

1

A GRAMMATICAL STUDY
OF
THE ARABIC DIALECT
OF
TAHWAY (MIDHUYA PROVINCE, EGYPT)

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. Degree of
the University of London, by
MOHAMMED AHMED ABU FARAG

School of Oriental and African Studies,
November 1960.

Corrigenda

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Correction</u>
2	5	5 - 6	6 - 7
5	8	293 - 299	293 - 300
19	15	šicc1c	šicc1Ca
20	1	šil-beginning	šill-beginning
23	11	3 - ,	3 -),
36	last	adv	ad
35	2	(iii) below p.	(iv) below pp 3-38
36	last	third	fourth
37	21	particles hina	particles, hina
38	19	agree	agrees

ProQuest Number: 10731475

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731475

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Correction</u>
40	5	presence and absence	absence and presence
42	fn	under b) ii) below.	p.46 below.
45	9	zagyiiu	zagyiin
51	9	boys	men
57	12	Muhammad	Fahmi
65	18	characteristics	characteristic
72	11	aha	ahuh
74	20	ilfanfaar	illanfaar
75	4	p. above	p.72 above
	5	pp. respectively	pp.80 and 89 respectivel
78	19	ilziyaal	ilziyaal?
	10	the boys	the boys?
80	14	pp.72, 75 ^{and} 62-63	pp.72, 75 ^{and} 89ff.
96	10	qayyas	qayyar
99	2	Verb is the response	Verb or participi is the response
118	16	hayidar	hayigdar
121	12	Silgalam intala Ribr 'the pen has been filled with ink'	mhammad itsallim ijjawaab 'Muhammas has received the letter'
	fn(2)		(omit)
129	19-20	Sissabat intala burjugaan 'the basket has been filled with oranges'	hasan itgallim il 'Hasan has learnt how to swim'

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Correction</u>
129	fn		(omit)
136	18	present im- perfect	(omit)
138	11	under 2 and 3	under 1 and 2
140	10 and 15	4 and 5	1 and 2
	15	under 4	under 1
	21	under 5	under 2
143	8	<u>ciVcaCC</u>	<u>siCCaCC</u>
	10	<u>ciVcaCVC</u>	<u>siStaCCVC</u>
	19	<u>CaCCaC</u>	<u>CaCCVC</u>
145	9	<u>CaCCaC</u>	<u>CaCCVC</u>
	16	<u>CaCaC</u> and <u>CaCCiC</u>	<u>CaCaC</u> , <u>CaCaC</u> or <u>CC</u> and <u>CaCCVC</u>
	add after 17		<u>jaal</u> 'has carry <u>jayil</u> 'has a of <u>jarr</u> 'has pull <u>jarrer</u> 'has ask to
147	20	<u>CaCCaC</u>	<u>CaCCVC</u>
148	3	<u>CaCCaC</u>	<u>CaCCVC</u>
151	13	<u>sihmarr</u>	<u>ihmarr</u>
	15	<u>sihfarr</u>	<u>ihfarr</u>
	17	<u>sibyadq</u>	<u>ibyaqq</u>
153	8	II - 1/2	II - 1/3

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Correction</u>
164	fn	128	129
166	fn(1)	CaCCan	CaCCaan
168	21-22	I and V below	1 and 3 below
169	3-7		(omit)
169-179		miCaCCaC	miCaCCVC
		miCaCCiC	miCaCCVC
		mitCaCCaC	mitCaCCVC
		miCaCCaC	miCaCCaC
		mitCaCCaC	mitCaCCVC
174	12	kassar	kaasir
175	2-3	in which case...	(omit)
179	fn(1)	128	129
210	fn(1)	above	below
241	21	2nd s { m it { f	2nd s { m t { f
	25	3rd s { m { f t	3rd s { m { f it
257	1	(A)	(a)
263	3	(illanfaer)	(illanfaer)
288	fn last line	as pre-pausally	and pre-pausally

A GRAMMATICAL STUDY
OF
THE ARABIC DIALECT
OF
TAHWAY (MINUFIYA PROVINCE, EGYPT)

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. Degree of
the University of London, by

MOHAMED AHMED ABU FARAG

School of Oriental and African Studies,

November 1960.

