging to" | (used by many informants) |

In the final position it occurs only when stress is given to initial /a/, as ḡaya "shyness", but if the final /a/ is stressed it goes halfway to a long vowel; ḡayà {ḡaya} "life".

ɔ = A lower mid-back short vowel with lip rounding equivalent to unrounded front /e/ occurs only in medial positions;

|     |                    |            |
|-----|--------------------|------------|
| yɔm | "day"              | (frequent) |
| ɔɔb | "cloth" or "shirt" | (frequent) |
| ḡɔg | "taste"            | (1).       |

o = A higher rounded short vowel of back quality occurs in all three positions;

|          |             |                  |
|----------|-------------|------------------|
| oktob    | "write" (M) | (Imperative) (2) |
| oktobil  | "write" (F) | (2)              |
| banadora | "tomato"    | (1, 4 and 5).    |
| raayaho  | "they went" | (24)             |
| bardo    | "still"     | (frequent).      |

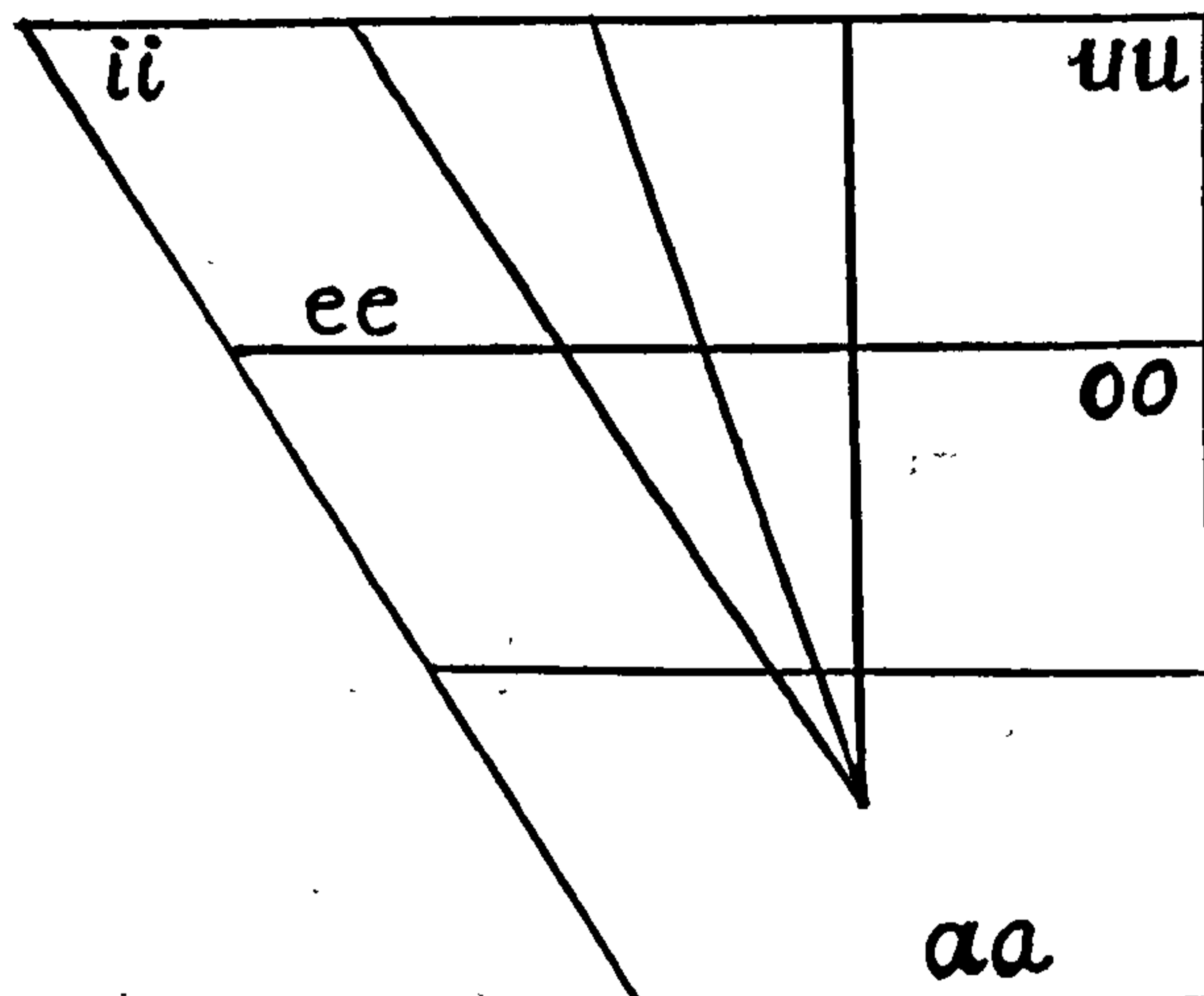


u = rounded back closed vowel, occurs in all positions;

|         |                       |           |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 'uċmaan | "proper name"         | (5)       |
| urdun   | "proper name"         | (32)      |
| intu    | "you" (for F. and M.) | (1 and 2) |
| burr    | "wheat"               | (1)       |

## 2.2. Long Vowels

The diagram below shows the tongue positions of the long vowels used in this dialect;



/ii/ This is a close spread long vowel frequently occurring in final, often in medial position, and very rarely in initial position;

|           |                            |            |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------|
| iiwah     | "yes"                      | (12)       |
| zambiil   | "bag"                      | (18)       |
| fii       | "there is (certainly)"     | (frequent) |
| zahraanii | "one belonging to Zahran". |            |

/ee/ A mid-front spread long vowel. It is a free variant of /ii/.

|      |                 |                       |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| beed | "whites" < biid | according to lit. Ar. |
| beed | "eggs"          |                       |
| keef | "how"           |                       |
| xeer | "good".         |                       |

/aa/ The long open, slightly retracted, central long vowel;

|           |                   |            |
|-----------|-------------------|------------|
| raah      | "he went"         | (frequent) |
| buldaan   | "land" or "areas" | (1 and 32) |
| banadoraa | "tomato"          | (12)       |

oo = A mid back rounded vowel occurring rarely in initial position and frequently in medial and final position;

|         |                |                                |
|---------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| ?oomur  | "give orders"  | (Imperative of omr "to order") |
| ʔaaʔoo  | "they came"    | (13)                           |
| gaalooḥ | "they told me" | ( )                            |

uu = A close back rounded vowel occurring in medial and final position;

|           |                |     |                       |
|-----------|----------------|-----|-----------------------|
| bunya     | "my father"    | (1) | - (When calling them) |
| xuuya     | "my brother"   | (1) |                       |
| duubu     | "just now"     | (2) |                       |
| riibaatuu | "their doubts" | (5) |                       |

### 2.3. Diphthongs:

The treatment of the diphthongs in this dialect is similar to that of many other Arabic dialects; therefore, diphthongs of various kinds occur for which lit. Arabic has the same combinations, as:-

|            |                            |
|------------|----------------------------|
| /ay/ ayyat | "which"                    |
| xuwayya    | "my brother" or "slave".   |
| /ey/ howey | "what is the matter?" (4). |

In fact the long vowels /ii/, /ee/, /uu/ and /oo/ serve the purpose for which in lit. Arabic /ey/, /uw/, /ow/ were used. The necessary diphthongs which are not indicated by long vowels are /ay/ and /uy/; otherwise /ei/ is indicated by /ii/ and /ey/ by /ee/. The only difference between long /ee/ and diphthong /ey/ is that /ey/ receives

a stress while the long vowel does not necessarily receive any;

|       |        |          |
|-------|--------|----------|
| beet  | beyt   | "house"  |
| nasit | naseit | "forgot" |

2.4. Consonant clusters and Anaptyxis:

i) Initial positions;

In the combination of two consonants that occur initially the dialect as a whole tends to assimilate to the following consonant unless that consonant is emphatic or /ʔ/ or /ʕ/.

/t/ plus /sawwi/ is usually "ssawwi" "you do" (20).

and likewise post consonantal clusters tend to assimilation;-

ʔeš plus /sawwi/ becomes ʔessawi "what shall I do?" (18).

In post-vocalic positions the initial consonant cluster generally remains, thus;-

lamman taruh "when you go".

ii) Medial position;

The above examples are sufficient to show that this kind of cluster is common and no helping vowel (anaptyctic) is required;

ništʕ il "we work" (1)

yoktub "he writes" (2).

iii) The two or three consonants which occur in final positions tend to be treated differently by the various informants. Some of the informants tend to pronounce consonant clusters without any anaptyctic vowel while others cannot pronounce it without a helping vowel:

|      |             |        |              |       |      |             |
|------|-------------|--------|--------------|-------|------|-------------|
| ʔoxt | (2, 59, 15) | ʔoxt   | (18, 28, 31) | oxit  | (26) | "sister".   |
| Šeʕr | (2 and 5)   | ʔəšʕar | (33)         | Šuʕar | (24) | "poetry".   |
| ʕabl | (4 and 5)   | ʕabal  | (30)         | ʕabal |      | "mountain". |
| bard | (2)         | barad  | (16)         | barad |      | "cold".     |

iv) Three consonant clusters:

Such a cluster may occur after the article "al" which is usually pronounced just as "l" (that is, it is pronounced so laxly as to be almost inaudible), and when the syllable ends in a vowel, or when there is a plural of a word ending in a vowel;

|           |                           |      |
|-----------|---------------------------|------|
| l-mdaaris | "schools"                 | (5). |
| l-graya   | "recitation of the Quran" |      |
|           | or "reading".             | (4). |
| l-bduura  | "children"                | (1). |

2.5. Gemination:

A final geminate cluster occurs in the plosive consonants and nasals as endorsed by Cl. Ar. under the terms of "Qalqala": examples from the dialects are as below:-

|        |          |
|--------|----------|
| habb   | "seeds"  |
| watadd | "peg"    |
| jinn   | "jinn"   |
| damm   | "blood". |

The nasal geminate clusters are retained in word junctions:-

(?int Jinn wala ?ibn ?aadam) "Are you a jinn or a human being?"  
 (damm raah blaas) "His blood was spilled with impunity".

The dialect has a tendency to gemination in the case of the lateral consonant:- (kull) "every" or "all" - provided it is not followed by another word, in which case the gemination is retained, as in (kull saa'a) "every time". An initial geminate cluster may be assumed when consonants are of "Shamsiya" type and the article "al" or "el" is dropped either as a forma as in (yaa s-salaam)<sup>1</sup> -

---

(1) yaa s-salaam is a forma with the meaning "How wonderful!" or "How surprising it is!". Salaam here is a name of God. In greetings (salam u 'alaikum), "Peace be on you", no initial geminate cluster is possible because it is always followed by ('alaikum) and is therefore a single consonant.

"How wonderful!" or in the course of rapid conversation;

h-samsiya "parasol"

ṣṣalaa "prayer".

An emphatic consonant and preceding long stressed vowel often compose a geminate cluster:

mariidd ( ) "Is he ill?".

2.6. Stress:

If the ultimate syllable is long, whether closed or open, or if the word ends with a double consonant, viz. cvvc, or cvcc.

The stress falls on the final syllable thus:-

|         |           |                 |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| - CVVC: | nahaar    | "day"           |
| "       | gumaaṣ    | "cloth"         |
| "       | zafiir    | "proper name"   |
| "       | mazruṣaat | "cultivate"     |
| "       | musimiiin | "muslims"       |
| "       | raJJaal   | "man"           |
|         |           |                 |
| - CVCC: | magáṣṣ    | "scissors"      |
| "       | baladd    | "county"        |
| "       | gabádd    | "to receive"    |
| "       | fagátt    | "enough", "end" |

When a final syllable receives a stress the preceding syllable is usually shortened:-

milaad for milaad "birth"

Ḫiraan. for Ḫiraan "bulls"

If the final syllable is short and closed or if the word ends in a short vowel, viz. CVC or CV, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable if it is long and open or short and closed;

|           |             |                          |
|-----------|-------------|--------------------------|
| - CVV/CVC | Mohaafiz    | "protector", "governor". |
| " "       | mubaarak    | "blessed one"            |
| CVC/CVC   | habhab      | "water-melon"            |
| " "       | bundug      | "gun".                   |
| - CVV/CV  | mohallabiya | "rice-pudding".          |
| " "       | haraami     | "thief".                 |

But sometimes the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, as:-

|           |             |      |
|-----------|-------------|------|
| ?albaraka | "blessing". | (1). |
| waladi    | "my son".   | (1). |

In other cases the stress is pushed back as far back as possible, but it never falls on an article or on any prefixes:-

|   |            |            |
|---|------------|------------|
| ?almadrasaa   | "school"   | (4)        |
| <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">jabal</span> | "mountain" | (1 and 7). |
| hurma.  | "women"    | (1)        |
| rawweh  | "to go"    | (36)       |

8- Tanween or Nunization:

There are a certain number of words that preserve nunization as a formula, e.g. ?ahlan wa sahlān, lab'an, ?abadan, 'afwan.

Among these words *لَبَّانِ*, *لَبَّانِ* is used as a fixed formula. lab'an is used by literate people or by those whose speech is much influenced by radio programmes as a camel boy in the village of Mandaque has often used this word. ('afwan) (in reply of thanks) sometime it is used without nunization i.e. (?al'afw) or ('afw).

The word ?abadan has a variety of sounds and ways of pronouncing and every style has its effect on the meaning.

(?a +ba +dan) i.e. central juncture after first and second syllable the sound pitch may be illustrated by this diagram.

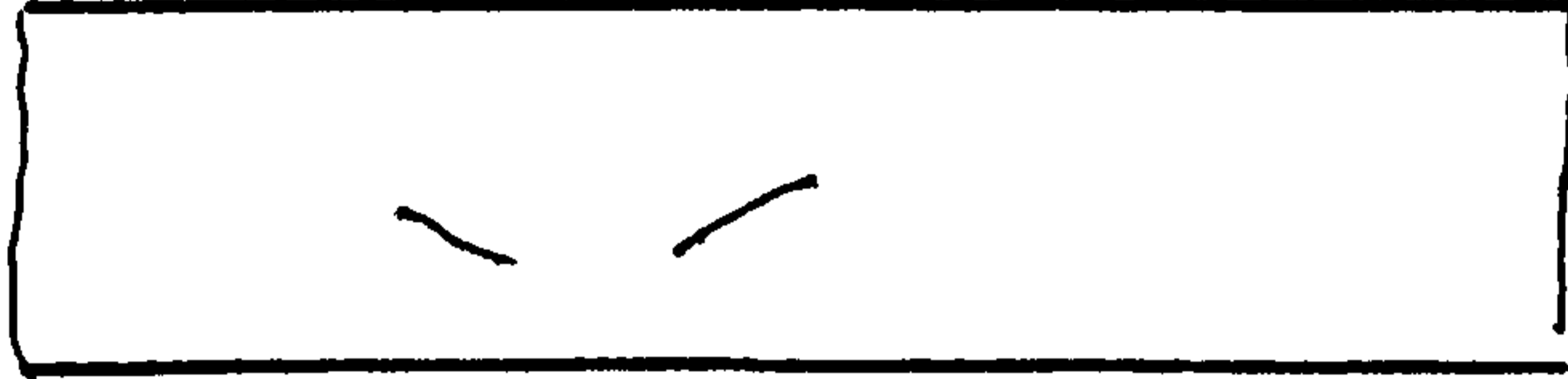
(1)



?a    ba    dan

it is impossible!

(2)



?a + bad (without tanween)

"No, It never happened"



?ab + dan

"Donot do this. You are not allowed to do this".

Likewise *شكر* (Šukran) though very rarely used; It is said in two syllables with stress on the first syllable it means that (thank you) is meant.

Informant No. 4 an old peasant used "ba'dun" in a sentence where *بعض* was required by grammatical Ar., but it is an exceptional case; could not be taken as a general rule.

wa →

## CHAPTER TWO

### MORPHOLOGY

The morphological system of this dialect does not deviate from that of related Arabic dialects. The material presented in this study is arranged on the traditional system of Cl. Ar. classification. The original Semitic roots or base-forms are used for the paradigms. As all the material was entirely oral and the occurrences of the morphological variations were always subject to a certain amount of vacillation, it seemed wise that all variant occurrences should be presented with the reference to the informants indicated by their serial numbers. To avoid overlapping of the same material no comprehensive claims or statements are made except where they are unavoidable.

#### 1. THE VERB

The feminine plural forms, i.e. fa'lna and fa'ali'anna of Cl. Ar. forms and taf'aliina of imperfect 2 fem.sing. or plural yaf'alna and taf'alna are no longer found in the dialectal usage of this region.

For the passive verbs the dialect has very rare use; only 3 masc. sing. as sifi (cl. sufiya) "cleaned" (informant No. 1) is noted. Other genders and numbers are not heard. A substitute of the passive verb is in use from the VII infa'al pattern, e.g. indabah <sup>was</sup> "killed".

#### (1.1.) The Strong root

##### 1.1.1. The Simple Root:

##### (a) Perfect.

As a general observation the dialect has three traditional patterns of the Cl. Ar., i.e. fa'al, fi'il and fa'dal and in the speech



of "C" sub-region no specific rule or condition is noted regarding the usages of these patterns, while in Northern and Southern regions (especially in the North) the usages of the patterns seem to be governed by certain conditions or rules. Thus according to our data, the form fa'al (CaCaC) is used for general action, e.g. Katab "he wrote", xaraḥ "he went", daxal "he entered". The form fi'il (CiCiC) is a variant form of Cl. (CaCiʿa). Used mainly to indicate a transient meaning, e.g. mirid "he became ill", xirib "he was destroyed", birid "he became cold", or where in the Cl. Ar. (CaCiCa) pattern it is used for the indicating of an action, e.g. Širib "he drank", gibid "he caught", simiʿ "he heard"; or for a lasting action for which Cl. Ar. has the pattern of (CaCuCa), e.g. Kibir "he is old", ribiθ "he became wicked".

The pattern fa'ul (CaCuC) is rarely used in the dialect and where it is used it has the meaning of a lasting action, e.g. hasun "he became beautiful", but generally pattern VI is used for the purpose, e.g. tahassan "he became beautiful".

In the dialect of "C" sub-region form fi'il becomes fi'al as Šiba' "he was fed", 'itašt "I became thirsty" and fiham "he understood" (8, 26, 9). Another difference in the usage of (CiCiC) pattern is that some verbs do not seem stable in all forms, thus: fiham, fahamt, fahmuu. (9), but 19 of the South and 25 of the North repeated the same word fihim in a fixed way.

Vowels after the first radical are always audible throughout the dialect but not in all forms; especially in the 3 masc. pl. the vowel of the second radical is missing and the plural suffix --u or uu becomes o, as Katbo "they wrote".

As the pattern (CaCuC) is rarely used and all its forms have not been observed, the table below gives the conjugation of two forms (CaCaC) and (CiCiC) according to informant 3(C):

|               |   |                       |
|---------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. C. Sing.   | Katabt, Širibt                                    |                       |
| 2 masc. Sing. | Katabt, Širibt                                    |                       |
| 2 fem. "      | Katabti Širibtī                                   | Katabt, Širibt. (25). |
| 3 masc. "     | Katab Širib                                       |                       |
| 3 fem. "      | Katbat Širbat / Šerbit                            | (11)                  |
|               |   |                       |
| 1. C. pl.     | Katabna Širibna                                   |                       |
| 2 masc. plur  | Katabtu Širbat <sup>tu</sup> / Katabtum, Širebtam | (9, 15).              |
| 2 fem. plur   | Katabtu Širbu / once Katabtun                     | (24 N)                |
| 3 masc. plur  | Katbo Širbo                                       | (4).                  |
| 3 fem. plur   | katabna Širibna / katbo Širbo/ Katabnah           | (3).                  |

(b) Imperfect.

The most frequently used patterns of the imperfect are yaf'ul and yaf'al. Verbs which have the root (CaCaC) in the perfect, have the imperfect pattern as yaf'ul (yaCCuC), as for example yoktub "he writes", yaksur "he breaks", yašbur "he combines".

Verbs which have the root (CiCiC) corresponding to Cl. (CaCiCa) or which have the root (CaCaC) but with its 3rd radical a guttural or "l", have the imperfect of the pattern yaf'al (yaCCaC), as:

yasma' "he hears" (4). yašrab "he drinks" (1)  
yašbah "he kills" (18). yabdal "he changes" (7).  
yamna "he prevents".

Sometimes verbs of (CiCiC) root have in the imperfect the pattern yaf'ul (yaCCuC):

yabrud from birid "to become cold",  
yašrud from širid "to run away from home",  
yaxrub from xirib "to be destroyed".

The paradigm below gives the conjugation in the imperfect of the verb Katab "to write" and Širib "to drink".

|                |                          |                               |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. C. Sing.    | aktub/yaktob             | ašrab                         |
| 2. masc. Sing. | taklub/taklob            | tašrab/tišrab.                |
| 2. fem. Sing.  | taktubi/toktobi          | tašrabi/tišrabi.              |
| 3. masc. "     | yaktub/yaktob            | yašrab                        |
| 3. fem. "      | taktub/toktob            | tašrab/tišrab.                |
|                |                          |                               |
| 1. C. plu.     | naktub/noktob            | našrab.                       |
| 2. masc. plur. | taktubu/toktobu          | tašrabu/tišrabuu              |
| 2. fem. "      | taktubu/toktobu/taktubun | tašrobu/tišrobu/<br>tašrabna. |
| 3. masc. "     | yaktobu/yoktobu          | yašrabu                       |
| 3. fem. "      | taktobi/toktobu          | tašrabu/tašrabna.             |

The 2 fem. Sing. ending - een and 2, 3. masc. pl. endings - uun are not in use in the dialect.

2. masc. fem. pl. has only one form taf'lu(u) in some parts of S and N; in "C" and in the speech of educated speakers a special form taf'la'ūnis observed.

(تفعلون)

(c) Imperative:

As traditionally, the imperative is formed from the imperfect and has its initial vowel similar to the vowel of the second radical of the imperfect. The 2. fem. pl. is not in the dialectal usage; the 2. masc. pl. is common to both genders. A partly literate informant, viz. 3, suggested oktobnah for 2. fem. pl., but this was only evidence of his knowledge of the lit. forms.

The paradigm of the imperative is:

|                |                |          |
|----------------|----------------|----------|
| 2. masc. sing. | oktob/uktub    | ašrab    |
| 2. fem. sing.  | oktobi/uktubi  | ašrabi   |
| 2. C. plu.     | oktobu/uktubuu | ašrabuu. |

(d) The active and passive participles and the verbal noun:

The fem. pl. of the active and passive participles is used only in names of foreign words or goods which are given some Arabized form, e.g., tractoraat, biskuwaat, mohruugaat, ma'luubaat or mo'allabaat. Apart from these words the fem. pl. is absent from the dialectal usage.

The paradigm is:

|             |                        |            |
|-------------|------------------------|------------|
| masc. sing. | kaatib                 | maktuub    |
| fem. sing.  | kaat <sup>h</sup> ba   | maktuuba   |
| masc. plur. | kaat <sup>h</sup> biin | maktuubiin |

Forms of the verbal nouns noted during the investigation do not go beyond the ten forms given below.

|     |        |    |               |               |               |                  |               |                    |
|-----|--------|----|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (1) | fa'l   | as | <u>bard</u>   | "being cold"  | <u>tārk</u>   | "leaving"        | <u>hafr</u>   | "digging"          |
| (2) | fu'l   | as | <u>šurb</u>   | "drinking"    | <u>šukr</u>   | "thanking"       | <u>'udr</u>   | "excusing"         |
| (3) | fi'l   | as | <u>ḍikr</u>   | "remembering" | <u>'ilm</u>   | "knowing"        | <u>li'b</u>   | "playing"          |
| (4) | fa'al  | as | <u>safar</u>  | "travelling"  | <u>sama</u>   | "hearing"        | <u>ṭalab</u>  | "demanding".       |
| (5) | fa'aal | as | <u>naḡaah</u> | "success"     | <u>salaam</u> | "being in peace" | <u>xaraab</u> | "being destroyed". |
| (6) | fi'aal | as | <u>hisaab</u> | "calculating" | <u>kitaab</u> | "written"        | <u>gimaar</u> | "gambling".        |
| (7) | fu'aal | as | <u>suʔaal</u> | "questioning" | <u>subaaʔ</u> | "coluring".      |               |                    |
| (8) | fu'uul | as | <u>ruḡuu'</u> | "returning"   | <u>gabuul</u> | "accepting"      | <u>wasuul</u> | "approaching".     |

There are a few other verbal nouns which are either variants of above forms or feminine forms of them, e.g. 'azuuma "invite" or "inviting", i.e. variant of fu'uul with -ah of fem., or baṣrad, i.e. variant of bard.

#### 1.1.2. Derived themes:

With the exception of theme II the usage of derived themes in this dialect is not frequent. Thus theme III is not observed in

this region except for some traditional words that are related to the meaning "quarrel", e.g. ḡaahad "struggle" (11) ḡaarab "quarrel" (5) and as verbal noun maxaasma "quarrel" (2). Theme IV is observed only in two verbs, but not in complete forms; the first arsaanif "he sent me" where the final radical is dropped and replaced by pronominal suffix -ni; and the second 'aataani where initial hamza of IV is replaced by (').

Theme V is in use to some extent but often with metathesis; e.g. taḡawwaz < tazawwaḡ "he got married" (24), taballas < talabbas "he got confused" (1). Theme VI, though very rare, is still in use and the following four examples have been obtained:

(1) Perf. 3 masc. pl. tawaarxuu "they dated" (18).

For the same meaning another informant, viz. 1, used tawarraxuu from theme V.

(2) Perf. 1. C. sing. taxaasamt "I quarrelled" (3).

(3) Perf. 3 masc. sing. talaa'ab "forged" (24).

(4) Act. Participle masc. sing. mutsaai'd "Broker" (11).

Theme VII is frequently used with the meaning of the passive voice in the Perfect; e.g. indabah "he was killed" (5), infataḡ "it was open", (15) inxarib "he was destroyed". This theme is also used in the form of verbal nouns, most of them introduced by Radio news bulletins or the conversations of educated people: e.g. ingalaab "revolution" (8), indilaa' "setting on fire" (11), infijaar "explosion" (5).

Theme VIII is used only by educated speakers, e.g. ixtibaar "examination", (27 a student), imtehaan "oral exam", (27).

Theme IX has not been observed. Theme X was only once heard (from 4) in imperf. 3 fem. sing: tastanfe'c "gets use of".

Theme II, i.e. the most frequently used theme, covers most of the meanings for which in Cl. Ar. other themes were used. The following are examples:

with the meaning of theme III and VI: sallahuu (15) "They compromised each other":

with the meaning of the theme IV: rawwahuu (22) and its variant rayyahuu (17) "they sent or gave rest":

with the meaning of the theme V Jawwaz "he married" (34).

with the meaning of the theme X <sup>istasmah</sup> sasman "he asked permission" (4).

The table below gives basic forms of the derived themes of strong roots which are used in this dialect:

|      | <u>Perf.</u> | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u>        | <u>Act. Participle.</u> |
|------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| II   | daxxal       | yodaxxil       | daxxil               | mudaxxil                |
| III  | Jaahad       | yuJaahid       | Jaahid               | muJaahid                |
| V    | tajawwaz     | yatJawwaz      | ----- <sup>(1)</sup> | mutJawwiz               |
| VI   | taxaasam     | yatxaasam      | -----                | mutxaasim               |
| VII  | ingalab      | yangalib       | -----                | mungalib                |
| VIII | ixtabar      | yaxtabir       | -----                | muxtabir                |
| X    | istanfa'     | yastanfe'      | -----                | mustanfi'               |

The imperatives of the last five themes are not used. To express the meaning of these themes in imperative sometimes the imperative of theme II is used as in the case of V and often in other cases a sentence is used; e.g.

for VI      xalliik mutxaasim      "keep yourself in the quarrel", meaning "fight".

for VII      sawwi inglaab      "make a revolution".

for VIII      adxul fil ixtibaar      "enter into the exam".

for X      xud naf<sup>5</sup> (uh)      "take its benefit" (Not from the theme X).

The verbal nouns of the derived themes, according to the data are as below:

II      ta'liim      "education"

(1) The imperative of the theme V is used in the theme II, i.e. Jawwiz < tajawwaz. tagabbal "(may God) accept (it)" is an established formula; therefore it could not be considered as a dialectal form.

|      |           |                               |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| III  | Jihaad    | "struggle"                    |
| IV   | ikraam    | "hospitality" or "honouring". |
| VI   | muxaasma  | "quarrel".                    |
| VII  | ingilaab  | "revolution".                 |
| VIII | imtihaan  | "examination".                |
| X    | istigbaal | "reception".                  |

### 1.1.3 Geminate Verbs:

#### (a) The simple verb.

The vowel after the second radical in the imperfect is usually i, less frequently u and rarely a. When the geminate consonants are labial this vowel is almost invariably u; e.g., yamidd, yaJurr, yasubb, yaJaff.

The table below sets out the conjugation of the perfect, imperfect, and imperative of the verb madd "to extend, stretch".

|            | <u>Perf.</u> | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u> |
|------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1.C. Sing. | maddeyt      | amidd          |               |
| 2 masc."   | maddeyt      | timidd         | midda         |
| 2 fem."    | maddeyti     | timiddi        | middi         |
| 3 masc."   | madd         | yamidd         |               |
| 3 fem."    | maddat       | timidd         |               |
| 1.C. Plur  | maddeyna     | nimidd         |               |
| 2 masc."   | maddeytu     | timiddu        | middu         |
| 2 fem."    | -----        | -----          |               |
| 3 masc."   | maddo (o)    | yamiddu        |               |
| 3 fem."    | -----        | -----          |               |

The active and passive participles of madd are (maadd)<sup>(1)</sup> and mamduud respectively.

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(1) The example of this act. participle is assumed only.

(b) Derived themes.

The only use of the geminate verb in a derived theme observed in our data is yamtass from mass of the theme VII (informant 32 S).

1.1.4. Quadriliteral Verbs.<sup>(1)</sup>

The table below gives the conjugation of the root galgal "to fry".

| <u>Perf.</u> | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u>      | <u>Act. Participle</u> |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| galgal       | yogalgil       | galgil (not heard) | mugalgil or mugalgal.  |

(1.2.) The Weak Verb

1.2.1. Hamzated Verbs: (i) initial hamza

(a) The Simple Verb

The initial hamza in the imperfect becomes a long aa assimilating to the imperfect prefix's vowel. Thus aʔkul > aakul, naʔkul > naakul, but when it is attached to pronominal suffixes hamza is sounded, e.g. naʔkulah.

The table below gives the conjugation of the verb akal "to eat".

|                      | <u>Perf.</u> | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u> |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1.C.Sing.            | akalt        | aakul          |               |
| 2 masc. <sup>n</sup> | akalt        | taakul         | kuł.          |
| 2 fem. <sup>n</sup>  | akalti       | taakuli        | kuuli         |
| 3 masc. <sup>n</sup> | akal         | yaakul         |               |
| 3 fem. <sup>n</sup>  | aklat        | taakul         |               |
| 1. C.Plur            | akalna       | naakul         |               |
| 2 masc. <sup>n</sup> | akaltuu      | taakuluu       | kuulu         |
| 2 fem. <sup>n</sup>  | akaltii      | taakulii       |               |

(1) All examples of these verbs are obtained from informant 1 (Reel 1).



|                |              |                    |
|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 3. m. aspl. v. | akalo        | yaakuluu/yaakuluun |
| 3 fem. n.      | akalna/akalo | yakuluu/yaakulna.  |

No Act. Participle from akal is attested. The passive Participle are maakuul, maaluuf, maamuul, etc. These are frequently used words.

(b) Derived themes.

From theme II amman "he gave peace/ security" and verbal noun taamiin "to give peace/ security" are common. From theme IV only verbal noun iiḡaar "rent" is heard: Act. Participle moʔaḡḡir, and Passive Participle f.s. muʔaḡḡara "lived" from II are common.

(if) medial and final hamza.

Although medial hamzated verbs are very rare in the dialectal use, when it is used its hamza is pronounced except when it is attached to the open syllable of a pronominal suffix, e.g. saaloh "they asked him"; but if the pronominal syllable is closed, hamza is pronounced as in yasʔalak "he asks you". The imperative form is ifʔal as in isʔal. (cl. 5<sup>AL</sup>). The Act. Participle saaʔil and Passive Participle masʔuul are common and frequently used.

The final hamza is often dropped and resembles a final (y) verb; thus graa, yagra, greyt, yagro and imperative agra "to read".

1.2.2. Verbs initial w and y:

(a) The Simple theme.

Verbs with initial w have no form for the imperative. The imperative of theme II takes up its function.

Verbs with initial y have no passive participle form; the imperative of such verb is not heard.

The table below gives the conjugation of the verbs waḡal and yabas.

|               | <u>Perf.</u>         |                      | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u> |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. C.Sing.    | waṣalt               | yabast               | yoṣal          | iibas         |
| 2 masc. Sing. | waṣalt               | yabast               | toṣal          | yaybas        |
| 2 fem. "      | waṣalti              | yabiṣti              | toṣlii         | taybis        |
| 3 masc. "     | waṣal                | yabis                | yoṣal          | yaybis        |
| 3 fem. "      | waṣlat               | yibsat               | toṣal          | taybis        |
| 1. C. Plur    | waṣalna              | yabisna              | noṣal          | naybis        |
| 2 masc. Plur  | waṣaltuu             | yabistuu             | taṣeluu        | tabisuu       |
| 2 fem. "      | waṣaltu/<br>waṣaltum | yabistu/<br>yabistum | taṣelu         | tabisuu       |
| 3 masc. "     | waṣolo               | yabeso               | taṣeluu        | (tabisuu)     |
| 3 fem. "      | waṣolo/<br>waṣalna   | yabeso/<br>yabisna   | _____          | _____         |

Other verbs with initial w and y on the basis of which the above paradigm is arranged, recorded in our data are:

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| warad | "to arrive".    |
| wabax | "to reprimand". |
| waram | "to swell".     |
| yasir | "to make easy". |

The Act. Participle of initial w is waasil and the Passive Participle is məsuul. From yabs the Act. Participle is yaabis.

(b) Derived themes.

The commonly occurring derived themes are as follows:

|     |          |           |
|-----|----------|-----------|
| II  | waggaf   | yowaggif  |
| III | waaJah   | yowaaJeh  |
| V   | tabaddal | yatbaddal |

The verbal noun of theme II is often used:

|         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| togliif | "to terminate". |
| tosiiil | "to fetch".     |

From theme X istiiraad "to import" is used in the speech of businessmen.

1.2.3. Hollow Verbs:

(a) The Simple verb.

The vowel of the first radical of the perfect is u if the hollow radical is w; and i if the hollow radical is y; e.g. gult, "I told", be't, "I sold".

The conjugation of hollow verb gaal is as below:

|               |                        |
|---------------|------------------------|
| 1. C. Sing.   | gult                   |
| 2 masc. Sing. | gult                   |
| 2 fem. "      | gulti                  |
| 3) masc. "    | gaal                   |
| 3 fem. "      | gaalat                 |
| 1. C. Pl.     | gulna                  |
| 2 masc. Pl.   | gultu / guto / gultum. |
| 2 fem. "      | gutuu / gultun.        |
| 3) masc. "    | gaalu / gaaloo.        |
| 3 fem. "      | guln / gulna.          |

In the course of rapid speech gult type forms lose the l sound and it becomes gutt.

The imperfect of hollow verbs may have its distinguishable vowel aa, ii or uu; thus naam, yanaam "to sleep", baa' yabii' "to sell", raah yaruu "to go".

The following paradigm gives the verbs gaal, naam, baa' in the imperfect.

|               |               |         |          |
|---------------|---------------|---------|----------|
| 1. C. Sing.   | agul/aguul    | anaam   | abii'    |
| 2 masc. Sing. | taguul        | tanaam  | tabii'   |
| 2 fem. "      | taguuli       | tanaami | tabii'ii |
| 3 masc. "     | yaguul/yoguul | yanaam  | yabii'   |
| 3 fem. "      | taguul/toguul | tanaam  | tabii'   |

|              |                  |               |                |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. C. Pl.    | naguul/noguul    | nanaam        | nabii'         |
| 2. masc. Pl. | taguuluu         | tanaamuu      | tabii'uu.      |
| 2 fem. "     | taguuluu/tagalna | tanaamu       | tabii'uu.      |
| 3. masc. "   | yaguuluu         | yanaamuu      | yabii'uu       |
| 3 fem. "     | yagulna/yaguulu  | yanamna (sic) | yabii'na (sic) |

Imperative:

|               |        |        |        |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| 2 masc. Sing. | guul   | nam    | bey'   |
| 2 fem. "      | guulii | naami  | bii'ii |
| 2. C. Pl.     | guuluu | naamuu | bii'uu |

The active participle of these verbs is:

|             |         |         |         |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|
| masc. sing. | gaa?el  | naa?em  | baa'e?  |
| fem. "      | gaa?ela | naa?ema | baa?e'a |

No passive participle of hollow verb is recorded:

(b) Derived themes.

|      |          |           |                                       |
|------|----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| II   | xawwaf   | yoxawwif  | "to frighten" (medial <u>w</u> )      |
|      | bayyin   | yobayyin  | "to declare" (medial <u>y</u> )       |
| VI   | taḥayyar | yathayyar | "to be late" (cl. "to be surprised"). |
| VII  | inṣaaf   | yanṣaaf   | "to be seen".                         |
| VIII | ixtaar   | yaxtaar   | "to choose".                          |

From theme IV araad yoriid (or yiriid) "to intend" is common, but in "N" Sub-region the imperfect prefix of 1.C.Sing form is dropped as in riid < oriid.

1.2.4. Verbs Final y<sup>(1)</sup>

(a) The simple verb.

The conjugation of the perfect of final y rama "to throw" is given below:

(1) A typical verb final yidrii (as assumed) is used only in the imperfect. Its perfect of the simple root is not recorded.

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1.C. Sing.    | rameyt            |
| 2 masc. Sing. | rameyt            |
| 2 fem. "      | remytii           |
| 3 masc. "     | ramaa             |
| 3 fem. "      | ramat             |
| 1.C. Pl.      | rameyna           |
| 2 masc. pl.   | rameytuu/ rameyto |
| 2 fem. "      | rameytuu          |
| 3 masc. "     | ramoo             |
| 3 fem. "      | ramoo /rameyna.   |

The Passive Perfect of final y is also observed in the speech of informant (5 "C"):- rimit: "I was shot" and from (1 "C") Sifii "it was clean" from şafaa "to clean".

Verbs of final w verbs: (as cl. tala yatlu; şaza, şazı) are not heard.

The table of the imperfect of the verb rama is as below:

|               |        |
|---------------|--------|
| 1.C. Sing.    | armi   |
| 2 masc. Sing. | tarmi  |
| 2 fem. "      | tirmi  |
| 3 masc. "     | yarmi  |
| 3 fem. "      | tirmi  |
| 1.C. Pl.      | nirmi  |
| 2 masc. pl.   | tarmuu |
| 2 fem. "      | tirmuu |
| 3 masc. "     | yarmuu |
| 3 fem. "      | -----  |

The imperfect vowel is not governed by any fixed rule; thus in baya, yibi i is common to all forms. To distinguish 2 masc. sing. from 2 fem. sing. the final vowel is changed; e.g. tıba for 2 masc. sing. and tıbi for 2 fem. sing.

The imperative from maş "to walk" is as follows:

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| 2. masc. sing. | amsi  |
| 2 fem. "       | imsii |
| 2. C. Pl.      | amsuu |

The Act. Participle of these verbs is:

maasii, raamii, saafii.

The Passive Participle is heard as mamsaa <sup>(1)</sup>.

(b) Derived themes.

Cl. theme IV araa yori becomes in this dialect warra yowarri ("to show") from II. From III naada yonaadii was only once heard. As a verbal noun mabaaraat "match" is heard, but it is obviously the result of the influence of educated speakers. No other word of this root is noted.

1.2.5. Doubly Weak Verbs:

(a) Simple verbs.

As in cl. Ar. doubly weak verbs are two kinds: (i) verbs with separated two weak radicals, (ii) verbs with two weak radicals together e.g. wafa "to pay in full" and nawaa "to intend". The most commonly used verb is Jaa "he came".

The table of conjugation of the verb Jaa is as follows:

1.

|                | <u>Perf.</u> | <u>Imperf.</u> | <u>Imper.</u> | <u>Act. Participle</u> |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1.C. Sing.     | Jeet         | JaJii          |               |                        |
| 2. masc. Sing. | Jeet         | tiJii          |               |                        |
| 2 fem. "       | Jeeti        | tiJii          |               |                        |
| 3 masc. "      | Jaa          | JiJii          |               | Jaaii                  |
| 3 fem. "       | Jaat         | tiJii          |               |                        |
| 1. C. Pl.      | Jiina        | niJii          |               |                        |
| 2. masc. Pl.   | Jiitu        | tiJiʔu         |               |                        |

(1) This form is also used for the noun of place ( اسم مكان ).

|             |      |         |         |
|-------------|------|---------|---------|
| 2 fem. Pl.  | ḡitu | tiiḡu.  |         |
| 3 masc. Pl. | ḡḡ   | yiḡuu   | ḡaaḡiin |
| 3 fem. "    | ḡḡ   | ḡiiḡina |         |

No imperative of this root is used.

(b) Derived themes.

|    |                          |  |
|----|--------------------------|--|
| V  | <u>tawaffa, yatwaffa</u> | "to die".                              |
| II | wadda yowaddi            | "to give" (cl. <u>adda yoḡaddii</u> ). |

2. THE NOUN

The dialect has a few primitive nouns of biliteral form, e.g. habb "seeds", burr "wheat", rub "God", but the great majority of the nouns falls into definite types, all modelled on a trilateral base. Modifications of the simple type are caused (i) by a change in the vocalization, e.g. ḡamal, ḡumal or bard and barad: (ii) by the insertion of long vowels or a diphthong, e.g. ḡumaal ḡamal or moey maa: (iii) by duplication of the middle radical, as hummal "BURDEN CARRIER" barrad, "teapot": (iv) by a combination of these last two modifications, e.g. xuwayya "slave, or brother", bayyara "LATRINE'S DITCH" besides other stable forms for Act. and Pass. participle, or special forms indicating times and place that are discussed under verbal forms below.

The forms of the nouns which have been abstracted from the recorded conversations and speech of our informants are given below. The divergencies of their occurrences are shown by the numbers of the informants. The examples here given are arranged under roots in the following order:

- |                          |                             |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) from strong roots    | (b) from assimilated roots  |
| (c) from geminate roots  | (d) from hollow roots       |
| (e) from defective roots | (f) from doubly weak roots. |

THE FORMS OF THE NOUNS

(i) (With short vowels)

From "فعل" fa'l.

INFORMANTS

- 1) (a) ḡars "plant"  
(c) fəg "up"  
(d) ʔard "earth"  
(f) yəm "day"
  
- 2) (a) dars "study", lahm "meat".  
(c) beyt "house", na' "sort".  
(d) ʔard "earth".
  
- 3) (a) bard "cold", ħadr "settled people", karm "vineyard",  
ḡabh "slighting".  
(b) waʔr "uneven", dalw "bucket".  
(c) zāyn "nice", səg "water supply", ṭayr "bird".
  
- 4) (a) šahr "month", garš "peaster".  
(b) ward "rose".  
(c) baab "door", haal "affair".
  
- 5) (a) galb "heart", sabr "patience", fard "duty".  
(b) dalw "bucket".  
(c) ʔayn "eye".
  
- 7) (a) balh "date", darb "way", nafs "human being".  
(c) baṭṭ "ducks".
  
- 8) (a) tafl "child", taht "below or under".



- 9) (a) bahr "sea", šaxl "work", daxl "interference".  
(b) wa'd "promise", yabs "draught".  
(c) zayn "nice".  
(d) ?ard "earth".  
(e) barr "field".
- 11) (a) baft "a design of cloth".  
(b) jadw "peg".  
(c) ʕb "clothing".
- 12) (a) mahl "place", hamd "praise".
- 13) (a) bazr "seed", sagf "ceiling", xams "five".  
(b) wald "walad" "child".  
(c) xayt "thread", ʕb "clothing", raas "head".  
(e) šarr "evil".
- 14) (a) xars "plant", zar "sowing", bard "cold".  
(b) badw "Bedouin".  
(c) 'ays "bread", layl "night".  
(f) yom "day".
- 15) (a) tamr "date", 'agb "following".  
(d) ?amr "order".
- 16) (a) bald < balad "lawn".  
(d) ?alf "thousand".
- 18) (c) št "voice".  
(e) haZZ "fate".

- 19) (a) ḥamd "praise", ḡabl "before".  
(b) wajh "face".  
(c) ʕab "clothe".  
(d) ?anf "nose".
- 23) (a) nafs "soul", (a reflective pronoun).  
(c) 'ayn "eye", fʕg "up", ?iid "hair on the neck of a camel",  
raas "head".
- 25) (a) tab' "belonging".
- 26) (a) naxl "palm", naʕd - a proper noun, tamr "date".  
(c) dayf "guest".
- 27) (c) ḥoḏ "pound", ḥol "about", bayt "house".  
(f) yam "day".
- 28) (a) xalt "mixed up".  
(c) 'ayb "blemish".
- 29) (b) wagt "time".
- 30) (a) šaḥt "bunch", ḥamd "praise", ḡabl "string", ša'r "wool".  
(c) fʕg "up", šok "the tongue of the balance".
- 31) (a) dars "study", faḡr "dawn", ḥamd "praise".  
(b) wagt "time".  
(c) bayḡ "sale", 'ayš "life".

- 32) (a) šaxs "person", ba'd "after", ħarb "war", gabd "holding".  
(c) ħays "army", foġ "army".  
(f) yom "day".
- 33) (a) ggaqd "intention", dars "study".  
(c) xer "good".
- 34) (a) 'amr proper noun, nahw "about".  
(c) baad "after" ( ʿ is replaced by (a) ) dayf "guest".
- 35) (a) daṣf "weakness", gaṣd "aim".  
(d) ?ard "earth".
- 36) (a) baṣr "opinion" (also buṣr is heard with the same meaning i.e. in the reply of "You look a good boy" he said basrak "It is your opinion" once again in reply to "your school is very far from your village" he said busrak "as you see".  
ba'd "after".  
(d) ?akl "food".
- 37) (a) naf' "benefit".  
(c) nḡ' "kind".  
(d) ?ard "earth".
- 38) (a) mahr "a fixed sum paid by a husband to his wife at the time of marriage".  
(b) maxd v.n. of maxad "to churn milk or cream".  
(c) zayn "nice".
- 39) (a) faḍl "grace".  
(c) šex "head".

40) (c) ʕəb "clothe".

(1-2)

From Fa'al

فَعْلٌ

- 1) (a) ʕamar "fruit", falaḥ "waterwheel", naʕam "yes".  
(b) walad "son" or "child".  
(d) adab "politeness".
- 2) (a) ʕabal "mountain", ʕalag "precious".  
xabar "news", xaṣab "wood".
- 3) (a) ʕadas "lentils", bagar "cow".  
(b) waṭan "homeland".  
(d) hawa "air".
- 4) (a) galam "planting", balad "town" or "home" (the 2nd vowel after "l" is dropped if it is attached to a pronoun, i.e. the word does not exceed two syllable whether it is spoken separately or attached to other nouns. The same is true with walad "child").
- 5) (b) walad "child".  
(d) amar "order".
- 7) (a) faraḥ "relief".  
(d) akal akl v.n. "eating".
- 8) (a) baḥar "sea", baṭan "stomach", baṣar "mankind".  
(b) walad "child".

- 9) (a) qamar "moon".  
(b) yaman proper noun.
- 11) (a) safar "journey", agal "mind", yanam "sheep".  
(b) šaraa "purchase", (Hamza is dropped and replaced by a short a).
- 12) (a) maḥal "place": (Also maḥl when attached to a pronoun)  
ḥadar "settled tribes".
- 14) (a) 'adas "lentils".
- 15) (a) 'asal "honey", šafar "tree", balad "town" (same as walad).
- 18) (a) xaṣab "wood", maḥal "place", taba' "belonging",  
ḥamar "fruit".
- 19) (a) ḥanam "sheep", ḥadab "eyebrow".
- 25) (a) maḥal "place".
- 26) (a) ḥamar "fruit", raṣal<sup>m</sup> "sand".
- 27) (a) ḥawad proper noun.
- 28) (b) walad "child".
- 29) (a) ḥanam "sheep", badan "body", ḥamar "fruit".