Contents

	Page
Abstract	8 - 9
Acknowledgement	10
Abbreviations	5 - 6
Introduction	11 - 15
Reading Transcription	16 - 24

Part I

Types of Sentences 25-111

Chapter I

Affirmative and Negative Sentences 26-51

Chapter II

Simple, Compound and Complex Sentences ... 52-68

Chapter III

Declarative, Request-, Interrogative and
Question-Sentences 69-99

Chapter IV

Aspect I- and Aspect II-Sentences 100-109

Part II

112-329

Chapter I

General Classification 113-116

Chapter II

Verb.....	117-153
<u>A</u>	
I - Perfect and Imperfect tense.....	117-119
II - Intransitive, Transitive and Doubly- transitive verbs.....	120-123
III - Auxiliary and Non-auxiliary verbs ...	123-126
IV - Potential and Non-potential verbs ...	126-127
V - Active and Passive verbs.....	128-135
<u>B</u> - Sentences containing more than one verb other than auxiliaries.....	135-139
<u>C</u> - Sentences with verbs of certain tense ..	139-140
<u>D</u> - Sub-classes of verb.....	141-153

Chapter III

Participle.....	154-181
General.....	154-159
<u>A</u>	
I - Intransitive, Transitive and Doubly- transitive participles.....	159-162
II - Monomial and Binomial participles ...	162-163
III - Active and Passive participles.....	163-166
<u>B</u> - Participial Sub-classes.....	167-181

Chapter IV

Noun.....	182-217
General.....	182-183

	Page
Determined and Undetermined nouns	183-185
Construct	185
I - Noun of personal reference (Npr), Noun of animate reference (Nar) and Noun of inanimate reference (Nir)	186-193
II - Sub-classes of:	
Npr	193-202
Nar	203-206
Nir	206-217

Chapter V

Adjective	218-238
General	218-226
I - Variable adjective	226-232
II - Invariable adjective	232-237

Chapter VI

Personal Pronoun	239-258
General	239-240
A - Independent personal pronouns	240-245
B - Pronominal suffixes	246-250
Structures containing personal pronouns	250-258

Chapter VII

Demonstratives and Deictics	259-276
General	259-266
I - Demonstratives	267-272
II - Deictics	272-276

Chapter VIII

Numeral	277-302
General	277-281
Numeral sub-classes.....	281-302
1 - Sub-class '1' and '2'.....	281-286
2 - Sub-class '3 - 10'.....	287-293
3 - Sub-class 'eleven - million'.....	293-299
4 - Ordinal numerals	300-302

Chapter IX

The Relative filli.....	303-311
General	303-305
I - Adjectival relative piece	305-310
II - Pronominal relative piece	310-311

Chapter X

Particles	312-329
General.....	312-313
I - Prepositional particles.....	313-320
II - Adverbial particles	321-324
III - Adverbs.....	325-329

Appendix

Arabic Texts and Translation	330-362
Map of Tahway and the surrounding area.....	363

Abbreviations

Grammatical Categories

- A = adjective
Ad = adverb
Adp = adverbial piece
D = demonstrative
De = deictic
dN = determined noun
f = feminine
m = masculine
N = noun
Nar = noun of animate reference
Nir = noun of inanimate reference
Npr = noun of personal reference
Nr = noun of relationship
Nu = numeral
P = participle
Par = particle
pl = plural
Pr = independent pronoun
Pre = prepositional particle
Prep = prepositional piece
Prs = pronominal suffix

R = relative illi

s = singular

V = verb

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African
Studies

TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society

TD = Tahway Dialect

Abstract

The thesis consists of two parts and one appendix as well as the introduction and the reading transcription.