- 30) (b) walad (It remains as two syllables even if it is attached to a pronoun as: hādā walīdī "This is my son").
- 31) (a) ṣamal "work", maṭāl Proverb, ṣanam "sheep",  
Ṣaraf "respect or honour".
- 32) (a) badal "exchange", watan "homeland", Ṣajar "tree",  
marad "sickness".
- 33) (a) ṣamal "work", talab "demand".
- 34) (a) ṣanam "sheep".  
(c) ṣawad "exchange".
- 35) (a) bagar "cow", ṣamal "work", ṣanam "sheep".
- 37) (a) Ṣajar "tree", ḥaḥar "stone".
- 38) (a) ṣanam "sheep".
- 39) (a) ṣanam "sheep".
- 40) malak < malik "king".

(123) From faṣīl فصول.

(a) baris "name of a tree".

2) (b) warig "leaf".

5) (d) ʔalif "first letter of Arabic alphabet".

11) (a) maḥil "place". < mahal.

(1-4) From fiṣl فِئَل.

1) (a) ʔšb < ʔuṣb "grass".

(c) kiir, ʔiir "tools of a carpenter".

2) (a) miṯl "likewise".

4) (a) Šilb "imported dates".

bint "daughter".

5) (a) tibn "dust".

(e) hill "inside area of a town".

6) (a) ḥilf "oath".

11) (a) Šikl "likeness".

13) (a) sitr "curtain or cover".

14) (a) xidr "veil".

15) (a) ʔifr "nail".

19) (a) Zind "wrist".

26) (a) ʔifr "nail": (also ʔifir was heard from this informant when he was asked to repeat it).

- 28) (a) ni'm "nice". (A special form of verb to express admiration: neɪmalʒax "a good brother". Here ni'm is used with the same meaning. The final vowel after 'm' is 'a' attached to the following noun.)  
(c) xax "lce".
- 29) (a) niʃf "half". (This word is recorded in three different forms by the same informant: niʃf, nuʃf, nuʃʃ)\*.
- 30) (a) Jild "leather".
- 31) (a) riʃl "foot".  
(c) beɪ "sale"
- 32) (a) Šiɪb "nation", siʃn "prison".
- 34) (a) riʃl "foot".
- 35) (a) riʒg "God's gift".
- 36) (c) ʃiid "festival".
- 37) (a) Šikl / Šakl "like".
- 38) (a) Zibd "cheese", Jild "leather".
- 40) (a) ʃaɪr "poetry". < šəɪr

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(1-5) From fiʃal: فَيْعَلٌ

<sup>only</sup> The word 'inab <sup>only</sup>, "grape" is heard from the informants: 3, 4, 19, 23, 27 and 36.

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\* Nisf and nusf are endorsed by classical lexicon; see lisan'alarab, op.cit. Ibn al-Arabi, V.13.



(1-6) From fu'l: فُعْلٌ

- 1) (a) gurs "loaf".  
(c) sung "market".
- 2) (a) Šurb "drink".  
(c) tuut "name of a tree".
- 3) (a) duʃr 'maize'
- 4) (a) busr "date before ripening".  
(b) muyi "water".
- 5) (a) 'ugb "afterward", rub' "quarter".
- 7) (a) 'ušb "grass".  
(e) bunn "coffee".
- 8) (a) suʃr "childhood", gurs "loaf".
- 11) (e) burr "wheat".
- 12) (c) suur "boundary".
- 13) suʃr "gold", Zubr "star on the handle of a sword".
- 15) (a) Subḥ "morning", ʃušm "inexperienced ones" (singular ʃašim).  
(c) kuub "cup".
- 16) (a) 'umr "age", Šuʃl "work".  
(e) nuur "light".
- 18) (a) ḥukm "order".
- 19) (a) Šuʃl "work", rumš "eyelashes".  
(c) sung "market".
- 23) (a) ʔuzn "ear".  
(c) kuu' "upper part of a camel's leg".
- 25) (a) duxn 'millet'
- 26) (a) zuʃr "nail".  
(c) suuk "market". (q is replaced by K, while generally it is g.)
- 28) (a) nusf "half".

- (e) kumm "cuff".  
21) (a) zuhr "noon".  
(c) suuf "wool".  
32) (f) muya "water".  
36) (a) busr "opinion".  
37) (a) 'ulb "tin".  
38) (a) Subh "morning".  
40) (a) 'umr "age".

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(1-7) From Fu'al: فَعَلٌ

- 2) (a) 'onab "grape".  
(b) yuna "song".  
19) (a) xutar "hold veil for men". (singular xutrah ).  
23) (a) jumal "camel".  
26) (a) 'onab "grape".  
32) (a) xusal "bunch of grapes".

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(1-8) From Fi'il: فَعِلٌ

- 12) 'ilib "lin"  
15) kitib "written".  
) sitir < satr "God's protection and curtain, cover".  
hilig < halaq. 'acres'

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(1-9) From fa'la (t or h): فَحَلَةٌ

- 1) (a) lahḥaa "dialect" or "style of speaking" (the final "h" is dropped and ā takes its place).
- 2) (d) 'ahlah "tool" ("h" instead of hamza)( اھلّ ).
- 3) (a) raḥmah "mercy".
- 4) (a) dablah "wedding ring or any gift".
- 5) (a) ṣadmah "shock".
- 6) goes with No.2.
- 7) (a) ṣan'ah "craft".
- 8) (a) Sabxa "salt-pan".
- 9) (a) ṣadga "charity", xasma "quarrel".
- 12) (a) ṣan'a "
- 13) (a) xaṣfa "mat", ṣantah "bag".  
(b) garya "village".
- 14) (a) haḥra "stone".
- 15) (c) bayda "egg". (plural is bayd).
- 16) (c) ṣayba "old man".
- 19) (a) ḥabha "forehead".
- 26) (a) Zaḥmah "crowd, farṣah "beddings".
- 29) (a) ṣabkah "engagement for marriage".
- 30) (a) xaṣlah "bunch of grapes".  
(c) ṣokah "tongue of a scale".
- 31) (a) mamṣa "distance", barḥa "open place".
- 32) (a) daxma "heavy", baldah "town". (A feminine form of balad).
- 34) (a) haḥra "stone".
- 35) (c) garya "village".
- 37) (c) garya " .

(1-10) From fa'alah: فَعَلَه

- 1) 'atala "waterwheel".
- 13) 'ataba "threshold".  
xasafa xasfa "mat".
- 19) ragaba "neck".
- 23) θafana "neck of a camel".  
ragaba "neck".
- 30) xanama "sheep".
- 32) 'agaba "proper name of a place".  
Šašara "a tree".  
ṭalaga "gun shoot".
- 34) xatera "beating of the heart".

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From Fi'lah: فَعِلَه

- 1) gišta "cream".
- 2) (c) gišša "story".
- 5) (e) midda "duration" ← muddah ( فَعِلَه ) xitmah "Qurʾān".  
hidyah < hadyah "gift".
- 29) hišša "pilgrimage".
- 32) xidmah "service".
- 39) ni'mah "gift".

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(1-11) From Fu'lah: فَعُلَه

- 1) Jum'a "Friday".
- 5) nugṭa "point".
- 13) (e) fuḍḍa < fiddah "silver".
- 18) xutra "head cover".
- 27) (e) ḡubba "gown".

30) (e) Kuffa < Kiffa "balance part".

32) Jumla "total".

0\* xufsa "a spoon made of a piece of bread".

The forms fa'ila, fu'ulla and fi'illa have not been found in this dialect.

(ii) (With long vowels)

(2.1) From fa'laan: فعلان

1) (a) bardaan "one who caught cold".

3) (a) Ša'baan "an Arabic month".

(b) maydaan "field".

5) (e) harraan "one who suffers from hot weather".

11) (a) Za'laan "angry".

15) kaslaan "lazy".

23) šamraan "proper name".

32) (a) Zahraan "proper name", bathaan "proper name".

(b) war'aan "children".

(2.2) From Fi'laan: فيعلان

1) (a) bizjaan "egg-plant".

(c) širraan "oxen".

5) (d) ?insaän "human being".

This pattern is mainly used as a Šalibi plural.

(2.3) From Fu'laan:

5) gulmaan "pen or camel sellers".

\* Words generally heard in a party or festival, not by a particular informant are referred here to 0.

12) subhaan "exalted one".

15) xuzraan "a kind of wood", xurṣaan "earrings".

Patterns that have a short vowel after 2nd radical, as fa'alan or fa'ulan, do not exist.

(2.4) From Fa'aal:      فَعَال

1), 2), 4) ḥalaal "animals".

7), 11), 15), 16)

18), 19), 23), 25)

27), 30), 31), 39).

5) (c) ḥawaad "employment" xalaas "end".

15) ḥabaab "roof", makaan "place".

16) ḥalaam "darkness".

31) ṣabaab "youngs", faraaḥ "free from work".

ḥamaan "eight", ṣi'aar "poetry", < ṣi'r

'anaat "a tree", nahaar "daytime".

sadaad "right path".

(2.5) From Fi'aal:      فِعَال

1) kitaab "book", "writing".

2) bilaad "area", "country".

4) ḥizaam "waist belt", Heḥaaz "proper name".

5) Silaah "weapon".

11) (c) xiyaam "tents", 'iḡaal "head binder", Jimaal "camel".

12) ḥizaam "waist belt".

(c) reyaal "silver currency of S.A."

15) Jidaar "wall".

(c) Giyaab "clothings".

17) ħizaam "belt".

18) ħilaal "moon".

30) firaas "beddings".

32) (c) miyaah "waterstore".

34) xilaal "during", bilaad "country".

38) ħilaal "moon".

(2.6) From Fu'aal: فَعَالٌ

2) kubaar "bygones".

12) Suġaar "~~little ones~~"

17) Zumaam "nose ornament of a bedouin girl".

18) nuṣaab "hilt of a sword".

20) turaab "dust", bowaal

23) kuwaa' "of camel's body".

23) subaaʻ "colour".

25) ħumaal < Jamal "camel".

29) ħumar < ħimaar "ass".

32) buraad "cold".

yubaar "steam".

(2.7) From Fa'aala: فَعَالَةٌ

1) salaama "peace", tahara "cleaning".

- 5) (b) 'abaaya "gone".
- 7) jamaa'a "group", zaraa'a < ziraagah "agriculture".
- 12) ragaada "an ornament".  
ḡalaala "majesty", 'amama "turban".
- 15) banaaja "button".
- 32) salaama "peace".  
salaamat (f)."

(2.8) From Fi'aalah: فِعَالَة

- 2) ziraa'a "agriculture".
- 4) diraasa "study", ziraagah "agriculture".
- 5) ḡimaala "porter's fee".
- 21) (b) wisaad. "pillow".
- 32) ziraa'a "agriculture".

(2.9) From Fu'aala: فُعَالَة

- 31) ḡumaara 'ass carriage'

(2.10) From Fa'uul: فَعُول

- 2) baṡuum < butuun "stomachs".
- 3) habuub. "air",
- 4) 'aluum < 'uluum "Sciences".
- 12) 'aguul < 'aql (fa'l) "mind or wisdom".
- 24) (d) ?amuur < ?umuur "matters".



- 25) Jaluus < Juluus "sitting".  
xasuus "regarding".
- 26) tahuur < tuhuur "cleanness". (verbal noun of "tahura")

(2.11) From Fa'uulah/t: فحو لله

- 5) hakuuma "government". < hukuumah  
9) 'amuula "commission".  
31) hakuuma "government".

(2.12) From Fu'uulah: فحو له

- 2) ruJuulah. "walking on foot".  
3) buzuurah "children".

(2.13) From Fa'iil: فحيل

- 1) (a) Ša'iir "barley", basiit "easy or ordinary".  
2) (a) Ša'iir "barley".  
(f) yatiim "orphan".  
3) (a) kaŌiir "much", galiil "little".  
4) (a) Ša'iir "barley".  
(d) amiir "governor".  
5) (a) Ša'iir "barley", kabiir "big".  
7) (a) Sa'iir "barley".  
8) (a) haliib "milk".

- 9) (a) ḥariim "women (also ḥurmah).  
11) (a) gabiil "connection".  
12) (a) Šariif "superior".  
(b) yamiin "right".  
13) (a) mariid "ill".  
14) (a) 'ariiš "a tent in a form".  
15) yašim "inexperienced".  
16) kaθiir "much", ḥaliib "milk".  
18) 'ariif "monitor", Ša'iir  
19) rakiib "rider on camel".  
23) 'agiig "proper noun".  
24) ḥabiib "beloved" (used as a symbolic title for Prophet Moḥammad).  
26) galiil "little", kaθiir "much".  
27) yašim "inexperienced".  
29) samiin "with much fate".  
30) Ša'iir ḥaliib (again half way to Š 'iir).  
31) ḥamiid "praised one", mujiid "exalted" (both in praise of God).  
32) ba'iir "camel".  
(d) ?amiir "governor".  
33) (a) madiir "director", < mudiir.  
35) baxiit "Proper name", (tending to "e" after "b").  
36) Ša'iir, ḥaliib, kaθiir.  
37) ḥariim "women's dress". (see No.9).  
38) 'ariiš "creeper" (see No. 14).  
39) gabiil "tribe" or gabiilah.

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\* The first vowel after "r" is tending to "i".

40) 'ariid' "wide".

(2.14) From Fa'iila: نَعِيْلَة

5) (a) ḥagiiga "fact".

natiija "result".

7) gabiila "tribe".

9) da'iifa "weak".

27) waliima "a repast prepared on the occasion of wedding or  
killing a sheep for guests".

32) (d) xatīiya "fault", "mistake".

40) gaṣiida "a complete poetry".

(2.15) From Fa'laa: نَعَالَة

11) barḥaa "open ground".

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(2.2) The Gender of Nouns.

2.2.1 The feminine gender

Most feminine nouns have the ending -a (h) in the absolute state, thus:

Joza < ZoJa "wife", garya "village", sayyara "motorcar", etc.

The following are feminine by usage:

a) dual parts of the body as:

'eyn "eye", iydd "hand", rijl "foot", etc.

b) names of town and countries, as:

Šaam "Damascus", Yemen "Yemen", MaKka "Mecca", etc.

c) a few common words like:

Šams "sun", riih "wind", naar "fire".

Nouns which denote females are feminine, as:

umm "mother", uxt "sister, etc.

Some nouns ending in (aa) or (aa?) corresponding to lit.Ar. nouns of the pattern fa'laa or fa'laa? are feminine, as:

dunyaa "world", baḥaa(?), "large bed of a torrent", etc.

2.2.2. The formation of the feminine of adjectives.

(a) Adjectives are usually made feminine by the adding of the ending -a (corresponding to lit. Ar. -ah), as:

ṭayyeba from ṭayyeb "good", baḥṭala from baḥṭaal "bad", kabiira from kabiir "big", ṭa'baana from ṭa'baan "tired", or "sick", etc.

(b) Adjectives of the pattern af'al denoting physical defects and colours have the fem. sing. pattern fa'la as:

|       |          |               |       |
|-------|----------|---------------|-------|
| ahmar | "red"    | "fem. Sing.:" | ḥamra |
| axdar | "green"  | " "           | xadra |
| asfar | "yellow" | " "           | ṣafra |

|       |         |              |       |
|-------|---------|--------------|-------|
| abyad | "white" | "Fem. Sing." | bayda |
| a'ma  | "blind" | " "          | 'amya |

(c) Certain adjectives applicable only to the feminine are of the pattern faa'il and fa'la, as:

haamil "pregnant", xurda "divorced woman", etc.

(2.3) The number of nouns

Substantive have three numbers; singular, dual and plural, as:

|                                |            |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| garya, garyateyn, garaaya,     | "village". |
| finJaan, finJaneyn, fanaaJiin. | "teacup".  |

Adjectives have two numbers; singular and plural, as:

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| ṭayyeb, ṭayyebiin   | "good". |
| mabsuut, mabsuutiin | "fine". |

2.3.1 The dual.

The dual is formed by adding -eyn to the singular form. In feminine substantives the ending -a becomes ṭ-t before suffixation, thus:

ketaabeyn "two books", madrasateyn "two schools".

2.3.2. The plural.

(a) The sound plural

This is formed by adding -iin to masculine nouns and by substituting -aat for the singular ending -a of feminine nouns, thus:

|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| mudarrisiin | "teachers" from mudarris  |
| muslimiin   | "Muslims" from muslim     |
| marraat     | "a few times" from marra. |

The sound masculine plural is generally confined to participle and adjectival forms and relative adjective ending in i or wi as:

|             |                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| kaθiiriin   | "a large number".           |
| mabsuutiin  | "happy ones".               |
| bardaaniin. | "who became cold".          |
| baladiin    | "native objects or people". |
| Šitwiin     | "of winter time".           |

Feminine nouns in -a (h) frequently have broken plurals, or both a sound and a broken plural as: ʔutraat, ʔutar, "head covers" from ʔutra.

Foreign nouns often have a sound feminine plural as beskuwaat, "biscuits" lambaat "bulbs", but not in Arabicized words as saʔaayer from siʔaara "cigar" or "cigarettes".

(b) The broken plurals.

The main broken plurals patterns which have been observed in Ghamid and Zahran dialects are listed below, with examples:

1. fi'al

ḥilag from ḥalaga "acres".

2. fu'al

'ulab from 'ulba "packet".

3. fu'ul

ʔuṣum from ʔasiim "intrained men".

4. fi'aal

Jibaal from Jabal "mountain".

5. fa'iil

ḥariim from ḥurma "woman".

6. fu'unl

šuyuux from šeyx "Shaikh", duyuuf from deyf "guest".

7. fu'aal usually this form is a common plural for fa'iil type singulars as:

kubaar from kabiir "big one".

suʔaar from saʔiir "little one".

8. fu'ala. From the faa'il pattern of verbs of final y as:  
gudaat from gaadi "judge".
9. af'ul  
anmul from anmulā "finger".
10. af'aal. This is very frequently used pattern from fi'l as:  
arzaag from rizq "food or any gift from God".
11. af'ila  
adwiya from dava<sup>w</sup> "medicine".
12. fawaa'il  
gawaafil from gaafila "caravan". (usually from faa'ila singular).
13. fa'aayil  
gabaayil from gabiila "tribe".
14. fi'laan  
bizraan from bizra "child".
15. fu'laan  
gulmaan from galam "pen" or "a trip by camel".
16. fa'aaliin  
ba'aariin from ba'ra "camel".
17. fu'alaa  
umaraa from amiir "prince".
18. af'ilaa asdiga from sadiiq "friend".
19. fa'aala  
badaawa from badu "bedouin".

The quadriliteral patterns are:

1. fa'aaliil  
fanaaJiin from finJaan "teacup".  
šayaatiin from šeytaan
2. fa'aalil  
baraatiim from bartum "lip".

C) The Diminutive

Apart from proper nouns such as hulayyil 'Little man', bodayl rofayda (f) there is frequent use of šowayya (1, 4, 11, 27) and šaway (3, 25) "a little" derived from šay "something". Informant I once used bonayya "little girl". The words honayyay, honay (26) soğayyer (2) "very little" were also used. One bedouin of Ghamid (31) called a window boweyba (from baab).

d) Anomalous Plurals

The common plural of this type are:

|          |           |                |
|----------|-----------|----------------|
| ummahaat | from umm  | "mother".      |
| Juddaan  | from Jadd | "grandfather". |
| ixwaan   | from ax   | "brother".     |
| axwaat   | from uxt  | "sister".      |
| banaat   | from bint | "daughter".    |

2.4. The idafa state

The -iin or eyn endings of dual or plural of masculine are reduced in the idafa thus:

|                     |                                    |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| moʔaddafi l hokuuma | "The officials of the government". |
| uđneyl bagar        | "Two ears of a cow".               |

Feminine singular nouns in the idafa end in -t and feminine plural end in -aat remain unchanged in the idafa:

|                     |                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| sayyarat el mohkema | "the office car".                   |
| sayyaraat el imaara | "the cars of the governor's house". |

The dual, however, usually has the ending ii not iin with the suffix personal pronouns as in:

|          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| aejdii   | "my hands". |
| roʔuulii | "my feet".  |



(2.5) The comparison of adjectives:

The relative of adjectives is of the pattern af'al as:

kabiir "large", akbar "larger".

The comparative is undefined as:

<sup>a</sup> hada akbar (min hada) "this is larger (than this)".

The superlative ordinarily occurs in idafa as:

akbar <sup>q</sup> wahid "the biggest one".

The feminine pattern of af'al is not heard.

(2.6) Compound words.

To express the desired qualities in the genitive, compound words are formed by the use of abu "father", um "mother", beyt "house" in the construct case corresponding to the Cl. Ar. du and daat. The usage of abu is most frequent and flexible. Um and beyt are used only in certain contexts:-

abu arba' "a teapot containing four small cups (finJan) of tea", and likewise abusitta "of 6 cups" abu 'ašra "of 10 cups", but umahaat tamaniyya "of 8 cups".

Names of the varieties of cigarettes, tinned fruits, cloths, etc. are formed by abu plus the name of the picture on the article, thus:

abu bis Caravan cigarettes indicating the picture of a bis "cat" on the packet.

abu bahhaari Players Cigarettes indicating the picture of a bahhaari "seaman" on the packet.

abu ghazala "a fine quality of silk" indicating a picture of a ghazala "gazelle" on a length of cloth of this kind.

abu yaman "one belonging to the Yemen".

abu dign "one wearing a beard".

abu sanab "one having a moustache".

The word umm "mother" is not used in the above case; but it is used to indicate the root of something, as:

- umm el-balaa? "the origin of an affliction".
- ummas-šarr "gambling" (as a source of evil).

The word uxt "sister" is used specifically for each part of a pair, or for one object which closely resembles another:

- uxtel-Jezma "the other shoe of a pair".
- uxtel-šafla "the second wheel"(just like the first).

The word ibn "son", apart from its use in denoting blood relationships as ibnel-šamm "cousin" ibnel-uxt "nephew", is also used to describe other relationship such as:

- ibnal-balad "a native one".
- ibnal-madrassa "a school boy".

The word beyt is used as:

- beytel-maa? "house of water" for "toilet".
- beytan-nur "house of light" for "mosque".

It is of interest that the practice of using abu, ibn, etc. as above described seems to be a survival from Cl. Ar. usage.

### 2.7. The Numerals:

#### a) Cardinal numbers.

The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10 are:

| Masculine   | Feminine  |
|---|---|
| 1. waḥid, ṭaḥad, ḥad.                                   | waḥḥda, waḥḥda<br>ṭiḥda, (only iḥ iḥ iḥ attached to<br>ṭaṣr e.g. ṭiḥḥdaṣ. |
| 2. ṭiṣnayn, / ṭisnayn                                   | ṭintayn, sintayn.   |
| 3. ṭalaaṣ   | ṭalaaṣa   |
| 4. ṭarba'a (ṭarba when absolute)                        | ṭarbaṣa   |
| 5. xams   | xamsa   |
| 6. sit  | sitha   |
| 7. sab'a (the 2nd "a" results<br>from articulating (ṣ)) | sab'a   |

from articulating "t")

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| 8. ʕamaan   | ʕamaanya |
| 9. tis'a (the 2nd "a" results from articulating "t"). | tis'a    |
| 10. 'ašra   | 'ašra    |

The final "a" of 'ašra is absent; the "t" is pronounced when the following noun is <sup>attached</sup> assimilated, e.g. 'ašartril "10 riyals" (32) 'ašartba waadim "10 men" (23).

From 2 to 10 the attached noun is plural, e.g. ?ionqyn beyuut "two houses" (23). In absolute cases they are distinguished, masculine from feminine; e.g. "How many are they?" "They are xams or xamsa" according to the gender of "they", but in the case of counting things they always use only the feminine forms, e.g. sab'at xaruuf (2, 12). The numbers ?arba', sab'a and 'ašra have similar forms in feminine and masculine. The plural forms of numbers 'išriin to tiš'iin have only one form, ending with iin. The tendency is to pronounce the first letter with the (a) vowel, e.g. 'ašriin, xamsiin, tas'iin (12) (32), but there are examples of tiš'iin heard from partly educated people in both areas. For "hundred" the sound of Hamza in mi?a is absent. The only form is miya or miya. Compound cardinals heard are as follows:

- miitayn
- tultmiya
- ?arbamiya
- xumsumiya
- sitmiya
- sab'miya
- tumunmiya
- tis'amiya
- ?alf
- milyon

The "teen" numbers are pronounced as follows;

?ihdeʒš

?iθna'š and ?itna'š (32)

talatta'š (clear t)

?arbata'š

xamasta'š

sitta'š

sab'ataš

tawata'š (t)

tis'ataš

2.7 (b): ordinal numbers

The only numbers heard are:.....ordinal numbers:

| Masculine       | Feminine        |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| (2) ?awwalaani  | (2) ?awwalaanya |
| θaani.          | (2) θaaniyah    |
| θaalis, saalis. |                 |
| raabe'          |                 |

3) The Pronouns:

(3.1) The Personal pronouns

The dialect has two kinds of personal pronouns: (i) independent personal pronouns, and (ii) the pronominal suffixes. Arab grammarians usually include a third form, viz disjunctive pronouns in this group as well, but the obtained data of this study consist of insufficient evidence for the compiling of a paradigm; some isolated examples are mentioned in Chapter 3 (A).

Both kinds of pronoun are presented here in lists to show the divergencies of their usages.

The gender number may be seen at a glance from the following paradigm:

|                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 P. Sing.      | ana/na                  |
| 2 P. masc Sing. | int/inta/intu           |
| 2 P. fem Sing.  | intii/int.              |
| 3 P. masc Sing. | ho/how/howa/hoo.        |
| 3 P. fem Sing.  | hii/heyā.               |
| 1 P -- Plur     | nehna/hinna/ehna/nohno. |
| 2 p. masc "     | intu/intom/intuu.       |
| 2 P. fem. "     | intu/intom.             |
| 3 masc. "       | hum/um/uum/humma.       |
| 3 fem. "        | hum/hun.                |

### (3.2) Pronominal suffixes

The pronominal suffixes are presented in the chart below to show the variant occurrences. The following paradigm gives us a complete statement of the usages according to the gender and number.

|               |   |      |
|---------------|---|------|
| 1. P -- Sing. | -i / -ii  | A.V. |
| 2. P. m. "    | -ak   | A.V. |
| 2. p. f. "    | -ik / iik   | A.V. |
| 3. m. Sing.   | -uh / -hu / -hūu / -uu.   |      |
| 3. f. "       | ha / aa.  |      |
| 1. P. -- Pl.  | naa.  |      |
| 2.p.m. Pl.    | -kum (without any vowel for the final consonant and before a suffix, e.g. <u>kitaabkum</u> "your book") |      |
| 2. p. f. Pl.  | kum / kun (the latter is rarely said by educated speakers).   |      |
| 3. p.m. Pl.   | hum / uum.  |      |
| 3. p.f. "     | hum / hun (the latter is rare).   |      |

Chart (1)

Chart (2)

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THE PRONOUNS

2. The personal pronouns

(1) The independent forms of the personal pronouns

Number of Informats:-

|               |        | Cl.     | 1     | 2     | 3     |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1st. P.       | Sing.  | ana     | ana   | ana   | ana   |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      | anta    | int   | int   | int   |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      | anti    | antii | anti  | anti  |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | howa    | huu   | huu   | huu   |
| 3rd P. Fem.   | "      | hiya    |       |       |       |
| 1st. P.       | Plural | nahnu   | nehna | nehna | nehna |
| 2nd P. Masc.  | "      | antum   | intuu | intuu | intuu |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      | antunna |       |       |       |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | hum     | huum  | huum  | huum  |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      | (hunna) |       |       |       |

|     |            | 4     | 5     | 7     | 8     |
|-----|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ut. | P. Sing.   | ana   | ana   | ana   | ana   |
| Pa. | P. Masc. " | int   | inta  | into  | int   |
| Pa. | P. Fem. "  |       | int   |       | intii |
| Pa. | P. Masc. " | huw   | huu   | huuwa |       |
| Pa. | P. Fem. "  |       | heya  |       |       |
| Ut. | P. Plural  | nehna | nohno | ehna  | nehna |
| Pa. | P. Masc. " | intuu | intum | intuu |       |
| Pa. | P. Fem. "  |       |       |       |       |
| Pa. | P. Masc. " | humma | humma | um    | hum   |
| Pa. | P. Fem. "  |       |       |       |       |



|               |        | 9     | 10   | 11    | 12    |
|---------------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| 1st. P.       | Sing.  | ana   | aani | aana  | aani  |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      | int   | att  | int   | att   |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      | intii | inti | int   |       |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | huu   | howa | hoo   | ho    |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      | hi    |       |
| 1st. P.       | Plural | nehna | ehna |       | hinna |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      |       |      | intuu |       |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      |       |       |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | hum   | uum  | uum   |       |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      |       |       |

|               |        | 13    | 14   | 15    | 16    |
|---------------|--------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| 1st. P.       | Sing.  | aani  | aane | ana   | aani  |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      | intu  | att  | int   | int   |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      |       |       |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | ho    |      |       | huu   |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      | hi    |      |       |       |
| 4th. P.       | Plural | hinna |      | nehna | hinna |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      |       | atom | intuu | entu  |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      |       | ento  |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      |       | 'uum | hum   | uum   |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |      |       |       |

|          |            | 19    | 20    | 21  | 22   |
|----------|------------|-------|-------|-----|------|
| u t . P. | Sing.      | ana   | aana  | ana | ana  |
| P . P.   | P. Masc. " |       |       |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Fem. "  |       |       |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Masc. " | ho    | ho    |     | howa |
| P . P.   | P. Fem. "  |       |       |     |      |
| u t . P. | Plural     | henna | nehna |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Masc. " |       |       |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Fem. "  |       |       |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Masc. " | 'uum  | humna |     |      |
| P . P.   | P. Fem. "  |       |       |     |      |

|               |        | 23    | 24    | 25    | 26    |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1st. P.       | Sing.  | ani   | ana   | ani   | ana   |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      | int   | int   |       | inta  |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      | intii |       |       | intii |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | ho    | huu   | huu   | huu   |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |       |       |       |
| 1st. P.       | Plural | ehna  | ehna  |       | nehna |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      |       | intuu | intuu | intuu |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |       |       |       |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      |       | humma | hum   | hum   |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |       |       |       |       |

|     |            | 27    | 28 | 29    | 30      |
|-----|------------|-------|----|-------|---------|
| at. | P. Sing.   | aani  |    |       | aana    |
| ad. | P. Masc. " | inte  |    | inte  | intu    |
| ad. | P. Fem. "  | intii |    |       |         |
| ad. | P. Masc. " |       | ho | ho    |         |
| ad. | P. Fem. "  |       |    |       |         |
| at. | P. Plural  | hinna |    | hinna |         |
| ad. | P. Masc. " |       |    |       | intuum. |
| ad. | P. Fem. "  |       |    |       |         |
| ad. | P. Masc. " | uum   |    |       |         |
| ad. | P. Fem. "  |       |    |       |         |

|              |        | 31   | 32    | 33    | 34          |
|--------------|--------|------|-------|-------|-------------|
| at. P.       | Sing.  | ana  | ana   | aani  |             |
| ad. P. Masc. | "      | intu | intu  | intu  | into        |
| ad. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |       |             |
| ad. P. Masc. | "      | ho   | howa  | ho    | hoo         |
| ad. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |       |             |
| at. P.       | Plural |      | nohno | hinna | hinna       |
| ad. P. Masc. | "      |      |       | intuu |             |
| ad. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |       |             |
| ad. P. Masc. | "      | um   |       | um    | uum<br>umma |
| ad. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |       |             |

|                | 35 | 36   | 37    | 38    |
|----------------|----|------|-------|-------|
| at. P. Sing.   |    | aani |       |       |
| ad. P. Masc. " |    |      | into  |       |
| ad. P. Fem. "  |    |      |       |       |
| ad. P. Masc. " |    | ho   |       |       |
| ad. P. Fem. "  |    |      |       | hi    |
| at. P. Plural  |    |      | hinna |       |
| ad. P. Masc. " |    |      | intuu | intom |
| ad. P. Fem. "  |    |      |       |       |
| ad. P. Masc. " |    |      |       |       |
| ad. P. Fem. "  |    |      |       |       |

39

40

|              |        |      |       |  |  |
|--------------|--------|------|-------|--|--|
| et. P.       | Sing.  | aani |       |  |  |
| pa. P. Masc. | "      |      |       |  |  |
| pa. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |  |  |
| pa. P. Masc. | "      |      | howa  |  |  |
| pa. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |  |  |
| et. P.       | Plural |      | hinna |  |  |
| pa. P. Masc. | "      |      |       |  |  |
| pa. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |  |  |
| pa. P. Masc. | "      |      | humma |  |  |
| pa. P. Fem.  | "      |      |       |  |  |



(ii) THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES:

|        |            | Classical | 1                    | 2        | 3    |
|--------|------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|------|
| et. P. | Sing.      | i *       |                      | After V. | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Masc. " | ka        |                      |          | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Fem. "  | ki        |                      |          |      |
| ya     | P. Masc. " | hu        | A.V.<br>d.g. nafsuh. | A.V.     | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Fem. "  | haa       | a: (A.V.)            | A.V.     | A.V. |
| et. P. | Plural     | na        | cna                  | A.V.     | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Masc. " | kum       | A.V.                 | A.V.     | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Fem. "  | kuhna     | kon                  |          |      |
| ya     | P. Masc. " | hum       | A.V.                 | A.V.     | A.V. |
| ya     | P. Fem. "  | hunna     | hon                  |          |      |

\* The verbal suffix (ni) is disregarded for the purpose of the charts

|               |        | 4    | 5    | 7    | 8 |
|---------------|--------|------|------|------|---|
| 1st. P.       | Sing.  |      | A.V. |      |   |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      |      |      |      |   |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |      |      |      |   |
| 3rd P. Masc.  | "      | A.V. | A.V  | A.V. |   |
| 3rd P. Fem.   | "      | A.V. | ha   |      |   |
| 1st. P.       | Plural | A.V. | A.V. | A.V. |   |
| 2nd. P. Masc. | "      | A.V. | A.V. | A.V. |   |
| 2nd. P. Fem.  | "      |      |      |      |   |
| 3rd. P. Masc. | "      | A.V. | A.V. |      |   |
| 3rd. P. Fem.  | "      |      |      |      |   |

|              | 9.   | 10   | 11 | 12   |
|--------------|------|------|----|------|
| st. P. Sing. |      |      |    | A.V. |
| P. Masc. "   |      |      |    |      |
| P. Fem. "    |      |      |    |      |
| P. Masc. "   | A.V. | A.V. |    | A.V. |
| P. Fem. "    | ha   | ha   |    | a:   |
| P. Plural    | A.V. | A.V. |    | A.V. |
| P. Masc. "   |      | A.V. |    | A.V. |
| P. Fem. "    |      |      |    |      |
| P. Masc. "   |      |      |    | A.V. |
| P. Fem. "    |      |      |    |      |

|                | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16   |
|----------------|----|----|----|------|
| st. P. Sing.   |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Masc. " |    |    |    | A.V. |
| pa. P. Fem. "  |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Masc. " |    |    |    | A.V. |
| pa. P. Fem. "  |    |    |    | a:   |
| st. P. Plural  |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Masc. " |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Fem. "  |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Masc. " |    |    |    |      |
| pa. P. Fem. "  |    |    |    |      |

(3.3) The Demonstrative Pronouns

A. Referring to the nearer object.

m.sing. haḏa most frequent in all sub-regions.

variant forms:

haḏa generally among "C" region informants  
haad and occasionally in "S" (5, 9, 16, 38,  
39).

f.sing. haadii most frequent in all sub-regions.

variant forms:

haadii (3, 10, 15, 17, 27).  
haadi occasionally in "S" region (5, 6, 16, 9).

B. Referring to the remoter object.

m.sing. haḏaak (7, 14, 15, 18, 24).

variant forms:

hadaak (3, 8, 13, 38).  
hadaaka (1, 2, 5, 16, 20, 21, 40).

f.sing. haḏiik frequent in all sub-regions.  
ḏiik (3, 14, 18, 23, 29).

C. The special form for the demonstrative pronoun in the plural.

dola (7, 12, 21, 28).

dool (1, 2, 5, 16, 19).

haadol (19, 24, 26, 30).

(3.4) The Relative Pronouns

|                      |        |                                 |
|----------------------|--------|---------------------------------|
| m <sup>u</sup> sing. | allii  | (1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 36, 40). |
|                      | alladi | (8, 18).                        |
|                      | illi   | (3, 10, 16, 19, 24).            |
|                      | le/ley | (12, 21, 27, 26).               |

No other forms for fem. or pl. have been observed. The different usages are given in Chapter 3 (4-C).

### (3.5) Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

The most common interrogative pronoun is ?eys, ?as

- (1) (?aš ma'naatu) "What does it mean?"  
 (5) (?ayš gultul'uu) "What did you say to him?"

When it is attached to the preposition b it becomes beys':

- (8) (?axařtu beys') "For how much did you purchase it?"  
 (i.e. "How much did it cost you?").

(kam) "How much?"

It is always heard with prefixed, i.e. "bəkam"

- (2) (bəkam elgota fit taa?af?) "How much are tomatoes in Taef?"  
 (40) (bəkam tištrii minna?) "How much will you pay for this?"  
 (gaddeys') "How many".  
 (10) (gaddeys' el'μmr alwalad?) "How old is the boy?"  
 (26) (gaddeys' tibxa ?int) "How many do you want?"

A shortened form of ayš or aeš is š, but it is used only when it is assimilated to another letter:

- (5) (Jaana šismuu ---- yofaard<sup>wi</sup> min) "He came, what is his name, ---  
 ?bn Sa'uud to negotiate on behalf of Ibn Saud".

(šinho)

"Who is he?" or "What is it?" is also observed.

- (29) (šinho?)

"Who is he?"

- (39) (šinho?)

"What do you want?" but šinho has not been heard from any literate person.

The Indefinite Pronouns.

The commonly occurring indefinite pronouns are:

|       |         |                              |
|-------|---------|------------------------------|
| ḥad   | (masc.) |                              |
| wahda | (fem.)  | ("one" "someone")            |
| šay   |         | "something".                 |
| flaan |         | "someone".                   |
| kam   |         | "some", "a number of a few". |

(4) Particles

Apart from old classical particles, <sup>(1)</sup> the remaining ones are of two kinds;

- (a) Inseparable (consisting of one letter always attached to the following word).
- (b) Separate.

(a) Inseparable Particles.

4.1. Preposition

(1) (ب) "in", "by", "with" etc.

The vowel which links it with the followed nouns is "a" as;

- (1) (balgalam) "with the pen".
- (2) (balleyl) "at night".
- (4) (balmahal) "in the place".
- (5, 11, 26, 31) (baha) "with her" (attached to pronoun).
- (9) "with her" "h" replaced by long vowel aa.
- (23) (balbalda) "in the town".
- (25) (balmoya) "with water".
- (30) (bal ?ittifaagiya) "by agreement", and sometimes it is "i" as in literary Arabic, as;

---

(1) Some of them have disappeared even from modern literary Arabic, such as (haašaa) هأشأ (xalaa) خالأ; some of them are in use in literary Arabic but not in dialect, e.g. (šada) (rubba) followed by a negative particle absolute is out of use even in literary Ar.  
(contd. on next page)

- (1) (bilθiiraan) "with oxen".
- (4) (birrejuula) "on foot".
- (8) (bilxuddaam) "on horse", *with the servants*

and it is "u" when it is attached to masc. sing. or masc. pl. personal pronouns; (2)

- (1) (buu < bhu); < (bohu < bihi) (12, 23, 36, 38).
- (28) (buum < bahum < bihum) "with them".

Only two examples were recorded of this preposition with the meaning of "swear", that is with "a";

- (29) (ballah < billah) "by God";
  - (25) (billah 'alayk) "in the name of God you are asked to".
- (ج) for "to", "belonging to".

In the dialect this particle is confused with the demonstrative pronouns *الذي* and *التي* which sometimes become (ج) (Le(e)):

- (5) (huuwa l-raah) "he who went". (This has been discussed in demonstrative pronouns 2.12). In the prepositional usage it undergoes no change in the meaning, but it does in pronunciation. It, sometimes takes the "a" vowel as (4) (lahad ?ana 'aarif) "as far as I know". Informants (12, 23, 25, 26, 32) used *لا* with this meaning. When it is attached to the personal pronouns (ج) a long vowel "aa" is added after it;

- (1) (l-ya) "for me".

Informants (2,3,4,5,11,15,21,25,32,34) used ج with this meaning. When it is attached to 3: Fem.Sing. the "h" of the personal pronoun is assimilated into a long "aa"; (laa) or (la?a);

- (11) (maa laa) "What is wrong with her?"

(1)(Contd) Some of them are in occasional use in literary Arabic, e.g. ('ada) *عدا*, but not in dialect. Some of them are replaced in dialect by other particles, e.g: "resembling" or "as" with (Zay & miθl)  
 (2) In the Meccan dialect when ب is attached to personal pronouns 2 masc. it takes a vowel as (?əsbak) "What is the matter with you?" and in 2 fem. with long "ii", (biik).



When it is attached to 3 masc. sing. it takes the "u" vowel as (11) (luuh) = cl. (lahu) "for him" and 3 masc. pl. as (11) (luum) (lahum) "for them". (25).

Most usages of (ل) are replaced by (hagg) or (haggat), (which will be discussed separately), therefore the dialect has little use for it. With the meaning of (الى) has frequent usage in the dialect;

(4) (lɔʔedda) "to Jedda".

nursil lejidda نرسل لجدده "we send it to Jedda".

raah lɔʔahlu راح لاهله "he went to Jedda".

(10) (lɔʔahlu) "to his family".

(12) (lɔʔhadmakka) "up to Mecca".

Other usages of ل are observed as following:

- (4) (lehaaluu) "alone himself".
- (lahaalii) "alone myself".
- (lɔʔhalum) "alone themselves".

Instead of cl. wahdahu

(18) (lɔʔhaalha) "alone herself".

(25) (lɔʔnafsuu) "for himself". cl.

(26) (lahadda/maʔrib) "until sunset".

waw (و)

(a) As a conjunction it has the expected frequent usage throughout the dialect and there is no need to list this. But in the meaning of "while", which is called in cl. Arabic (al-waw al-haliya), it has no place in the dialect.

(b) As a preposition with the meaning of "swearing" it is very rare and is only found attached to "Allah".

(12) (Wallah maa jo) "by God they did not come", but even in this case "swearing" is not meant. The informant merely wanted to emphasise his statement. Similarly in the negative sense it has frequent usage preceded by the negative particle "laa".

(4) (laa wallah maa ʔufnah) "I did not see him".

(5) (laa wallah maa huʔfih) "he is not in".

(23) (laa wallah ma ʔindna karaasii) "we have no chairs".

- (25) (laa wallah hu maa fii filbeyt) "he is not in the house".  
 (ف) "then", "after", "therefore". (see syntax, conjunctions).

(b) Separate Particles

1. زي (zay) "like", "similar to".

Though the word with this meaning, as a preposition or participle, is not endorsed by classical or literary modern Arabic, it is common to all the eastern dialects. It may be taken as a substitute for lit. ك but with the following differences:

- 1) ك is not used with pronominal suffixes, but zay is.
- 2) ك has two usages with the meaning (i) "such as": e.g.  
 جاء أصحابي كزيد وخه "My friends such as x and z came;
- (ii) "like" or "resembling"; e.g. هذا الوجه كالقمر "This face like the moon". But zay has the usage of the latter exclusively. (For the former our dialect uses the noun "miθl"): e.g.
- (10) (waladak zay waladii) "your son is like my son".
- (1) ('indna fawaakəh miθl əl 'unab) "we have fruit such as the grape".
- Other examples of zay:
- (4) (waldii kaan zay wahid 'aalim) "my father was like a learned man".
- (12) (howa zayyoh) "he is like him".
- (16) (kulla zay wahid) "all are similar".
- (23) (zay miin taal'umrak) "like who? may your life be longer!"
- (25) (maa howa zayyoh) "it is not like him".
- (2) (fii ?ašʃaar miθl 'uθrub) "there are trees such as.....".
- (26) (nat'allam miθl əl h'saab wəl fiḡh wəh nahw) "we learn such (subjects) as mathematics, jurisprudence and grammar.
- (28) (zayyaa biḏḏat) "exactly like her".
- (28) (nar'a miθl əl yanam w l ʃamaal) "we graze such (animals) as cattle and camels".
- (32) ('indnaa miθl əl ba'aariin) "we have such (animals) as camels".

من min "from", "by", "through".

(i) It has its unchanged sound if it is prefixed to the unassimilable letter of the following noun or to the article where "l" is pronounced:

(1) (min zaraa'a) "through agriculture".

(2) (min Jeddah) "from Jeddah".

(32) (min xuuya) "from my brother".

(ii) When it is attached to a noun the initial letter is bilabial plosive or nasal; "n" becomes "m".

(1) (mim beytah) "from his house".

(24) (mim madrasa) "from school".

(25) (mimbilaadii) "from my village".

(iii) When it is attached to a pronominal suffix "n" is duplicated:

(3) (minno turgii) "from it to higher ranges".

(4) (minnaa < minha) "from her".

(8) (minnom < minhum) "from them".

(iv) "n" is also duplicated if the following noun has an initial glottal h, which is changed to a hamza sound or is replaced by the long vowel aa:

(5) (minnak < min hunaak) maa jaa had "Nobody has come from there", but if h is pronounced the particle ( من ) will remain unchanged.

(1) (min han naahiyya) "Of this kind".

من miin "who" classical man

The only difference between cl. man and this particle is that the latter has a long vowel (ii).

It is not used with pronominal suffixes.

It has not been observed in any variant form, thus:

(1) (ma' miin ) "with whom?"

(12) (miin howa daak) "who is he?"

(14) (sorat miin) "whose photograph?"

But this dialectal miin does not agree with all the usages of cl. man; e.g. in dialect miin does not have the relative pronoun usage e.g. in

cl. or lit. Ar. man is used instead of (الَّذِي) *alladhi*)

من دخل البيت هو آسئ "Who enters the house is safe". In dialect only الى or its variant forms is used.

عن "about"

Not observed.

There is no substitute for it in prepositional form. If they have to express a phrase requiring a preposition like this they use the direct pronominal suffixes for this purpose; e.g. to say "Mr. X was asking about you".

هلن كان يا لهنك they say *hona yasaalak* هربآلك

or *hona kaan yasaalak* "he asks about you". Other cl. usages such as عنه "from one's side", or to change the meaning of a verb as compared with other prepositions, are not observed in this dialect.

حتى hatta even

This preposition has only one usage, that is with the meaning "even" followed by a rounded "u" on a rising intonation.

(4) (hattaw fil beyt man fii ) "He is not even in the house".

(11) (hattaw ?imaan "not even an Imam<sup>(1)</sup> is there".  
maa fii).

(13) (dawwarna hattaw fi b l<sup>u</sup>jor<sup>u</sup>ři) "we went round looking even in Biljershi".

(18) (hatta humma maa hum raactiin) "even if those people don't agree".

في fi

The difference between fi with short vowel and fii with long vowel must be noted. The former is a preposition and this latter is a dialectal verb in the meaning of "to be".

When it is a preposition the vowel "i" sometimes becomes "a";

(1) (fal?aswaag في الأسواق) "in the markets".

---

(1) He who leads Muslim prayers.

- (2) (fal hawa ) "in the air".  
 (3) (fal furaas ) "in bed".

But frequently it remains the "i" vowel:

- (1) (fil ?arq ) "in the ground".  
 (2) (fil beyt ) "in the house".  
 (4) (fiddukkaan ) "in the shop".

No change is observed in the case of assimilation. When it is attached to a noun which has no following article and is not assimilated to the first letter of the noun, it is pronounced with short "i".

- (4) (fi beytuu ) "in the house".  
 (5) (fil baljorusi ) "in Biljershi".  
 (7) (fi batnuu ) "inside of it".  
 (18) (fa pardnaa ) "in our land".

### fii

Although it is used as a "verb" it resembles a particle such as the modern lit. or spoken hunaa "there is/are".

It is used for both past and present;

- (4) (fii madarrisiin ) "there are teachers".  
 (4) (naqam haakal ?ayyam) "yes, at that period there were teachers".  
 fii maddarrisiin)

This "verb" is frequently used throughout the dialect. The only difference occurs when it is preceded by the negative particle "ma(a)" as:

- (1) (maafii ) "there is no ".

but the people of Ghamid, especially the peasants, say.