Part I deals with types of sentences which are divided in four different ways according to the characteristics on which the attention is focussed. It consists of four chapters followed by a table showing the different types of sentences in the language. In Chapters I, II, III and IV affirmative and negative sentences; simple, compound and complex sentences; declarative, request-, interrogative and question-sentences and aspect I- and aspect II-sentences are discussed respectively. Sentences are subdivided under each heading into different sub-classes in accordance with the characteristics they exhibit.

In Part II, grammatical categories within simple affirmative declarative sentences of aspect I are established. Before proceeding with the analysis in this part, a chapter is devoted to general classification of the categories treated in the rest of it. The remaining nine chapters of Part II deal with verb, participle, noun, adjective, personal pronoun, demonstrative and deictic, numeral, the relative *silli* and particle. Each of these categories is subdivided into whatever sub-classes the material suggests.

The appendix contains eight Arabic texts relating to agriculture in the day-to-day life of Tahway, and their English translation.

A map of the village and the surrounding area is provided with the thesis.

Acknowledgment

My sincere thanks are due to my supervisor, Mr. T.F. Mitchell, for his valuable suggestions and constructive criticism throughout the period of preparing the present thesis. I am particularly indebted to him for his theoretical guidance which helped considerably towards this work, and will certainly be of great value in my future linguistic research.

I must add, however, that all final responsibility for the work rests with myself and I alone am to be called to account for errors and omissions.

Introduction

A

Brief Sketch of Tahway and its inhabitants.

An attempt is made in this work to give a formal grammatical account of Tahway Dialect. Tahway (spelt also Tahwai,⁽¹⁾ while the form Tahweeh is more suggestive of local pronunciation) is a village in Lower Egypt in Minufiya province. It is on the Rosetta branch of the Nile, 32 miles N.W. of Cairo. Most of the population of the village (7,720 in number, according to the 1947 Census) are occupied in agriculture. They receive their elementary education in the village either wholly at the government schools (one for boys, one for girls) or partly at the government school and partly at the Kuttab (Koranic school), where they learn the Koran by heart. Higher education, however, is spreading among the villagers. There are approximately a hundred university graduates from the village and several hundreds of students in the universities and secondary schools.

The village is supplied with goods from Cairo and the surrounding towns. Business men are continually visiting the towns and bringing with them, among other things, town-language.

(1) See map on p. 363

Apart from education and the influence of the towns, linguistic forms used in the village are affected by the frequent religious sermons given in its five mosques, and especially by those delivered on Fridays. It is relevant in this context to mention the part played by the Shari'ite Society, 'Al-Jam'iyya Al-Shar'iyya, which has its centre in Cairo and whose members have been preaching in the village for over fifty years. The Moslem Brotherhood was also active in the village for some years during which many religious speeches were delivered in what may be termed neo-classical Arabic.

Recently, many villagers have come to own radio sets and are thus able to listen to a variety of programmes. This also is having a considerable effect on the dialect.

Linguistic activities in the village are very broadly divisible into three kinds, according to the situation in which the language is used:

- 1) Religious,
 - 2) Sophisticated
- and 3) Everyday.

Religious language is mostly practised in the mosques, where different religious problems are dealt with, and takes the form of addresses by the preacher who is a graduate or a student of 'Al-'Azhar or of discussions between him and the congregation. The villagers have always been interested in

religion and have listened eagerly to many preachers. They take great interest in comparing the knowledge gained in youth with the contribution a new preacher may make. It is a common thing for one of the congregation to tell the preacher what he does or has done about a problem confronting him in life and ask him whether his action conforms to religious rules. People taking part in these discussions are mostly farmers, who, on such occasions, seek to imitate the preacher's style of speech. Educated people participate also in such discussions. The language used in this context is a mixture of neo-classical Arabic and the local dialect.

Sophisticated language is confined to educated people and businessmen, who travel to Cairo and other towns, and who employ characteristically sophisticated forms whenever they meet in private. This type of language is mostly heard in summer, when students, who attend educational centres in the large towns, return to the village for their holidays. This language approximates to cultured Cairene usage, since the latter enjoys a certain prestige over local dialects throughout the country.

Everyday language excludes the two previous types and is the sole subject of investigation in the present study.

Apart from a recorded text made in Cairo (see Appendix), I have acted as my own informant. I am 35 years of age and have always remained in touch with the village, where my parents

and all but one of my brothers and sisters live. My youngest brother, who is pursuing his university education in Alexandria used to live with me in the same town during the period of his secondary education. At that time we would regularly and exclusively use TD in conversation between ourselves.

I did not leave home for any purpose before reaching the age of 14, when I went to Shebin El-Korn Secondary School; returning home during the holidays. During my secondary education, I spoke TD with my fellow-villagers who were being educated in the same town either at the secondary school or at the local branch of 'Al-'Azhar. I then went to Alexandria, where I eventually took my degree in Arabic, whereafter I joined the staff of that department. Before coming to London, I had spent every vacation in the village and used TD daily when there.

B

Scope of the present study.

It is hoped that the present study will be accepted as matching its intention, namely, to make a positive contribution both to linguistics in general and to Arabic in particular. An attempt has been made to present the most important facts of the grammar of an Arabic dialect in a new light by the rigorous application of the formal, objective approach of

modern linguistics and of its techniques of analysis and description. Although concern has been exclusively with the dialect of Tabriz, it is nevertheless considered that the framework of analysis employed is likely to be useful in the study of other forms of Arabic. In conclusion, the thesis is far from being a full account of TD; much work is still needed before a complete analysis of the dialect can be presented.

The reading transcription

The following symbols and conventions for reading are employed in the thesis.

A - Consonant-letters

b, a voiced bilabial plosive; f, a voiceless labio-dental fricative; m, a bilabial nasal; n, a dento-alveolar nasal; l, a dento-alveolar lateral; r, an alveolar flap, rr, an alveolar roll; j, a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative; ^{*j, a voiced palato-alveolar affricate;*} k, g, voiceless and voiced velar plosives; x, y, voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives; q, a voiceless uvular plosive; h, ɣ, voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives; ʔ, a glottal plosive; h, a glottal fricative; s, z, t, d, "emphatics" or velarized consonants corresponding to "non-emphatic" s, z, t, d, respectively. For "emphatic" articulation, the tongue is laterally expanded throughout its length and flattened in rear of the tip while lip position is neutral; for corresponding "non-emphatic" articulation the tongue is laterally contracted and the front raised towards the palate, while the lips are spread; s, ʂ, z, and ʐ, are dento-alveolar sulcal consonants, t, ʈ, d, and ɖ, dento-alveolar plosive consonants; w, a voiced bilabial semi-vowel; y, a voiced palatal semi-vowel.

B - Vowel-letters

i, a half-close front spread vowel, close when final or long; u, a half-close back to central rounded vowel, close rounded when final or long; e and o, mid to half-close front and back vowels spread and rounded respectively; a, ɑ, front and back open vowels.

C - Doubled letters

Long vowels are shown by doubled letters. Doubled consonants are pronounced longer and are more tensely articulated than their single counterparts.

D - Consonant-clusters

In a cluster of two consonants where the first and the second do not appear to "agree" with regard to voice, the cluster should be pronounced voiced or voiceless in accordance with the nature of the second consonant as described above; e.g.

maṭbuux = maḍbuux,	ṣakbar = ṣagbar
fasda = fazda,	majduud = majduud
masjuun = mazjuun	
radh = rath,	ṣiṣmaag = ṣiṣmaag (1)
maysuul = maxsuul,	maṣṭuub = maḥṭuub

(1) More accurately in this case, j is associated with lenis articulation.