- (23) (mašii )

In a statement followed by this negative verb they say;

- (26) mašš muxayya! un-sewed

To illustrate this difference the following conversation is provided:

Q. "have you money?"

- (27) (maššii wallah ) "nothing, by God".

Q. "how is your business going on?"

- (27) (maaš ʔal maṭar min ʔaam ma Jaa). "There has been no rain since last year".

When it is put at the end of a sentence it remains simply (šii).

- (30) (Šo'aar mašii ) "We have no poetry".

Another difference between (šii) and (fii) is that (fii) is not changeable while (šii) sometimes loses its long vowel as stated above.

الى (?ila) "to", "up to", "till".

Its dialectal form is (?ileyn) and (?ilaan) (i.e. with the added particle ن ).

- (1) (banadura faššeyf ʔaleyn ʔaššita) "tomatoes are(grown) in summer as in winter".
- (4) (dawwarna dawwarna ʔaleyn ʔ lmaʔrib). "We went on looking until sunset".
- (5) (Jalasma deek el muddah aleyñ Jaa marsuul min aššariif). "We sat there at that time until the representative of the sharif came".
- (12) (xalliik hinaa ʔaley, naxlus) "keep yourself seated here until I finish".
- (25) (Šuʔlma hinnaʔalaan mondag) "Our business extends from here to Mondaque".
- (26) (?alaan ʔlmator yišii mafii ʔamal). "there is no hope until rain starts".
- (40) (?alaan Jaa howaa fiššaf woʔana fiššaf). "as soon as he entered a row I entered a row".

(ʔaleyn) or (?aleyn) is not observed with the meaning of lit. (?ila) "to". Instead of (?ila) we have in this dialect "l" for this purpose; e.g. (raah l ʔedda) "he went to ʔedda" (4) as discussed in (Below 3)

It is not observed attached to pronominal suffixes such as (?leyh) or (?leyha), (?aleyhim) etc., except in the recitation of the Qur'an.

ع ('alaa) "on", "up", "according to", "with".

This preposition occurs in three forms, according to certain situations as now listed.

a) Before a noun without the article the pronunciation is 'alaa.

- (4) ('alaa haalu) "himself alone".
- (3) ('alaa migṣandu) "according to his income".
- (5) ('alaa maraaga) "with broth".

b) Before a definite noun [with the article suppressed it is 'al.

- (23) ('alhḥJaaZ) "up to Hejaz".
- (26) ('aldiira) "at the village".
- (27) ('alJamal) "on the camel".
- (11) ('alhaalu) "he alone". (to be compared with No.4).

c) Before the article when followed by a samsiyya letter the pronunciation is shortened to 'a. When the first consonant of the noun is qamariyya it remains 'al.

With before article.

- (1) ('assayyarah) "on the car".
- (8) ('albarkah < 'alal barākah) "along with God's blessing".  
Often, in this case, ('a) takes the place of (?a) of (ā).
- (4) ('alladii fal badāwa) "what is practised among the bedouin".
- (2) (moṣuud 'addukkan) "it is in the shop".
- (7) ('albaeyt) "at the house".
- (11) ('almodiir) "up to the directors".

When it is attached to the 3rd P. pronominal suffixes it remains unaffected:

- (12) ('alaahum) "on them".
- ('alaayaa) "on her". (again h is changed to (y) sound).

But when it is attached to 2nd P. suffixes the form is 'aley.

(5) (?alaan yohkum ?ibn sau'uud 'aleykum). now Ibn saud rules upon you

(25) (billah 'aleyk). You swear by God

The preposition is also used to express the meaning of ?ela(a) \_\_\_\_\_ "to".

(4) (raah 'aladdira) "he went (to) the village".

(4) (laff 'addurJaan) "he turned to the staircase".

(4.2.1) hagg. "of", "belong to", "for".

Though this particle is not endorsed by cl. or lit. Arabic<sup>(1)</sup> almost every dialect has a particle similar to it with the same meaning and usages. In most parts of the Arabian Peninsula hagg is used (In Yemenite hag) but in Kuwait, where there is influence from the Iraqi dialect, maal is used in Egypt btaa' and in Syria tab', and in western (Maghribi) dialects mtaa', etc.

It is used for the following purposes:

1. It replaces the cl. idaefa:-

e.g. بيت علي "House of Ali", becomes in the dialect. بيت حق علي

2. It acts as a substitute for "ل" to express ownership: بيت زكي

e.g. In cl. هذا لك "This is for you", becomes هذا حقك

(4) حق مين (5) "for whom?"

(cl. لمن).

3. It is attached to pronominal suffixes superfluously, i.e. the cl.

zaafida ( زائدة ):

e.g. أمير حقوم (5) for amiiruhum "their governor" in

cl. ( اميرهم ).

A fem. form of hagg is often used, namely haggat, as in حقة القلم .

---

(1) We should differentiate between cl. and lit. Ar. By the latter the modern lit. Ar. (which does not necessarily agree with the cl. in all respects) is meant.



Since an informant (2) used haag and haggat without any obvious differentiation being made between them, it may be that any original distinction has now been lost .

- (2) (ḥagg almoḡa) "of water".  
(ḥaggat ʔaret) "of the earth".

But in the Northern region it seems that they differ about this, e.g. a camelman (36) said in answer to questions about the parts of a camel's body.

- (jum juma ḥaggat al-ʔamal) "the skull of a camel".  
(xuff ḥagg al-ʔamal) "the hoof of a camel".

#### Other usages of ḥagg.

It is frequently used to indicate material.

- (kursi ḥaggal xaṣab) "a wooden chair"  
(reyaal ḥaggal fudda) "Riyal made of silver"<sup>(1)</sup> (18).

To indicate relation to a certain time, incident, etc.

- (ʔakil ḥaggal ʔams *Laḡiḡ*) "Yesterday's food was fine". (2)  
(baagii ziinat ḥaggatalfarḡa) "remains of the decoration of the marriage ceremony". (18)

#### 5. Adverbs.

The adverbs that are still in use or their substitutes are:

- 5.1. (baṣṣ) "only", "enough", "stop", "that is all".

- (1) (baṣṣ ma nibya kalaam zaaʔed) "stop! I need no more talking".

---

(1) The Saudi currency before notes were introduced; the old silver coins are now used as ornaments.

- (1) ('indna bass haadan ?nɔ') "We have only this sort".  
(2) (bass ma fii xeyru) "that's all(that we have), nothing else".  
(3) (bass xalaas makulha) "it is enough that we eat it".  
(4) (ʃalasna yom basʃwəš'iridna) "I stayed one day only, then run away".  
(5) (gult basshaat ?eš 'indak) "I said, "That's enough! Give me what you've got".  
(11) (maa fii 'unab wə rummaan basʃ) "We have only grapes and pomegranates".

Only a few examples are cited, because it is very frequently used and there are no variants of usage.

## 5.2 (hana).

It is sounded hana(a) in the Northern usage:

- (1) (hana bəlaad zahraan fii mʌdrasaa) "Here in Belad Zahran there are schools".  
(4) (fii hina mdaaris diik lʔayyaʌm) "there were schools at that time".

It is pronounced (a) "honay" among the <sup>'S'</sup>Western tribes:

- (26) (honay ma fi maṭar) "there is no rain here".

## b) Also honayyay (with Imala)

- (28) "honayyey" "here" (in reply to "where do you like?")  
(32) ('induum bəlaad hanayyay) "they have farms here".

## 5.3. (keyf) "how", "what?"

- (1) (keyf haalak) "how are you?"  
(23) (keyf ? mafahimt) "what? I could not understand".  
(25) (keyf el 'arab 'indokun) "how are the people of your tribes?"  
(26) (keyf haal el 'arab) "how are the people?"  
(29) ('alu keyfak) "as you like".

(برصو)

5.4. (bardo) "too", "nevertheless".

Does not seem to be of Arabic origin.

- (1) (Jaai bardha) "The word "Jaai" is used for the feminine too".
- (2) (bardo 'amma na ma raah) "nevertheless my boss did not go".
- (4) (bardo maanii za'laan) "nevertheless I am not angry".

5.5 (duubuu) "just now". Not of Arabic origin.

- (11) (duubuu xallaṣṭ lma'mla) "just now I have finished the case".
- (21) (?ilhag duubuu howa xaraḥ) "catch him. He has just gone".
- (25) (duubuu 'araft) "just now I learned".

5.6. (fa yn) "where".

- (1) (fa yn ?amin baladnaa)<sup>(1)</sup> "where from? From our homeland".
- (1) (fa yna howa raa?əh) "where is he going to?"
- (10) (?alwaragda fa yna) "where is that paper".

5.7. (taht) (تحت) "under", "below".

Very rarely used as in the lit. form.

- (3) (miin daarii ?eṣ taht ?ard (?)) "who knows what is under the ground?"

As the opposite of (fəg), (?asfal) is generally used.

- (5) (mahllana ?asfal) "our place is down below".
- (11) (humma fəg l jabal ? hna ?asfal) "they are high up and we are down below".

5.8. فوق (fəg) "on", "over", "above" of place or rank (opposite of ).

It is generally used as its lit. form:

- (1) (fəgal Jabul) "on the mountain".
- (2) (təlɔ'naafəg) "we climbed upwards".
- (3) (fəгнаа Allah) "God is above our head".
- (4) (rəkəbna fəgal babuur) "we rode by steamer".
- (5) (ta'foguuz nugtaa) "on the letter<sup>(L)</sup> there is a dot".

For the meaning "above" of rank, another word is once heard, namely, "turgii".

- (1) (minno šauuš, minno 'askarii minno turgii) "In the army there is the general, there is the soldier, and there are those who are of higher rank".

5.9. (دون) duun "on this side of", "under", "without".

This Particle is not observed. But a participle of a weak verb (medial hamzated) (ḡaaʔii) is used in its place:

- (1) (ḡalaaḡiin ḡaaʔii) "under thirty" (In reply to "How old are you?").
- (27) (ḡaaʔii kaḡiir) "much less" (In reply to "Have you a hundred camels?").

5.10. (ج) (Juwwa) "under", "inside".

It is not found on lit. Ar., but is commonly used in the dialect.

- (1) (Juwwa fil beyt) "in the house".
- (3) (ʔannowaah bəJuwwa) "The fruit-stone is inside it".
- (3) (raah Juwwa fibeytelmaa) "he went to the toilet".

5.11. (ر) (bər̄ra) "outside" (opposite of Juwwa).

Not used in the mainstream of cl. lit., but generally used throughout our dialectal area:

- (3) (maaruht bər̄ra) "I have never been outside".

Instead of (barra) some bedouin of Ghamid say (? lb rr):

(29) ('indohm halaal fil bar) "They have cattle outside", (i.e. outside the village).

(33) (?al·bar) (in reply to "where is your family?").

5.12. بعد (ba'd) "not yet", "yet".

In lit. it is used with the same meaning e.g. لم تعترف بها الاوساط الدبلوماسية (1) "Diplomatic circles have not recognised it yet".

In cl. it is used to say "after all", e.g. اما بعد (2) "after all of these".

In the dialects of Syria and Egypt (lissaa lissa'a) is used instead of it.

In the Meccan dialect lassa or lissa is used for the same purpose.

In our dialect the bedouin of Ghamid use ba'd:

(27) (maa jawwazt ba'd) "I have not got married yet".

(31) (ba'd ma ha'feyt) "I have not performed the pilgrimage yet".

(31) (ba'd ! ) "Not yet!" (In reply to "Are you married?").

In the central part of the area they use lissah:

(1) (lissah ma 'amilna sey) "as yet I have not done anything".

There is no evidence that all the members of these tribes use this particle in the same way. There are quite different usages as well:

(4) (gult mana mo'ifig ba'd) "I said that I was not yet ready".

(7) (ba'd ma shallahna izzira'a) "Yet I did not take part in agricultural work".

ba'd in the cl. and lit. meaning is rarely used by literate people who want to show their ability or demonstrate their sophistication.

(18) (?ama ba'd) "After that".

(7) (ba'd ma feyt min b'laadak) "After that you came from your town".

(1) Daily Al 'Amal of Tunis Nov. 6th, 1967.

The Particles of affirmation and negation are:

5.13. (?ii), ?əh, (? waa), ? wseh, na'am, han, huun.

la, la?, laa, mu, mo, ma.

All the above particles are used frequently according to context of subject matter; no diatopic division may be devised for the usages of these, except for negative ma and mo:

- (1) ma ʃaa "he didnot come".
- (4) mu huu savqɑ "they aren't equal".
- (11) maa fii ?amal "there is no hope".
- (21) mo(mə) fii "there is none".
- (25) maaʃii "there is nothing".
- (26) " " " " .

It is noted that ma and mo may be attached to fii only, but to sii only ma may be attached.

To emphasise affirmation they use 'illa, e.g. (1) ?illa <sup>naakuluh</sup> naklo  
"Why not ? We do eat." (2)



(Contd.)

(2) Lisan -el-Arab V.3, Entry Ba'd.

## 6. Conjunctions

### 6.1. As accusative Verb.

يوم (yom) من يوم (min yom) "since", "from", "when".

These are substitutes of cl. منذ and (the latter *منذ* is absent even from lit. Ar.).

#### Usages as preposition:-

(3) (yom raah lat taayf ma šuft ha-ja) "Since he went to Taef, I have not seen anything".

(4) (min yom int kallantu ?ana ?adawwir) "Since you told me I have been looking".

(5) (fii ?aman, min yom daxal bin sa'uud ma fii doša) "There is peace and order, since since Ibn Saud entered there are no disturbances".

(1) (?aruh yom Allah yogaddir lii) "I will go when God decides for me".

(26) (yom fiih maṭar fiih zaraa'a yom maa fii 'alallah). "When it is raining the sowing goes on. When there is no rain, (our fate lies) in God".

(26) (yom fii yom ma fii) (Alternative).

### 6.2. (mita) متى "when", "where".

(2) (naṣuum mita našuf al-halaal) "We fast when we see the moon (of Ramadan)".

(11) (mita xarjt min balaadak) "When did you leave your village".

(25) (mita yiijii maṭar minallah) "When rain comes from God".

بين

### 6.3. (beyn) "between".

This is used as in cl. or lit. Ar. Thus when two words are

dependent on بين, if both are substantives the بين need not be repeated, but if one (or both) is a pronoun it is repeated:

- (1) (beynii wə beynahallah) "Allah is between me and him".
- (2) (?al mosaʔʔil beysanta wa fota) "the recorder is between the bag and the fota"<sup>(1)</sup>.
- (1) (xaʃma beynii wə beynah) "there is a quarrel between me and him".

It can also be preceded by ma for no obvious purpose.

- (31) (Jo ma bayn l'isha w lfaʔr) "they came between dusk and dawn".

Most of the bedouin of Ghamid add an "aa" vowel after :

- (25) (bayna graya wə garaya) "between towns and towns".

When it is attached to pronominal suffixes an "aa" vowel replaces the suffix:

(beynaa mafii xusumah) (e.g. cl. أَنَا and أَنَا).

6.4. حول (حول) "round about".

It is used only to indicate an approximate time and number; its other cl. usages such as "round about the city" حول المدينة are not observed. Its variant forms used in the dialect are:

- (1) (ħɔlay):
- (18) (ħɔlay talaatiin yaʔnam) "about thirty sheep".
- (ii) hawaal y:
- (27) (hawaley 'išriin) (In reply to "How old are you?") "Twenty years"
- (36) (liyaa hawaley ʔasbuuʃ hinaak) "I have been here for about a week".

6.5. (ع) ʔind "with", "at".

a) Used of place:

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(1) Fota is a piece of cloth used (e.g. in Malaysia) as a men's garment.



(4) (gareyna 'indal gar'aawii) "I studied at the village teacher's place".

(5) (Jallosonii 'induum) "they made me sit with them".

b) It is often used with the meaning "to have".

(1) ('indna (ṭadl 'umrak) ?alburr wa.....) "We have (may your lifetime be prolonged) wheat and ....."

(2) ('indii halaal 'indii Yanam) "I have cattle etc".

(3) ('indna kulšey tibya ?int) "we have whatever you need".

(5) (kaanat 'indii bundogiya) "I had a gun with me".

(8) (?almaq'mlaa 'indak) "the case is pending with you".

(9) (Jaa 'indakum matar?) "Did you have the rain (at your village)?"

(1) (10) (Jaa seyṣ'indak?) "Have you got anything?"

6.6. (badal) "instead of", "in place of".

It is used with a prefixed ma(a).

(7) (ta'aal ?int badal ma ?ajii ?ana) "you should come instead of me".

(19) (haa'da badaluuh yosawwii) "it does instead of that".

(28) ('amilt b'daal xuuya) "I worked in place of my brother".

6.7. (gudaam) "before", "opposite".

(1) entirely replaces cl. ṣḷi :

(8) (guddam ḷgasur) "opposite the castle". (cf. fa'ul for morpheme).

(14) (guddamak) "before you".

(ii) ago, in past time cl. ṣḷi ḷmaḷa :

(5) (guddam harb) "before the war".

- (14) (guddam ma fii madrasa) "there was no school in the past".  
(26) (maa fii suḡam guddam) "we were not used to poetry in the past".

- 6.8. (ba'deyn) "after", "then". (cl. <sup>بعد</sup> ba'id and (ḡumma) ).  
(1) (naṣufha ba'deyn) "we will see it later".  
(13) (ba'deyn maa Ja ḡad) "nobody came after(that)".  
(2) (ba'deyn kallam t:lfuun) "then the telephone spoke", (i.e. someone telephoned).

In the ~~Northern~~ dialect it becomes ba'deyna when a sentence starts after a pause:

- (2) (ba'deyna Ja šhex ṣaaləḡ) "then came Mr.X".  
(20) (ba'deyna yiiḡii ṣita) "then winter comes".
-

CHAPTER THREE

(SYNTAX)

A) The Noun

The subject of the sentence, whether nominal or verbal, is usually placed first:

- (29) ( خويا عسكري ) "My brother is a soldier".  
(18) ( الصطر ما في ) "There is no rain".  
(2) ( البنت شاطره ) "The girl is clever".

These sentences may be turned into interrogative form with a slight change of sound pitch. For example, any predicate of these sentences, if it is uttered with stress on the first syllable and rising inflection in the second (or the final where the word is of two syllables only), it will give the interrogative meaning.

If the subject precedes the verb, as is usual, the latter usually agrees in gender and number with the former:

- (2) ( البياع جالس دكانو ) "The salesman is sitting in his shop".  
(2) ( البنت تصلي ما يدم عشرها عشره سنين ) "A girl offers prayers when she is ten years old".  
(3) ( ما لهم اخين يا شيخ ) "They do not agree, O Sheikh".  
(11) ( الحريمه والرجال اشفت جاين ) "A woman and a man (look!) are coming".

But the plural is used for the dual even if they are stated to be two in number:

- (1) ( ثنتين من بناتي رحن المدرسه ) "Two of my daughters went to school".

The predicates agree with the subject in gender and number:

- 0 ( الفول غالي هنا ) "The beans is dear here".  
(1) ( الحريمه حقتي سريضة ) "My wife is ill".  
(12) ( العمال بطالين ) "The workers are lazy".  
(36) ( نواننا ما يجين ) "Our women do not come".

The plural form for the feminine is lost. They use a verb

instead of a noun to serve as predicate.

B) The Verb

1) Perfect Usages:

a) The Perfect is always put before a noun or pronoun and it indicates:

a) An act completed in the past; (1) ( حَجَّيتُ ثَلَاثَ حَجَّاتٍ )  
"I performed the pilgrimage three times".

This verbal usage is very common and occurs regularly throughout the dialect:

b) An act which, at the moment of speaking, has already been completed and remains in a state of completion; (5) ( لَجِدِينَ اسْتَوْلَتِ الْحَاكِمَةُ الْعَرَبِيَّةَ )  
"Then, the Saudi Government captured (the area)".

c) To express wishes and prayers. (i.e. the optative usage);  
(1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 14) ( طَالَتْ عُمرُكَ )  
"May your lifetime be prolonged". (Long may you live).

This is the only phrase which normally employs the perfect. It is used as a polite form rather than to express the original prayerful intention. In conversation with a highly respected person, this phrase is used to open the conversation, and will be repeated with greater frequency according to the rank and dignity of the man who is addressed. Sometimes, especially when addressing a man of high rank, a governor, prince or minister, it may be repeated after every sentence and even after the affirmative words *البراه* , *نعم* , but in the case of the negative *لا* a *سواء* is added to counteract the negative meaning of the phrase. It should also be noted that it is used only with the second person pronominal suffix (singular or a plural).

Besides simple forms of greetings, such as *صباح الخير* "good morning", *مساء الخير* "good evening" for the opening salutation and *صباح النور* "bright morning", *مساء النور* "bright evening" for the response, there are other phrases that are occasionally used.

For example, when one enters a place where people are gathered, for a party or a festival, one would address one's greeting to all of them;-

(21) ( صباحكم الله بالخير يا جماعة ) "Good morning, everyone".

(16) ( مساءم الله بالخير يا حوائى ) "Brethren! Good evening".

Apart from such phrases, other forms of greetings, prayers and curses are used with the imperfect.

Examples: (1) الله يباركك منك (1) "May God bless you".

(31) الله لعز الحكومه (31) "May God honour the government".

(3) الله لا يوريني وجهه (3) "May God not show me his face".

## 2) The Perfect with "duubuu".

The Perfect is sometimes preceded by the particle دولبو (duubuu) to express the meaning of the cl. قد which is totally absent from the dialect. Among the tribes of Ghamid the final long vowel - is dropped;

(1) ( دولبو راح ) "He has just gone".

(1) ( دولبو عرفت ) "I know it now".

(31) ( دوت تحاكت فيك ) "I have now learned it".

(33) ( دوت راحت السيارة ) "The car has just gone".

## 3) The Pluperfect. is sometimes expressed by the simple Perfect after a demonstrative pronoun:

(4) ( عا طو والده سبعا رياليت لراديتك المده اللي حلت عندهم ) "They gave my father six Riyals in return for the work I had done for them during that time".

The Pluperfect is sometimes expressed by temporal clauses i.e. after ( لبعدهما ), ( قبلها ), and ( قدام ):

the latter is frequently used among the Bedouin of Ghamid:

(18) ( حوزت لبعدهما حصل لي الفلوس ) "I got married when I had had money".

(3) ( نزلت مانه قبل ما يجي حوى من الطائف ) "I went down to Mecca before my brother came from Taif".

- (16) ( <sup>(ج)</sup> دلحين ما جا حد، قدام جو ) "No one has come now; they came in the past".

Uses of "kaan" in the Perfect.

4) The Verb (kaan) "to be".

a) It is used as an absolute verb expressing the past perfect;

- (4) ( كان الجوازات عندنا بالاتفاقية ) "We arranged marriages by agreement".

- (2) ( كان خويا معي ) "My brother was with me".

b) When it is put before an Imperfect verb it serves as:-

1) As an auxiliary verb;

- (5) ( كنت امشي معاه ) "I was walking with him".

- (2) ( كان يعمل في الزراعة ) "He was working in agriculture".

2) If it is put before another auxiliary verb, ( بيني ، ابا ) "to wish", it takes the meaning of the Pluperfect.

- (5) ( كان بيغنا بنا صح هل زبلجرتي ) "He wanted to compromise with the people of Biljershi".

- (14) ( كنت ابا اشغل بالهكل ) "I wanted to work at home".

c) To express a state in past time ( حال في الماضي ) (1) is used as a verb:

- (5) ( كان والدي الله اخفرد امييا لا يرا ولا يكتب ) "My father, may God forgive him, was an ignorant man who could neither read nor write".

- ( كانوا حوله صغار ما لبرعوشى ) "They were ignorant youngsters who did not know anything".

b) The Imperfect

Imperfect Usages

(1) Its grammatical term, according to W.Wright is a "circumstantial accusative".

1-2 To express present continuous action the imperfect indicative follows a noun or a pronoun;

0 ( هو يروح ) "He goes".

(15) ( والدى يبيع القماش ) "My father sells cloth".

(29) ( خويا يتنخل بالهيش ) "My brother works in the army".

2-2- To express the future the dialect does not make much use of the imperfect. When in rare instances it is used, the context suggests the future, e.g.

(18) ( ان شاء الله اشتكبه عند الأمير ) "God willing I will complain about him to the Emir".

More often the future is expressed by an Imperfect preceded by an auxiliary verb, e.g. يينا (yabya) "He wants".

(17) ( نينا نروح دلين ) "I will go now" or ("I want to go now").

The people of Zahran, especially those who emulate educated men, use a participle for this purpose;

(4) ( هو تيا لها الخارج معه ) "He will take her abroad with him".

(21) ( بكره انا رايح البلاد ) "Tomorrow I will go to the village".

Neither the (س) nor the particle سوف has ever been heard. The coll. (b) prefix is very rarely used among the Zahrani settled tribes, but in Ghamid it is totally absent.

## 2 Imperfect of the Hal (al-mudari' al-haliyy).

Apart from the imperfect usage which follows, there are two other usages involving the participle and the perfect.

### a) The Imperfect

(4) ( جا رسول من والدى يينا صحنى ) "A messenger came from my father in order to advise me".

b) The Participle

- (4) ( فُكِّيتِ الْبَابَ ، طَلَعَتِ الدَّرَجَانَ شَارِدًا ) "I opened the door and ascended the staircase to escape".

c) The Perfect

The example here given also illustrates the substitution of a derived theme, viz. VII (الْفَعْلُ) ( وَلَدَهُمْ فِيهِ مَرْجُودٌ طَاحَ أَنْذَلِحَ ⑤ ) "His (sic) son who was present, fell down slain".

Contemporaneous action, often involving purpose, is thus expressed in the dialect in these three quite distinct ways.

3. Subjunctive Mode of the Imperfect

As in cl. Arabic the subjunctive mode occurs only in subordinate clauses, in the dialect it is governed by these particles;

a) ( أَنْ ) "that" is placed after verbs expressing inclination or disinclination, command or prohibition;

(2) ( نَبِخَا أَنْ نَأْكُلَ الْحَوْتَ ) "We wish to eat fish".

(11) ( مَا هُوَ نَادِي أَنْ يَدْفَعَ الْفَلْرَسَ ) "He does not intend to pay the money".

N.B. (naawi) is the participle of the verb (nawa) but it is used as a verb referring to present time (see 2.2)

(2) ( أَخْوَلْ لُو أَنْ يَرُوْحَ الْمَدْرَسَةَ ) "I tell him to go to school".

But the Bedouin of Ghamid do not like uttering this particle; they usually drop it and, apart from the content, their intonation suggests the mood of the sentence.

For example, if they want to express the thought of the sentence, نَبِخَا أَنْ نَأْكُلَ الْحَوْتَ they would say.

0 ( نَبِخَا + نَأْكُلَ الْحَوْتَ ) .

i.e. instead of ( أَنْ ) they use a central pause, and a rising intonation.

b) ( إِلَيْنِ ) "until". This may be placed after a verb to indicate



the duration of an act or the period of an action:

0 ( جلست طول النهار الى المغرب ) "I sit throughout the day until sunset".

(18) ( الى جاء الامر ما تقدم الحريضة ) "I will not submit the application until the governor is here".

c) ( حتى ) "till". This is used in the same way as الى but it is always pronounced with an additional diphthong (hattas) i.e. (hattas).<sup>(2)</sup>

(5) ( والله ما نقبل حتى ياتي خالد بن لؤي ) "By God, we won't agree till Khalid b. Lo'i comes".

d) With ( خل ) "let", resembling the cl. usage of ( دع ) "leave", is used with a pronominal suffix:

0 ( عليه يروح بنفسه ) "Let him go himself".

(1) ( لا تترك تلعب كذا ) "We will not leave you playing like this".

It may also be used as a substitute for the particle ( لام الامر ) (the lam of command), but خل has always an attached pronoun.

For example, cl. Arabic's ليذهب صاحب الحاجة بنفسه "Let the needy person go himself", becomes in the dialect.

(11) ( خل الواحد اللي عندو حاجة يروح بنفسه )

e) After the particle لا والنهي (the laa of prohibition) as;

(1) ( لا تقل كذا يا هو ) "Don't speak like this, you".

1-7

C) Auxiliary Verbs

(1) It is obviously a compound particle made of and

(2) Cf. the cl. usage of

(a) As (kaan) is the most frequent auxiliary verb for the past, examples of which are given above (cf. 1-4.2), (raah) is likewise the common auxiliary verb for the present and future;

(12) ( أنا رانح أشوف السوق ) "I am going to see the market".

(20) ( خويا اللي في الجيش راح يجوز ) "My brother, who is in the army is getting married".

(24) ( السواق راح يشرب الشيشة ) "The driver is smoking the hubble-bubble".

b) Among the tribes of Ghamid the usage of ( بغي / بيغي ) "to want" is more frequent;

a) With the perfect of بغي attached to the imperfect of the main verb;

(17) ( نبغا نذرج السوق ) "We want to go to the market".

b) With the imperfect of بغي preceding the imperfect of the main verb;

0 ( هو يبغا يموت ) "He is about to die". (lit. "He wants to die".)

(2) ( تبغا تروح لحالك ) "Will you go alone?"

c) ( صار ) "to become" is rarely used as an auxiliary verb, but commonly as an absolute verb followed by a noun or pronoun.

a) As an auxiliary verb with the meaning of "to begin" or "to start".

(15) ( صار ليطو له عمله ) "They started paying him according to his work".

(5) ( صرت افهم كل شي ) "I begin to understand everything".

(4) ( صرت اشتغل في القامان ) "I started working with camel traders".

b) It may be used with the active participle:

(4) ( صرت حفيظ القرش ) "I became thrifty".

c) As an absolute verb;

(4) ( صار لهم قروش كثيرة ) "They get enough money" or "They became rich".

(5) ( صار في قرية اسمها شوبالفيغها ) "He settled down in a village called Shoabalfugha".

d) The Verb in Conditional Sentences

a) Past condition is expressed with ان كان as stated. (3e).

b) Present condition is expressed by;

1. Direct Imperfect Verb without ان , e.g. <sup>بغى</sup> "to wish", which thus replaces ان .

(4) ( تبغى لبقاء اهلنا وسرا، تبغى تروخ في امان الله )

"If you want to stay you are welcome, if you want to go, may God protect you".

2. Sometimes the particle ان "if" is put before an imperfect verb preceded by the "auxiliary" verb <sup>بغى</sup> , thus

(4) ( ان تبغى تخرج معنا توكل على الله ) "If you want to come with us be ready". (lit. "trust in God").

3. With the imperfect verb preceded by انما :

(4) ( انما تعطوني حق الشهر ريال جزاكم الله ) "If you give me one Riyal per month I will be ready".

(lit. "May God reward you".)

c) Conditional sentences with future reference are expressed by ( اذا ) "when" before the perfect in both the protasis and the apodosis:

(1) ( اذا استوت صرنا ) "When it is ripe we will cut it off".

Sometimes إذا is put before the passive voice of the perfect, but the apodosis will be expressed by the active perfect:

(1) إذا صِفي كل حاجه على حالها عَيَّبنا الأكياس و رُحنا البيت )

"When every item is cleared separately, we will pack the bags and go home".

d) Conditional sentences referring to the future are also expressed by (lamman) "when" (cl. لamma ).

(29) ( لَمَن يَمِي الشتا يَمِي المطر ) "When it is winter the rain will come".

e) When (kaan) is preceded by a conditional particle such as إذا , the protasis introduced by إذا [ إذا ] expresses the condition الشرط and is used with the perfect verb and the apodosis جزاء or جزاء الشرط is used with the imperfect and sometimes with the perfect:

(29) ( إذا كان أرسل الى جهة المختصه يكون يقضى الزوم ) "If one is sent<sup>(1)</sup> to a certain place, he will do what is necessary".

(29) ( إذا كان هيكو زين يكون نقوه في الجيش ) "If his appearance is good, he will be selected for the army".

e) When (kaan) is put after the conditional particle ( إن ) "if" the apodosis is stated without كان or its imperfect. Nor does it necessarily agree in gender with the noun or verb following. Thus:-

(3) ( ان كنت لقيتوه كلمتوه ) "If I had seen him, I would have told him".

(36) ( ان كان جدان حقنا ما حدوا هبايا الحكومه ما دخلت نيا ) "If our forefathers had not limited the amounts of the bride price, the government would not have interfered in it".

(29) ( ان كان المياه سالمه ما حد سباحا ) "If the water had been safe no one would have left it".

f) Hypothetical sentences of the conditional form are composed in the same way as sentences of future conditions, but the apodosis has the imperfect:-

(1) The active is normally used in place of the cl. passive.

إذا كشف عليه الدكتور يبين عليه

(18) ( )

"When a doctor examines him it will be clear to him".

( إذا ترّدى وطاح نفل لو دأخ )

"When someone falls down we say that he has fainted".

b) Hypothetical conditions with past reference are introduced by

( ) "if":

0(1) ( والله لو كنت في سنّك ما سببت المدرسة )

"By God, if I were your age I would not have left the school".

0 ( لو عزموني رحمت ) "If they had invited me I would have gone".

### e) Verbal Suffixes

1. In general, there is nothing new or exceptional in the dialect's usage of verbal suffixes. These are added, as in cl. Arabic, matching the antecedent (subject). Sometimes in order to emphasise the antecedent, where it receives stress, the antecedent is put before the verb, but in this case a verbal suffix is added as well; e.g.

0 ( باب باب، الإاء أنا فليته ) "The door? Yes, I have opened it".

(5) ( المدينة زرت ) "Medina? I visited it".

2. The nunnation of the objective noun, which is characteristic of cl. Arabic, is totally absent: e.g.

(11) ( والله شفت الرجال مريض ) "Well, I found the man (sic) sick".

(21) ( فرشوه قدامي بعد الظهر ) "They beat him in front of me in the afternoon".

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(1) "0" means that these sentences are not recorded, but the writer is confident that they truly reflect the dialect".

The same kind of object as *مفعول زمان* occurs after a verb when the first object is a clause and not a single noun;-

(2) ( *في في اباحه التي تبخا* ) "There is in Baha anything you like".

The <sup>first</sup> sentence contains three objects; first, the pronominal pronoun ( *×* ); secondly, the object of state ( *حال* ); thirdly, the object of time ( *لعمدة الزمان* ).

### f) The Participles

(9-1)

#### (i) The Active Participle

(i) With verbs of motion the active participle expresses the meaning of a continuous action and by extension action in the present past or proximate future;

0 ( *من اين جاي انت* ) "Where are you coming from?"

0 ( *انت فين رايح* ) "Where are you going?"

The active participles in certain contexts has a past meaning, referring to the state of having performed the action of the verb;

(5) ( *هو شائل البندق* ) "He took away the gun".

(16) ( *ما هو تجوزها يا شيخ* ) "He did not make her marry".

It is often used in the present meaning.

(5) ( *ما نا ناسر الحيايه زي* ) "I do not remember this story".

(9-2)

#### (ii) The Passive Participle

Apart from the ordinary usage of *اسم مفعول* as cl. Arabic in certain contexts, it takes the place of the passive voice;

(2) ( *ارساله مكتوبه خالص* ) "The letter is already written".

Since passive forms are very rare the dialect depends on the passive participle with an auxiliary verb ( *صام* ) "become" attached before it;

0 ( صار معروف ) "It became known" but in this case it does not differ very much from the cl. Arabic.

C) The Particles

A) Assertive Particles

"but". لكن , لكن , إن

1. [inna] is hardly to be translated "truly" or "indeed", but in fact, is a meaningless word which is used to start the new sentence. In the dialect it is rarely put before a noun, and all the evidence proves that it is always attached to a pronominal suffix;

(5) ( قال إنو خاوند بن سعود ) "He said he is taking the part of Ibn Saud".

Moreover this particle is not heard, in our dialect, attached to any other suffix than (أ) [huu] which becomes [huu ~ uu].

2. [laakin] "but" has frequent usage in the dialect in the same way as it has in the cl. Arabic with the obvious exception that it does not affect the إعراب.

(15) ( لكن صدقناهم القصة ) "But he knows the story".

0 ( لكن هم شطار ) "But they are clever".

لكن with duplicated nuun (ن) is always attached to pronominal suffixes;

(3) ( لكنو عرف قصدي ) "But he knew my aim".

The noun linked with agrees in number and gender with its predicate without any change of declension:

0 ( لكن دول فاهمين الوضع ) "But they are aware of the situation".

(28) ( لكننا مضبوطة تمام ) "But it (F.) is quite well".

B) Conjunctive Particles

(7-1)

i) ( و waw ) "and".

A number of nouns or predicates governed by a verb, or the subject of a nominal sentence are conjoined by this particle:

(1) ( عندنا، طال عمرهم، البر، والحبس، والشحير والذرة، والنوع هذا طال عمرهم ).

"We have - may your lifetime be prolonged - corn, lentils, barley, maize and other such produce - may your lifetime be prolonged".

ii) waw is dropped when a verb which governs more than one noun is repeated before each noun:

(1) ( رحت حبه، رحت مكة، رحت كل محل ) "I went to Jedda, Mecca and very place".

iii) But if there is a change of verb, the conjunction is necessarily used:

(4) ( نركبها، ونمشيها، ونشد عليها، ونوي كل ما جه ).

"We ride it (camel), we walk it, we spur it on and we do everything needful".

iv) It is dropped, in spite of the changing of the verb, when one speaks enthusiastically about oneself or someone else, putting stress on the second syllable of each verb:

(11) ( انا الذي هببت المفايش، كنت المحل، حلبت خرايا نا ).

"It was me who brought the floormat, swept the place and sat the brethren down".

The same is true in the case where nouns are governed by the subject of a nominal sentence:

(27) ( عندو، يا رجال - بلاد، عندو غنم، عندو حلال، بغارين ).

"He got, O man (sic), farms, sheep, cattle and camels".

v) ( واذا الحال ) , though rare, is still in use:

(12) ( خذليك ما سب برونا حتى ) "Hold on here until I come (back)". واذا الحال

But often حتى و is used to express the cl.



بعدن دخل الحج والشغل حفتوه

(7) ( )  
 "Then came (the period of) the pilgrimage with all its busy activity".

vi) Before the negative particle لا (i.e. ولا), instead of cl. أم "or", it shows the similarity between two things or presents a choice between two things".

(2) ( رايح ولا جالس ) "Are you going or staying?"

0 ( صفرا ولا بيضا ) "Yellow or white?"

(41) ( كلسا عندي اكلت ولا ما اكلت )

"It is all the same to me whether you eat or not".

vii) When the word following ولا is also the negative (laa) لا the laam of the first laa لا is geminated, i.e. ولاّ .

(41) ( شفت ولاّ لا ) "Have you seen (it) or not?"

This is the case also where + negative is put before the interrogative pronoun (ميشي) "what":

( ولاّ ميشي طال محمرك ) "Then what . . ."

(7-2)

( [او] ) "or" has its cl. usage.

(1) ( نقول لوه هجنون او واحد فخل الشحور )

"We say (he is) a madman or one who is mentally disturbed".

(7-3)

( فا ) "then". This particle is very rarely used in the Bedouin or peasants' forms of the dialect.

(41) ( تامر علاها ادل فالبيت تانت )

"At first they stood (looking after it (F.)), then the girl stood up".

This however is not a common usage. Speakers normally use بعدن for this purpose. (Fa) exists in the usage of "C" region especially in the dialects of literate or partly literate people. For example, among our informants No.5, an old literate landlord, and No. (31) a policeman, who had been to a border of Saudi Arabia, (of) northern Najd during his service in the army. use this particle in their

conversation and stories. Taking their speeches as a dialectal unit certain rules of its usages may be drawn:

i.4) ف often occurs in the second part of a clause starting with

( أما أنا فُناجيت مع والدي ) "As for me, I came with my father".

(5) ( أما في حياتي أنا ، في صغري فُجا خالد ) "In my life, in my childhood, Khalid came".

ii) It is put before a prepositional phrase at the beginning of a sentence which serves as a conclusion to a previous statement.

(31) ( فعلى كل حال الجندي يحمل قنابل بيديه ) "Anyhow, a soldier holds hand-grenade".

i(i) As the common co-ordinating particle linking one action to another, in which case ( ف ) may be translated "then":

( فتناول البندق فقام ليصائر واحده اسماها فمقوته ) .  
"Then he held the gun, and started chasing someone (F.) named Gangusha".

(7-4) Gamma

( ثم ) "then", "after":

This is almost entirely missing in the dialectal use. The common practice is to use بعدين instead. One informant (23), an ex-soldier in the army, did in fact use

( ثم ذهبت من صحية خالد ابي صحية فيصل )  
"Then I went from Khalid hospital to Faisal hospital".

### C) Particles of Interrogation

(10-1) In the dialect the interrogative mode is usually indicated by the raising of the voice (sound pitch); thus:

(3) ( مرني في البيت ؟ ) "Is not he in the house?"

(41) ( فالك هو ؟ ) "Is he your uncle?"

(10-2) Where an interrogative particle is used in a sentence it is usually placed at the beginning;

e.g. ( اِنْتِ قَصْدُكَ ) "What is your intention?"

The particle min (من) is often compounded with the 3 mas. pronoun or the pronoun may be attached as in cl. usage. (e.g. min haa).

( اِنْتِ جَايَ مِنْ يَنْ ) "Where have you just come from?"

( مِتُو اِيْ عَا طَاكُ الْفَرْشِ ) "Who is that gave you the piastre?"

( شَيْ تَبِي ) "What do you want?"

( لِي مَا جِيْتِ ) "Why did you not come?"

( شَيْ سَوِي ) "What can I do?"

( تَوَلِيْتِ تَبَا ) "How much do you want?"

( اَلْيَ تَبَا ) "What do you want?"

All of these interrogatives are common throughout the dialect. Most Bedouin of Belad Ghamid say ( تَبَا تِي ), while in Zahran, especially those who are influenced by the Meccan dialect, they use

The usage of هَضْرَه الْاِسْتِزْلَامِ is not observed.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### (SOME LEXICAL FEATURES)

The lexical features of this dialect may be divided into three main groups:

a) foreign vocabulary, (b) certain terms, the meaning of which are various in different parts of the region, and (c) different expressions for a single meaning, occurring in various parts of the region.

#### 1. Foreign vocabulary.

Due to a long isolation of our region from other parts of the country it was less influenced by foreign languages than other cognate dialects. The majority of foreign words, which we have, are those concerning tools, machines, and imported goods such as a variety of clothes, tinned foods and newly introduced luxuries. In studying these foreign words we observe that they may be divided into three sub-groups: (i) words which have been accepted without any big change in their original shapes except a slight change of pronunciation, e.g. kafar for "cover", motur for "motor". (ii) words which have lost their real shapes because of the big change in their formation and the original word cannot be thought of at first glance, as warša for "workshop", bodra for "powder". (iii) words that have been adopted as though they were of Arabic origin governed by its grammatical rule, especially in dealing with singular and plural forms, such as tanka for "tin", the plural of which is formed on the fawaa'il pattern: tawaanik and likewise mawaatiir, corresponding to the pattern fawaa'iil, plural of motur "motor", or agwaal, plural of gool for "goal" on the pattern of af'aal.

Apart from these groups we have a group of words that are not foreign to the dialect in the sense that their origin is Arabic, but they are translated names of foreign objects and their other parts are known by their own original names, such as tarrad'aat that is a translated noun for "tractors". Another example is the names of cigarettes, e.g. abu bahhari (players),

abujini (goldflake), abubis(caravan).

N.B. Most of the foreign vocabulary of group (i) is obtained from informant No. 1 Reel 1.

|                |                                  |            |                   |
|----------------|----------------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| (i)            | Tan                              | "ton".     |                   |
|                | lorii                            | "lorry".   |                   |
|                | metr                             | "metre".   | Fr. metre         |
| <i>naatuu/</i> | <sup>a</sup> ma <sub>1</sub> tur | "motor".   | Eng.              |
|                | makiina                          | "machine". | Eng.              |
|                | gaaz                             | "gas".     | Eng.              |
|                | garaaj                           | "garage".  | Eng.              |
|                | nimra                            | "number".  | Eng.              |
|                | marka                            | "mark".    | Eng. (trade mark) |
|                | fulla                            | "villa".   | Eng.              |
|                | doblin                           | "poplin".  | Eng.              |
|                | laas                             | "lace".    | Eng.              |

(ii) In this group of foreign words many terms are used by craftsmen such as carpenter, blacksmith and peasants.

|           |                      |       |
|-----------|----------------------|-------|
| Turumba   | "pump".              |       |
| lamba     | "lamp or bulb".      |       |
| šakuuš    | "hammer".            |       |
| balta     | "axe".               |       |
| zaraadiya | "pliers".            |       |
| gusaaĵ    | "pincers".           |       |
| sindaal   | "anvil".             |       |
| galaawiiz | "screw".             |       |
| saawla    | "net".               |       |
| bundugiya | "gun".               | Pers. |
| martiin   | "martini" - "rifle". |       |
| warša     | "workshop".          |       |

(iii) There are a few words in this group which may be counted in

Con:

Groups 1 and 2 as well:

|         |      |           |   |
|---------|------|-----------|---|
| matuur  | plu. | mawaatiir |   |
| makiina | "    | makaayin  |   |
| larii   | "    | lawaari   |   |
| gool    | "    | agwaal    | (also used as verb: <u>gawwalt</u><br>"I scored a goal"). |
| tank    | "    | tawaanik  |   |

2. Single words with different meanings.

There are certain words, the meaning of which change in other areas. The listed words have been noted, not recorded, through different informants during the field work. The following show the regional usages of some individual words:

|                | N         | C         | S                  |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
| <u>kursii</u>  | longbed   | chair     | any seat           |
| <u>šaatiir</u> | clever    |           | dishonest          |
| <u>ibriig</u>  | water-pot | water-pot | any pot for liquid |
| <u>šafar</u>   | knife     | breast    | knife              |
| <u>xirbiz</u>  | melon     |           |                    |
| <u>belaad</u>  | country   | farms     | farms              |

3. Different words expressing the same meaning.

In this list most of the words are obtained through listening in to free speech (not answers to definite questions), during the investigation of the dialect. The words with bracketted numbers refer to informants and are recorded.

(A) The Nouns.

| N    | C       | S     |              |
|------|---------|-------|--------------|
| ibra | širinga | hugna | "injection". |

| N               | C        | S         |              |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| dismaal         | yutra    | ʕumaama   | "headcloth". |
|                 | huut     | samik     | "fish".      |
| safiih          | tanka    | -         | "tin".       |
| saa'ii          | -        | mutsabbib | "broker".    |
| yanam           | yanam    | halaal    | "cattle".    |
| bijraan         | atfaal   | war'aah   | "children".  |
| helag           | yakiib)  | maxzan    | "a land      |
|                 | yukba )  |           | measure".    |
| (R) yaa'ilgahwa | gahwajii |           | "cafe        |
|                 |          |           | proprietor". |
| maraaʕ          | hurma    |           | "wife".      |
| -               | ?aamil   | hirfi     | "labourer".  |
| ta'baan         | mariid   | 'ayyaan   | "sick".      |
| duubu           | duubu    | halla     | "now".       |
| <del>kušm</del> | anf      | khusm     | "nose".      |
| bartum          | bartum   | sifat     | "lips".      |

(B) The Verbs

|        |              |        |               |
|--------|--------------|--------|---------------|
| sallam | sallam       | saafah | "to shake     |
|        |              |        | the hands".   |
| sakkar | ghallag      | -      | "to close".   |
| šaaf   | šaaf         | basar  | "to see".     |
| ṭawwal | ta'akhkhar   | ṭawwal | "to be late". |
| ṭaah   | taah/taradda | waga   | "to fell".    |
| tibya  | tibya        | tibii  | "to want".    |

(C) The Adjectives

|         |        |         |           |
|---------|--------|---------|-----------|
| mita    | imta   | mita    | "when".   |
| ayn     | feyn   | fayn    | "where".  |
| guddaam | gabl   | guddaam | "before". |
| ?illa   | (ʕeyr* | illa    | "except". |

(4-4) Preservation of the old vocabulary.

It has been noted that some informants of the extreme Southern and Northern groups still preserve certain words that either are absent from the dialects and from modern Arabic, or they are now used in a different meaning. By this is meant a semantic change has occurred in case of certain words but not in this area. E.g. informant No. 32, may be quoted: tibii tiršid le?ismii "Do you want to know my name?" The verb tiršid, "To be led" is an old usage, now it is used for religious guidance. Another informant used Maatra with the meaning "memory" (ذكري), which is an old usage of the word.

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\* For greeting: hayya is common to all.

O taah is common to person and other objects: taradda only for person.

P In the north they use ?illa with the meaning: "Why not?" or "certainly".



PART TWO

COMPARISON WITH NEIGHBOURING ARABIAN DIALECTS

CHAPTER FIVE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The real object of this chapter is to determine the relationship of our dialect to the dialects of the neighbouring regions. For this purpose certain main features of the dialects have been selected for comparison, but a complete review of all features of linguistic interest has not been aimed at. It is hoped that this approach may nevertheless help to place our dialect among the others and to determine its characteristic marks.

Apart from Johnstone's work, which is the outcome of recent investigations, and perhaps Cantineau's, other studies referred to in this chapter are not all of sufficient value to meet the requirements of comparison. Many of these studies were undertaken years ago when the relevant dialectal areas had been constant and undisturbed in some cases for centuries. But during the last ten or fifteen years a marked change has taken place everywhere. Education has been spreading rapidly; radio and in many places television have become a virtual necessity of the common man's life; modern means of communication are linking small villages with big towns. All these factors have their direct influences on the dialects. Not only are new vocabularies of foreign, especially western, words being introduced, but some of the main features of the dialects are undergoing changes. This fact has become more apparent to the writer while comparing our dialect with the Mecca dialect studied by Hurgronje in 1886. No doubt most of the dialectal features still survive, but meanwhile numerous changes have also prevailed.

Hence it cannot be claimed that the features of the other dialects, with the exception of those adduced by Johnstone and to some extent by Cantineau's works, are dependable for to-day's research. Many of the dialect studies on which we have to rely for comparison were made at a time when modern methods of linguistic study and recording were not yet very developed, and thus it is difficult to

be sure of the value of the data contained in them for purposes of comparison. Some features of Med., al-'Ula and Tabuk dialects have been recorded by J.E.Duncan. They are referred to below as "Recorded Speech".

(1) PHONOLOGY

A. Consonants

1. "P" Sound. The dialects of Gh/Z, have no sound of (p), a voiceless labial stop, and in the words containing this sound, of foreign origin, it is replaced by (b). For example bakistan < Pakistan, or blastik < plastic. The dialects of Hor. and Pal. have this sound, as a variant of (b), besides its pronunciation in foreign words. Thus: Poktob < boktob. Its frequent usage is noted in Hor.<sup>(1)</sup>

Northern and E.A. dialects make use of this sound only in foreign words.<sup>(2)</sup> Among the south western dialects, Mec. dialects tend to replace it by (b) as Gh/Z does, but there are a few words that are sounded with (p) such as Paša<sup>(3)</sup> "a Turkish title".

2. The Pronunciation of ك and ق .

In the dialect of Gh/Z ك is realized as (k) and ق as its voiced correlate in all positions.

In some Syrian dialects, such as Hor. They are sounded as (č) and (ğ)<sup>(4)</sup>. In N. Iraq and Palm. they are pronounced as (k) and (q)<sup>(5)</sup>

In some dialects of the Arabian Peninsula and S. Iraq in the contiguity of the front vowels there are variants of (k) and (g) as (č), (ğ)<sup>(6)</sup>. In the N. Ar. and E.A. dialects on which Cantineau and

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1. Horan p.89 - Palmyre p. 32.

2. Johnstone p. 19.

3. Horgronje p. 17.

4. Horan p. 89.

5. Palmyre p. 32, Haim Blone, Communal Dialect in Baghdad, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, p.7.

6. Johnstone, "The Affrication of kaf and gaf in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian Peninsula", JSS VIII, 1963, p.210.

Johnstone worked, these are pronounced as (č), (ǧ), and in some parts, such as central Najd, they are pronounced as (ć) and (ǧ'). The distribution of the (č/ǧ) and (ǧ/ć) is illustrated in map No. 2 of Johnstone's Book E.A. Dialect Studies. A copy of this map is given below No. 21.

It appears from the transcriptions of Musil<sup>(1)</sup> that ج is pronounced in open syllable in Rw. Bedouin dialect as (z), as halazi > halagi 'ground'. But Johnstone has put Rw. in the group of ć/ǧ'.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Dosiri dialect, examined by Johnstone for the variants (c/g) is as other N. Ar. dialects.<sup>(3)</sup>

Among the south western dialects, the dialect of Mec.,<sup>(4)</sup> Med.<sup>(5)</sup> has no variant of ج ; and ج is in all positions sounded (g). The Yem dialect, according to examples given by Rossi has the same pronunciation as Gh/Z.<sup>(6)</sup> Oman dialect has: q/k.<sup>(7)</sup>

In the Ras el-Khaima Peninsula the tendency to affricate (k) and (g) begins to disappear, and although the affricate variants occur in Khor Fokkam on the Gulf of Oman, they do not occur in the dialects of some of the villages in the interior of the peninsula. Javakar gives us the information about ج , that towards the north this letter assumes the sound of the English (j). Thus ج is pronounced as ج .

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1. Musil p. 362. <sup>MS</sup>
  2. Johnstone's Map, P.214, J.S.S. Vol. VIII 1963. (Since Musil's transcription, according to Cantineau, (p.36) is not dependable in the case of (k) and (g), Johnston's analysis is to be taken for granted).
  3. Johnstone BSOAS. Vol.XXVII, 1964, p.95. "Further Studies on the dosiri dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait".
  4. Hurgonje. p.12.
  5. Recorded speech.
  6. In the northern Yemen is heard as /q/ but in few words it is realized as /ǧ/. cf. Rossi p.464.
  7. Carl Reinhardt, EINARABISCHER DIALEKT OMAN UND ZAZIBAR, Berlin 1894, p.6.

### 3. Pronunciation of ج .

" ج " is pronounced in the greater part of Gh/Z as English "j", a voiced palatal stop. Its variant pronounced as (y) a palatal semi-vowel, is observed in "C" Sub-Region<sup>(1)</sup> and some villages of "N".

In the Hor. dialect it is realized as (j) as a general tendency, and as (y) in contiguity with مرفقه consonants.<sup>(2)</sup>

Its common pronunciation in Pal. is (c).<sup>(3)</sup>

In the greater part of Northern Arabia, such as Sirhan Sardiyya Bani Sakkar, Shaṣarāt and Al-Jowf<sup>(4)</sup> and in the E.A. dialects,<sup>(5)</sup> this is generally realized as (y).

In the Rw. Bedouin dialect, according to the transcription of Musil it is sounded (ǧ).<sup>(6)</sup>

In the South Western Arabian dialects, the dialects of Mec., Med. and Yem. (especially the upper part, and northern regions) there are no variant sounds.<sup>(7)</sup>

According to the Johnstone's map of the distribution of this sound as (y), the dialects of Hadramawt and Zufar have the same tendency.<sup>(8)</sup>

The dialect of Oman agrees with Gh/Z.<sup>(9)</sup>

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1. Above p. 44. Also see Map No.1.
  2. Horan, p. 142.
  3. Palmyre, p. 98.
  4. Cantineau, p.27.
  5. Johnstone, p.11 and map No. 3.
  6. Musil, pp.150-60.
  7. Hurgronje, pp.13, 17, 21  
Rossi, RSO, Vol. XXII p. 465.
  8. Johnstone, Map No. 3.
  9. Reinhardt op.cit pp.6 and 7.

4. The Pronunciation of ت and ذ .

The voiced and voiceless dental fricatives ت and ذ are generally pronounced in Gh/Z as (th) and (dh) and ت is also rarely pronounced as (s) and ذ as (z)<sup>(1)</sup> in final positions.

The transcriptions of N.Ar. and E.A. dialects, including the Dosiri dialect, show that these consonants are realized everywhere as the /θ/ and dh /ð/. But in S.W. dialects ت is sounded (t) and (ذ) as (d). Mec., Med. and Yem. dialects have a general tendency to pronounce them as (t/d).<sup>(2)</sup>

According to the transcription of Landberg<sup>(3)</sup> the text of the Hadramowt dialect indicates that these are realized as traditional (θ) and (ð), as in Gh/Z or E.A. dialects. But the writer entertains considerable doubt as to the correctness of this transcription, on the ground of his personal observation as confirmed by a number of students of these areas who are studying in England.

5. The pronunciation of Hamza

A glottal stop hamza is treated in several ways:

1. In Gh/Z, where there is no liaison with the preceding word, an initial hamza is pronounced as ?akal "to eat"; ?ibn "son".<sup>(4)</sup> In the E.A. dialects the hamza is not usually present in absolutely initial positions. Thus akal, axad occur rather than ?akal, ?axad. It is retained, however, in post-vocalic positions as: wi-?axad<sup>(5)</sup>. In the N. Ar. dialects an initial hamza is treated similarly to the E.A. dialects,<sup>(6)</sup> with which the other dialects do not agree, namely the dropping of the initial syllable and the assimilation to

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1. Above p. 44, Map No. 2 and 3.

2. Hurgronje, pp. 13, 17. Rossi, RSO XXII. p. 460-5, Recorded from Medina.

3. C.de. LANDBERG, Etudes sur les dialects de l'Arabie meridionale, Hadramout, Leiden, 1901 p.42.

4. Above p.57.

5. Johnstone, p. 26.

6. Cantineau, p.42.

the verbs with final (y) in the perfect. Thus ?akal > kala (a) and ?axad > xada.<sup>(1)</sup> In Her., Palm. and the S.W. Arabian dialects the treatment of hamza is similar to Gh/Z in this case.

2. In the contiguity of a pharyngal consonant, an initial hamza tends to be dropped in the dialect of Gh/Z as had < ?ahad "one", xuuya < ?axuuya "my brother". But ?abuuya is pronounced with the hamza sound. This feature is common to N. Ar. and E.A. dialects.<sup>(2)</sup>

3. In Gh/Z the hamza of the adverb ?eyn is changed to an (f) sound as fayn < ?ayn. In Palm., Hor., N. Ar. and E.A. dialects it is changed to w as ween, also, weeš < ?eeš "what"? Also in Gh/Z dialects an initial hamza of the theme II may be changed to (w) sound as waxxir "get back" an imperative from ?axxar.<sup>(3)</sup> In the S.W. Arabian dialects Mec., Med. and Yem. agree with Gh/Z.

4. The imperfect of the verb final hamza takes a hamza instead of a (y) prefix in the Hor. dialect as ?iǰi < yiǰi "he comes",<sup>(5)</sup> but not in other dialects.

5. An initial hamza before a glottal (h) is usually dropped in Gh/Z if the following syllable after (h) is closed by assimilation or attachment to a nominal suffix as: halladdira < ?ahladdira, "people of the village". In the N. Ar. and Rw. dialects it occurs even when the following syllable is open, as: halona < ?ahlona, "our family"<sup>(6)</sup> and hali < ?ahli "my family". In the dialects of Mec.<sup>(7)</sup> Yem.<sup>(8)</sup> a hamza is pronounced in the above cases.

6. In the "S" sub-region of Gh/Z a hamza is prefixed to a pharyngal (h) when it is followed by a short closed or a half-closed vowel as

1. Johnstone, p. 47.

2. Cantineau, p.43.

3. In the ancient dialect of Hejaz "w" takes the place of a hamza as wakkada ?akkada "to emphasize". Robin, op.cit., p.141.

4. Johnstone, p.69.

5. Horan p.140

6. Cantineau p.72.

7. Hurgronje p.5.

8. Rossi p.466.

?ehmaar < himaar "ass". But in the "C" and "N" sub-regions and Mec. <sup>(1)</sup> Yem. <sup>(2)</sup> dialects, the vowel is changed to a back rounded vowel as homaar < himaar.

### B. Medial Hamza

Total disappearance of the medial hamza can hardly be claimed since we have little evidence of its presence in our data e.g. ?a?imma su?aal, baa?in; such examples are very rare and they easily turn to non-glottal glides e.g. suaal, or suwaal, ?imma, and baayin, as heard by some other informants. But there is some other evidence to prove its existence even in the dialects of those informants who tend to say ?imma ?a?imma; e.g. mo?amman "secured": <sup>(3)</sup>

er rizg mo?amman min allah "livelihood is secured from God" (Informant No.3).

The disappearance of medial hamza without a vowel is a common phenomenon of the N.Ar. and E.A. dialects e.g. raas, biir, etc. <sup>(4)</sup> Cantineau mentioned it as "totally ignored" except in a few verbs as Cl. sa?al. <sup>(5)</sup>

In the S.W. Arabian dialects no evidence is available. Words with initial hamza prefixed by a separable preposition have a tendency in Mec. dialect to assimilate hamza. Thus: bamrallah < bi ?amrillah "by God's command".

### C. FINAL HAMZA

As a common tendency the final Hamza has the same fate as the mediate one. Thus: wara < waraa? "behind", dif < dif? "warmth". But its absolute disappearance cannot be claimed. In the dialect

1. Hurgronje p.25.
2. Rossi p.465
- 3.A Above p.57.
4. Johnstone p.20.
5. Cantineau p.42.

of Gh/Z, we have evidence of its appearance in words in which hamza is not endorsed by Cl. Ar. such as La? < Laa (the negative particle) Cantineau has quoted the same example of disyllabic words in which a final hamza is present in the N. Ar. dialects.<sup>(1)</sup> Final hamza is ordinarily elided in the E.A. dialects. Thus: qamraa? is only one occasional variant of qamra "moonlight".

According to the Musil Transcription, the final hamza is pronounced in words other than monosyllables; e.g. yarxa? "climbs" in the dialect Rw. In the Dosiri dialect a final hamza is elided even from the words which have been considered as forma e.g. inšallah "if God wills" is recognized as Inšaa?allah, in the dialect of Gh/Z, Hor., Palm, and, according to the evidence, in the dialect of Mec. and Med.

Among the S.W. Arabian dialects, in the Mec. dialect it has been lost in a monosyllabic word e.g. ṣawdaa < sawdaa? In the Yem. dialect the presence of a final hamza may be observed through the transcription of Rossi as ?aja? "he came" braa? "recovery".

## B. The Vowels

1. In the dialect of Gh/Z a lower mid-back short vowel with lip rounding corresponding to the in rounded /e/ occurs in medial position, as yam "day"; ob "clothes", while in the Hor. Pal. and E.A. dialects a higher rounded short vowel of back quality occurs similarly in all three positions. Thus yam "day"; ob "clothes" as oktob<sup>(2)</sup>. Rossi's transcription indicates the same treatment in the Yem. dialect as in N.Ar. dialects.

2. In the case of a diphthong, Gh/Z's treatment corresponds to lit. Ar. as (aw) and (ay) (ey). Thus Jaw (also Jᶜ) bayt. N.Ar. and especially E.A. dialects have long vowels (ee) (oo) instead of diphthongs. But in some cases the Gh/Z dialect has no diphthong sound, while E.A. dialects have.

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1. Johnstone, Dosiri dialect BSOAS, op.cit., p. 42.  
2. Cantineau, p.36.



For example:

In Gh/Z xuu ya (in two syllables), gaalu or gaalo.

In E.A. xuuy (in one syllable). But gaalow.

In the Yem. dialect a long vowel (ee) is sounded whereas in 'S' of Gh/Z a diphthong is used. Thus: been "between". But in Gh/Z bayn. The treatment of the Mec. dialect in regard to the diphthong, according to the transcription of Hurgronje, is similar to that of the N.Ar. dialect.

### C. Consonant Cluster.

1. A cluster of two consonants in an initial position is very rare in the Gh/Z dialect. The only evidence is in an interrogative Pronoun of abbreviated type (s.) followed by a verb, as š-sawwi "what should I do?" While the consonant cluster at the beginning is common to all N.Ar. and S.W. (except Mec.) dialects in the imperfect of irregular and derived verbs tguul, truuh, tsawwi, etc., the dialects of Gh/Z and Mec. have a helping vowel after the imperfect prefix in all cases, thus: taguul lisawwi, etc.

In the E.A. dialect, where both consonants are stops, the following types of forms are optional variants in absolutely initial positions. (2)

ktibat < katibat

tguul < taguul

btuun < baṭuun

But in Gh/Z the same treatment is observed in the case of consonants other than stops: turuuh, tisawwi, yatajamma', etc. Where two consonants occur in final positions, different treatments are observed in the different sub-groups; if the first consonant of the cluster is a stop, the final consonant is often dropped, as bag bagl "goras";

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1. Johnstone, p.178 (transcriptions).

2. Johnstone, p.26.

otherwise an anaptyctic vowel is inserted in "C" sub-region, as mileh milh "salt", barid bard "cold".

A similar situation with the two consonant cluster in final position is found elsewhere, viz. in the Muslim and Christian dialects of Baghdad, while Jewish dialect tends to pronounce them without an anaptyctic, <sup>(1)</sup> as in "S" sub-region of our dialects.

The Yem. dialect of upper San'a has a similar tendency to that of the "C" sub-region of Gh/Z. <sup>(2)</sup>

D. The effect of the guttural on syllable structure.

In the E.A. dialects and in all the N. Ar. dialects, a non-final closed syllable whose vowel is (a) and in which the closing consonant is a guttural, becomes an open syllable of the structure caa: Thus, if (g) is one of the guttural consonants (g), (x), (ʔ), (?), or (h), then CaG: CGa-; Generally this phenomenon does not correspond with the Gh/Z dialect, except in the case, fa'al < af'al in "S" sub-region; thus ?ahmar is heard once as hamar, but not xadar for axdar. Other forms given by Johnstone are not found in Gh/Z.

E. Syllable structure.

A short vowel in an open syllable preceding a syllable with a long stressed vowel e.g. kitaab "book", turaab "dust", xaraab, "destroyed" is treated in different ways:

1. If this vowel is (i) it is always dropped in "S" sub-region of Gh/Z, not elsewhere, and a prosthetic vowel is prefixed as himaar < ?ihmaar, ?iktaab < kitaab, but if the vowel is (a) or (u) it may or may not be dropped and there is no prosthetic vowel as šraab "drinks" buraad "cold".

2. This short vowel may be changed to (u) in Mec. dialect as humaar <

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1. H. Blānc, op. cit. p. 55.

2. Rossi, Vol. XVII p. 260.

3. Johnstone and Cantineau quoted by Johnstone, p. 6.

himaar , Jubaal. But kitaab. This treatment is similar to "C" and "N" of Gh/Z.

3. In Palm. Hor. dialects as well as Nomad dialects of Arabia this vowel is dropped if it is (i) or (u), but not when it is (a). Thus: qtaal < qitaal or qutaal but not from qataal <sup>(1)</sup>.

4. It is dropped in all open syllables in E.A. dialects <sup>(2)</sup> as:  
ktaab < kitaab, btuun < butuun, tguul < taguul.

5. In the dialect of Yem. while evidence shows that all short vowels are kept unchanged and are not dropped as:

zamaan "long ago", husaan "horses", kilaab "dogs".

There are some contrasting evidences showing that a short vowel in an open syllable is dropped even when it is followed by a syllable with a short vowel as ftah < fatah, rkab < rakab. It may be pronounced with a vowel if context requires so as in the beginning of a sentence: fatah, <sup>(3)</sup>

6. Omani dialect agrees with E.A. dialect in this feature. Thus Jdaar < Jidaar "wall", traab < turaab "dust", hmaar himaar "ass", swaar < sawaar "bracelet". <sup>(4)</sup>

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1. Horan p.150 ff. Palmyre p. 86, Cantineau p. 138.

2. Johnstone p. 25.

3. All examples are given from the text of Yemeni dialects given by Rossi, pp. 465-67.

4. Reinhardt, op.cit., p.44.

(2) MORPHOLOGY

1. The Verb - General

(i) The vowel of the first radical in all forms of the verb is audible in all forms - perfect, imperfect, sound, defective, derived forms, etc. in the dialect of Gh/Z. Thus, in its perfect katabat, katabou, not ktabat, ktabou, are used, and the vowel "a" or "i" exists throughout all types of the verb. After a conjunction (wa) or (fa), when the first radical is assimilated, this vowel disappears, as in wasbarat < wa sabarat "she kept patient". In the N. Ar. and E.A. dialects this vowel disappears, making a cluster of the first two radicals, as N. Ar.: ktobat ktobou<sup>(1)</sup> E. A.: skanat "she lived", skitat<sup>(2)</sup> "she fell silent", Rw: rcebat<sup>(3)</sup> "she rode" and also in Yem.: ftah<sup>(4)</sup> "he opened", etc. The Mec.,<sup>(5)</sup> Med. and Tabuk<sup>(6)</sup> dialects agree here with Gh/Z.

(ii) As a dialectal phenomenon, Masc. Plurs. are used in Gh/Z dialects as a common gender for Masc. and Fem. Thus forms such as katabn (a), katabtun(na) of perfect or yaktubn(a), taktubn(a) of imperfect or ?aktubna of imperative are not heard in natural speech. A partially literate informant (viz. No. 2) suggested ?oktubnah for Fem. Plur. of imperative when he was asked, "How do you ask your daughters to write?" But the same informant said to a number of young girls who were playing on the ground and making noises: ?androu ya benaat, "get out, girls".

The transcriptions of other dialects of N.Ar., Syrian, and S.W. indicate that Fem. Plurs. are here used. Among the E.A. dialects, Kuwaiti, Bahraini, and Dubai agree with Gh/Z. But Qatari and the

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1. Cantineau p. 185.

2. Johnstone p. 28.

3. Musil p. 85.

4. Rossi p. 466.

5. Hurgronje p. 17.

6. Recorded speech.

dialect of Buraimi have separate forms for 2 Fem. Plur. as wasaln, ktibten, besides showing the common tendency to the use of 2 Com. Plur.<sup>(1)</sup>

(iii) The dialect of Gh/Z has two types of verbs frequently used; They are CaCaC as katab, and CiCiC as širib. Another type, CaCuC, is also heard, but it is very rare and only in "C" region.<sup>(2)</sup> The E.A. dialect has a CiCaC type of verb, as kitab,<sup>(3)</sup> which is not found in Gh/Z. The N.Ar. dialects also have this type of verb, but it seems to be extremely rare, because only one example, nezolte "you came down", is found.<sup>(4)</sup> The Hor.<sup>(5)</sup> and Palm.<sup>(6)</sup> dialects have also two types of verbs, as in Gh/Z. Among the S.W. Arabian dialects Yem.<sup>(7)</sup> has the CiCaC type of verb, as E.A. (see maps 22, 23.).

The imperfect of CaCaC is in Gh/Z. yaCCuC, as yaktub in "S" and "N"; and yoCCob as yektab in "C" region. The imperfect of CiCiC is yaCCaC as yašrab and yaCCuC as yoktob.<sup>(8)</sup>

In the E.A. and RW. dialects the imperfect form of kitab - ktab is yaktib and of širib yišrab.<sup>(9)</sup> The dialect of Palm. has from katab yoktob and from širib yišrab, i.e. in the first form, yoktob, Palm. agrees with "C" of Gh/Z, but in the second form, yišrab, with E.A. Hor.<sup>(10)</sup> has yoktob and yelbas forms as Palm. Among the S.W. Arabian dialects the imperfect of katab is in Yem. yaktub,<sup>(12)</sup> Mec. has from katab yaktub, and from širib yašrab, but nizil yinzil. In the dialect of Druz the imperfect of katab is byiktob and the Oman dialect has yuktub (see Map 23, 24.).

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1. Johnstone pp. 66, 70, 92, 109, 121, 129.

2. Above p. 79-72.

3. Johnstone p. 42.

4. Cantineau 108 (p).

5. Horan p. 207.

6. Palmyre p. 118.

7. Rossi p. 463.

8. Above p. 72.

9. Johnstone p. 43.

10. Palmyre.

11. Horan p. 223.

12. Rossi p. 224.

The imperative from the CaCaC type of verb in Gh/Z is ʔaktub, and in "C" region is ʔoktub. In the E.A. dialects it is iktib,<sup>(1)</sup> in Hor. ʔoktob,<sup>(2)</sup> and in Palm. ʔoktob.<sup>(3)</sup> In the S.W. Arabian dialects Yem. has ʔiktib, while Mec. has aktub. From the CiCiC type of verb Gh/Z has ʔaʕrab.<sup>(4)</sup> The E.A. dialects have iʕrab; other N. Arabian dialects have ʔiʕrib,<sup>(5)</sup> Palm. teʕrab<sup>(6)</sup> and Hor. ʔelbes.<sup>(7)</sup>

Among the S.W. dialects Yem. has iʕrab, as some of the N. Ar. dialects, and Mec. has aʕrab, as Gh/Z. In the dialect of Oman these forms are as ktub and ʕreb<sup>(8)</sup>. (see Map 25).

## 2. Personal pronouns:

(i) In the Gh/Z dialect the common form of the pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. are huu/hiya, hii.<sup>(9)</sup> The feminine form hiya is not used anywhere else. In the E.A. dialects (except Bahraini) the analogous forms: huu/hii are common.<sup>(10)</sup> The Bahraini has: huwwe, huwwa/ihiyya, hiyye. In the "C" of Gh/Z huwwa is also heard (cf. p. 47 and Map No. 11). In the Palm.,<sup>(11)</sup> Hor.<sup>(12)</sup> and in the Syrian Desert area the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects have huwwa, hiyya. The Fadl, Rogga, Naim, the Slut, Manadra, and Sirhan<sup>(13)</sup> have huu/hii, and the Umur huu?/hii?.<sup>(14)</sup> In the Shammari dialect of 'Anaiza the equivalent forms are huu, hii.<sup>(15)</sup>

In the S. Arabian dialects these pronouns are without (w). Thus Zufar:<sup>(16)</sup> huu/hii, hay: Yem., huu(h)/hii(h): in Datani huu?/hii?: Hadrami huu?: Aden, hu, hi: but Omani huwwa/hiyya with (w) and (y) preserved and two groups of (y) and other forms with a (w). In the dialect of Mec. the equivalent form is howwa/hii.<sup>(17)</sup> (see Map 26).

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|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Johnstone p.44.                           | 12. Horan pp.202-3.   |
| 2. Horan p.224.                              | 13. Cantineau p.      |
| 3. Palmyre pp.135-6.                         |                       |
| 4. Rossi p.226 Hurgronje p.41., Above p. 73. |                       |
| 5. Johnstone p.44.                           | 14. Cantineau p. 105. |
| 6. Horan                                     | 15. Johnstone p.13.   |
| 7. Palmyre                                   | 16. <u>ibid.</u>      |
| 8. Reinhardt <u>op.cit.</u> , p. 151.        | 17. Hurgronje p.21.   |
| 9. Above pp. 47-8.                           |                       |
| 10. Johnstone p.13.                          |                       |
| 11. Palmyre p.                               |                       |

(ii) In the Gh/Z dialects the most common form for the 1st. Pers. sing. is ?ana, and a less frequent form is ?ani.<sup>(1)</sup> In the dialect of Palm.<sup>(2)</sup> Hor.<sup>(3)</sup> and among the N. Ar. dialects in the Slut, B. Khalid, Umur,<sup>(4)</sup> and in E.A. dialects (except Bahrain) it is ?ana; in Bahrain aane. In the tracial coast dialects aana is commoner than ani.<sup>(5)</sup> In some parts of N. Arabia, such as Ragga, Na'em, Fadl Mamadir, Rwala<sup>(6)</sup> and Palm. and Hor. dialects, the equivalent form is ani.<sup>(7)</sup>

In the S.W. Arabian dialects, Mec. uses ana, Med. ani, Yem. aane,<sup>(8)</sup> and in some parts of the north of Yemen it is aane for Masc. and ani for fem. In Aden it is same as in Yem. aan.<sup>(9)</sup> (see Map 27).

(iii) The pronoun of 1st pers. plur. varies in the Gh/Z, as well as in other dialects. Thus there are three distinguishable groups of this form:

(1) with (n) sound, (2) with hamza, and (3) with (h).

The dialect of Gh/Z has nehna and hinna, which are commoner than ?ehna. Nohno, (that is, closer to Cl. nahnu) is also recorded once in the "C" sub-region (cf. p.48, and Map 12).

Among the N. Ar. dialects, Rogga, Umur, Slut, Na'im, Fadl have ?ohna; B. Khalid, Sirhan and the nomads of N. Arabia have honna;<sup>(10)</sup> the Palm.<sup>(11)</sup> dialect has ohne; Horan has henne,<sup>(12)</sup> Rwala<sup>(13)</sup> ?ehna.

?ehnaa

Among the E.A. dialects Kuwaiti, Bahraini have ihna; Qatari; (i) hinna; Hajiri hin, as against Abu Dhabi, Sharjah, Buraimi, hihin; Dubai, nihin, nihna. The Shammari dialect of 'Anaiza also has hinna.<sup>(14)</sup>

1. Hurgronje p.48.

2. Palmyr p. 110.

3. Horan p. 202-3.

4. Cantineau p.195.

5. Johnstone p. 13.

6. Cantineau p.195, Musil p.220.

7. Palmyre, Horan op.cit.

8. Rossi, p.

9. Rossi p. 466.

10. Cantineau p.71.

11. Palmyre p.200.

12. Horan p. 108.

13. Musil p. 78.

14. Johnstone p. 14.

The S. Arabian forms as a whole have no initial (n). Thus San'a, hnee; Zufar, hinee, Omani hna, hnuu. But Hadrami, nahna, and Aden nihna.<sup>(1)</sup>

Mec. dialect has ehna; Med. and al-'Ula have ehn.<sup>(2)</sup> (see Map 28).

(iv) The pronoun of 2nd. pers. Sing. varies considerably in the Gh/Z dialects. Thus the common form in "N", "S" and "C" of Gh/Z is int / inti(i) and other forms are scattered in "N" and "S", as into, intu, inte and once att.<sup>(3)</sup> (cf. Map 9). Hor.<sup>(4)</sup> has 'int / 'inti. Palm<sup>(5)</sup>, onta, 'ante / 'ante. The E.A. dialects as a whole<sup>(6)</sup> show int / inti(i). But Bahrain<sup>(7)</sup>, Dubai<sup>(8)</sup> have inta / inte, Rw.<sup>(9)</sup> inte and other areas of N. Arabian<sup>(10)</sup> dialects have 'anta, ante. Yem.<sup>(11)</sup> and Mec. int / intii.<sup>(12)</sup> Oman has nte / ntii.<sup>(13)</sup> (See Map 29).

(v) The pronoun of the 3rd. masc. plur. varies in the dialect of Gh/Z between initial (h) and initial hamza sounds, and monosyllabic and disyllabic forms. Thus the common form is hum, and less frequent is humma; forms of initial hamza, ?um and ?umma are scattered in "N" and "S" sub-regions (see p.48 and Map 14).

Hor.<sup>(14)</sup> dialect has humma. Palm.<sup>(15)</sup> hum. N. Ar. dialects and the Slut have hum; Hadadin, Ragga, Na'im, B. Khalid have humma, and so have Madra and Rw<sup>(16)</sup>.

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1. Johnstone p.14.
  2. Hurgronje p.23. & a recorded speech of Med. and al-Ula.
  3. Above p.48.
  4. Haran p.109.
  5. Palmyre p.202.
  6. Johnstone, p.66.
  7. ibid., p.118.
  8. ibid., p.128.
  9. Musil, pp.22-3.
  10. Cantineau pp.71-5.
  11. Rossi, p.466.
  12. Hurgronje p.20.
  13. Reinhardt, op.cit. p.152
  14. Cantineau, p.75.
  15. Palmyre, p.200.
  16. Horan, p. 108.



The E.A. dialects as a whole have hum.<sup>(1)</sup> Among the S. Arabian dialects N. Yem.<sup>(2)</sup> has 'umma. But San'a has<sup>(3)</sup> homma; Mec. Tabuk have hum.<sup>(4)</sup> (see Map 26).

### 3. Particles.

(i) A possessive adjective with the meaning of "belonging to" or "of" is hagg in the dialect of Gh/Z; its feminine form haggat is also frequently used, the gender is related to the object of which ownership is to be predicated, e.g. galam haggi "my pen" and bagra haggati "my cow". In the other S. Arabian dialects Hadrami<sup>(5)</sup> has a similar usage; the dialect of Mec.<sup>(6)</sup> and Yem. have a plural form of hagg, namely, haggon in addition to hagg and hagget. The Mec. form is used in Rabigh, Medina, Tabuk al-'ula.<sup>(7)</sup>

In the E.A. dialects hagg is very rarely used with the same meaning. Generally it is used with the meaning of "for", corresponding to the "l" preposition of Cl. Ar. with the meaning of "belonging to". There is a common word maal.<sup>(8)</sup> In the Rw. and other "Anaizi" dialects maal is an equivalent form.

In most of the Syro-Palestine dialects we find taba'.<sup>(9)</sup> But Palm. has maal.<sup>(10)</sup> Baghdad has tibaa', betaa' and maal in different regions.

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1. Musil p.76.
  2. Johnstone p.14.
  3. ibid., p.
  4. Hurgronje p.23, and a recorded speech of Med. al-'Ula.
  5. Landberg op.cit., p.40.
  6. Hurgronje p.20, Rossi p.466.
  7. Recorded speech.
  8. Johnstone pp.69-70, Driver op.cit., p.170.
  9. Driver, op.cit., p.
  10. Palmyre, op.cit., pp.11, 44.

(3) VOCABULARY

The following list of common words is given by Johnstone to show differences among different regions of the E.A. dialectal area (with additional references to the Omani dialect in some cases). Words used in Gh/Z and other S.W. Arabian dialects are here juxtaposed with the above to serve as an indication of the kind of differences that can be observed between the E.A. and Gh/Z dialects and to some extent between E.A. and W. Ar. dialects. The words used in the E.A. dialects are referred to regardless of their local divergencies within E. Arabian region. Thus Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Dubai or Trucial coast are similarly referred to as E.A. and their variant forms are given in obliques. (Not all words in Johnstone's list are given; some, not all, are notable for this kind of overall comparison).

|             |       |                                    |
|-------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| "To become" | E.A.  | <u>Saar/saar</u> / <u>istuwa</u> . |
|             | Omani | <u>istawa</u> / <u>stwe</u> .      |
|             | Gh/Z  | <u>saar</u> .                      |
|             | Mec.  | <u>saar</u> .                      |
|             | Yem.  | <u>saar</u> .                      |

(?istwa in Gh/Z means to get ready, cooked, riped (a fruit)).

|          |      |   |
|----------|------|---|
| "Get up" | E.A. | <u>gum</u> / <u>guum</u> / <u>miss</u> / <u>Our</u> . |
|          | Gh/Z | <u>gum</u> / <u>?inhad</u> .                          |
|          | Mec. | <u>guum</u> .   |
|          | Yem. | <u>?inhad</u> .                                       |

|        |       |                            |
|--------|-------|----------------------------|
| "Take" | E.A.  | <u>ixid</u> , <u>xid</u> . |
|        | Omani | <u>xod</u> .               |
|        | Gh/Z  | <u>xud</u> .               |
|        | Mec.  | <u>?amsak</u> .            |
|        | Yem.  | <u>xod</u> .               |

"Understand".

E.A. iftaham / fihim  
Omani fahim.  
Gh/Z tisma' / ?afham.  
Mec. ?afham.

"He wants".

E.A. yabi 'AJmi yabʔi / yabi / yaba / yištʔhi.  
Omani yabʔi yabʔa.  
S.W. Ar. yaba išti.  
Gh/Z "C" yibʔa, "S" yibii "N" yabʔi.  
Mec. yabʔa.  
Yem. yaba.

"To go".

E.A. raah / saar.  
Omani saar.  
Gh/Z "C" raah "S" and "N" rawwah.  
Mec. raah.  
Yem. saar.

"Camel".

E.A. ibil / bill / boos.  
Omani boos.  
S.W.Ar. boos.

Gh/Z different words are used for different kinds of the camel e.g. camels used for loading are called ba'iir, others: Jumaal, Jumal and ?ibil is common. Plurs. are: ba'aariin and ?abaa'ir but ?ibl and Jumal are used as a ~~Common~~ noun.

"Fan".

E.A. mirwaha / panka / mruuha / mhiffa /  
mirwaha / missabba.  
Gh/Z mirwaha.  
Mec. mirwaha.

"Flies".

E.A. dibban / dibaab  
Omani dbaab.  
Gh/Z dibbaan / dubbaan.  
Mec. dubaab.

|                 |         |   |
|-----------------|---------|---|
| "Matches".      | E.A.    | <u>šaxxaaf</u> / <u>kibriit</u> / <u>milbag.</u>                        |
|                 | Omani   | <u>malbag.</u>  |
|                 | Gh/Z    | <u>kibriit.</u>   |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>kibriit.</u>   |
| "(long) shirt". | E.A.    | <u>dišdaaša</u> / <u>θoob</u> / <u>kandoora.</u>                        |
|                 | Omani   | <u>disdaasa.</u>  |
|                 | Gh/Z    | θob For all kinds of long shirt.<br><u>zolaga</u> "For sleeveless one". |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>toob.</u>  |
|                 | Yem.    | <u>tob.</u>   |
| "Tea".          | E.A.    | <u>čaay</u> / <u>šaahi</u> / <u>čaahi.</u>                              |
|                 | Gh/Z    | <u>šaahi.</u>   |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>šaahi.</u>   |
|                 | Yem.    | <u>šaay.</u>  |
| "Water".        | E.A.    | <u>maay</u> / <u>mayy</u> / <u>maa</u> / <u>maa?</u> / <u>mayya.</u>    |
|                 | Riyad   | <u>mooya.</u>   |
|                 | Gh/Z    | <u>mooyah.</u>  |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>mooya.</u>   |
|                 | Yem.    | <u>mayy.</u>  |
| "All of"        | E.A.    | <u>kill</u> <u>kill</u> , <u>killubuu</u> / <u>kill</u>                 |
|                 | Omani   | <u>kill</u> <u>killit</u> , <u>killweet.</u>                            |
|                 | Gh/Z    | <u>kulle</u>  |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>kulla.</u>   |
|                 | Yem.    | <u>kulla.</u>   |
| "Here".         | E.A.    | <u>hini</u> / <u>hni</u>  |
|                 | Dosiri  | <u>hnaa</u>   |
|                 | Mutairi | <u>hneeya.</u>  |
|                 | Buraimi | <u>hni.</u>   |
|                 | Omani   | <u>hana.</u>  |
|                 | Mec.    | <u>hina.</u>  |
|                 | Gh/Z    | "C" and "S" huna "N" <u>hini.</u>                                       |

- "How". E.A. šloon Čeef / š-gaayil / či-gay / wiš gaayil.  
Gh/Z keyf.  
Mec. keef.  
Yem. keef.
- "Much". E.A. waayid.  
Ajmi kaθiir.  
Omani waayid.  
Gh /Z. "C" Kaθiir in "S" and "N" This word is used in its Plu. form: kaθiriin waaJid is also heard but with the meaning of "it is found".
- "So". E.A. čidi / kida / haacidi.  
Gh/Z kidaa.  
Mec. kidaa.
- "There is". E.A. aku / fiih / hast / sayy.  
Gh/Z "C" fiih fii "S" fiiya. "N" šii.  
Mec. fii.  
Yem. fii.
- "There is not". E.A. maaku / ma-fih / ma-hast ma-mišš / ma-šayy.  
Gh/Z. "C" maafi(i) "S" maafi(i) mow-fi(i) "N" mašš, maaši.  
Mec. ma-fii and mafiis<sup>(1)</sup>
- "Yesterday". E.A. ilbaarha / ams.  
Gh/Z ?ams, baareh, but imbaareh or el barha is used exclusively for "last night".  
Mec. bareh.
-

## SUMMARY

1. On comparing the main features of our dialect with those of other neighbouring dialect regions we find that our dialect, as a whole, stands alone in the following respects:

### A. Phonetically:

(i) This dialect has no (P) form of the b-phoneme, nor the palatalized form for K and g.

(ii) A glottal stop may occur in any position just like any other consonant, and it is always audible in an initial position.

(iii) The diphthongized sounds of (ey), (ay) are articulated where other dialects have a long vowel (ee) as beyt kayf, not beet keef. This does not seem to be true for (aw) (oo).

(iv) With the exception of a few words in the "S" sub-region, a short vowel in an open syllable, preceding a stressed long syllable, is preserved, while in other dialects it is mostly dropped.

### B. Morphologically:

(i) Forms of the 2nd and 3rd masc. Plur. are employed in our dialect as a common gender for masc. and fem. in all types and patterns of the verb, as well as the personal pronouns, while in other Arabian dialects the forms of the fem. Plur. are not totally extinct.

(ii) Preservation of Semantic influence in the structure of verbal forms is noteworthy in our dialect, i.e. we have the fi'il type of verbs often used to indicate the active or transient meaning of action - as birid "he became cold".

(iii) A (b) or (p) prefix to the imperfect has not so far been introduced into our dialects.

### C. Vocabulary:

(i) A very limited number of foreign words are in use in the Gh/Z dialect. Of these words most are of European origin and

some are of Turkish origin. European words include the names of tools, machines, etc. These are apparently mainly used in the "C" sub-region. Words of Persian or Urdu are not heard in any part of this region. In the list of 57 words given by Johnstone which are commonly used in the E.A. dialect, only one (sira) also occurs in Gh/Z heard at al-Baha, the main town of the "C" sub-region, but with the meaning of "queue", not "station" or "waiting place" as it is in the E.A. dialect. Even this word is obviously introduced by lorry or bus driver who travel between this area and the big towns of the Hejaz.

(ii) Some words of Cl. Ar. are still used in this dialect with their classical meaning unchanged, such as sarr "quarrel"; xair "wealth"; sawii "straight"; raṣad "to inform" or "to lead".

(iii) Some words Cl. in origin, are used with different meaning in this area, as waali "husband" (also used in Rw. dialect with the same meaning), but in Mec. it is commonly used for "ruler" or "king"; ḡumma "a state of deep sorrow", \*atma "darkness of the night", mazloma "complaint".

(iv) Apart from individual words, the dialect seems to be rich in turns of expression; our data contain some phrases that occur in the free speech of illiterate informants, but they are surely worthy of being given a literary value, such as:

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| <u>sirt hafiiz el girš</u> | "I became aware of the value of money". |
| <u>šif mout šihaya</u>     | "very wretched condition of life".      |
| <u>jabr al xatir</u>       | "consoled".                             |

2. In the following respects our dialect shares linguistic features with other dialects:

A. Phonetically:

(i) In the pronunciation of ج , ز Gh/Z goes with Mec. Med. and Yem. dialects of S.W. Arabia, but not with Syro-Mesopotamia, N.Ar., E.A., or the Omani dialects.

(ii) In the pronunciation of  $\text{ع}$ , only the "C" sub-region and a pocket in the "N" go with the E.A. dialect, where it is realized as a semi-vowel (Y); otherwise generally this pronunciation agrees with the Mec. Med. and Yem. dialects.

(iii) The pronunciation of  $\text{ث}$ ,  $\text{ذ}$  in the Gh/Z is similar to that of E.A., N. Ar. and, among the S.W. dialects, that of the Omani dialect; these sounds do not agree with the Mec., Med. or Yem. pronunciations, where they are realized as (t) (d), not as (0) and (d).

(iv) Hamza, while treated in the dialect of Gh/Z in a somewhat special way can be said to be nearer in its use to the Yem. and Mec. dialects in the case of an initial position.

(v) The realization of Cl. Arab. (aw), as in yawn, as a lower mid-back short vowel (ɔ), in the dialect of Gh/Z is common to Mec. Med. and the Southern part of Yem.

(vi) The treatment of a diphthong (ey) and (ay) in the dialect of Gh/Z does not agree with other dialects.

(vii) In the case of clusters of two consonants, the "C" sub-region of Gh/Z goes with the Mec. dialect, as both use a helping vowel between two consonants. The "N" and "S" agree with Palm. Hor. E.A. and other S.W. Arabian dialects.

(viii) The effect of the guttural on syllabic structure is common in the "s" of Gh/Z to the E.A. dialects in the case of fa'al / af'al, but no agreement with Mec. or other S.W. Arabian dialects is found in this respect.

(ix) While, as we saw above, the preservation of a short vowel in an open syllable preceding an accented long vowel is a special feature of the Gh/Z dialect as a whole, the "s" of Gh/Z agrees with a special feature of the Palm. Hor. and E.A. dialects in the use of a prosthetic vowel.

### Results:

In respect of the above mentioned nine features, the dialect of Gh/Z stands alone in three features. Of the remaining six



features, two are partially shared with the W. Ar. and partially with N. Ar. and E.A. dialects. In one case Gh/Z agrees with the N.Ar. and E.A. dialects. In two cases Gh/Z goes with the W. Ar. dialects. The Gh/Z shares one feature partially with the E.A. dialect.

Hence it may be assumed that in phonology the Gh/Z dialect is nearer to W.Ar. dialects than to the E.A. or N.Ar. dialects.

B. Morphologically:

(i) The vowel of the first radical in all forms of the verb is preserved in Gh/Z and this feature is common to Mec., Med., and to some extent to Yem.

(ii) Realization of the 2nd and 3rd masc. forms as a common gender for masc. and fem. in Gh/Z is common to some dialects of the E.A. but the total absence of fem. forms with an ending is characteristic of Gh/Z.

(iii) (a) In verbal forms the dialect of Gh/Z agrees with the N.Ar. and Palm. Hor. dialects in the case of the CaCaC type of perfect forms, also with Western dialects.

(b) In the case of CiCiC, YiCCaC, as širib, yišrab, Gh/Z agrees with Western and E.A. dialects.

(c) In the case of YaCCuC, the imperfect of the CaCaC type of verb, the "c" of Gh/Z goes with N.Ar., Hor., Palm. dialects and "g" and "n" go with the western dialects.

(d) In the case of the imperative of CaCaC and CiCiC, as 'aktub and 'ašrab, the "c" sub-region of Gh/Z goes with the Hejaz. "s" and "n" go with Yem. and the E.A. dialects.

(iv) Personal pronouns vary considerably in Gh/Z, and are much confused with divergent and alternative forms. However, our maps 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 show that:

(a) The forms of the 3rd Pers. Sing. (masc. and fem.) huu / hi of "S" and "N" of Gh/Z agree with the E.A. dialect as a whole

and Palm., Hor., Rw. and some areas of N.Ar. dialects; the "C" of Gh/Z goes with the Mec. dialect, as both have huwwa / hiyya.

(b) In the case of 'ana (1st. Pers. sing.) the common form of Gh/Z in "S", "N" and "C" regions is 'ana, which agrees with Mec., E.A. (except Bahrain), Hor., Palm., Druz, and some tribes of N.Ar. dialects. Another form 'ani, which is observed in the extreme "N" and "S" of Gh/Z, agrees with some other areas of N. Ar. dialects.

(c) The form of 1st. Pers. Com. plur. ( Cl. nahnu) has a variety of forms in the dialect of Gh/z. Thus it has a form with an initial "n" sound in the East and West of "C" sub-region, which agrees with the Mec., Med. and Yem. dialects. Another form without an initial "n", which is found in "S" and "N" (besides other forms), agrees with the most common forms of the E.A. dialects. There is another form 'ehna, i.e. with an initial hamza, which is found in the extreme "N" and "S", and agrees with the Palm., Hor. dialects. On the whole, the most common form is nehna and this agrees, as stated above, with W. Ar. dialects.

(d) The form of the 2nd. masc. sing. ( Cl. anta) is 'int in most of the "S" and all of "C" regions, and it agrees with W. Ar. as a whole and some areas of the E.A. and N. Ar. dialect; other forms are rare.

(e) The forms of 3rd masc. plur. ( Cl. hum) has a type with initial (h) sound and another with an initial hamza. The form with an initial hamza is found in "N" of Gh/Z and agrees with Yem; other forms with an initial (h) agree with the rest of the W.A. and E.A. dialects, including N. Ar. and Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.

(v) A possessive adjective hagg, which is used in Gh/Z, is common to W.Ar. dialects and partially agrees with the dialects of E.A.

### Deductions

In respect of the above examined 13 features of morphology, the Gh/Z dialect is in full agreement with the W.Ar. dialects in 3 cases, viz. (i), (iiia) and (v). One case viz. (ii), may be considered

as a characteristic of Gh/Z shared by E.A. to some extent. In the remaining 9 features, the Gh/Z goes with the W. Ar. and partially with the E.A. or N. Ar. dialects. There is no feature in which Gh/Z goes exclusively with the E.A. or with other N. Ar. dialects.