E - Vowel-junctions

When the same vowel, short or long, is final in one word and initial in the following word, then the first should not be pronounced. Word-final -i before a- or a- should be treated similarly; e.g. xaali ahmad = xaal-ahmad mandiili abyaq = mandiil-abyaq.

Elide also word-initial i- after any vowel; e.g. sijfanja illkibiira = sijfanja-lkibiira.

F - Anaptyctic vowel

An anaptyctic vowel of half-close front spread quality should be pronounced after a word-final two-consonant cluster, which precedes a word with consonant initial.

G - Notes on transcribed differences between "same forms"

- (1) Post-pausal ʕ (a) is elsewhere frequently elided
e.g. firraajil but min irraajil
- (b) corresponds to gemination of l
in article-noun or article-
adjective complexes when the noun-
component is
- (i) plural and of the structure
ʕVCCaaC where V = a or i; e.g.
ʕanfaar but ʕillanfaar
ʕirʕaal but ʕillirʕaal

In singular nouns of this structure and some plural nouns where V = a, ʕ is not elided. Compare the previous examples with:

Singular

ʕiɣlaan and ʕilʕiɣlaan

ʕinsaana and ʕilʕinsaana

Plural where V = a

ʕaɣmaal and ʕilʕaɣmaal

ʕasraara and ʕilʕasraara

ʕaħlaama and ʕilʕaħlaama

- (ii) when the noun or adjective is of structure ʕiCCiCVVC, ʕiCCiCVCVVC, ʕiCCiC or ʕVCCV(C); e.g.

ʕiɣtiraaf but ʕillɣtiraaf

ʕiɣtirafaat " ʕillɣtirafaat

ʕiħzima " ʕillɣiħzima

ʕabyaq " ʕillabyaq⁽¹⁾

ʕaɣma " ʕillaɣma

(1) Similar to these also, although not of the same structure, are: ʕabriig, ʕillabriig; ʕafandi, ʕillafandi; ʕummayya, ʕillummayya.

- (2) "Initial" ξ il- of these ξ il-beginning forms is elided after a word with consonant final; e.g.

rayyis illanfaar = rayyis lanfaar

ξ ilwarag illabyaq = ξ ilwarag labyaq

Compare these examples with

rayyis il ξ izbih = rayyis il ξ izbih

ξ ilwarag ilsamrikaani = ξ ilwarag ilsamrikaani

In the latter examples the vowel initial in the second form obviates the impossible sequence of three consonants.

- (3) With certain exceptions, -a and -a, medial in the total complex but final in the word, ^{may} relate to pre-pausal -ih and -ah respectively; e.g.

ma mi ξ ah ξ haaja \underline{a} wa ξ sil but ma mi ξ ah ξ haajih

hee ξ a ha ξ jar but hee ξ ah

The exceptions are in the case of words in which the final open vowel is preceded by one of the 'guttural' consonants: k, g, h, ξ , x, γ , h. They are divided into two groups according to the structure of the penultimate syllable:

- a) If the penultimate syllable is of the structure CVC, -a and -a, not -ih and -ah, appear pre-pausally.

Compare

ʕilwad ʕarafha 'the boy knew her'

ʕilbitt mitqayga 'the girl is annoyed'

hinaak farxa 'there is a hen there'

ʕaal farha 'the shawl of Farha'

with the following examples and with examples under b)

gabilt ilgumdih 'have met the chief'

ʕali xallaṣ mizakrih 'Ali has finished
studying'

hasan ʕallimla ilkitaabih 'Hasan taught
her how to write'

ʕibgat li ʕarafah 'send for Arafah'

ʕirraqjil ʕaawiz hasanih 'the man is
asking for charity'

b) If the penultimate syllable is not of the structure CVC, -a, medial in the total complex but final in the word, relates to pre-pausal -ah (not -ih), e.g.