Accordingly, in morphology our dialect is nearer to the W.Ar. dialects; in particular, our "C" sub-region often goes with Mec. and other Hejazi dialects, as appears from the features that are shared by W. Ar. dialects.

### (3) Comparative Vocabulary

Our list shows that there are often links with "W", though in "E" our forms are often only one of several alternatives. It is thus not the case that in vocabulary our list shows a strict division between Eastern and Western words, but there are links both ways.

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### CONCLUSION

In this preparatory study it behoves us to be especially cautious and beware of seeming to claim too much. The various and manifold data scrutinized in this work cannot and do not substantiate, in any conclusive way, the view that fusha is, or was, spoken in our region. Moreover it is apparent that the ancient dialects of Azd, the ancestral tribes of Ghamid and Zahran, studied by Rabin, show no substantial and significant similarity among themselves.

Despite the fact that only a few leading features of our dialect have as yet been compared with those of other and neighbouring dialects, these seem adequate in themselves to place our dialect among those spoken in W. Arabia in general, and in the Hejaz in particular. Among the generality of W. Arabian dialects, ours diverge sharply from those spoken in Yemen, Aden, Hadramawt and Oman; so much is clear. Again, the reservation must be made that there are, of course, some features which the Northern Yemeni dialects share with ours and with the Hejazi dialects.

The evidence now at our disposal places it beyond doubt that the "C" sub-region of our area is especially closely linked with Mecca and the other big towns of the Hejaz socially, economically and commercially; and this influence is obviously reflected in the dialectal features as well. The "S" and "N" of our area, on the other hand, have preserved some archaic features; they also show some similarity with the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects and (to a significant extent) with the dialects of Palmyra and Horan, which may thus in some degree be treated as comparatively early arrivals from the Syro-Palestinian region. These conservative elements of the dialect impart to it a marked individuality among other dialects of W. Arabia, even though, as we have found, this conservative character is not absolute or all-pervading, and similarities with dialects outside the Western Arabian Region exist. Our region was, however, not reached by such

a process as palatalization (K → Ķ etc.), which has been a significant phonetic development over much of central and northern Arabia in the last four hundred years. It is in the knowledge that other researchers will continue to explore these and related themes of Arabian dialectology that the author concludes his studies, and in the earnest hope that many labourers will be moved to till this rich and rewarding field.

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PART THREE

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS

The Selected Specimens of Speech

CHAPTER VI

The specimens given below are transcribed from tapes which were recorded during the investigation on which this whole study is based. These selected speeches represent all the three regions of our dialect. From the "N" sub-region informant No.4 is selected though his talk was recorded in al-Baha in the "C" sub-region. This informant belongs to the tribe of Bani Abdullah who is an inhabitant of Al-Hukman in the north of our region. The second informant is from "C" sub-region and the third one is from "S" sub-region. All of them talk about their own lives and experiences, which are desirable topics for a free unreserved conversation.

As stated in the Introduction, majority of our informants did not seem to be microphone conscious. They spoke as they liked. In these specimens all the characteristics of a free talk may be observed: repetition of phrases, omissions and sometimes repeated corrections of their own words. In this transcription which has been selected for this study, all the meaningless words including some syllables, indicating only the hesitation of the speaker and thus purposeless for this dialectical study have been dropped. This transcription presents a selected and coherent form of the actual conversation of the informants.

The important points to note in this transcription are the phonological and morphological vacillations. Thus informant No. 4 may be observed saying "mudda" and sometimes "midda". The same man in the same context is recorded saying raʃa't, riʃi't. In spite of all this the main features of the dialect in nominal suffixes, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns have been preserved. This point is one by which the individuality of every speech is

distinguished. Some salient points in these talks are mentioned in the footnotes.

Since a sign of interrogation has been adopted for the letter hamza, in case of interrogative sentences the sign would be put in parenthesis.

-----

Informant (No. 5): Sayyed Uthman (Sheik of the village of al-Baha)  
65 years old literate landlord.

- A 1) *ṣassalaamusaaleekum wa rahmatullah*
- B 2) *wasleykum ṣassalaam wa rahmatullah wa barakaatuh.*
- A 3) *sismal kariim ya sayyed*
- B 4) *ṣyyid ṣuṣmaan*
- A 5) *ṣahlan wa ṣahlan. taṣarraft ṣaguul ya sayyed*
- B 6) *naṣam*
- A 7) *mumkin san l'hadoliṯ lii...*
- B 8) *naṣam*
- A 9) *san ṣay san ḥayaatikum wa taṣifu lii ḥaadhil garyu  
 wa ḥaadhil gabiila wa aṣ Kaan al wads min jabl  
 ṣayyaamukum*
- B 10) *wallah ṣṣalaamtak. nahno... sismal garyau  
 el baaha*
- A 11) *siwaaṣ*
- B 12) *b-bolaad yaamid wasminaa nahnoo saasilat  
 beyt an na haadii saada min salil ṣadnaan  
 samma min jahat sana fanajeyt mas waaldii  
 wa kaan waaldii 'alla yuṣfar luu ṣummiiyan. laa  
 yagya wa la yaktub wa laakinuu ya fham ṣamuu  
 yaddiin wa yarudd salal gaari ba'd riibaatuu  
 siḡaa ṣalat fil saayaat fil goraan 70 ṣey. Kintam ṣii*



masuu. naa yasnii zibna samaan sana wa rafham zibna  
sa'ara sana wa kaan hinaak yaazjii baljurošii. wa  
nahno min garyatal baaha. tazawwaf waldalii (min)  
fi baljurošii wa saay fii garyat ismaha šosa bal fugha

A 13) cees šus bal--

B 14) šus bal fugha min garayaa baljurošii

A 15) ziiwaa?

B 16) min garayaa baljurošii wa falasnaa hinaak miiddaa  
wa basdayn nigraa sindal fugha wa kaanal guraan  
bas tasliimol xitma nigra sawwal lahjatna fil guraan  
" zii lif laa šii. salet baa nugta min tahtitaa qinteyn  
min fogaašaa šalaaš min fog. oljiim. wa laašey sal hataa  
šey sala... zaa... (?) min haadijil lahjatna h tabjad.  
hawwaz hutti katman sasfas garyat šaxxaš duzyun  
tarzun min hadal gabiil šeyn garyna sal. sal xitma  
wa nagalna basdeyn sind waahid is muu sahmada sali.  
zaafandii wa tasallamna palxat ol mutyissir wa fakamma  
zamuuraddiin fii šuxrii fojaa? fi baljurošii xaaliid zibn  
ol waliid minal hakuum as saquudiyya wa kaan yalba  
yanaasaš baljurošii fi zawaamir šaniya h wa zanaadallah  
subhaanuu wa zaxxaš baljurošii wa kaan šaakal yom  
zana muhtadin bil bundug haadal bundug al awwal  
ol-riismuh zo martiin yasam muuno zabu zirfaal

yi

yosammuu rabu zirfaal haada wa diikal muddaah saariid  
 mas waalid samii<sup>①</sup> kaan waalidii mow<sup>②</sup> fii mow mow  
 wa raah<sup>③</sup> harab zila garya zismaha garyatal humraan  
 kada sind baljuroosii zila hayo ma yaaxduun zilla nafs  
 baljuroosii yizin bin sosuud zinnuu xaawiz mas zaasriif  
 wo howaa yasnii fil hagiiga raah le fidda wa hilibif sateyh  
 xaaliid wa haada howa sali sind xaaliid wa jaa xaaliid  
 zibniid walii (d) min hinaak : nibya zilla yathaggag  
 howa haada yasnii paxad sulta wa raah le hinaak  
 wa zad bawajib bin sosuud - u - raah ... zinnama  
 howa zaabahal bayrag min salaat min yomaa olaa  
 - aad zaamoo oamaaniya wa oola laadiin wa ramow  
 (zal) bil bundug wa samest pana zarramii bil bun  
 - dug pana sindii bundug mohitadin baha, sahiirah  
 maa tasawwaru wa sazelah fog kitfii mas  
 zanni sahiir wa raayeh mas hataad mas naa  
 min a o oiraan haadii lli nuhruo baha fil balaad  
 wa haarib pana wa saariid mas waaldataa wa  
 kaanat hinda hal miizab haadhi yiisillunuh  
 yiisillunuu fil boduura fil haada biljaraak komal  
 fiiraab haada haggul daan daa maadbuud, mahad  
 yohattunuh fi zohuurhum badu, wa fiina haar  
 - biin nibya nandur min al sagba natafalloq min

haadal - jarrami warrami fiina taah waahid sind  
 wafuuliyanti<sup>4</sup> sismuuh seesareehi (walad hum fiik. mojuud)  
 taah, zindabahi wa jana patilammah fid damm wa  
 hadaak maat. wa basdeyn patxallat ziley n  
 wusilna garya ma huzba nibyaa nanzur zalgagba?  
 naşrud rubsana doola yaabahuuna. Jaana waahid  
 min hinaak min gom xaalid gaal yaa walad hutit  
 el bundug jana hafaz lak el bundug. haadihi zasuufho  
 galag ma sindii xabs maal zilla hiya siwa sitta guruus  
 faşaaşil el bundug haadii fagaam howa yosaayir  
 waah is maah gamguusa, hurma, laguul billaah mayyel  
 galayya el humaar. sindha fii fayaansa şaaşolataa<sup>5</sup>  
 haariibtaa baa<sup>6</sup> miskiina min fuluusaza. fagaamat  
 haadiika. samayyal masaha fahowa yabaa el fluus. faromaa  
 - nii bil bundug wa darabat fi kummal sabaya wa  
 tikit wa silimti yasnii mil bundug<sup>7</sup> ma xargut. fil  
 lahm fama samest zilla haadi: yaa waladii, walolaah  
 wa şaffagat fi zaydiika. fagumt jana taani marra  
 gult ... jana şuf zinnii hay haada bunolugi maşii.  
 haadaak zartad bilhomeera wu nuhno maşiiina  
 wa şilna zila vaas el şagba. şaad fi nuss vaas el  
 şagba waahid ismooh zabal hoseyn min garya mingar  
 min seesis mahaa. haada şard mo şaljaa sind kurn

fii wufhaat raabaar Fudrii gult zindabah maat filmasraka  
 Oumma basdeyn Zanfakkayna min hum wa wasilna garya  
 Pismaa - huzna

A 17) wa kaanat el masraka, yagnii; fi madinat baljurošii?

B. 18) fii nafs baljuroši. nasam.

A 19) Sind ma zistalomi bin sausuud Zalmamlaka(?)

B 20) fii zistaam hum. zewaa? yamow 'baljurošii'. Zaxduu  
 et turuba gabl biljurošii. basdayn Zaxduu et taayef.

A. 21) Kaan haada fii saam Zalf wa Galaaθmiya wa  
 Gamaaniya wa Galaaθiin

B 22) zeewa? Zalkifriyya.

A 23) Sey xariib. taθkur kul sey kaan sumrak daakalyom<sup>(?)</sup>

B 24) Kaan sumrii daakal yom Zaθna Zaθar sana wa  
 Zahtadin bil bundug wa Zsiib tamaam laakinmi  
 ma xaragt waahid q. maana haamil darim had wa  
 laa Zamb Salayya. bas niiba naθrud min gom  
 xaalid masiummi faqindma wasilna....

C 25) fa min fadhil hakuumas sosuudiyya tamma  
 zistalaam baljurošii wal mintaga ghaariid wa

Zahraan wa tahaama wa bani Zumar fastolat  
 assaquadiyya Salal mamlaka wal hamdu lillah rabb  
 il qaadmiin.

B 30) :a laa. fii sey baagi lissa ma lam. wa baqiina fi nafsal

qagba hatta wasilna henaak wa raah kalaalna hadaak

fa rajas waaldii, alla yafir luu gaal ya xaalid

zinnii zana min baahaa wa zinnii maana min

baljuroosi zinni zinnama motzawwif hinaak motzaw

wif fi baljuroosii wa raah milk haggii gaal, miin zindum

zint motzawwif fi baljuroosii zana zahmii, kulle haad el qaayila

le jamaa'ataak zana liya baalaa'iiinsaana fil baljuroosii

gaal zint sehr, "sehr fi mawalii zirk biddol wad daar"

"waddeyf fidduu firaa'suu zila yad saar"

madriis/gaal fi baalaa. madriis gaal "waljaar"

gaal ruh ya god zinkaani hataalak fil mut'reh fa

laqaalnu paxbinnii wa zana zaxalli hataalak yijiik

raah dawwar dawwar girif duub indibeh hataaluu gaak

maa raah minno gaal yaxlif qalayya llah subhaanuu.

raah xaalid maa sawwadna bisey wa zaxad hataanu

fil beyt.

c. 29) "wa laakin nimna baad haada qala dissooruu.

wertaahatil bilaad fil zann walhamdu lillahi

rabbi'l qaulemiin.

B 30) walaa jaana min hakuutnatna zilla kul xeyr

laakin gaakal ydm yasnii saarat el mas raka fil

baljuroosii fa haada zaskal ma jara qalayya fii hayaatii

leheyd zinni rimii zana.

(1) ʿamm is a title of respect by which the head of a family is addressed by his servants, father-in-law is referred to by his son-in-law. A hamza sound after (m) is a peculiar occasional pronunciation.

2

(2) Negative Particle maa and mow are both used in this conversation: before a noun mow and before a verb maa is noticed.

(3) harab "he run away" has a glottal (h) but this informant pronounced it with a pharyngal (h).

(4) raJuulat <sup>ij</sup> "foot" in the dialect of "C" sub-region. In other regions it is raJuul i.e. without -at of fem.

(5) saa? lat fem. sing. of Act. Participle, the nominal suffix having lost its (h) sound (saa?ilat haa).

(6) haaribatha > haaribtaa      baa < biha.

(7) mil bunduq > minel bunduq

(8) The vacillation of this speaker is to be noted. In the first place he said yuxfur and then yaʿfir.

Informant: Sayyed Uthman (Sheik of the village of al-Baha)  
65 years old literate landlord.

- A1) "Peace be upon you, and the blessing of God".
- B2) "And upon you also".
- A3) "Your name please".
- B4) "Sayyed Uthman".
- A5) "Welcome, I am honoured to receive you as my guest. I say,  
Mr. Uthman ..."
- B6) "Yes?"
- A7) "Is it possible for you ..."
- B8) "Yes?"
- A9) "To tell me something about your life and to describe the  
situation of this village and this tribe as it was in your  
young days?"
- B10) "We ... the name of this village is al-baha".
- A11) "Yes".
- B12) "My family is from Belad Ghamid and we are known to be a branch  
of the noble house of al-Nahaadi, descendants of 'Adnan. As for  
myself, I came here with my father. My father, may God forgive  
him, was an illiterate man who could neither read nor write,  
but he used to understand religious affairs. He got a reciter  
to correct his faults if he made any mistake in reading the  
verses of the Qur'an or in anything else. He used to take me  
with him everywhere when I was eight years old. I started to  
acquire understanding when I was ten years old.  
He was a <sup>clerk</sup> ~~seller~~ in Biljershi and was from the village of  
al-baha. He married my mother in Biljershi and began living  
in a village known as Sho'ab al-fugha".
- A13) "Shoab al-fugha, where is that?"
- B14) "Shoab al-fugha is one of the villages of Biljershi".
- A15) "Oh, I see".
- B16) "Yes, one of the villages of Biljershi. We lived over there  
for a long period and we began learning from the fogaha (that

is, the learned religious teachers); the Qur'an was our only text-book. When being taught our Khatma (the recitation of the Qur'an from beginning to end), we began by reading aloud from the Qur'an, starting with its alphabet, which we used to memorize in this way;-

"Alif has no dot; Ba has one dot underneath it, Ta has two dots on its head, tha has three dots on its head, Jim has a dot in its stomach, Ha has no dot, and so on."

Now where was I? Now, this was the style of vocalization we followed;-

ʔabJad Hawwaz Hutti Kalman saʔfas qarsat thakh khadh  
taghdun.

and so on.

And when we were able to read the Qur'an, we moved on to a teacher called Ahmad 'Ali Efendi and we gained what skill we could in handwriting and an understanding of religious matters.

But in my time - in my childhood - Khalid bin al-Way came to Biljershi on behalf of the government. He wanted to advise the people of Biljershi that they would be wise to accept the new regime. It was the will of God that Biljershi should be captured. At that time I used to wear a gun at my waist -- the old sort of rifle that was called a Martini; they named it Abu Zirfal. And at that time my uncle ran away with my father. My father was not in the town; he ran away to a town called Homran, which is on the outskirts of Biljershi, as they thought that they (the members of the new government) would not take over any but the chief city, because the administrator of Biljershi thought that Ibn Saud was going to ally himself with the Sherif, and he in fact went to Khalid and took an oath of allegiance; Khalid came away saying "We only want to receive assurance". He established the new regime of Ibn Saud and went away, and from that Tuesday morning in 1338H, the new standard



- Bedouin

began to wave, and the people surrendered their arms. I heard the sound of guns and I had a small gun myself which was not loaded. I used to carry it on my shoulder, although I was so young, and I used to go with the cattle and sheep which we used to work on the cultivation of our fields, and I ran away, wandering with my mother, who used to wear a mezab<sup>(1)</sup> of the kind which is known as a jeerab, made of tanned sheep-skin and carried on the back. We came running, seeking a way out from that troubled spot to be safe from the shooting which was going on. (I saw) someone fall down shot; he was from Biljershi, and his son was with him. I saw him lying covered in blood. He was dead.

After that I went wandering about the tracks until I reached a village called Mahuznah. I wanted to find a way out, to run away from our region, where there were men thirsting for our blood. One of Khalid's men came, who told me, 'Boy, put down your gun', but I held fast to the gun regarding it as the total of my possessions, for at that time I had only that gun and six piastres, so I held on to my gun. That man was following someone, a woman called Gamgosha, who said to me, 'Plesse hold this ass down for me'. She had some coins (fransa) with her and wanted to safeguard her money by running away. While I was holding down the ass for her, the man who was following her for her money shot at me with his gun, and the bullet passed through the sleeve of my robe, and I felt it pass, but I was uningured, for the bullet did not touch my flesh or skin. The woman cried out and shouted, 'O! my son!' and clapped her hands in alarm. So I stood up and told her, 'Look at me, I am still alive, and here is my gun too'. The man followed the ass and we walked on, but then we gave him

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1. A special sling worn by Bedouin women for carrying a child at the hip.

the slip, and as we were approaching the out-skirts of the town, we saw a man coming back from the village of Qar, who asked me, 'Is Saad with you? His face is pitted from small-pox'. I informed him that Saad had been killed in the recent struggles, and after that we found our way and reached the town of Huzna."

- A17) "Where did this conflict take place? Was it in the city of Biljershi?"
- B18) "Yes, that's right."
- A19) "Was it when Ibn Saud captured the kingdom?"
- B20) "Yes, it was when they took over Biljershi; they conquered Turba and then they conquered Biljershi in just the same way. Then they took over Taif."
- A21) "Was it in 1330?"
- B22) "Yes, Hejira."
- A23) "I am surprised that you remember all this so well -- how old were you at that time?"
- B24) "I was at that time twelve years old, and I used to wear a gun and my aim was very good, but I didn't shoot anybody, so I didn't bring on myself the sin of murder. I simply wanted to run away with my mother, and I didn't want to fight with the followers of Khalid, nor with anyone else. I was just running away with my mother. And when we arrived ....."
- C25) "By the grace of the Saudi government the capture of Biljershi and the region of Ghamid, Zahran, Tihama and Beni Omair was completed, and the Saudi took over the whole kingdom and praise be to God, the Lord of all worlds."
- B26) "No, there is something further to tell: we remained in this terrible situation until we arrived there. Our livestock had been lost and my father --may God forgive him-- returned and said, 'O Khalid, I am one of the inhabitants of al-Baha, I don't belong to Biljershi, but I wasn't married there, I got

married in Biljershi. My possessions have been lost.'

Khalid asked, 'Into which family did you marry in Biljershi? In any case I will stand by the family you are related to; I have been here for thirty years.' "

C27) (Khalid then recited two lines of poetry in a joyful fashion) 'You are my son-in-law, and according to our custom, a son-in-law shares house and country.' A guest deserves honour until his departure.' "

B28) "I don't remember what he said in the third line, it was something that ended in the word jaar (neighbour). He said, 'Go, my good fellow, to the public animal enclosure and sort out your livestock. I will leave yours for you, if you can find them there.' He went, and looked very hard, and he knew that his cattle had been killed, and that none were left. He said, 'God on High will compensate me.' But Khalid went without giving us any thing in compensation. Anyhow, our cattle and sheep had gone together with the rest of our possessions, but at least we could sleep soundly after that."

C29) "But we could sleep happily after that, and peace was restored to the country, and praise be to God, Lord of all worlds."

B30) "No doubt we received all good things from our government, but that time when the war was going on and the struggles were taking place in Biljershi was really a terrible period. The most remarkable event of my life occurred when I was shot myself."

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Informant (No. 4): Saleh bin Saeed, 40 years old peasant from  
the tribe of Bani 'Abdullah of al-Hukman, North  
of Zahran.

- A 1) ṣassalaamu ṣaleekum.
- B 2) ḥeykum ṣalaam.
- A 3) ṣismak-el karīm (?)
- B 4) ṣaaleḥ bin ṣa'iid.
- A 5) Kam ṣumrukum (?)
- B 6) ṣal'imr ṣarbaṣiin ṣana
- A 7) min ṣayyat ḡabiila (?)
- B 8) banii ṣabdillah
- A 9) ṣiṣā taṣtaṣluun
- B 10) niṣtaṣil fiṣṣayāaṣa
- A 11) ṣindkum maṣraṣa xaṣṣa taṣlikha (?)
- B 12) ṣalṣard ḥillah ṣaṣtaana riṣḡna minha.
- A 13) Kam ṣindkum el ṣard, yaṣnii maṣaḡatka kam (?)
- B 14) ṣalḡummal ṣaḡidḡiṣḡa biṣṣuḡl. maṣaḡa kaḡiira.
- A 15) . . . mumkin ya ṣeeḡ taḡki li ṣan ṣawwal ḥiṣḡatak  
 le meḡkaa (?)
- B 16) wallaḡe yaḡ ḡabiibi neḡna ṣaḡfarna ṣawwal ṣafra  
 wa neḡna ṣaḡlaa<sup>①</sup> ṣuḡaar
- A 17) Kam kaan ṣumrak daḡḡiin (?)
- B 18) yimkin ḡal ṣaṣr ṣanaṣaat  
 wa maṣayna ṣal ḡeḡaaz niṣṣii ṣala yuḡuḡna

Qumma basd ma wasalna. makka faawadnaa fawaad.  
 raashay be reyaal waahid wa saxadna hatta w gallog.

na ashay basdeyn saar lii marsuul min fidda min.  
 sind walad xaali talast sinduu sammanii wa talabt.

Sinduu fawaad gaaluu maa lak fawaad sinda na pin.

tibya tagsud bas raona raashay<sup>a</sup> laixudka qasriin.

reyaal. gult maana moaafiq salaa hadaa iannama.

talast uumii hagg ashay reyaal fazaakumullah xayr.

wa sim manastum yixlif gallogallah. gaal wallaah.

ma sindna sey; tibya tagsud iahlan wa sahlam.

tibya taruuh fii sammanlah. saxadtu sala nafsii

wa nazit sala jeddey

A 19) Kunt; sala haalak (?)

B 20) salaa haalii. nizitt sala fidda mas naas min jamaasti

wasalt fidda faawadt fawaad ba galaa reyaal

sind u rujuk sinduu iineyn hariim samman wahda

maznuuna wahda saahi. falast sinduum yom waahid.

walyomaa saanii nizitt ussuug. basd ma nizitt us

suug rezistu basdal mayrib il beyt. xaashayt sind

haadiiki l laadi fil majlisil wustaanii. zahamat galayja

wa daxalt sind ha gaal tijlus sindii. falast. basdeyn

gaamat zasagat basst mufjaes wa xift minha

wa fakkeyt ul baab wa telistuddurfaan saarid.

lamman tilistil famaasalli fəg gult wallah sammati  
 it tah laaneyya fajasatnii galoo xasheet qindha(?)  
 gult nasam gaalo wallahe majnuuna keyf allah  
 subhaanu sallamak minha gult palhamdu lillah  
 silimt. Fallasooni basol, tismasal masna, taasseyt  
 wamibasatt saxadt nafsii wa ruht qind walad xaalir  
 maa rajast qinduum el yom aḥḥaanii xalaas xof  
 basdeyn. Jalast haadakkal loyt le palhayl aḥḥaanii  
 Jalast Jaawadt qind waahid yuguul luu qibraa  
 -hiim fadas be reyaaleyn pašhur yasnii midola  
 sitta pašhur gasadt qindu be qaana saḥar reyaal  
 qugb haada issey Jaanii min famaastii wa gaaluu  
 nehna xaarfiin qalhefaaz wa qannama tibya  
 taxruj masana lawakkal qallaa saxadtu nafsii  
 masuum el bahy yakabna saasii wa kaananndal  
 haadiikal mudda fisisaaya be reyaal waahid qila  
el gunfoda qugmaa wasalna gunfoda Jalasna yom  
 wal yom aḥḥaanii yakabna qalal fomaal. yubis  
 yaakib haasabuunii qana yubis yaakib qalafomal  
 qaxadna nowaasil min el gunfoda qila yabs Leyla wahada  
 we subhan nahaar aḥḥaani sabbaahnaa wa gasadna  
 qileyn el maxrib wa saddleyna wa sabbaahna l yom aḥḥ  
 aaliḥ qalmixwa qugma wasalna hinaa mas walad

xaalii yasnii 10 yasaaluu man hal waalehii wa gaal  
 nehna bigi mas waladak lissa reyaal wa zana bigiit  
 gindah liya <sup>9</sup> sitta zaashur. yasnii sallam luu lissa reyaal  
 min Jawaad Ial muddaa haadhii sitta zaashur.

hinaa bardeyn dub saafarthaa min haalii lamman wasalt  
 Jidda Jaawadtu bi sitta reyaal Jawaadi sala nafsii.  
 wa saggart min haadiik el mudda patti saafart fiya wa  
 saar fiyaal xadaas yasnii zana saggart nafsii wa  
 Jaawadtu ba sisitta reyaal wa siirt saatir sala nafi  
 Iasmaaal magna wa hafii zal garis Iaxaadt sitta zaashur  
 gind qammi haada wa sugma saar waaldii fi haada l  
 miakaan saraa luh min ir rukbaan woneyn min zibal  
 el hejaaz. qammii saasaduk saraa luu ba giima raxiisa  
 ba hol mesteyn reyaal waahid. we siiriin kamaan yasnii  
 Ial waahid ba mesteyn wa siiriin reyaal. Jaanii sala  
 Iaxaadt loman gind qammi qalaa qoneeh. Ial qoneeh  
 ba haadiikal mudda ba saar reyaal we kaan gindii.  
 qalaa qoneeh gindii kamaan hafazt min kasbi lo diik  
 el mudda bistalt fiya. sallamt as sittiin haadii kull yaas  
 maalii sallamt ul waahid. Iaxaadhaa wa raah sal hejaaz  
 farrag minha sallii zistalaf fir rukbaan bardeyn  
 zana xarazt min gind qammii haada.

so khal subhaanuu zaad waffag zinni bar d ma talst.

lil haff wa rijist qala fidda sirt zaaxil fil gulmaan  
 maqal jumaal latlas ba sarabas reyaal haggatalgalan  
 wa ihassal foga laana saar reyaal yisir sitta saar  
 reyaal fii kull iusbuus baadeyn hassalt tajriba wa  
 saar maksab haggii tarbaa'in reyaal baadeyn rijist  
 qal kefaaz ixaad' nafsii qal mazra'a dalhiin kaan  
 gumrii sittas' sana wa zana qindii yis maal min maksab  
 haggi xams mi'a reyaal. qal hurmatilli qindii sajuuzlii  
 jawwazt ha dalhiinah. wa salaamtal famiis.



Notes

- (1) Jahla sing. Jaahil "young ones" not "ignorant ones".
  - (2) cf. ruJuuliyat in conversation of informant No. 5 of "C".
  - (3) fi ?amaanillah fi?amaan lah.
  - (4) Jiddey Jeddah with imala.
  - (5) rujul and raJjal both heard from this same informant.
  - (6) (S) is velarized in the contiguity of a phonemic velarized (t).
  - (7) gaal for 3rd pers. sing. fem. instead of "gaalat" and tiJlus ?iJlis (imperative).
  - (8) manhal < min?ahl.
  - (9) 'indah liya < ?ahleha.
-

Informant (No. 4); Saleh bin Saeed, 40 years old peasant from the tribe of Bani Abdullah of al-Hukman, North of Zahran.

- A1) Salutations.
- B2)
- A3) "Your name please?"
- B4) "Saleh bin Saeed."
- A5) "How old are you?"
- B6) "Forty years old".
- A7) "Which tribe do you belong to?"
- B8) "Bani Abdullah."
- A9) "What is your occupation?"
- B10) "Our occupation is agriculture."
- A11) "Do you have your own farms?"
- B12) "Land belongs to God. He has given us our livelihood from it."
- A13) "How much land do you own? What acreage of land do you have?"
- B14) "It is measured by the work a labourer can do. There is plenty of land."
- A15) "Could you describe your first pilgrimage to Mecca, please?"
- B16) "Well, my friend, the first time we travelled we were inexperienced young chaps."
- A17) "How old were you at that time?"
- B18) "May be ten years. We started out for the Hejaz on foot. When we arrived at Mecca I got myself employment for one riyal per month, and stayed in this job until the end of the month. After that a messenger came from Jedda sent by one of my cousins, and I went to him straight away and asked him for a job. They said, 'There is no job for you here, but if you like to stay with us, we can give you twenty riyals for twelve months'. I said, 'I can't agree to these terms. If you can give me one riyal per month God will compensate you,

and if you will not do this, God will open another door for me', He said, 'Well, we have nothing to offer you; if you want to stay you are welcome, and if you want to go, may God protect you'. So I got ready and went to the town of Jedda."

A19) "Were you alone at this time?"

B20) "Yes, I was alone, but went to Jedda with people from my group. I arrived in Jedda, and took employment at three riyals per month serving a man who had two wives -- one of them was mad, and the other was sane. I stayed with them for one day, and then on the following day I went down to the market; when I had been down to the market I came back after sunset to the house, and entered the apartment of the woman who lived in the middle flat. She called me, so I moved towards her, then she asked me to sit down; she stood up and gave out a horrible cry, and I was frightened of her. I opened the door, and ran up the stairs and ran away. When I appeared to the people living on the top floor, I told them that the lady on the second floor had frightened me. They said, 'Did you go to her?' I answered, 'Yes'. They exclaimed, 'She is mad, how lucky that God protected you!' I said, 'Praise be to God, I am safe.' They made me stay, you know, to take my supper; I enjoyed it and then took my belongings and ran away. I didn't go back to them, because I was terrified. I ran away to my cousin and stayed with him for that night.

The following night I took a job with a man called Ibrahim Jada' at two riyals per month. For the duration of six months I stayed with him, in return for which I received twelve riyals in wages. At the end of that period, someone from my region came and said, 'We are going back to the Hejaz, if you want to come with us, get ready.'<sup>(1)</sup> I got ready and

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1. Literally, "Trust in God."

went with them by sea. We boarded a boat, on which the fare was one riyal from Jedda to Qunfuda. When we arrived at Qunfuda, we stayed that day and the following day, and the day after that we rode on camels: the camel fare was quarter price, for they calculated me as a quarter passenger. We continued our journey from Qunfuda to Yebs overnight and at dawn the following day we halted until sunset, when we recommenced our journey, and we arrived at Mokhawa at daybreak on the third day. I arrived there with my cousin; he asked after my father, and told him, 'We have nine riyals of your son's wages.' They handed over only nine riyals in return for the work I had done during six months.

Some time later I travelled alone. When I arrived in Jedda I managed to find a job for six riyals per month on my own initiative. I had got wise in the period when I first travelled and had been the victim of others' dishonesty. I mean to say, that I was clever enough to learn how to be thrifty. I stayed six months with this employer.<sup>(1)</sup>

After that my father came to this place and bought two camels of Hejazian stock. My master<sup>(2)</sup> assisted him in making the deal at a reduced price, about two hundred and twenty riyals each. I handed over to him three guineas which I had been able to save and which my master had kept for me. A guinea was equivalent to ten riyals at the time. There was another three guineas in my possession which I had earned during my service. I handed all of my wealth over to my father. He took it and went to the Hejaz, and paid his creditors among the camelmen. After that I left my employer.

God added his blessing when I went on another pilgrimage and went to Jedda and started working with camelmen. I used

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1 & 2. The literal translation is "uncle", which is used of the master of the house; similarly the mistress of the house is called "aunt".

to take four riyals for every trip, besides twelve riyals in fares, the total of which was sixteen riyals a week. After some experience my earnings were forty riyals a week, and then then I was able to return to the Hejaz and establish my farm and fruit production. When I was sixteen my farms brought me five hundred riyals and I got married -- my old lady who is with me now is the girl I married in those days. God save all of you."

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Informant (No. 31): Muhammad bin Muhammad Hanash, police guard.  
30 years old, semi-literate.

- A1) Iism al Iax (?)
- B2) mohammad bin mohammad hanash
- A3) min Iayyat gabiila (?)
- B4) min gabillat xadgam.
- A5) min fars yaamid (?)
- B6) laa, gabiila puxra yismmuuka xalqa.
- A7) kam yabsud min hina (?)
- B8) min baljorošii ydm waahid.
- A9) - Iazunn Iant hina fundii (?)
- B10) Ieewaa Iana fundii
- A11) - wa gabl haada (?)
- B12) gabl haada kunta šaxil bil feys.
- A13) mumkin tahkii lii gišša duxuulak fil feys wa  
xuruufak minha wa keef kaan Iayyaamat ??
- B14) Ieewaa Iatkiilak
- A15) faddal
- B16) Iana saafart min hinaak min bilaal xadgam wat lesall  
Iila mataar fidda katabt kunaak mohaadra basdeyn  
Iintagatt Iila haapel haapel Fahatal Kasim<sup>o</sup> sii yarbi  
Iarriyaad basdeyn bigiina hinaak. wa hinaak tabsan  
gaapid il liwaa yaxtaar min el fonuud Iahsan manzar

fil malbas wa lasan waahid yakuun yasrif ma'ad el malaa  
 -bis el faskariyya wa yakuun haykaluu zeen 70 lalmari  
 yasrii 70 kaan. Iarsalaoh 70 la fahat al muxlaassa  
 yakuun yagdi l lozuum wa tabaan faasnaa gaadiid samsi  
 safiid el samrii fantadab minna xamsiin saxs libboliis.  
 wa pana lakun min jumlatkum. wa kulluum min zahozanz  
 min zahraan 70 la fasiir fagat wa baqiina henaak fil feys  
 muddat parbasat sanawaat wa pana libboliis 70 la fadil  
 fadarrabnaa sala d dabbaabaat wa 70 la xadnan fikra  
 la tatwiir el 70 la yaam. ma'ad. 70 la tagadlamna l xalt  
 yakuun el boliiis yaktafiif sala ma'ga ekk howa yalgaad  
 -dam el feys 70 la feyha fa hinna natgadolam katta naktafiif  
 70 la gadu. wa naktafiif sala l miyaah elley mojuuda gud  
 -daam el feys haggana. 70 la kaanat il miyaah haadhii  
 saalma min el gadu hinna narfas we nixbir tabiib xas  
 lil miyaah yiktafiif saleyha basdayn 70 la kaan guddamna.  
 gadu 70 la nakuun naxsa 70 la yakuun guddamna 70 la yaam  
 mazruusa fa sala kulle haal nakuun mutasallemin le  
 tatwiir el 70 la yaam bid dabbaabaat wa lakun kassana  
 haadhii mustafidda fi sayyartuk la yofaadii fa hinna  
 nofaadii lanfusna narukh nafsah mahl qilli fiha yakuun  
 70 la yaam mazruusa lenodaafes lewatan wel jumma wel  
 hakuuma basdayn nirjas a naxbar garyid il liwa samrii

(Samma) sawweyna faqala kulle haal gl fundii fundi bolis  
 el kaššafa tabṣan yahmil ganaabil yadwiyya wa  
 yahmil haatif wa yahmil raššaas birit saxiir laha  
 maxzaneyn, balmaxzan yašiiil zarbašiin taḡa wa tabṣan  
 haadaal birit yištaxil iotoomaatiikiyan 30 fardiiyan  
 yaštaxil iotoomaatiikiyan maṭalan liṣaabaat 30  
 liššawaarees maṭalan naḡkul fii garya 30 fii masraka  
 30 yakuun haada taštasmalukh yasnii iotoomaatiikiyan.  
 ʕindma hinna mutgaadliimii.

faqala kulle haal bigiina muddaa nasnal kidaa wa  
 saafarnaa kasdeyn ʕila tabuuk wan taḡalna ʕilaa haḡl  
 wa min haḡl iintagabna ʕagabat el jurduun fima ʕaar  
 beyn ʕisraaʕiil yom ʕistahallat ʕisraaʕiil balmoraaššas  
 wa kamaan yom haarb bursaaʕiid hinna ruḡna hinank  
 ʕala huduud is saʕuudiya wa baroḡ daxalna ʕammuan  
 faʕakbar fikra wa gišša le ʕamalna jaat: ʕinna mašii  
 naa leyḡ baṣayyara la haḡo ʕinna ʕalgeyna el gabol  
 ʕala isneyn <sup>(3)</sup> ʕisraaʕiiliyiin famašiiina boduun nuur  
 leṣayyara hinna namaššiiha. faḡtaḡaynaa guḡlamna  
 ʕaʕara lamman garrabna ʕaʕara haadii ʕassawwan ʕalli  
 howaa masana, ʕamaraanii, faḡaal ʕaššajara ille hiya  
 guḡlamna munkei yokuun ʕaduwi le ʕan maššajara  
 ʕay waahid waagif mustagiim. fa hinna nazzalna



min nas sayyira ɓalɓisraaɓiihiyin dool ɓalliin gabadna  
 ɓaleyhum wa halteynaahum fi sayyarat isijn. maymiya  
 0 ɓala ɓoyuunkum ɓaɓabna ɓayuunkum bil sukay, ɓibnaa  
 hum ɓida tabuuk wa min tabuuk gawwamnaahum biɓlān -  
 -ɓira ɓila r riyaaɗ wastalamahum el haakuuna. ɓand  
 maa nadrii keyf ɓaurat giɓɓathum fiima baɗɗ mastala  
 -muukum minna faɓabɓan nazalna min sayyara waɓɓ-  
 -hiid min xuuyaana hiin ma nazalna ɓalaa tuul bil bun-  
 -dug haɓɓatu fi ɓaɓara faakiir ɓinnuu haɓam ɓal ɓadu.  
 fa haɓɓaa ɓakbar giɓɓa ɓiltageynaah min xawiiyaana <sup>(4)</sup>  
 wa ɓala kulle haal riyisna min hinaak wantagal  
 min tabuuk burɗo ɓila t taazef ɓattasalna <sup>(5)</sup> ɓila t taazef  
 faɓaani xabar ɓanna ɓaxii mariid faɓaɗɗolant  
 ɓaɓaaza wa ruht wal tageyt mariid biɓsarataaɓ  
 ɓaxaɗt minno wa ɓahabt ɓila ɓidda wa guddant  
 faɓɓ ɓahabt ɓila ɓidda ɓaɓɓehiyyat el xaaɓid  
 ɓumma min sehiyyat xaaɓid ɓila sehiyyat faɓɓal  
 fi t taazef. ɓumma ɓila ɓan taɓaafa min haɓal  
 maraɗ saɓhaɓuu minho l mooya kaɓiir ɓumma  
 ɓarɓaɓt bɓ xuuya ɓila diyaarna hinaak laɓreyɗ  
 kaɓabu r ruɓuuɓ ɓilal baɓaad. ɓaɓadnaa mudɗaa  
 laa taɓid min xamsat ɓohuur sallah sabhaannuu ɓabɗ  
 ruukah. sallah yarhamho. baɓdeyn ɓalhaadiɗ moɗ

haadhaa zana jiit iila baljorusii boheyo fii naas hinna  
 iasdegaan wa iashaab gaaluu xallek lakub masana  
 lil fundiyya fiiha maslaha wa xidmataasasab wa  
 hakumatna, qallah yaqizzaha natfarraf boxidmatka  
 wa qala kulle haal Jiit fakatabt hina fiisarta baljorusii  
 wa kaan diik al ayyaam<sup>6</sup> ialmadiir hina wahid yoguud  
 luu iabdul hafiz hindii faa baroluu waahid yoguud luu  
 yahya el yaamii bardeyn faa waahid hasan jambi  
 barolo faawaa oumma mim barol muddah wa zana  
 fiisarta talabat il hayzah funuud lil qaamliin fiiha  
 faddaabit il maajuud diikal ayyaam hasabal samr  
 ialmadiir yahya el yaamii gaal tanagguu min ed  
 fonuud il maajuudiin ledeyk min iahsan naas laayigii  
 lil hayzah yakuunuu mo oaggafiin laa yaasabuu mas  
 - an naas yakuunuu iashaab oiga iaxlaagohum laayig  
 lil hayza diiniyya fa saar ianuu naggaani zanaa wa zani  
 - lii wa iarsaana iila il hayzah. hasabal samr min addaabol  
 wa hinna hina muddaah sanateyn lil hayzah  
 wa lilaah i hamel.

Notes

(1) is changed here in its initial position to "k" but no other example could be found.

(2) Compare "narfa" in text (1)

(3) is sounded as (S).

(4) Compare above in the same speech xuuyaana.

(5) Compare wasalna in text (1).

(6) Informant (4) of "N" often used dalhin with the meaning "at that time".

-----

Informant (No. 31); Muhammad bin Muhammad<sup>(1)</sup> Hanash, police guard,  
30 years old, semi-literate.

- A1) "Your name brother?"  
B2) "Muhammad bin Muhammad Hanash."  
A3) "To which tribe do you belong?"  
B4) "The tribe of Khad'am."  
A5) "Is it a branch of Ghamid?"  
B6) "No, it is another tribe called Khal'ah."  
A7) "How far is it from here?"  
B8) "It is one day's journey from Biljershi."  
A9) "I understand that you are a police guard?"  
B10) "Yes. I am."  
A11) "And before that?"  
B12) "Before that I used to be in the army."  
A13) "Could you tell me the story of your life from the time you joined the army to the time you left it? What kind of life did you lead?"  
B14) "Yes, I'll tell you."  
A15) "Please do."  
B16) "I travelled from there, from the region of Khad'am, went to the airport at Jedda, signed my contract, then transferred from there to Haayel, which is near to Qasim, west of Riyadh, and stayed there.

Normally the brigadier-general selects from the military a man whose appearance is good, who is physically strong and who bears himself well in uniform; the man who is best qualified in these respects receives a posting to discharge his duties. Of course, Brigadier Amri Sa'id selected fifty men from amongst us, and I was one of those chosen, and all of

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1. When a son's birth occurs after his father's death, he adopts the father's name as part of his own.

them were from the Hejaz, from the area ranging from Zahran to Asir only.

I stayed in the army for a period of four years. We were trained on tanks and instructed in the system of mine location and disposal. For example, if we should advance to the borderline, the duty of the policeman who is on reconnaissance is to find out the nature of the terrain and of any hazards on the route along which the army has been detailed to march, in order to find out the enemy positions and any sources of water which might be available for our army. Then we return and ask the opinion of the doctor with this special responsibility, whether the water is safe, and he analyses it.

After that, if there are enemy about, or we suspect that there may be mines laid, and there is danger for the tanks, it is our duty to defuse the mines. However, we are assumed to be trained how to render the mines ineffective by the use of flails, operated from the tanks.

Now this scout is always in the van of his army to defend his homeland, government and nation. In any case, we ought to be prepared to sacrifice ourselves, so we go in front and discover where mines have been laid. We hazard our lives and go to the exact spot where the mines lie hidden, and then we return to our brigadier and report our activities. Anyhow, the reconnaissance detachment carries hand-grenades, naturally, and a walkie-talkie and a sub-machine gun. This works automatically but can be operated manually. It is used with the automatic device in woods or streets, for example, if we enter a village or battle ground we use it on automatic while we are advancing.

We went on doing this work for a time, then travelled to Tabuk. We stayed in Tabuk for one year, then we were transferred to Haql, and from Haql to the borderline between Jordan and Israel, that is to Aqaba. It was at the time when Israel

captured a machine-gun, also when war was being waged on Port Said. We were sent to the border of Saudi-Arabia, entered Amman, where we stayed for some time.

There is a story which gives some idea about the nature of our work. Once we were passing through at night in our cars, having captured two Israelis; so we had extinguished the lights on the car we were driving. We found our way barred by a tree: when we got nearer to the tree, our driver, Shamrani, said that this tree which was in front of us might perhaps be an enemy, because it stood straight upright, like a person standing in the street.

So we made the Israelis get out of the car; (those two Israelis whom we had captured and put in the prisoners' car were blindfolded, for we had bound our head-covers round their eyes. We brought them back to Tabuk, and from Tabuk we despatched them by air to Riyadh where the government received them, but we don't know what became of them after the government took them over from us.) So naturally we got out of the car, and one of our companions immediately fired a gunshot at the tree, thinking it was an enemy. This is the funniest thing that happened to anyone in our company.

Anyhow, we returned from there and transferred from Tabuk as well to Taif.

When we arrived at Taif I received information that my brother was ill. I applied for compassionate leave and went home and found my brother suffering from cancer. I took him to Jedda and applied to be discharged from the army for the sake of my brother. In Jedda I took him to Khalid hospital and from Khalid hospital to Feisal hospital in Taif until he recovered; they took a lot of water from his body.

After that I took my brother back to our village because the doctors asked me to do so. After a period of not less than

five months, God received his soul, may God rest his soul. After his death I came to Biljershi where there were friends and companions of mine. They advised me to apply for the police force, because this was a way in which I might serve my government (may God give it honour, and we are honoured to be in her service). I applied at Biljershi police station, and at that time the Inspector there was a man called Abdul Hafiz, who was an Indian, and after him another man called Yahya el Yami. The present Inspector who succeeded him is called Hasan Janbi, who is also a foreigner from Java.<sup>(1)</sup>

After I had been working at the police station for a time the organization for religious affairs asked the police guard for their officers. The Inspector of Police at that time, Yahya el Yami invited them to choose from amongst the policemen who were there at the time, and they selected some men on the basis of their integrity. It meant that they wanted courteous policemen who would not quarrel with people and who could be trusted to behave in a manner suitable for a religious organization. Anyhow, I and one of my colleagues were selected and sent to this organization on the police inspector's instructions. We have been here for two years, and, thanks be to God."

---

1. These men, although of Saudi nationality and Arabic speaking, are thought of as foreigners because they are ethnically distinct from the local indigenous population.

APPENDIX

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PRONUNCIATION OF ʕ

MAP 1

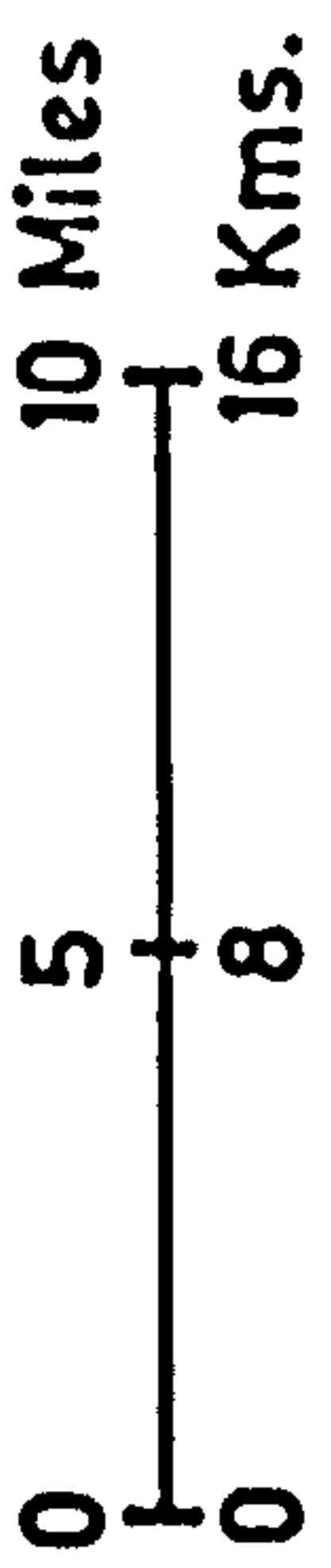
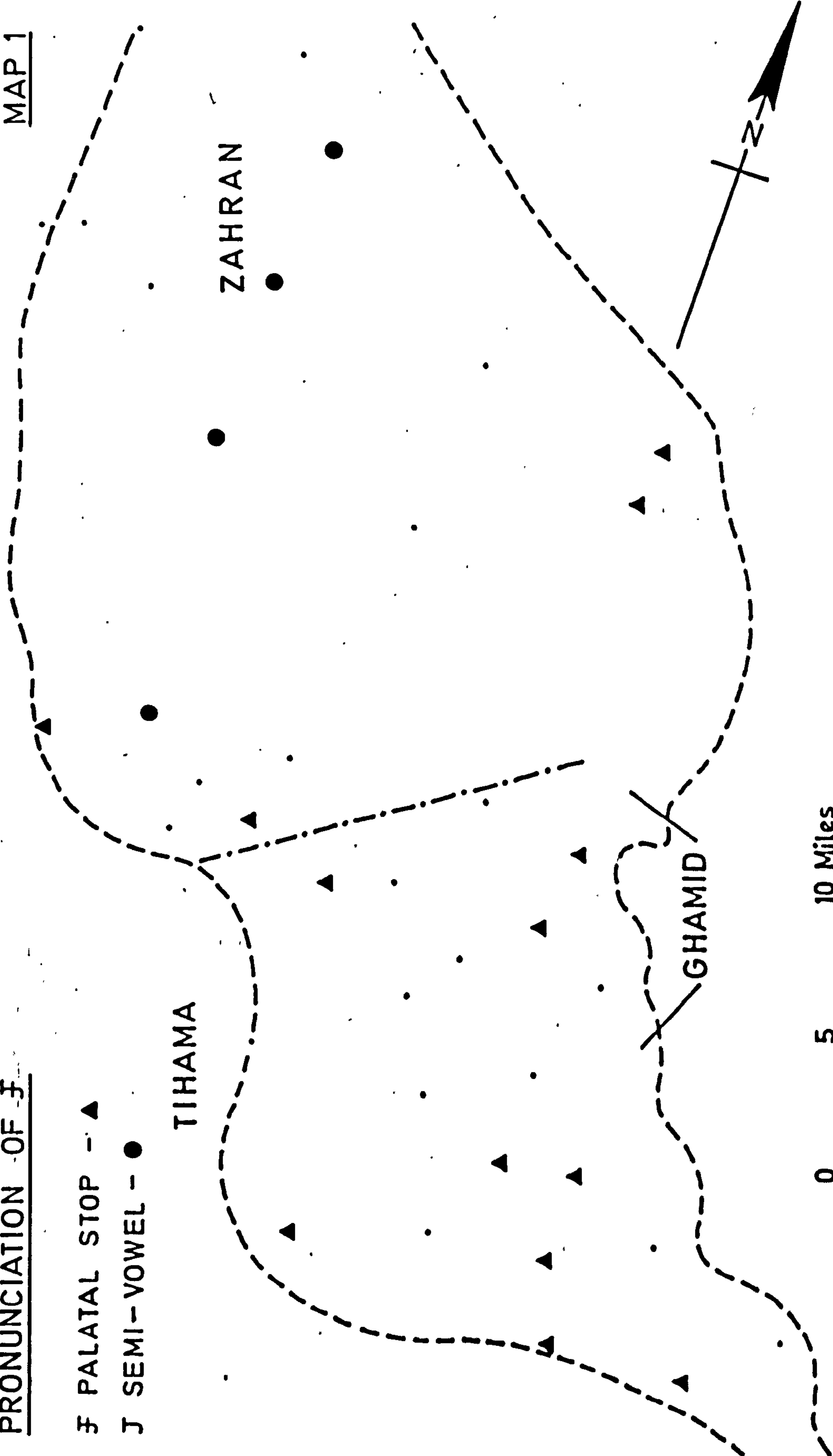
ʕ PALATAL STOP -- ▲

ʔ SEMI-VOWEL -- ●

TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

GHAMID



VARIANT OF (θ) to (t)

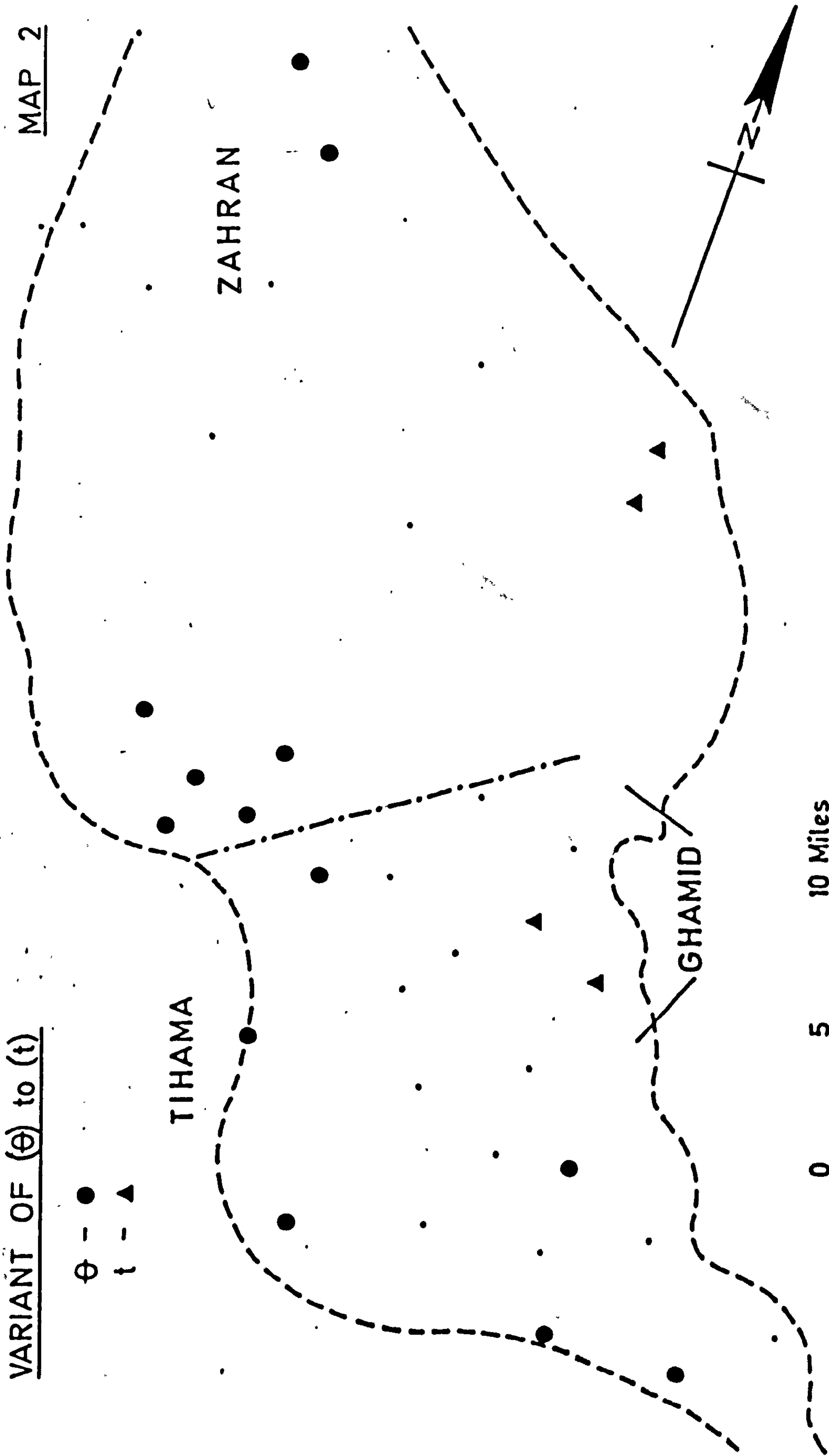
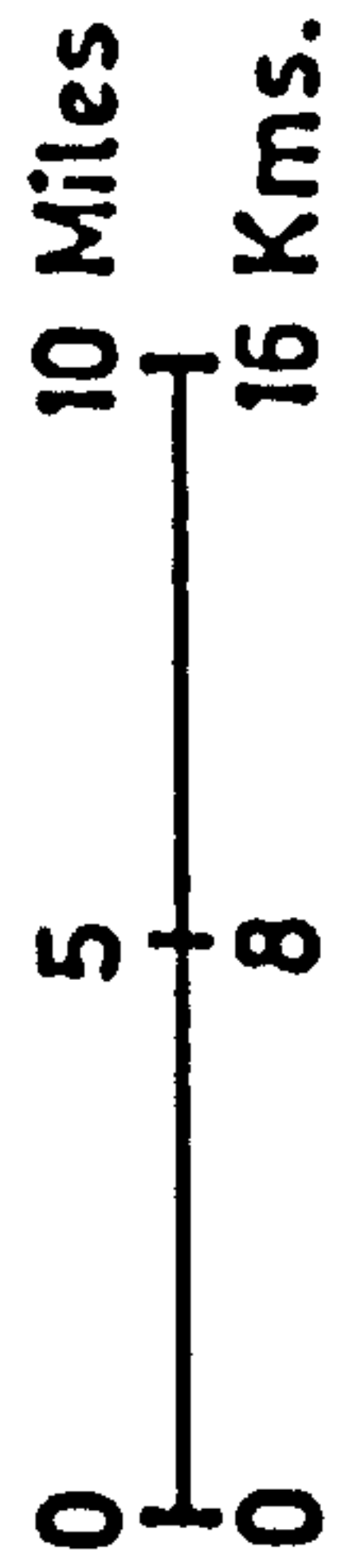
MAP 2

θ - ●  
t - ▲

TIHAMA

ZAHARAN

GHAMID



PRONUNCIATION OF  $\theta$  as  $\theta$   
and as s after a long vowel.

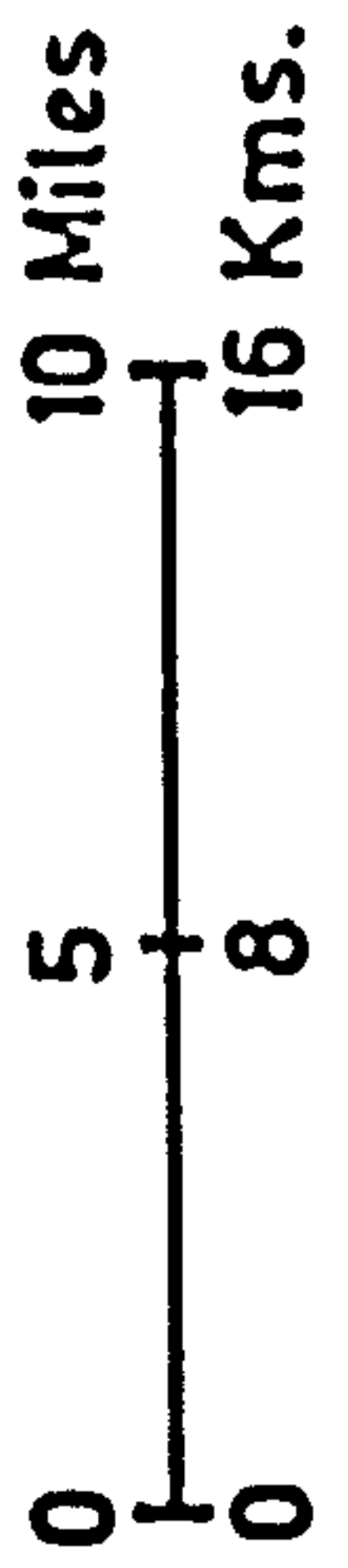
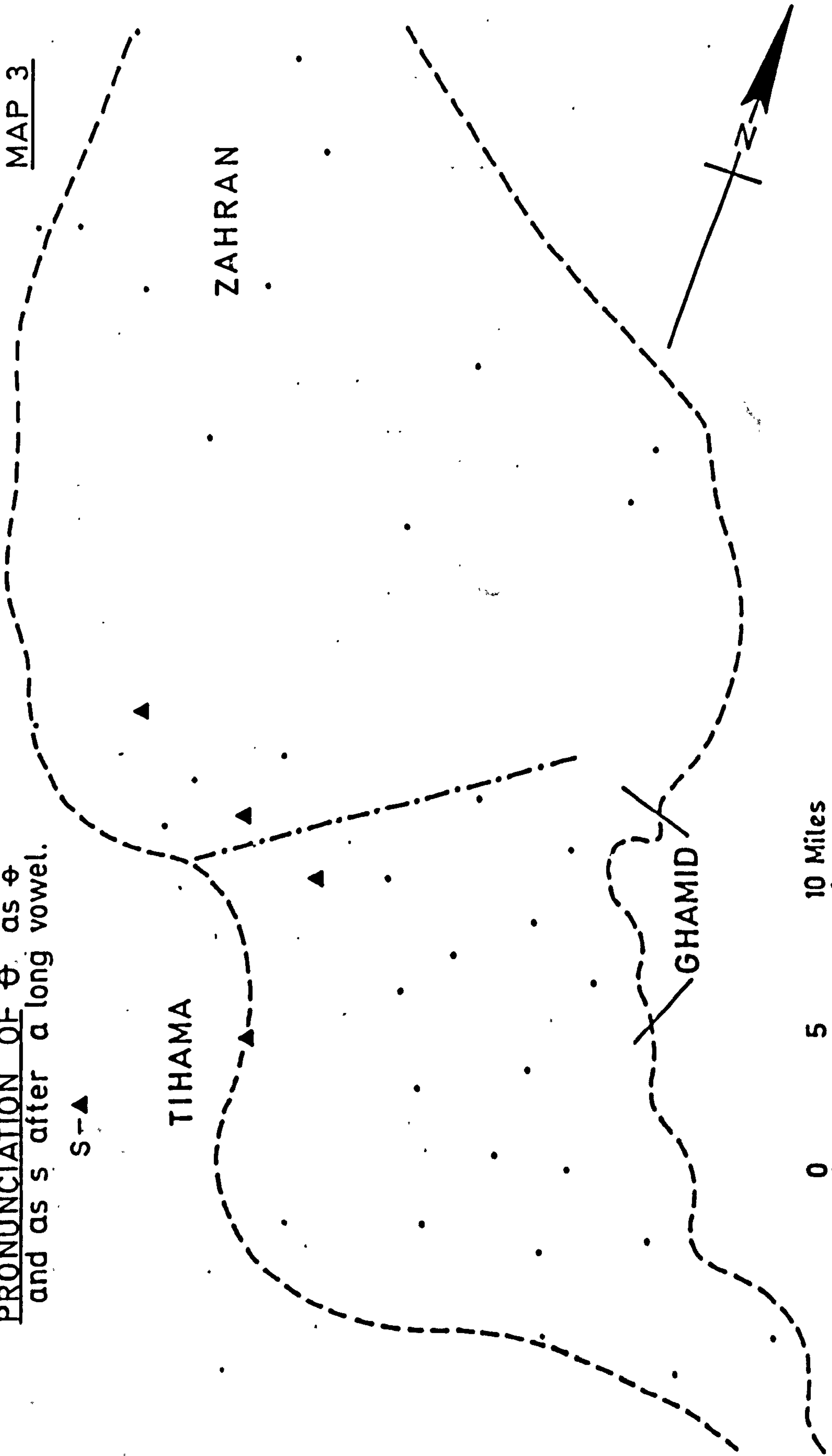
MAP 3

S-▲

TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

GHAMID



PRONUNCIATION OF & as z  
and as d.

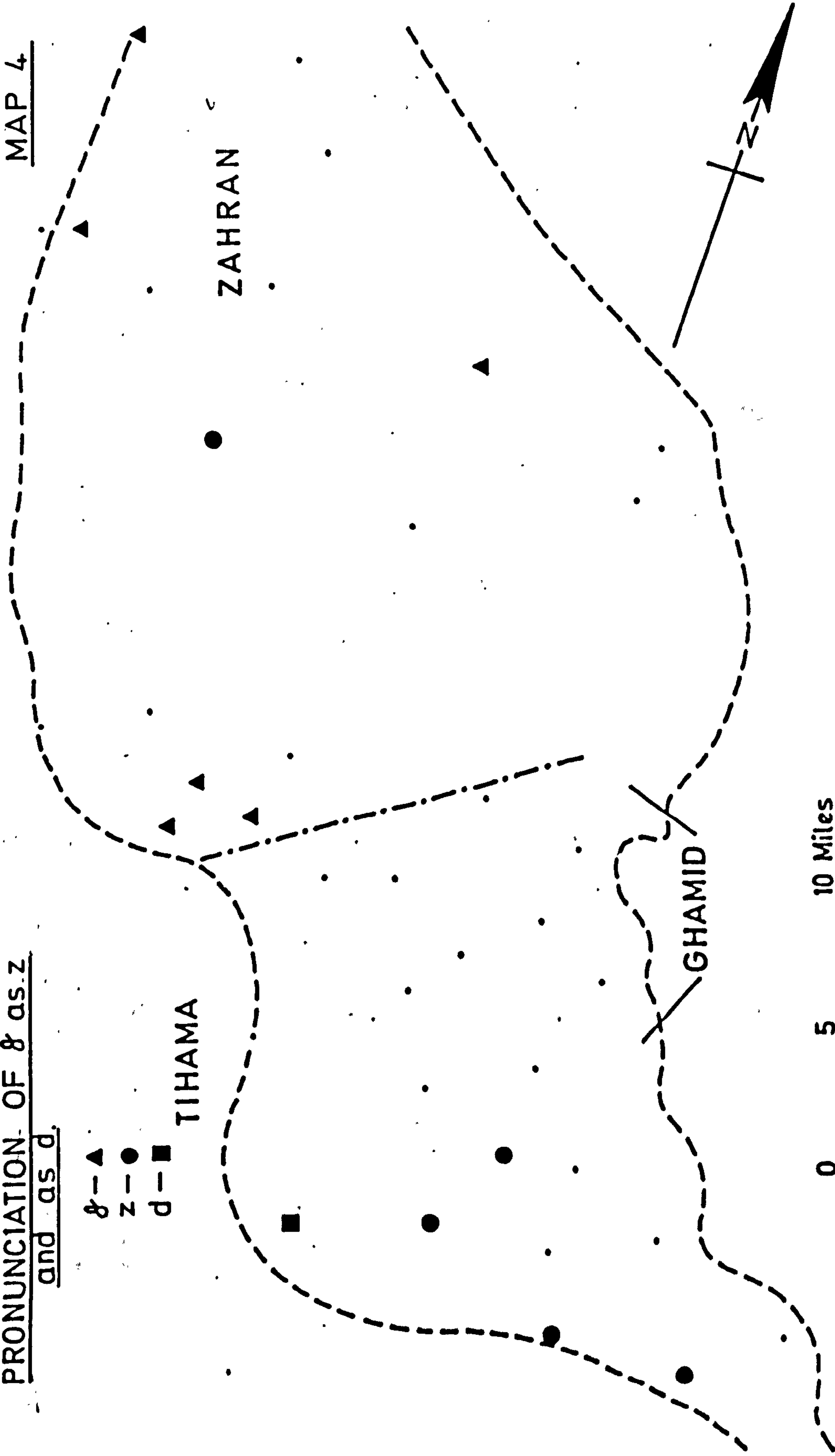
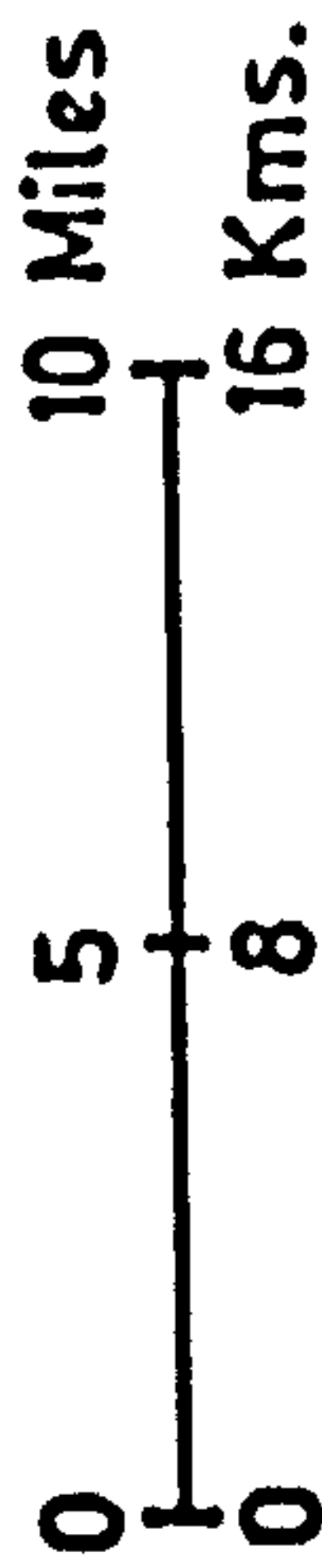
MAP 4

- & - ▲
- z - ●
- d - ■

TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

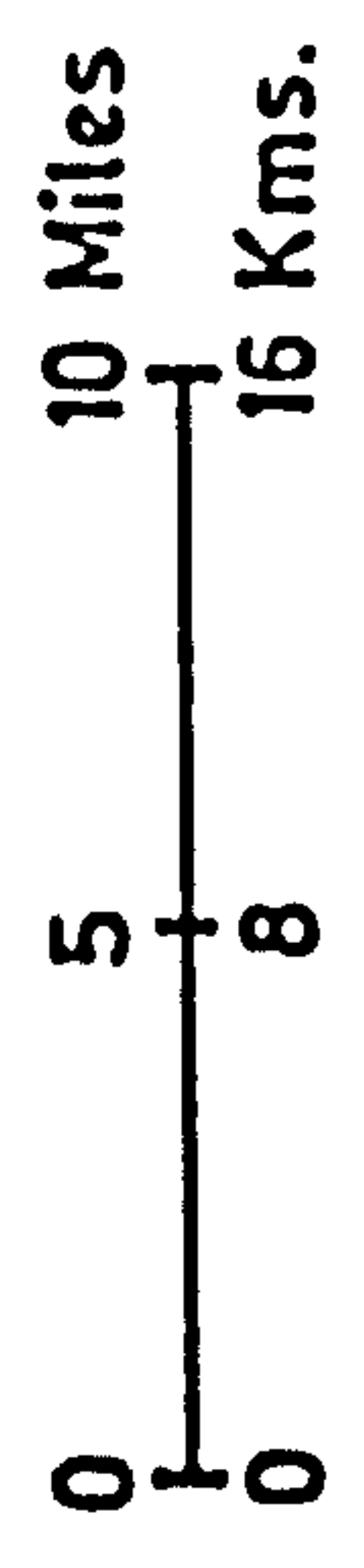
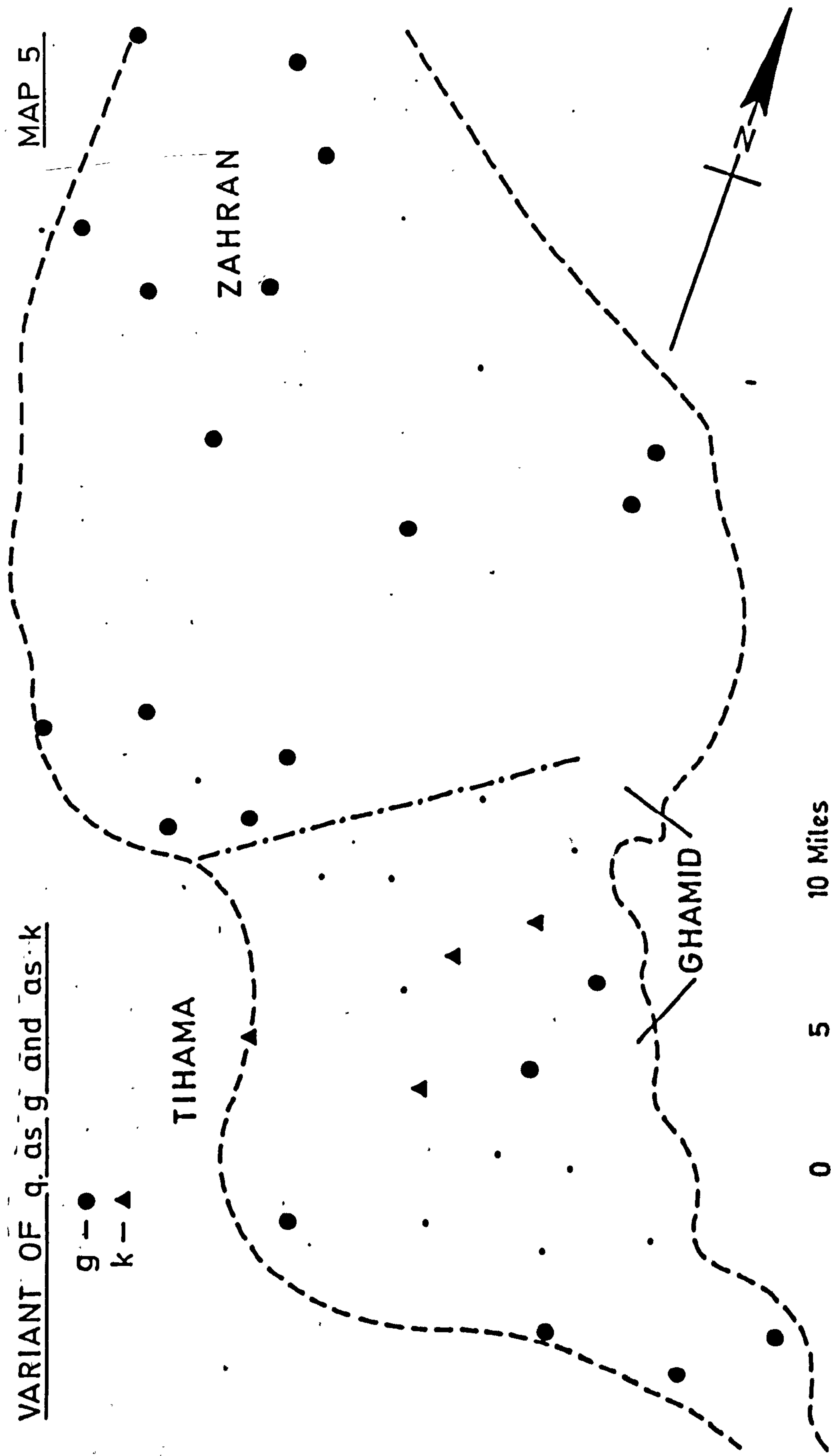
GHAMID



VARIANT OF q, as g and as k

MAP 5

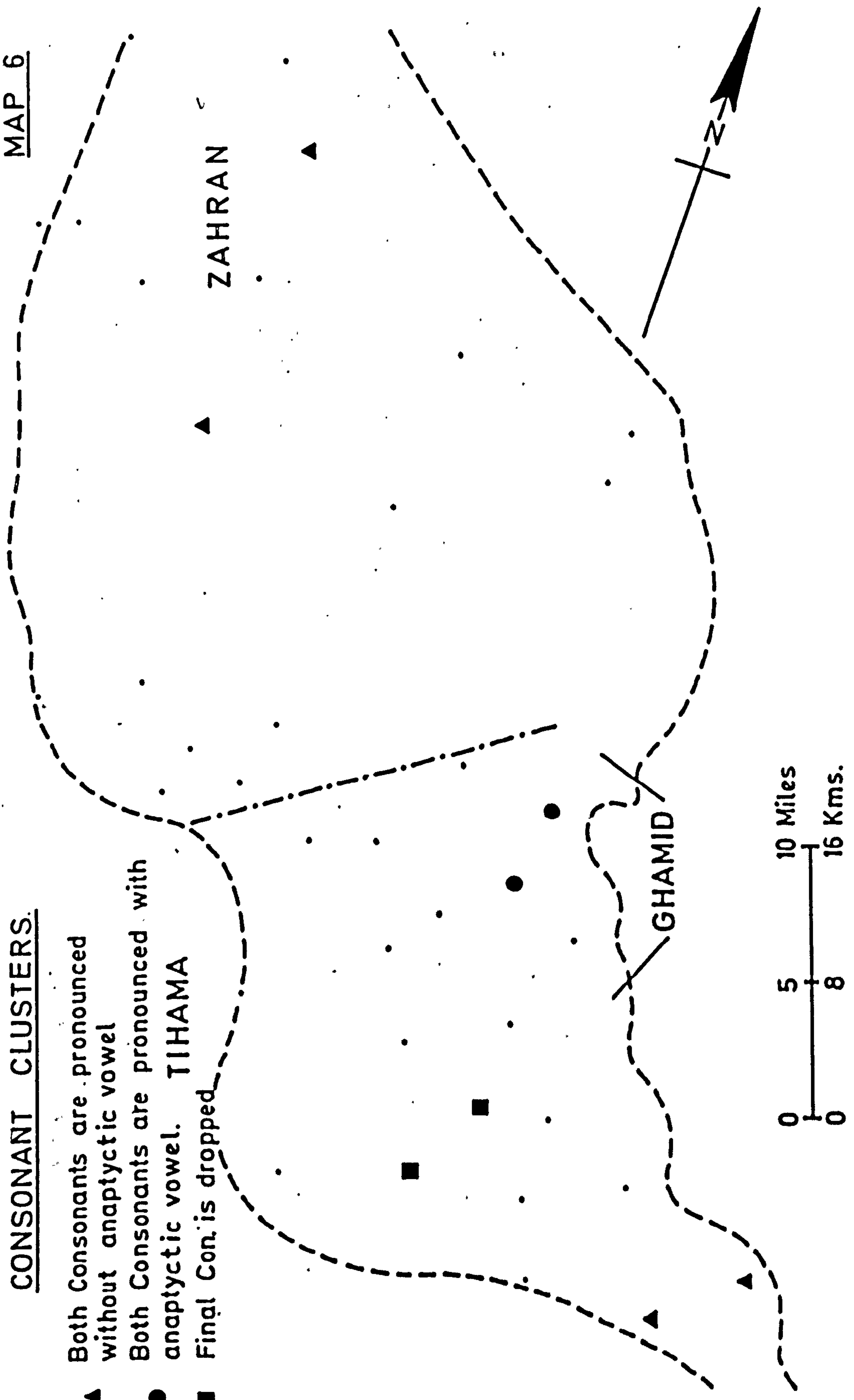
- g - ●
- k - ▲





CONSONANT CLUSTERS.

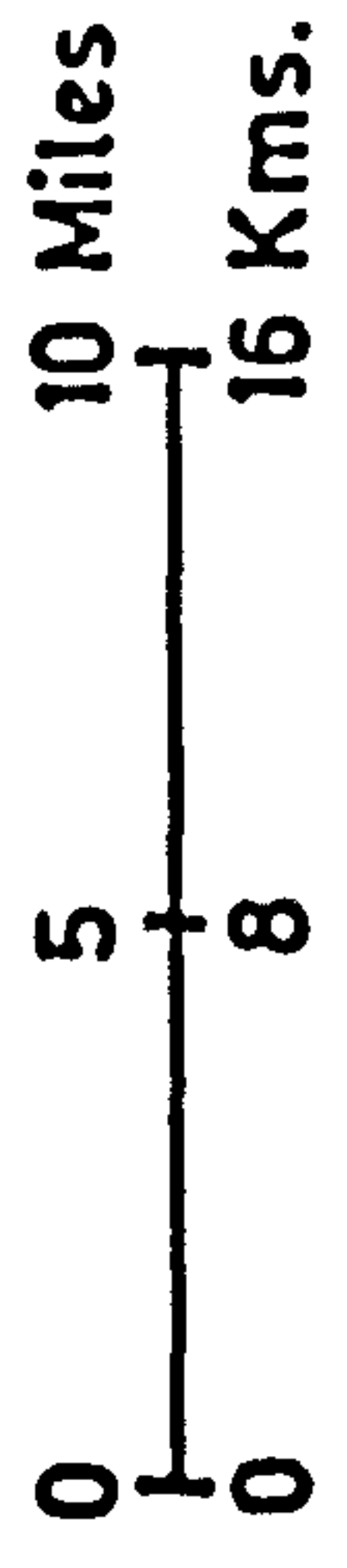
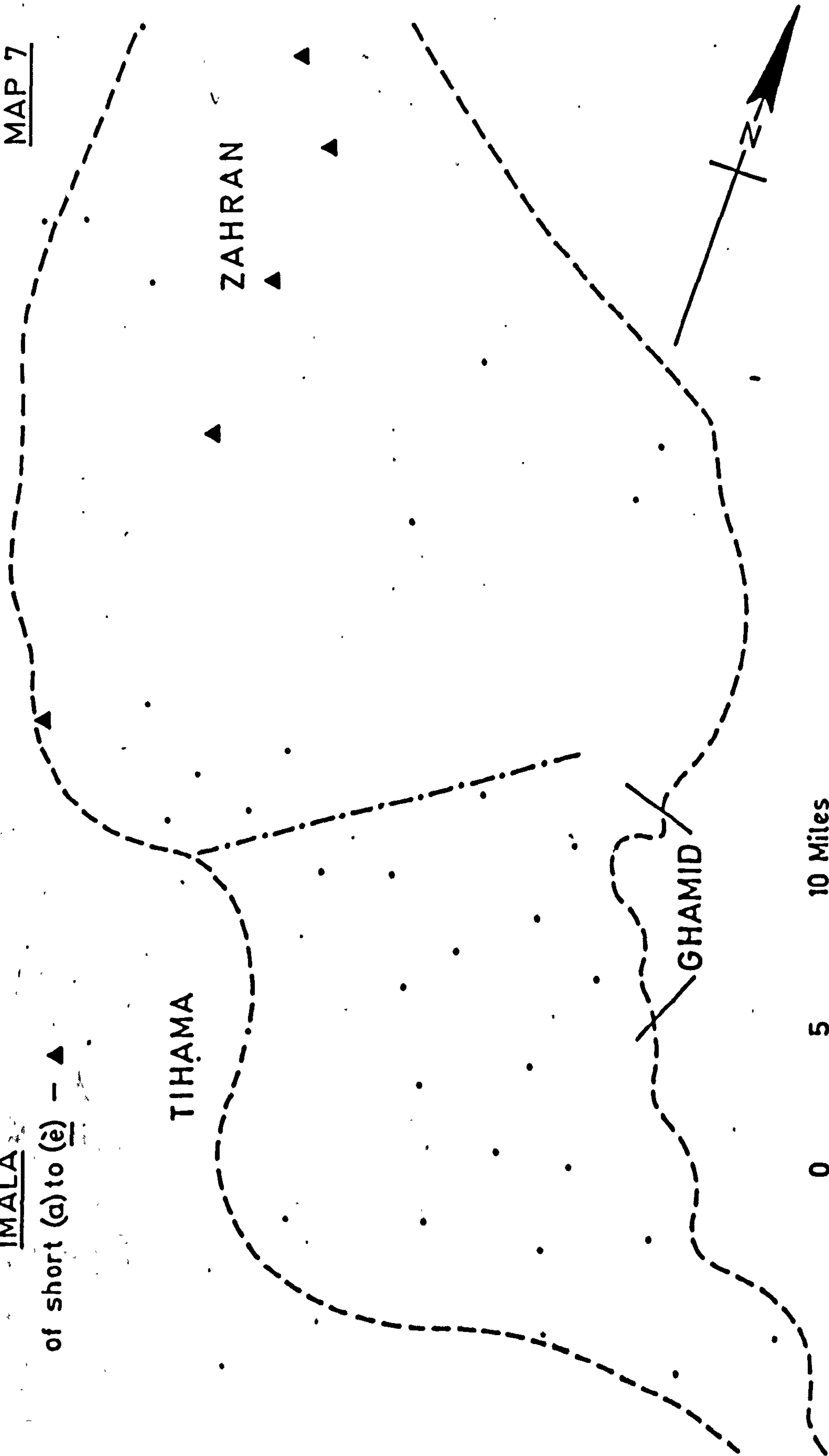
- ▲ Both Consonants are pronounced without anaptyctic vowel
- Both Consonants are pronounced with anaptyctic vowel. TIHAMA
- Final Con. is dropped



IMALA

MAP 7

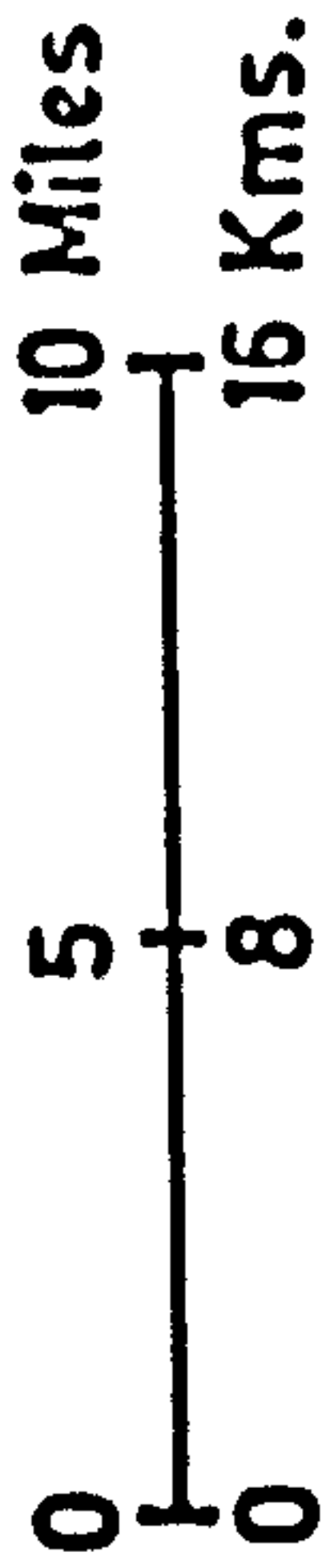
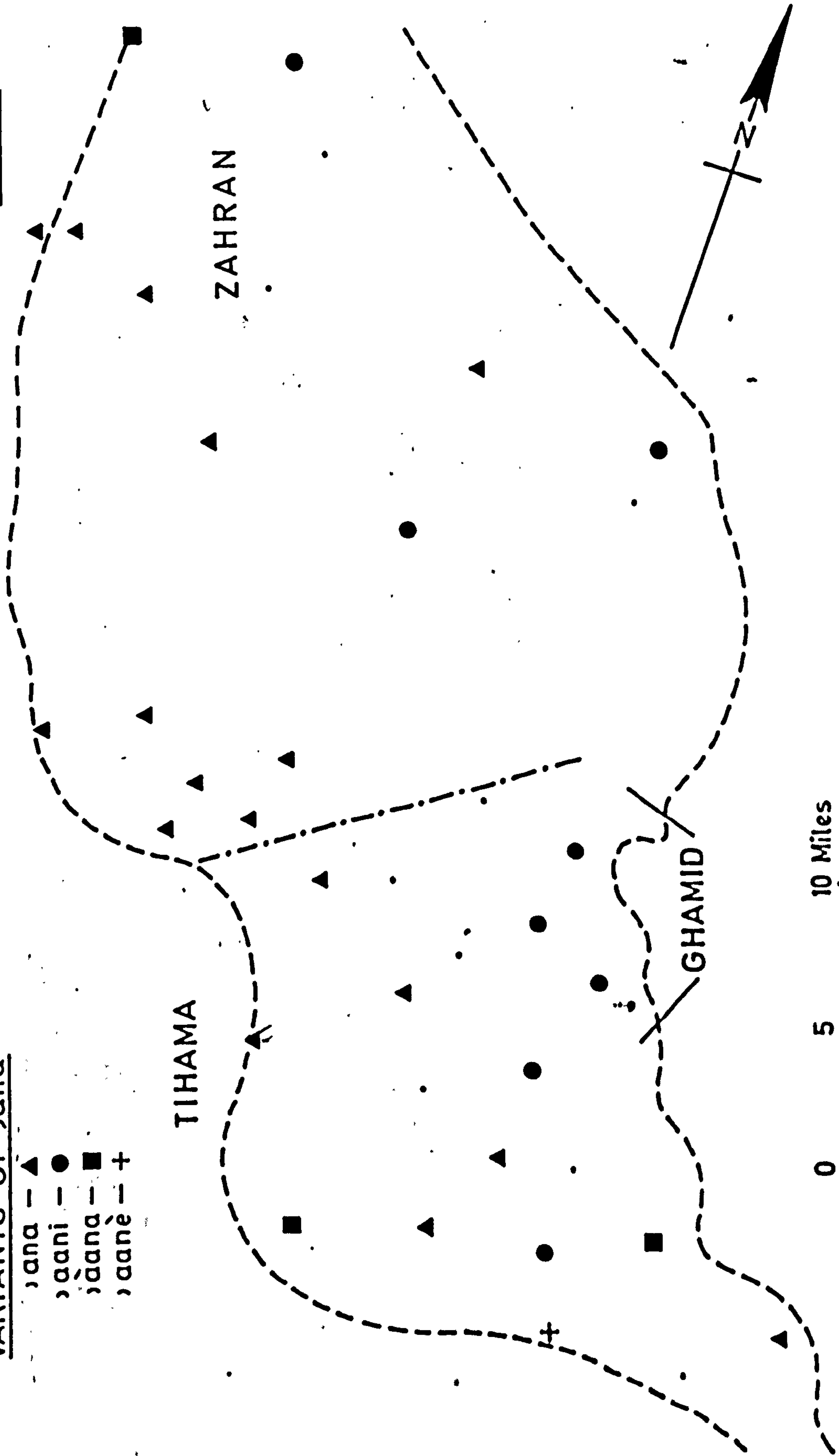
of short (a) to (e) - ▲



VARIANTS OF jaṅa

- jaṅa - ▲
- jaṅni - ●
- jaṅaṅ - ■
- jaṅnè - +

MAP 8



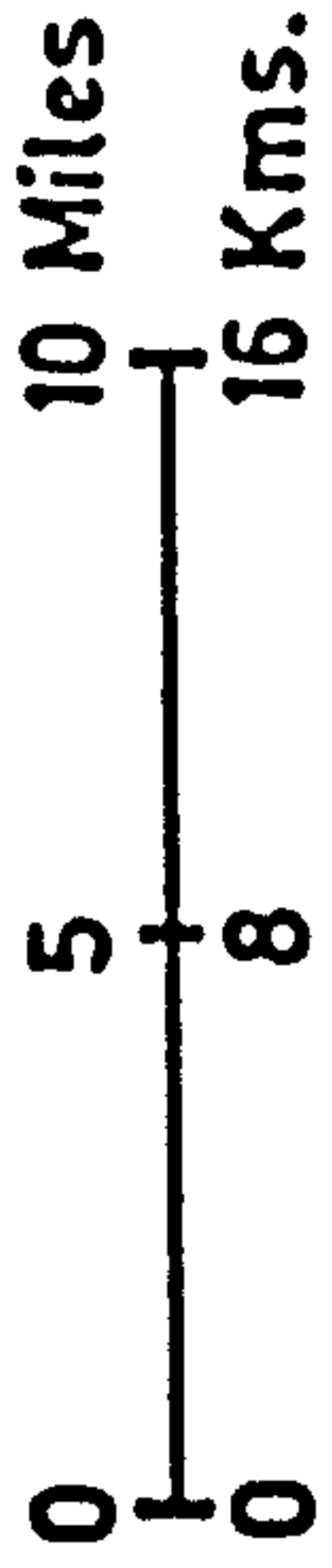
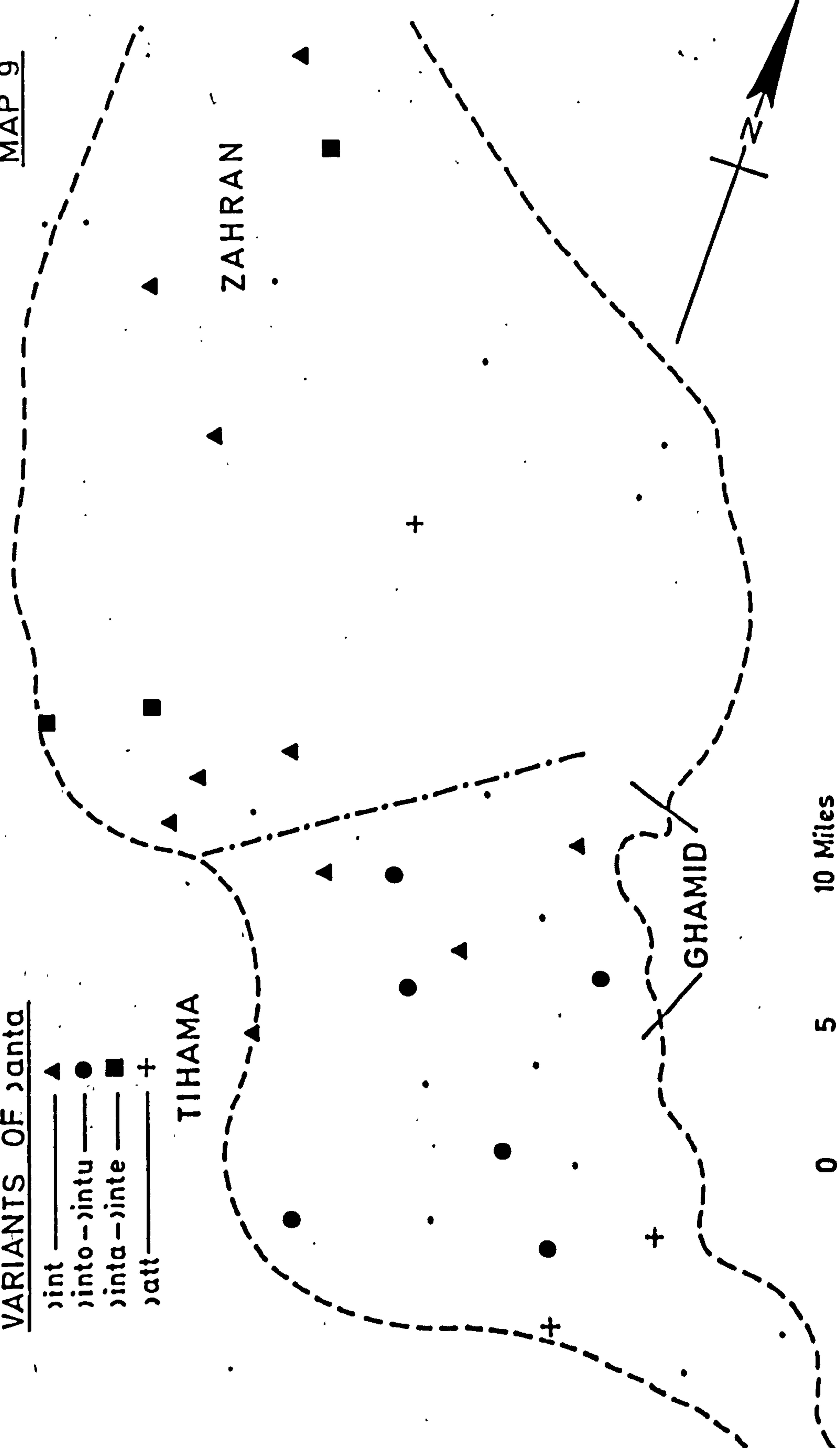
VARIANTS OF yanta

- yint ——— ▲
- yinto-yintu ——— ●
- yinta-yinte ——— ■
- yatt ——— +

TIHAMA

ZAHARAN

GHAMID



VARIANTS OF janti

MAP 10

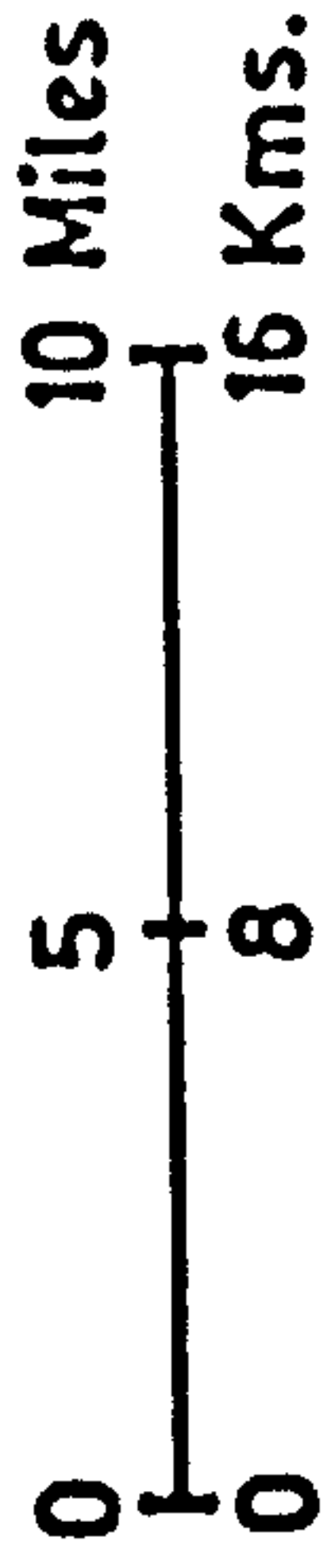
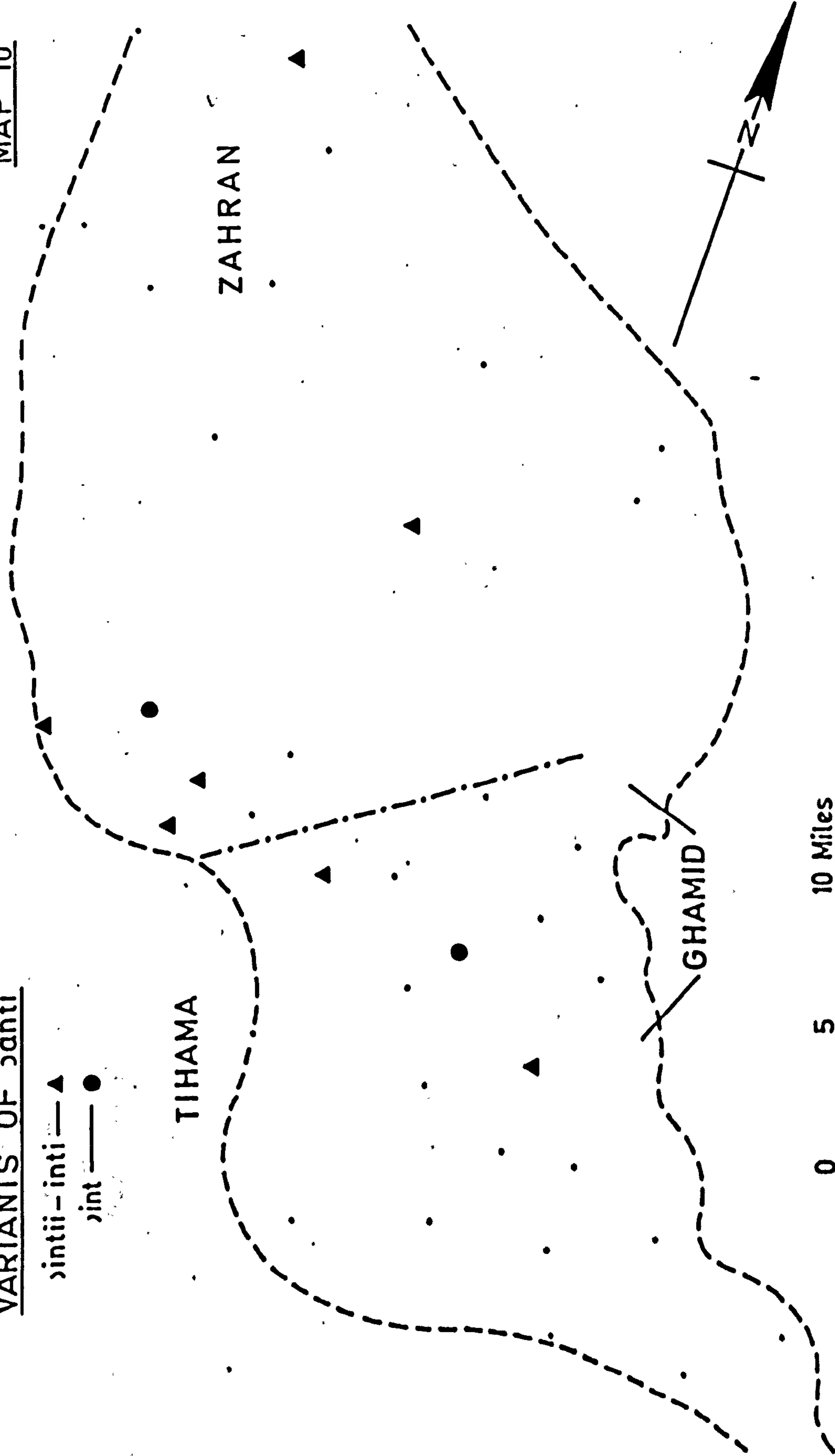
jantii - inti —▲

jant —●

TIHAMA

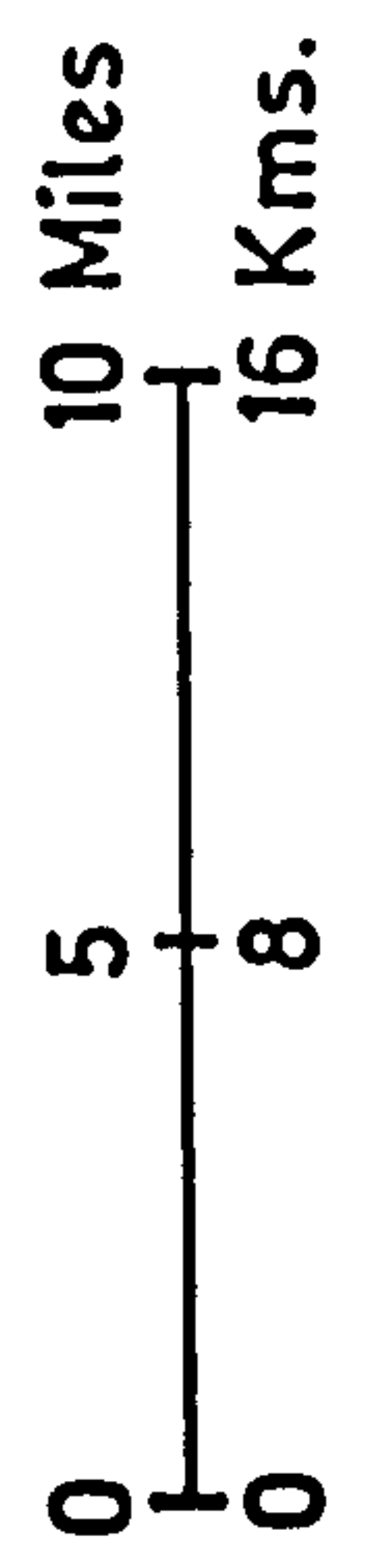
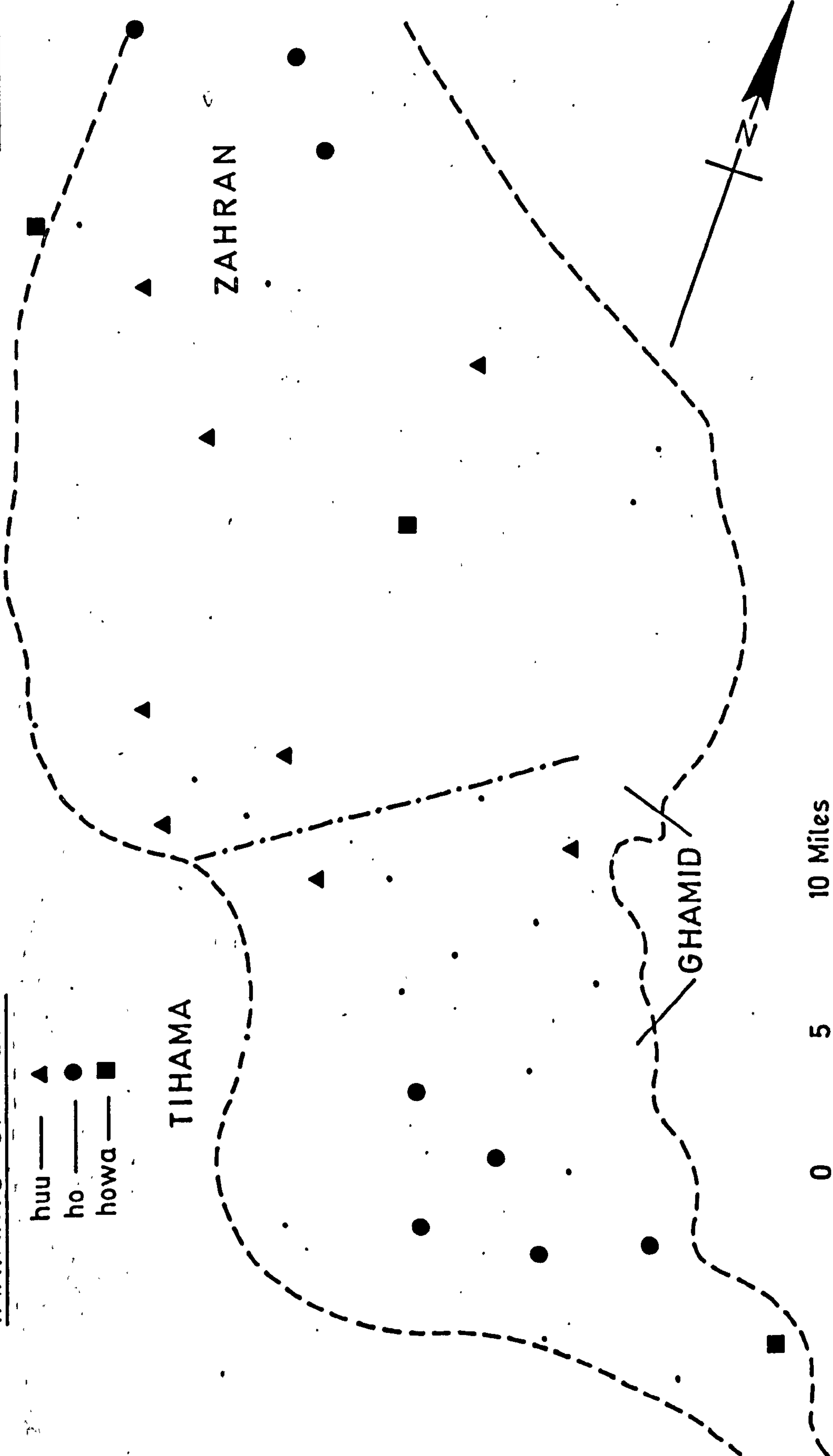
ZAHARAN

GHAMID



VARIANTS OF huwa

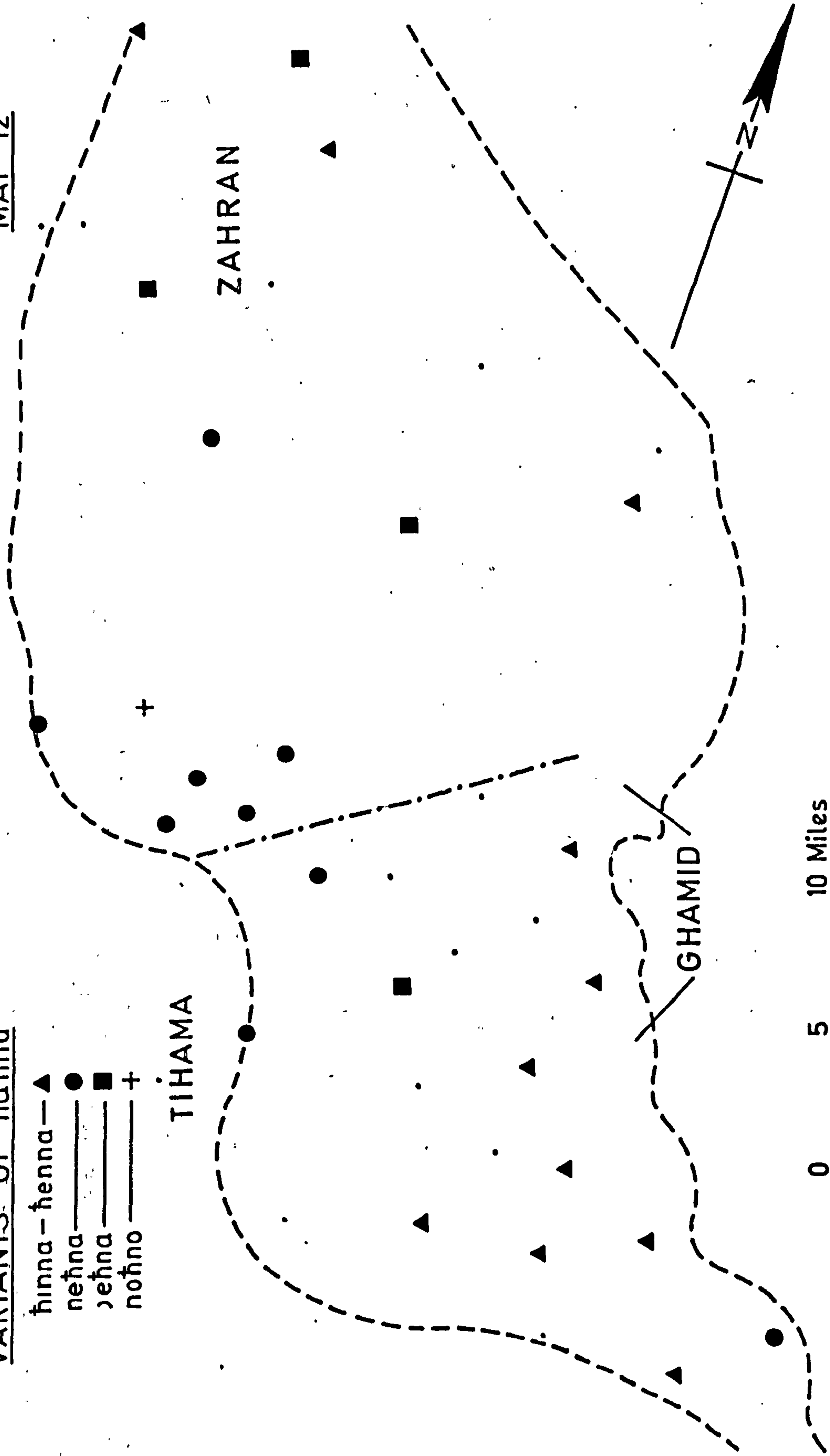
- huu — ▲
- ho — ●
- howa — ■



VARIANTS OF naḥnu

- ḥinna - ḥenna — ▲
- neḥna — ●
- jeḥna — ■
- noḥno — +

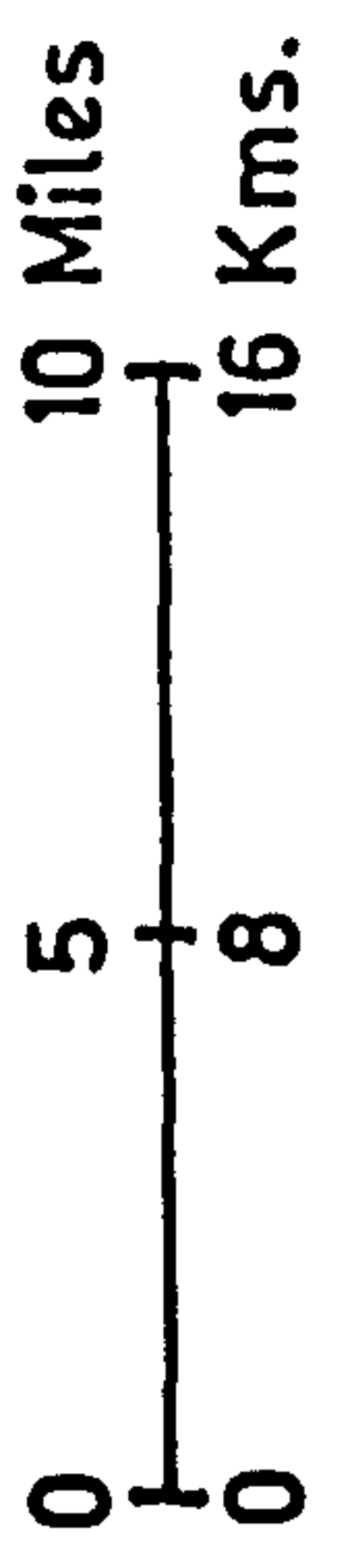
MAP 12



TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

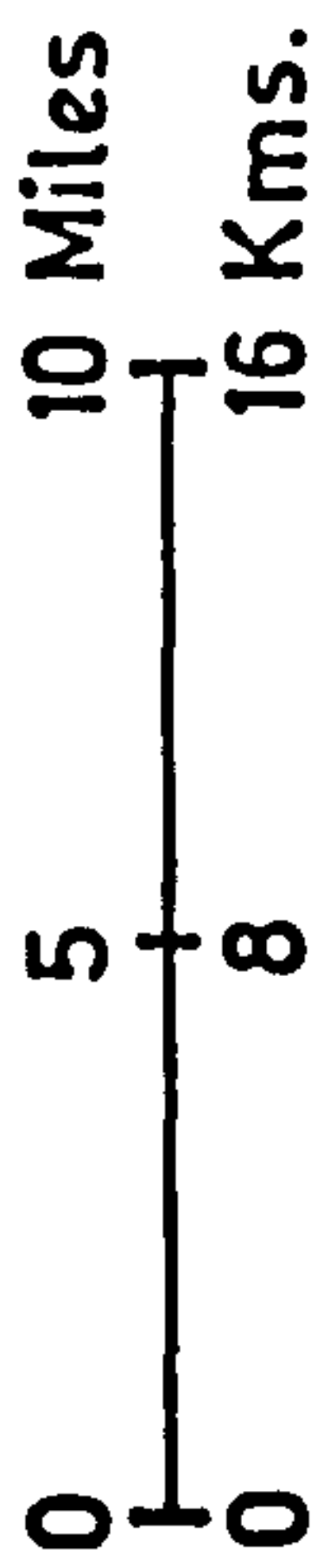
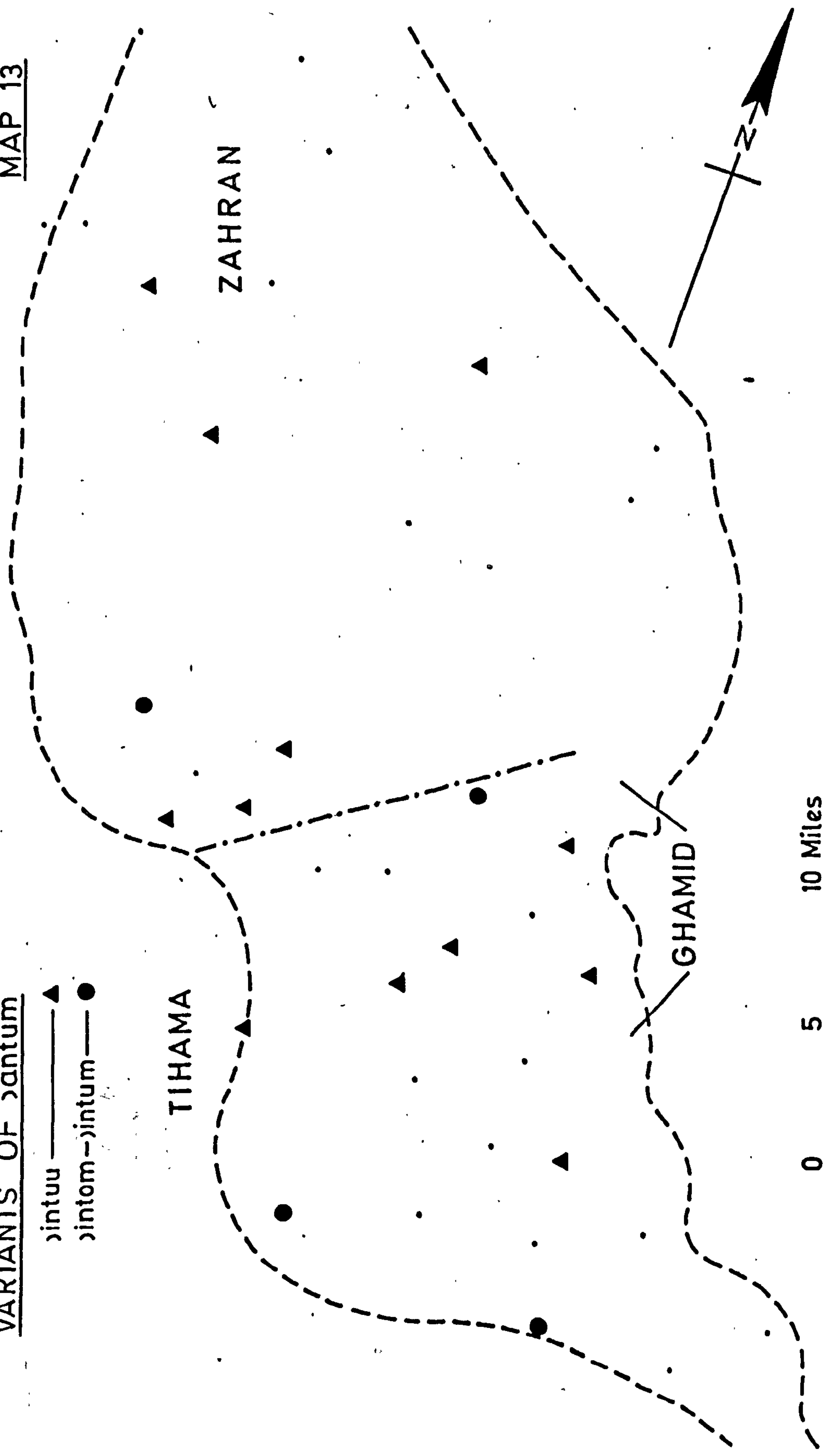
GHAMID



VARIANTS OF >antum

- >intuu ———▲
- >intom—>intum——●

MAP 13





VARIANTS OF hum

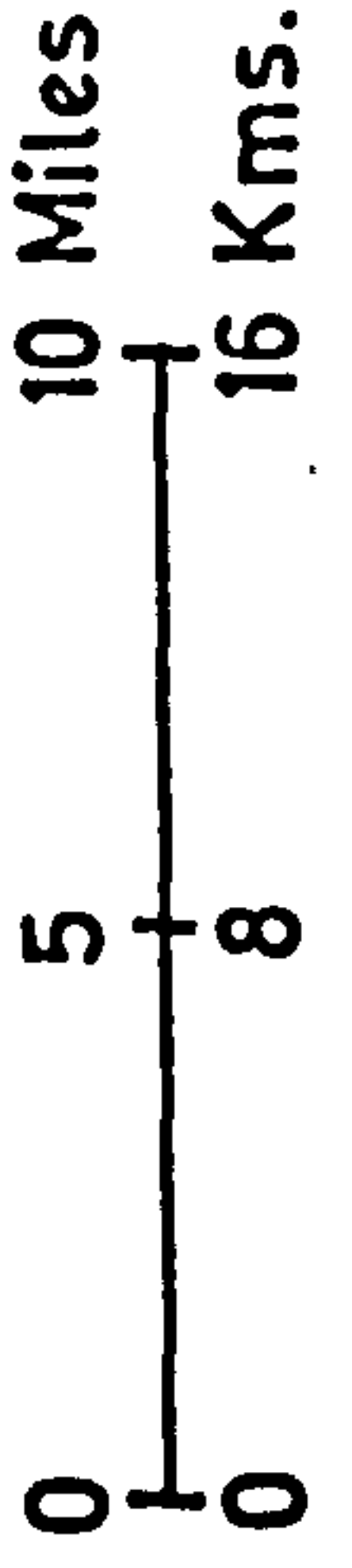
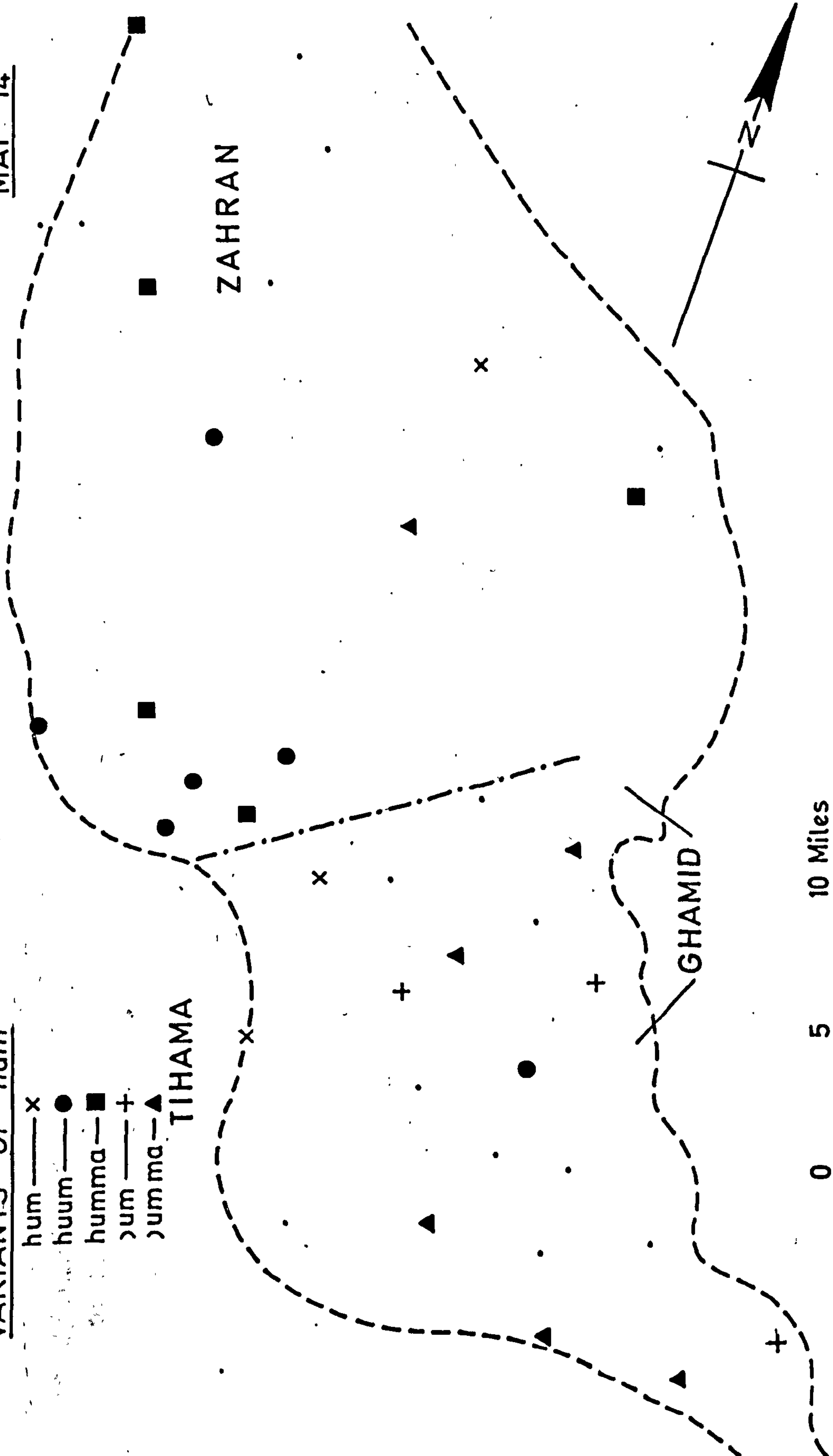
MAP 14

- hum — x
- huum — ●
- humma — ■
- hum — +
- humma — ▲

TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

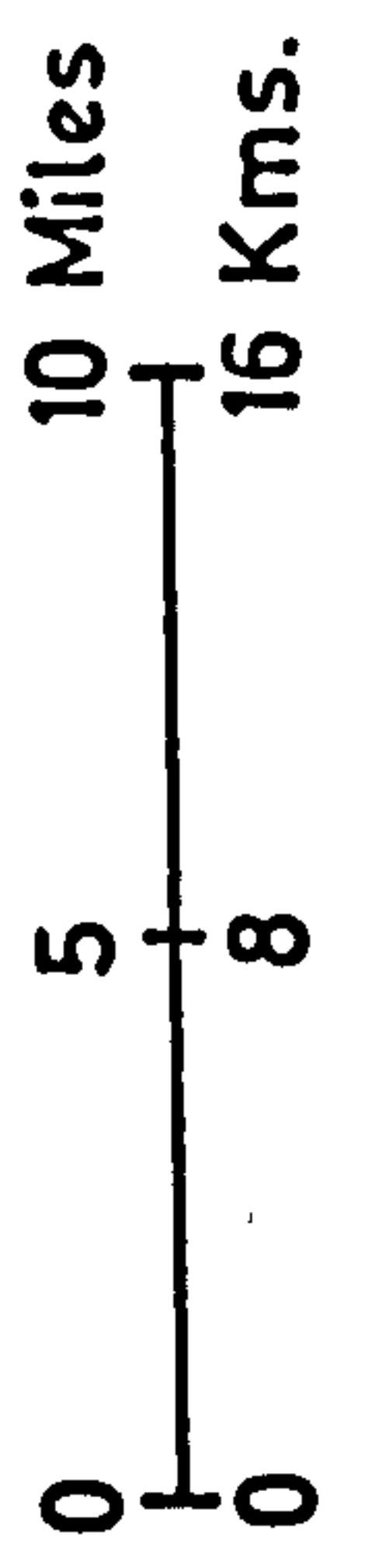
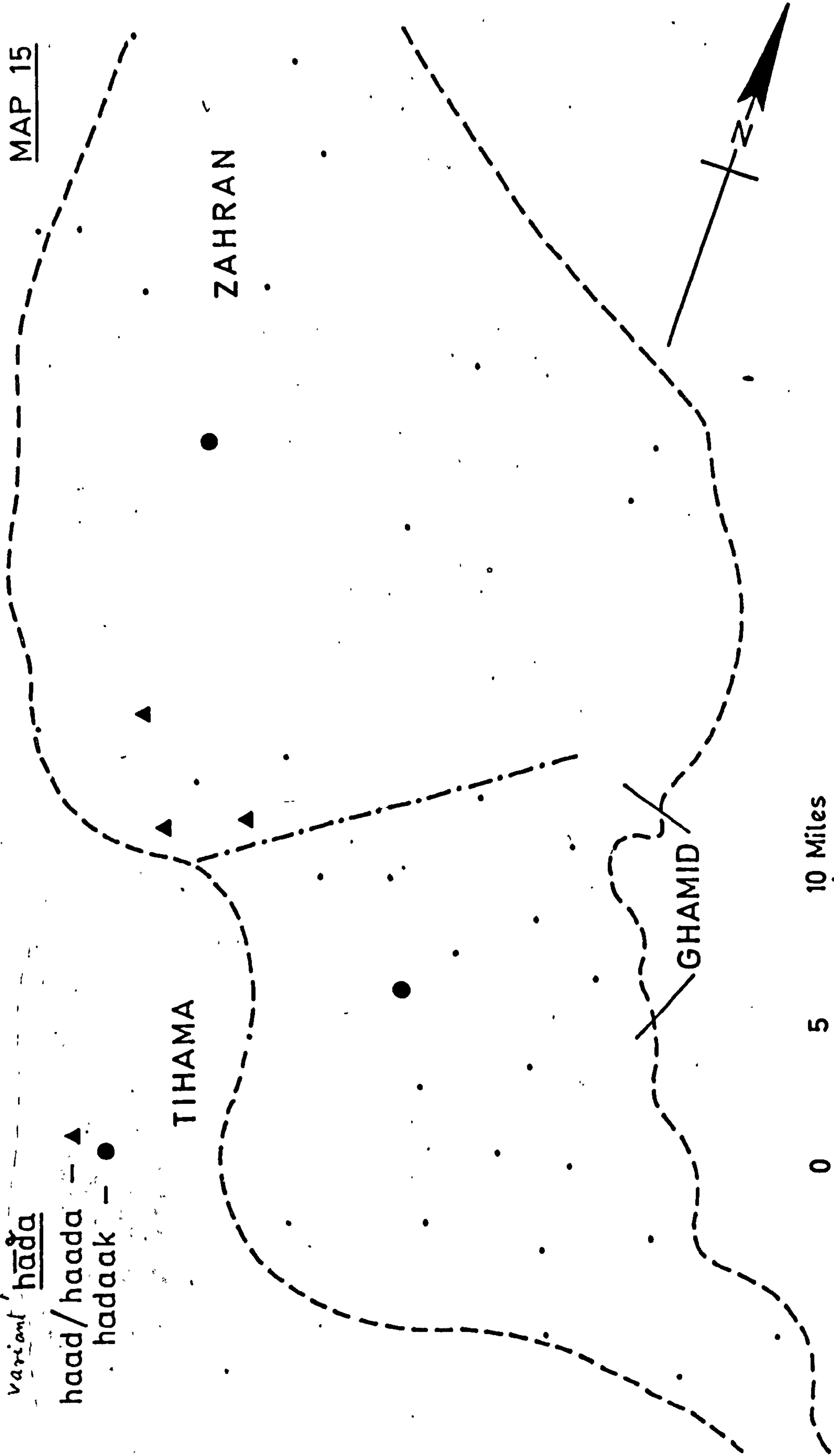
GHAMID



MAP 15

variant hāda

haad/haada - ▲  
hadaak - ●



MEANING OF KURSI

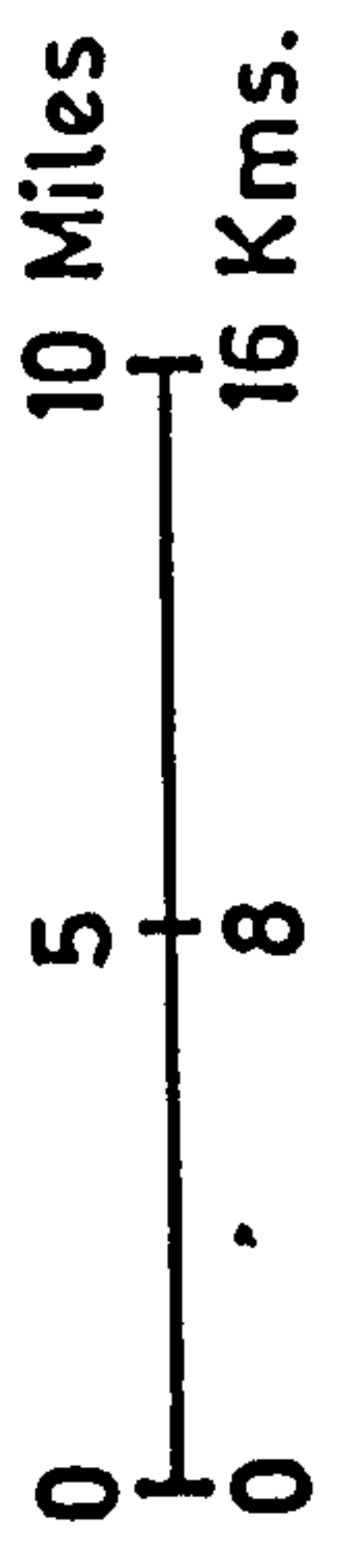
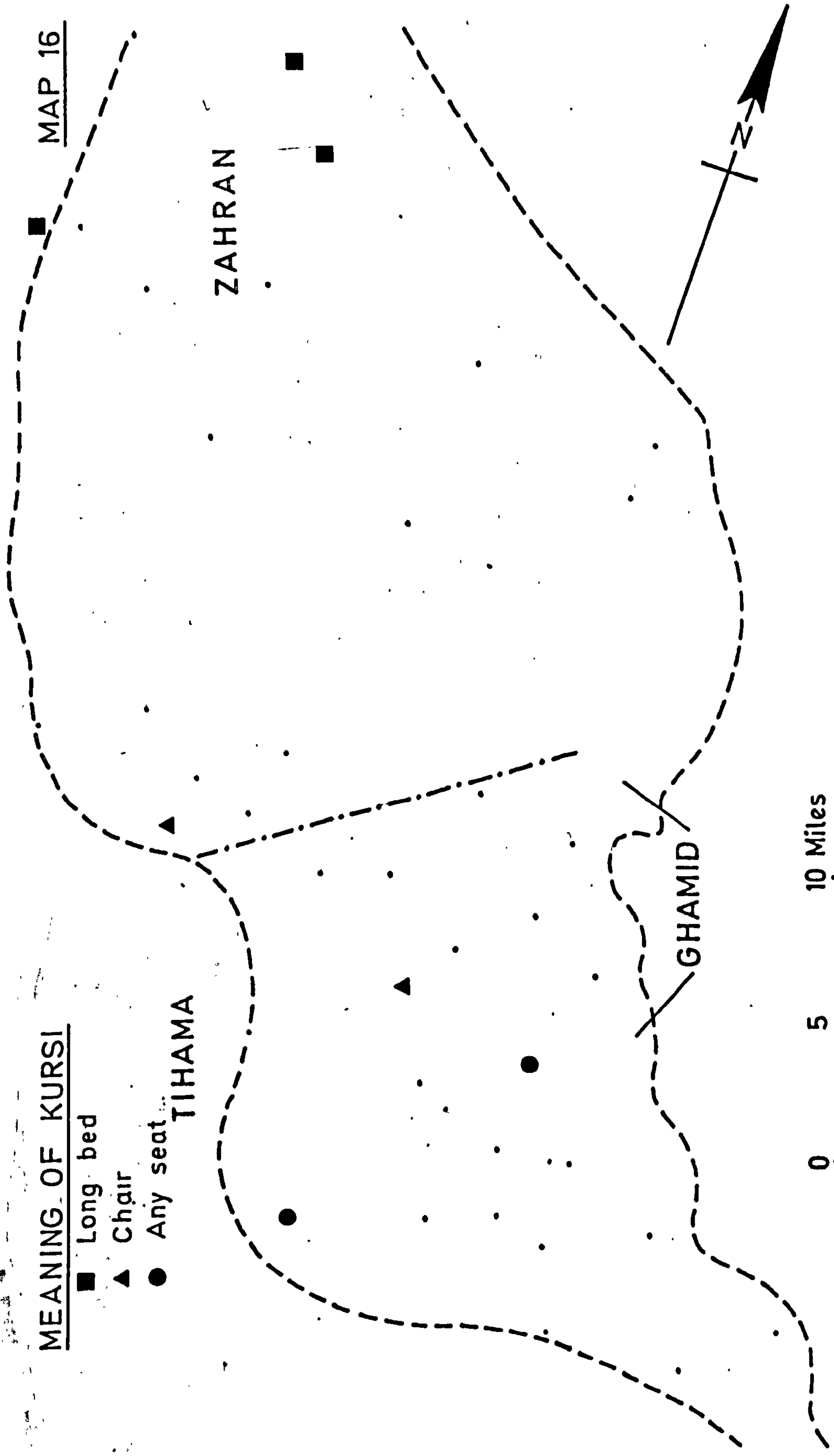
- Long bed
- ▲ Chair
- Any seat

TIHAMA

ZAHRAN

GHAMID

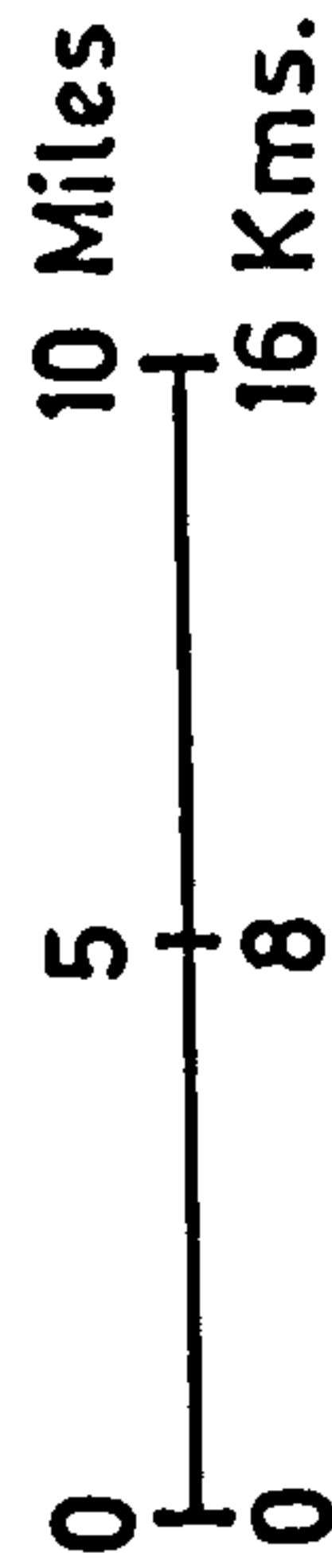
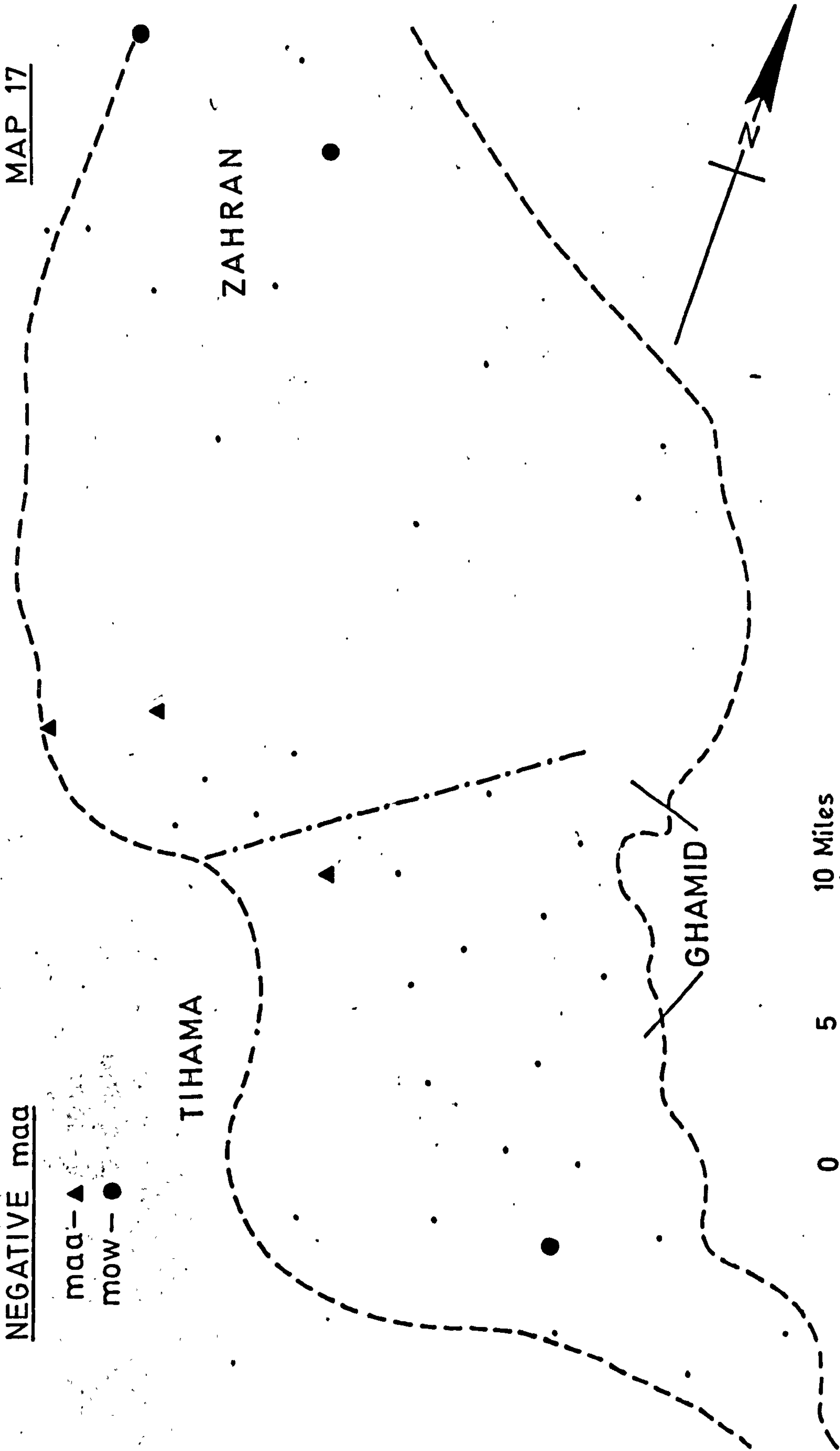
MAP 16



NEGATIVE maa

maa - ▲  
mow - ●

MAP 17



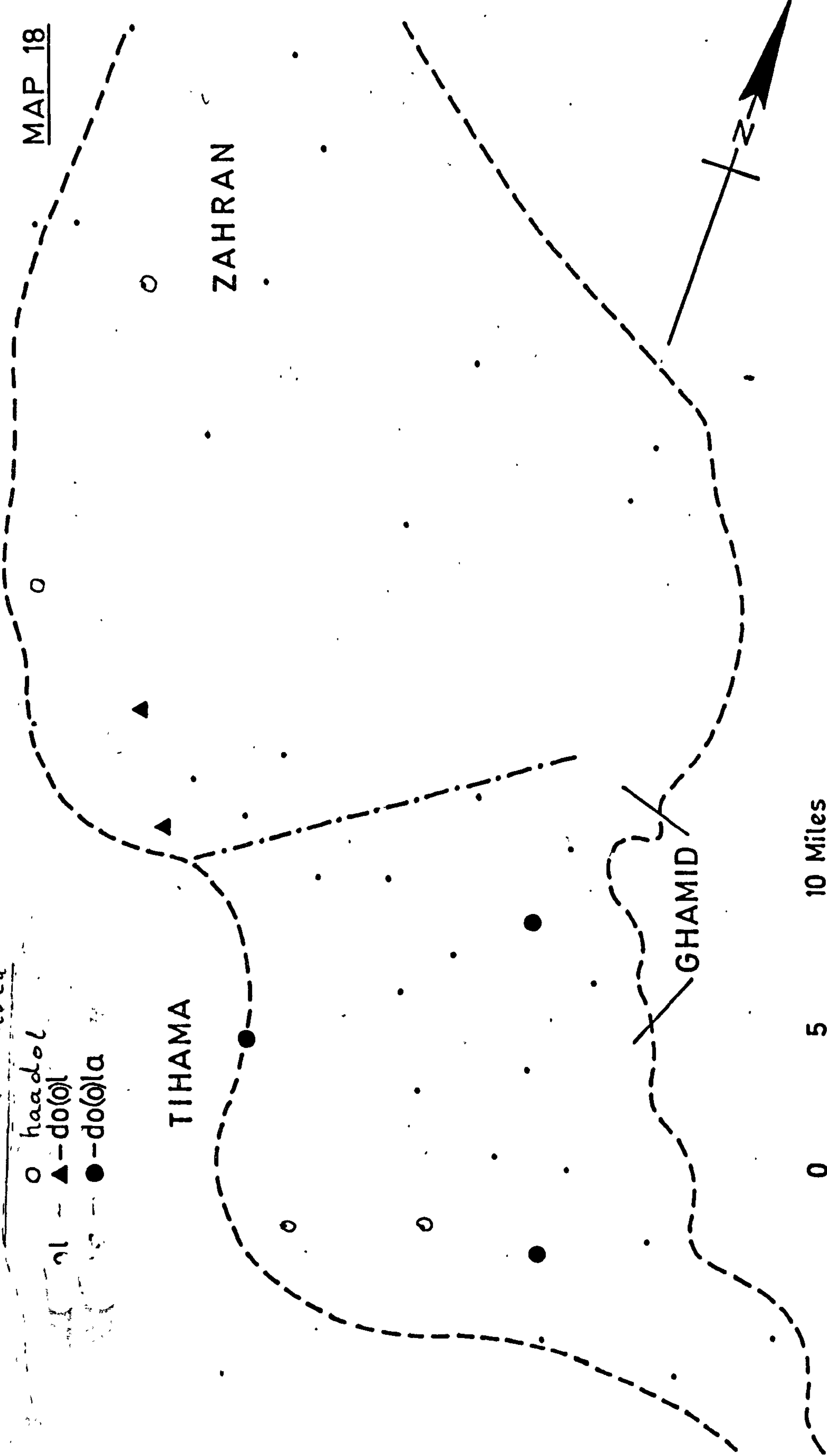
variants of kadola

○ haadol

▲ do(ol)

● do(ola)

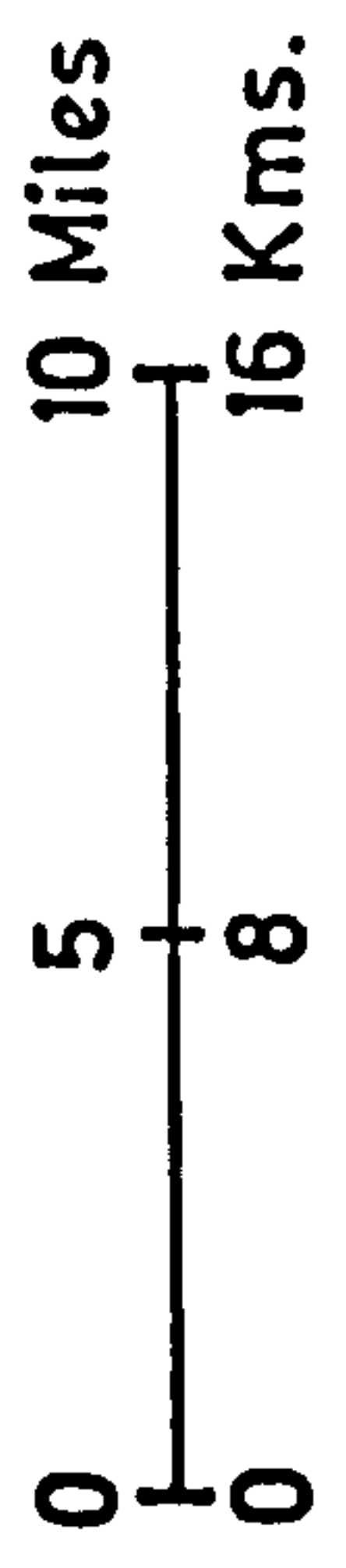
MAP 18



TIHAMA

ZAHARAN

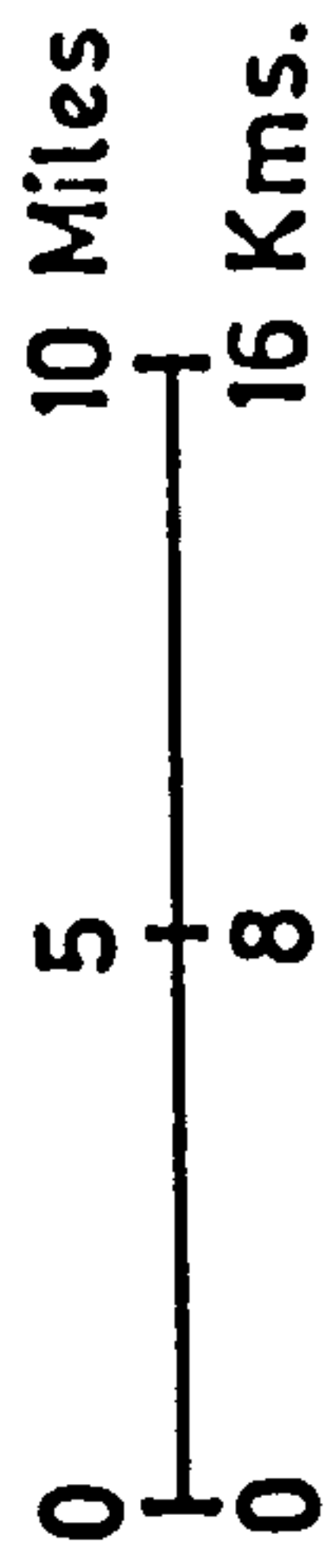
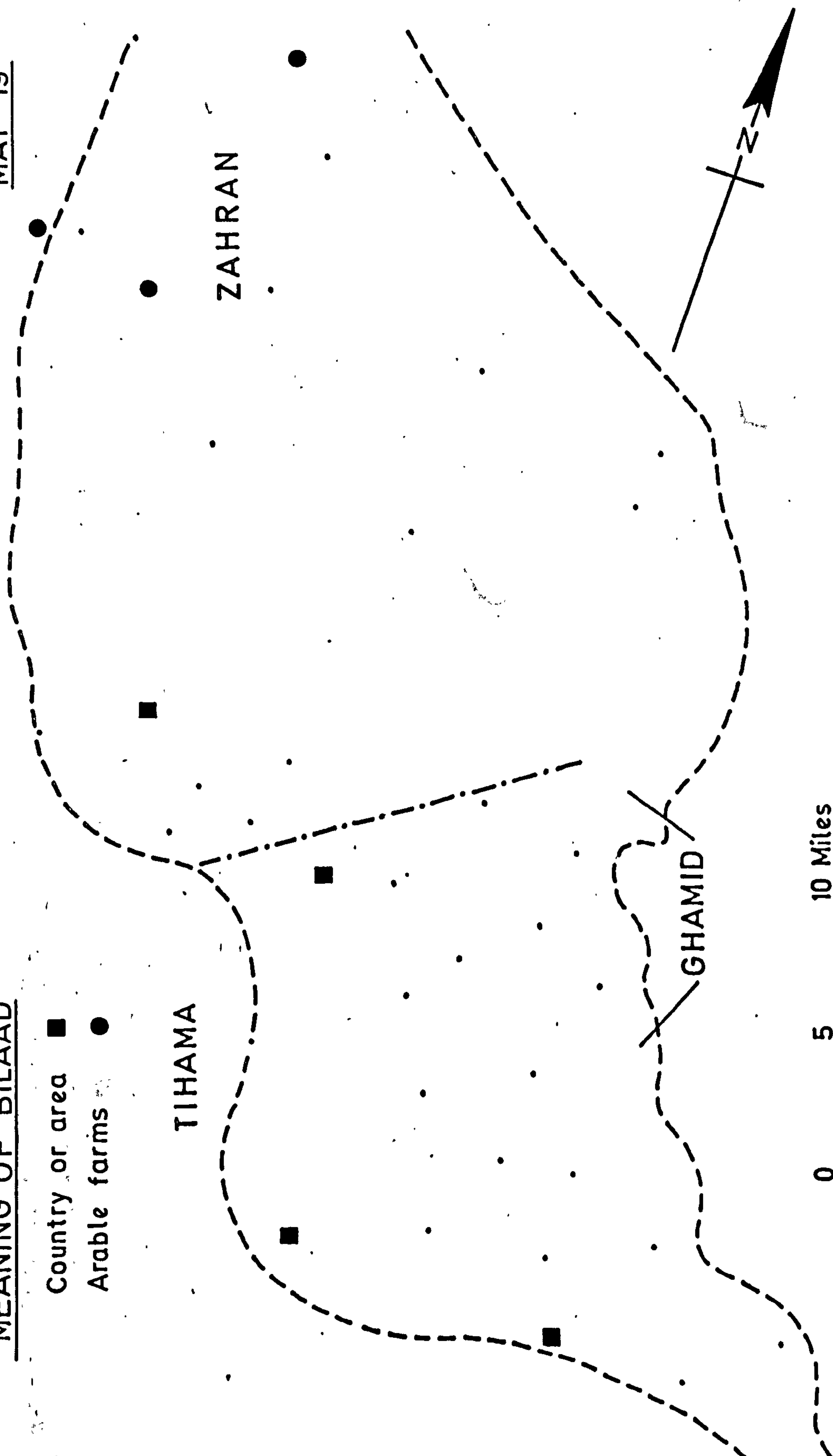
GHAMID



MEANING OF BILAAD

MAP 19

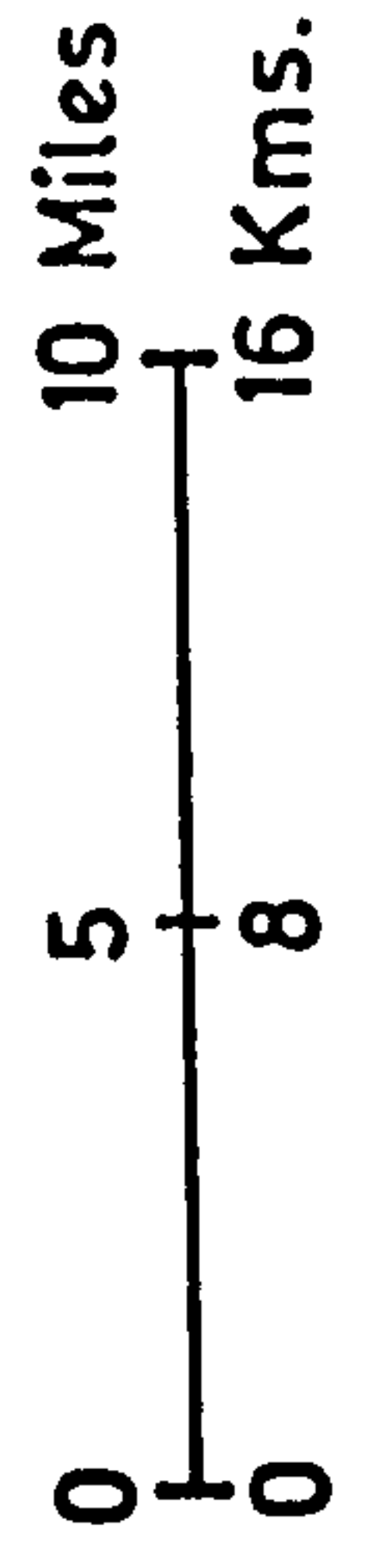
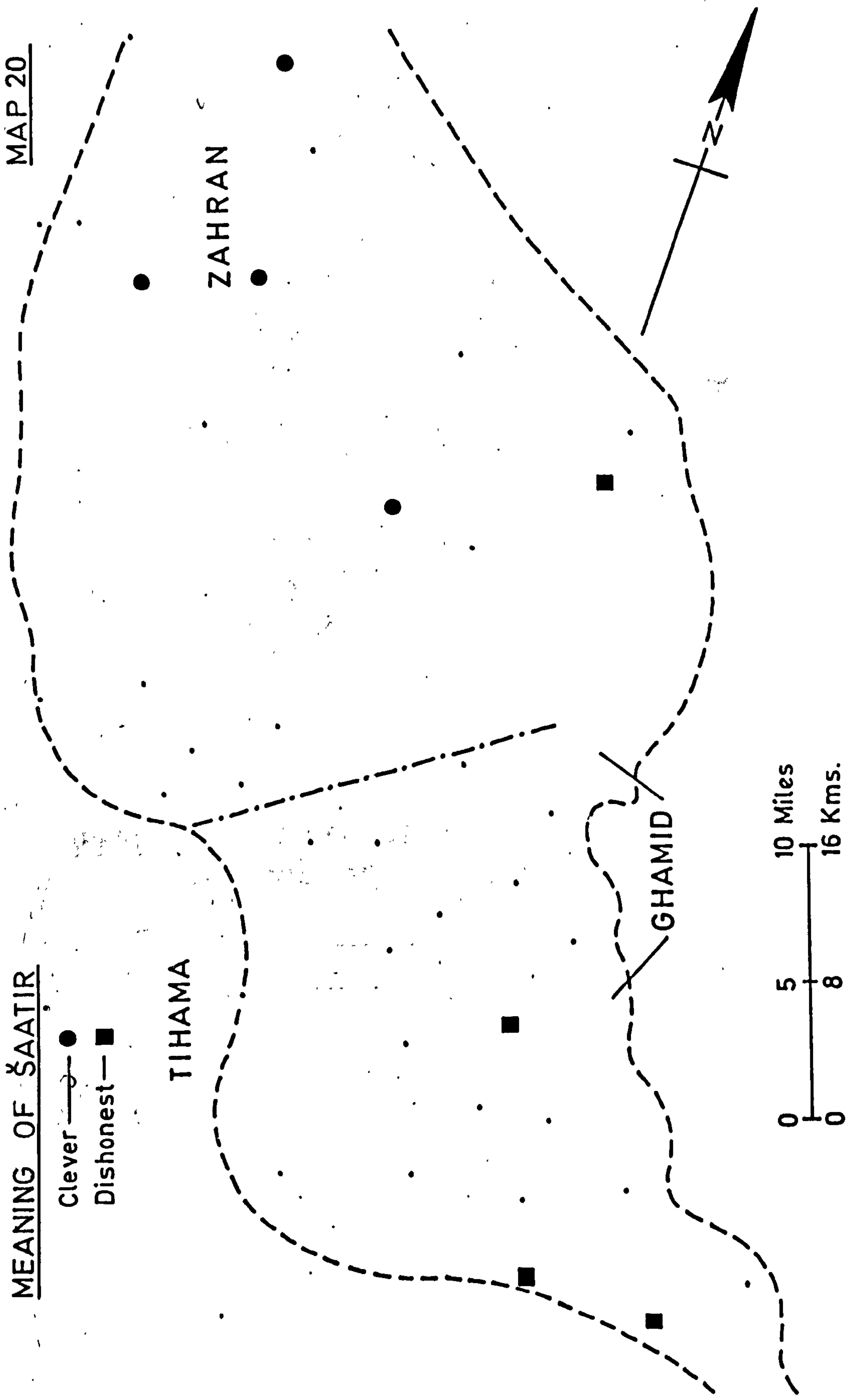
- Country or area ■
- Arable farms ●

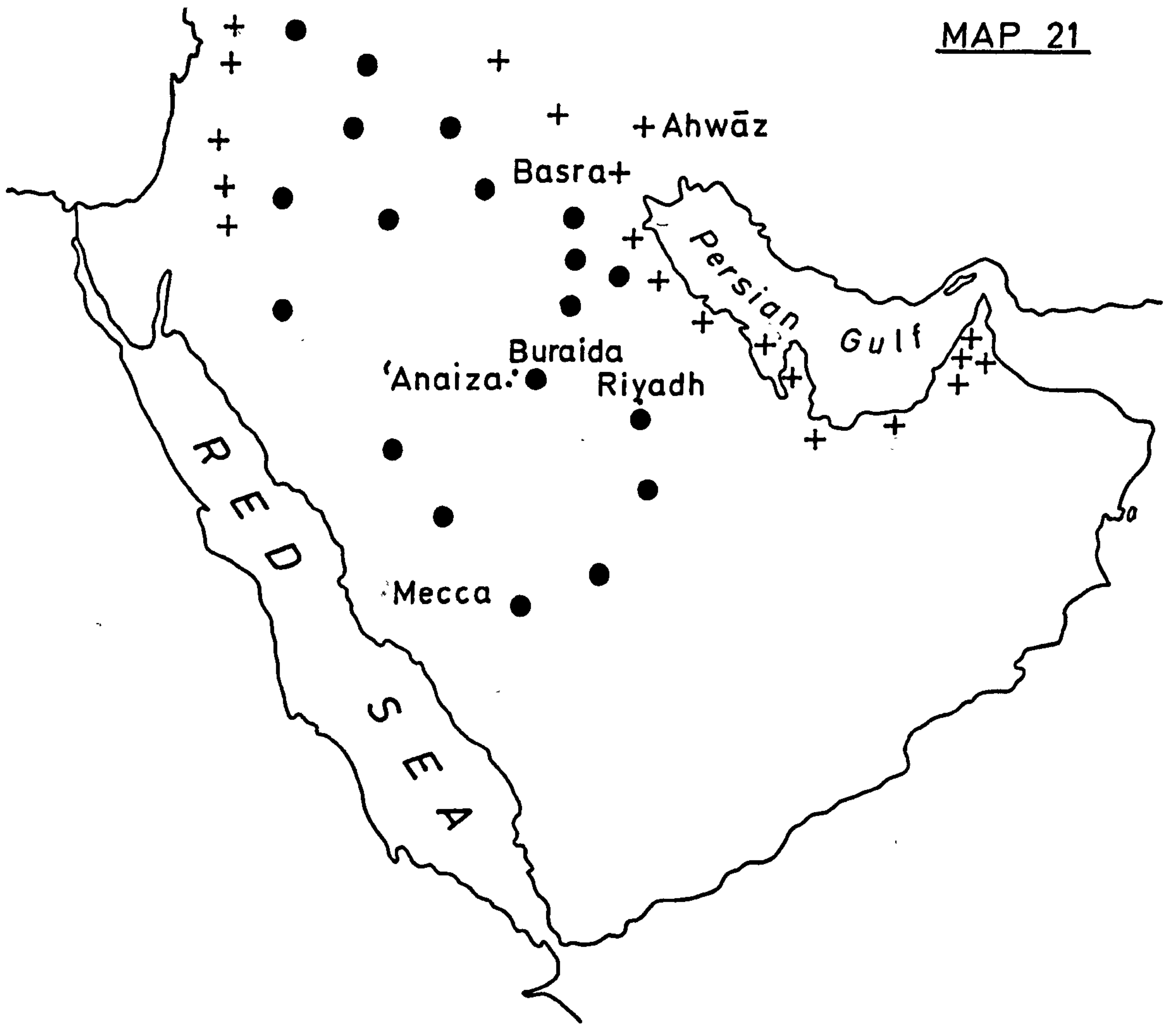


MEANING OF ŠAATIR

MAP 20

- Clever —●—
- Dishonest —■—



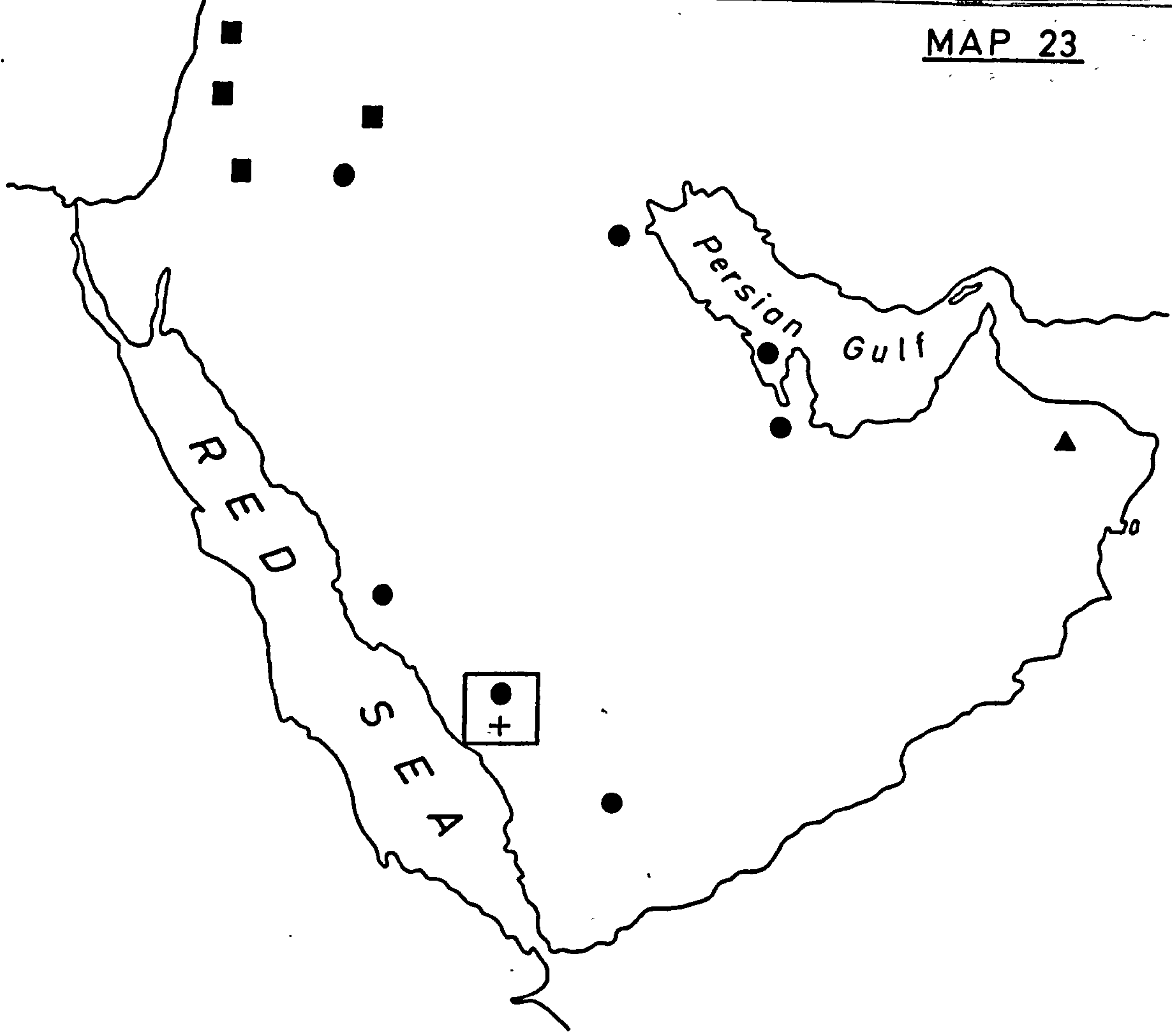


THE APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AFFRICATED  
VARIANTS OF ق AND ك

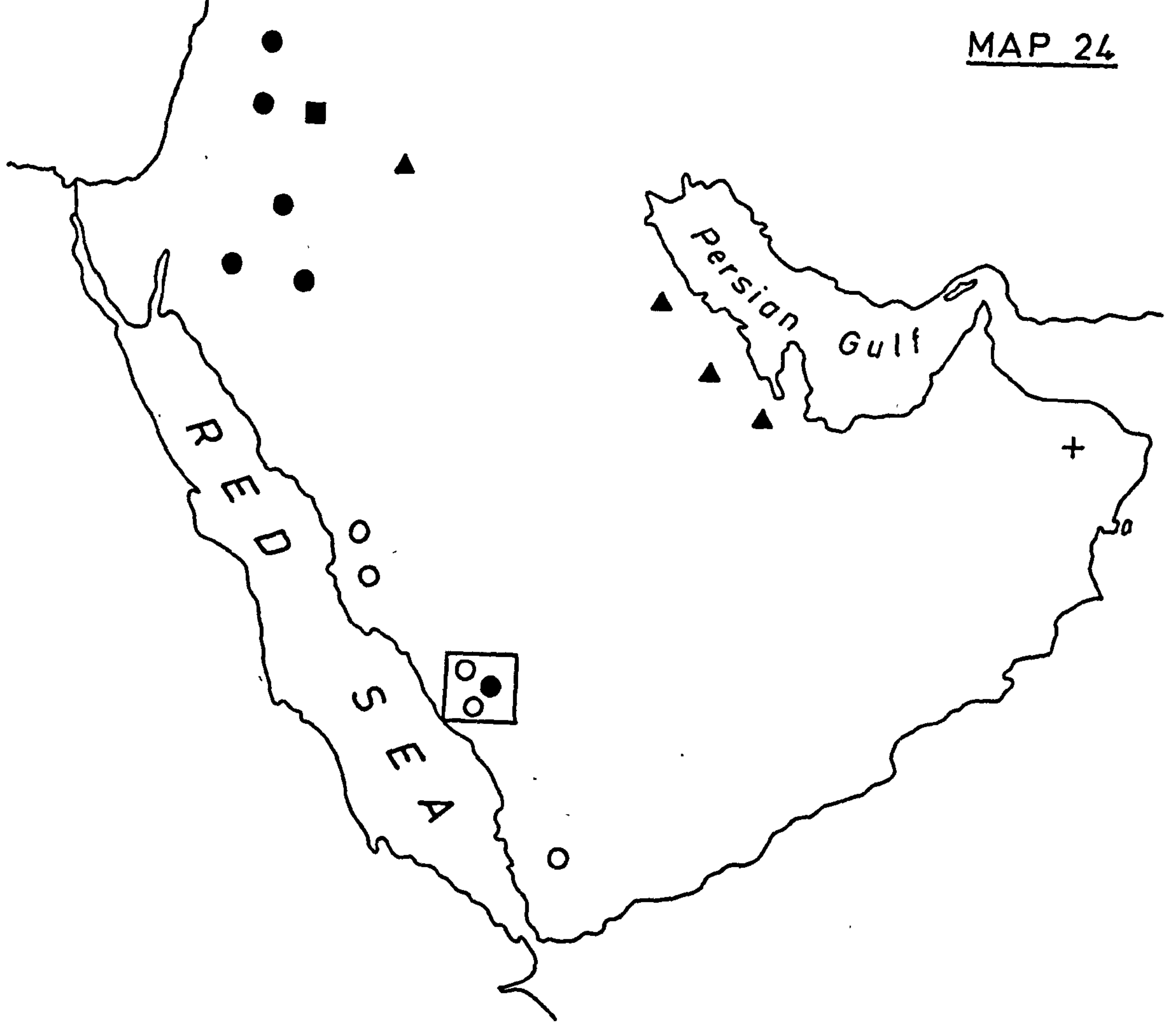
/č.ğ/ ————— +  
/č.ğ/ ————— ●



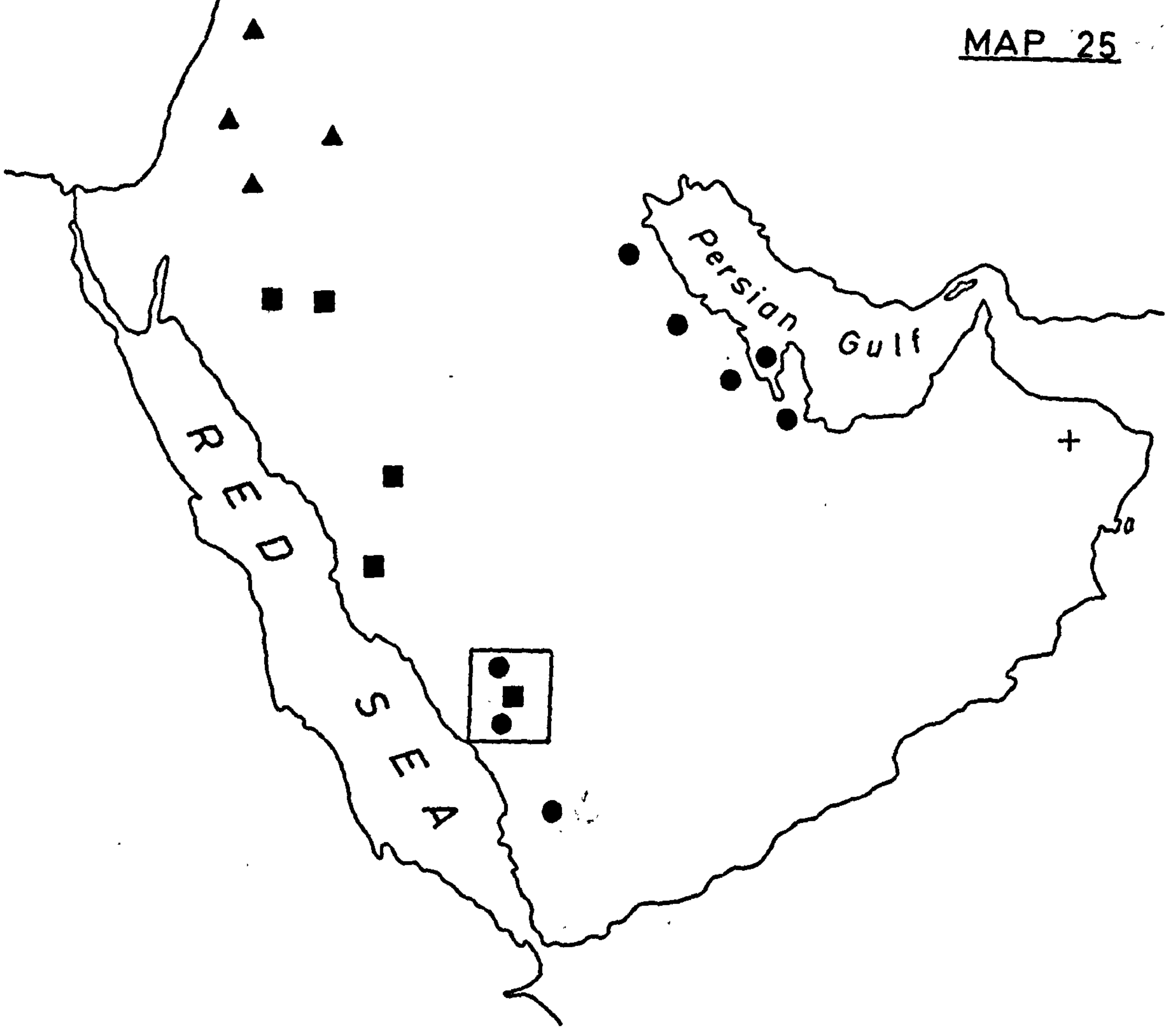




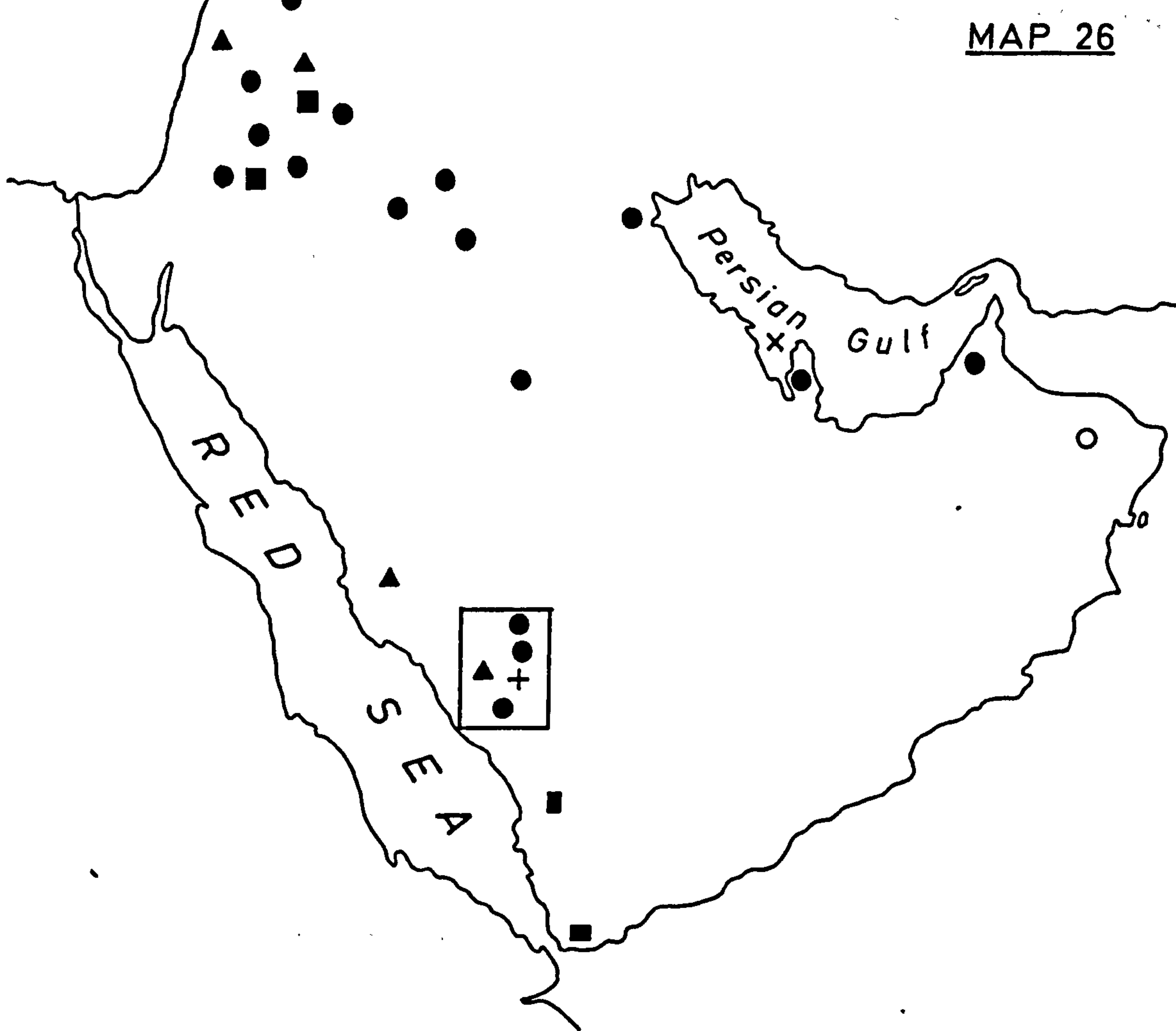
- širib    yašrab - yašrub — +
- širib    yišrab — ●
- širab    yešrib — ■
- šurab    yošrab — ▲



- yaktub
- yoktob
- ▲ yaktib
- b-yiktob
- + yuktub

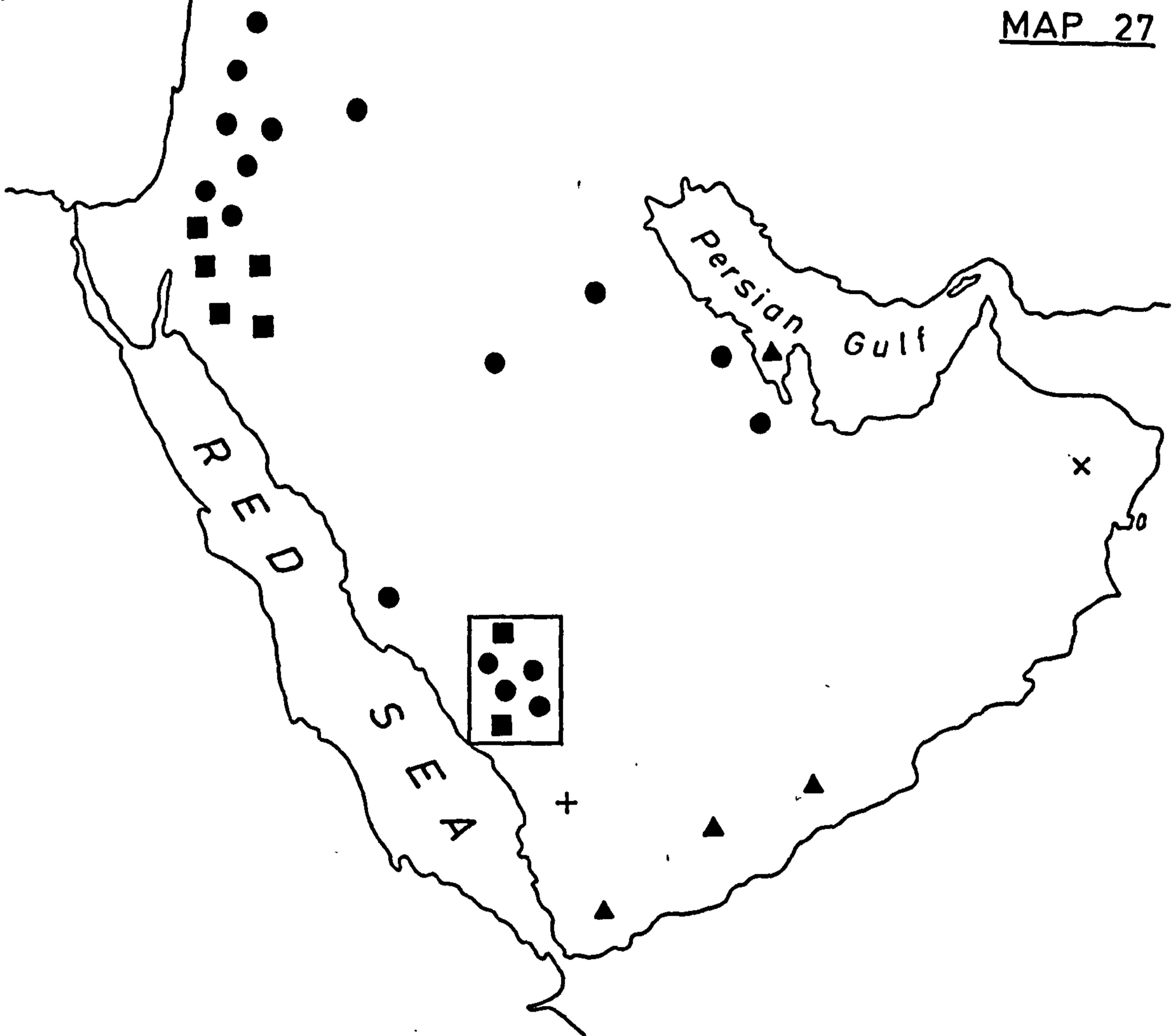


- |        |      |        |    |
|--------|------|--------|----|
| ⌋oktub | /    | ⌋ešreb | —▲ |
| ⌋iktib | //   | ⌋išrab | —● |
| ⌋aktub | ///  | ⌋ašrab | —■ |
| ktub   | //// | šreb   | —+ |



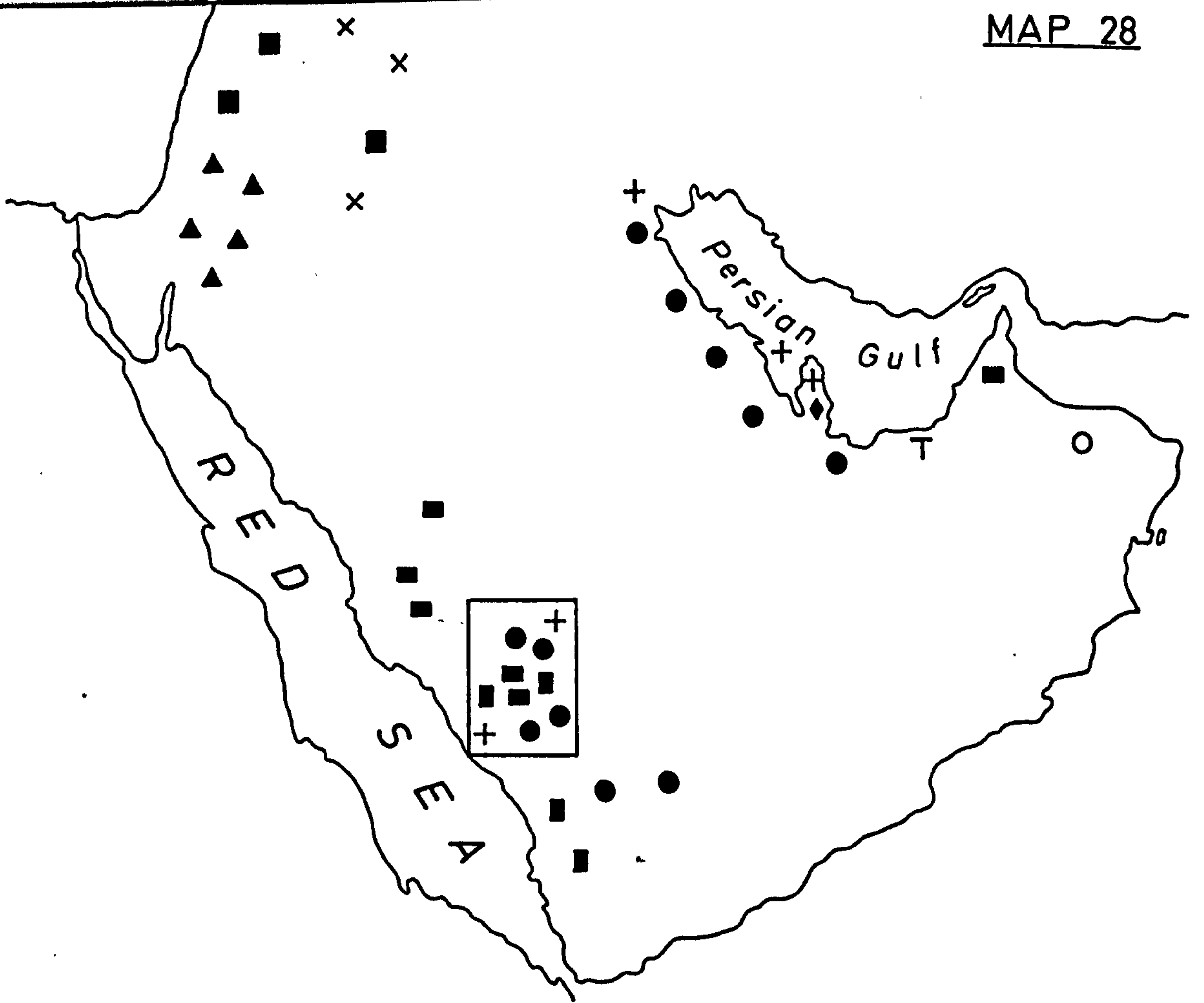
3rd PERSON SINGULAR huwa (masc) and hiya (fem)

- huu/ hii ————— ●
- hiya ————— +
- huwwa / hiyya ——— ▲
- huu> / hii> ————— ■
- hu(h) / hi(h) ————— ■
- hu / hi ————— ■
- əhuuwe / ihyya ——— ×
- huuwe ————— ○



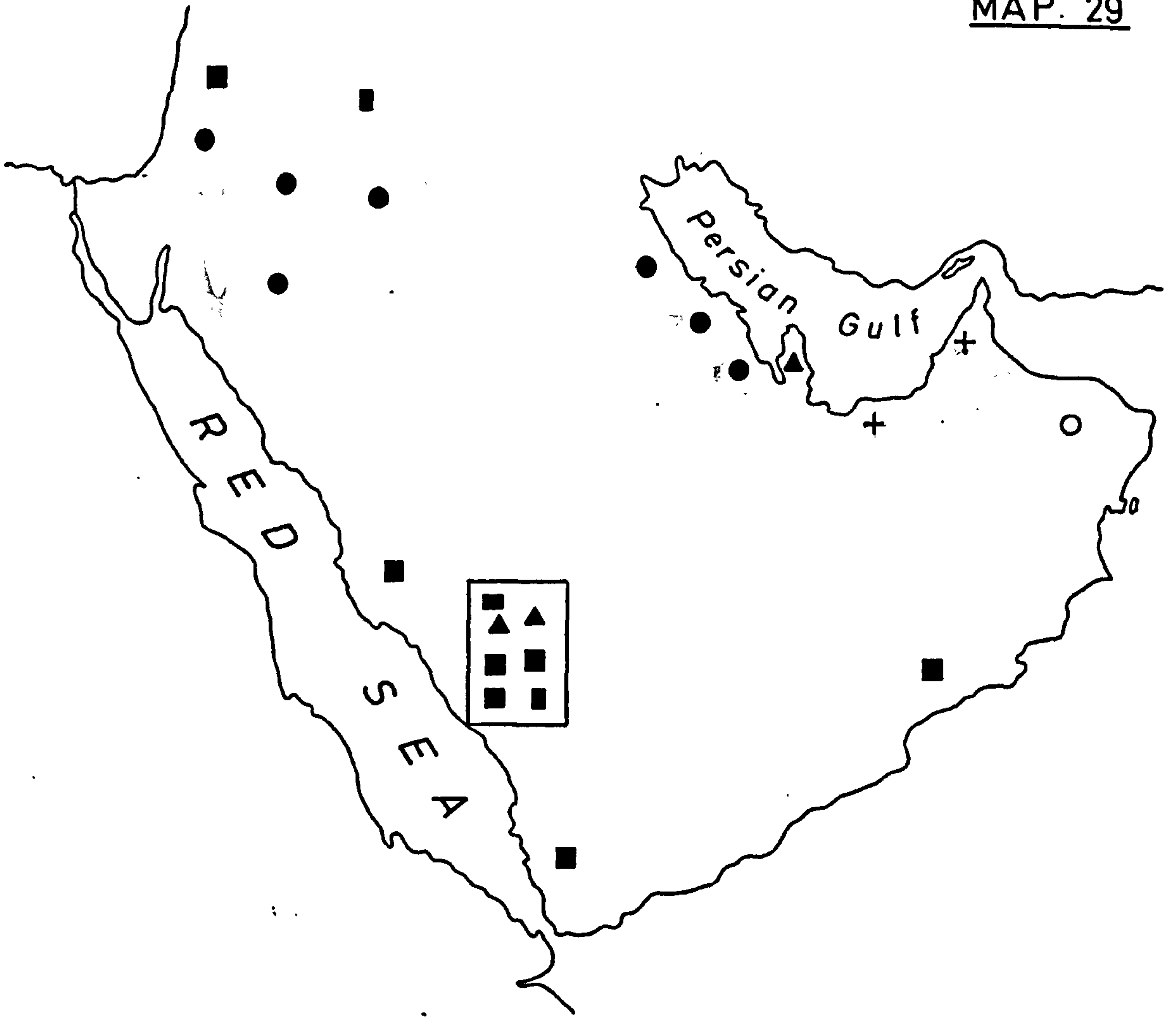
1st Person sing ana

- ana ————— ●
- ani ————— ■
- ane ————— ▲
- ane for masc, — +  
ani for female
- ene ————— x



1st PERS. COM. PLURAL

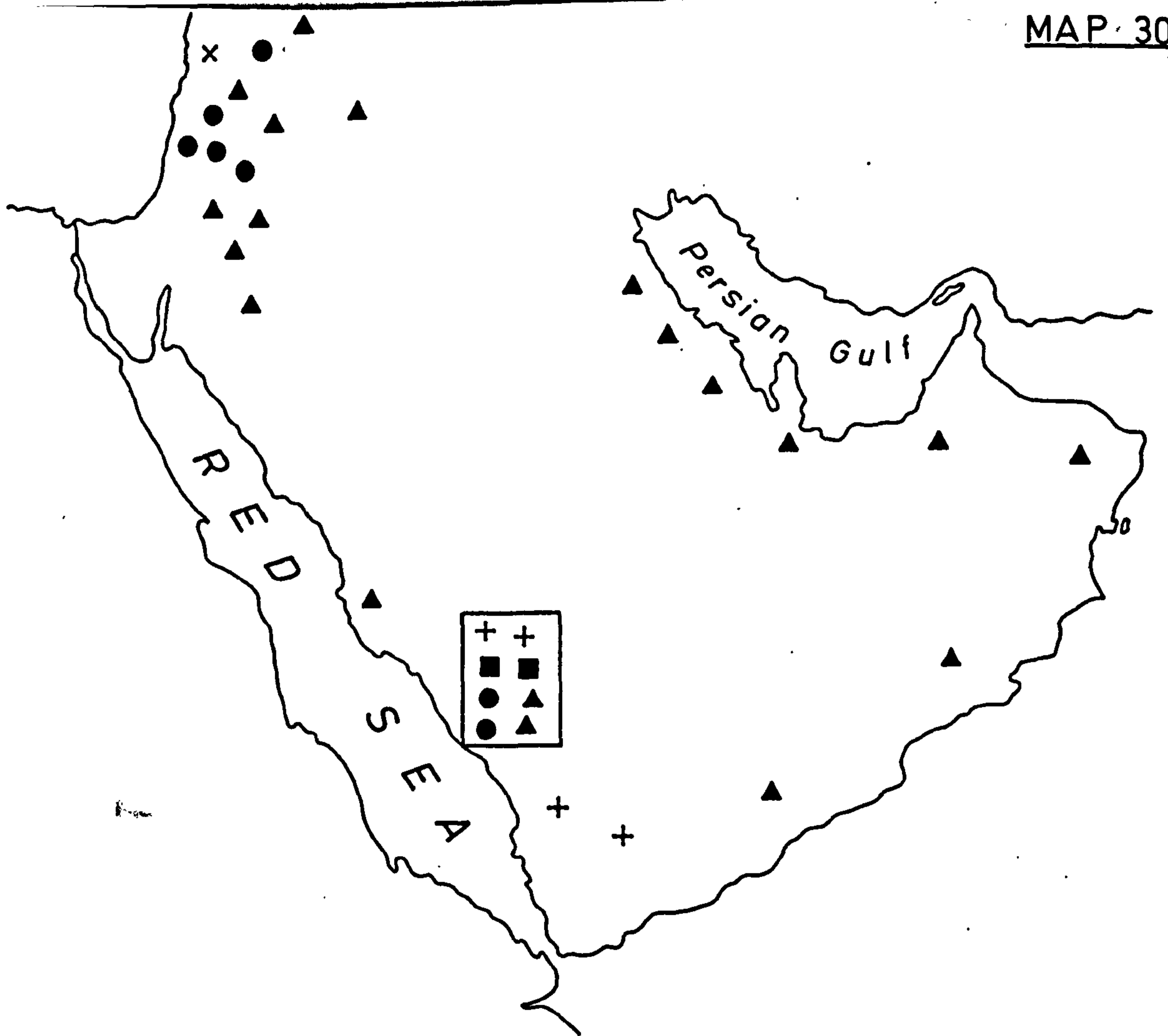
- hinna ————— ●
- hónna ————— ▲
- hénna/hinna ——— ■
- ʔehna /ihna ——— +
- ʔonhna ————— x
- nehna ————— ■
- nahno ————— ■
- nihin ————— T
- ihinna ————— ◆
- honé ————— ○



cl. anta (2nd Masc. sing)

- ɔint/ɔinta — ■
- ɔinto/ɔintu — ▲
- ɔinta/ɔinte — ■
- ɔatt — ■
- ant — +
- ɔantā/ɔanta — ●
- nté/ntii — ○





cl. hum (3rd Masc plural)

- hum/huum ——— ▲
- humma ——— ●
- ʔum ——— ■
- ʔumma ——— +
- homma ——— x