samakak kibiirih but kalt samakah

'a big fish' 'I ate a fish'

xalagaṣ ʕafrah but hittit xalagah

'a yellow rag' 'a piece of rag'

balaha wi burṭuganih but xad balahaḥ
 'a date and an orange' 'he took a date'
 ṣilfiriga ṭuwaal but kassaru ilfirigaḥ
 'the branches are high' 'they cut the branches'
 ṣissabaxa fiiha koom but ṣilkoom fi
 issabaxah
 'there is a pile in the wet salty land'
 'the pile is in the wet salty land'
 ṣissaaya gaḥliin but ṣiftiri min issaayah
 'the goldsmiths are closed' 'buy from the goldsmiths'
 wayyaaha hasan but hasan wayyaahah (1)
 'Hasan is with her (lit. with her Hasan)'
 'Hasan is with her'

(1). Failure to observe the distinctions under (a) and (b) commonly reveals the "foreigner" in the village.

(1)

H - Prominence

Prominence depends on the quantitative pattern of the whole word in accordance with the following three rules, which apply to both suffixed and unsuffixed forms.

Assuming every syllable to begin with a consonant, then

1- If the ultimate syllable is of the structure CVVC or CVCC, that syllable is always prominent, e.g. dulaab 'cupboard', yalabuuh 'they have beaten him', ɣaraft 'I/you knew'.

2 - In words of which the ultimate syllable is neither CVVC nor CVCC the penultimate syllable is for the most part prominent (exceptions are catered for under 3 -), e.g. milaxbaɣ 'confused', maɣlaga 'a spoon', samagɲi 'he heard me'.

3 - With the exception of words mentioned under 4, when both the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables are of structure CV, e.g. ɣilabak 'your tins', and in the case of words of four or five syllables, the pre-antepenultimate is not a further CV syllable, e.g. ɟarabitu 'she hit him', then the antepenultimate syllable is prominent, e.g. sinhasabu 'they were counted'.

(1) The rules given here are taken from T.F. Mitchell's Introduction to Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (London: Oxford University Press, 1956). Appendix A pp.110-111. See also the same author's Prominence and Syllabication in Arabic, (BSOAS, Vol. XXIII, Part 2, 1960), pp.375-376. Reference may also be made here to Richard S. Harrell's The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (New York, American Council of Learned Societies, 1957), chapter IV.

4 - The penultimate syllable is prominent in:

(i) plural nouns of the structure CiCiCa; e.g.

hirima 'blankets' libisa 'underpants'.

Compare these plural nouns with the following adjectives, in which the antepenultimate syllable is prominent: kiniza 'narrow', gidila 'straight'.

(ii) words of the structure CaCiCu or CuCuCa, e.g.

ʃalitu 'she carried it', ʃalitu 'she reached it', duruba 'lanes', butuma '(field-)

boundaries'. Compare these examples with the following examples which conform to rule (2), e.g. ɣilabu 'his tins', ɣamalu 'they did', ɣulama 'learned'.

Part I

(1)
Types of Sentences

Sentences in the language under consideration are classified here in four different ways according to the particular features on which attention is focused. For a start, only one criterion has been selected as the basis for the division made under each heading. Further criteria are stated in the course of the analysis.

(1) No attempt is made to define sentence, 'and if necessary define the sentence; here 'sentence' is the name given to the largest unit about which grammatical statements are to be made'. Cf. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Grammatical Categories in Chinese', TPS, 1956, p.182.

Chapter I

Affirmative and Negative Sentences

The main criterion for establishing negation and affirmation is the respective occurrence and non-occurrence of one of the negative particles which are:

- I - maḥ (muḥ, maḥuḥ)⁽¹⁾
- II - ma -- ḥ
- III - ma
- IV - la -- ...⁽²⁾

Other characteristics of sentences under this twofold division are given in the course of the chapter.

According to the type of negative particle, negative sentences and their affirmative counterparts are grouped into four sub-classes. Each sub-class appears under the heading of the particle which occurs in negative sentences.

I - maḥ (muḥ, maḥuḥ)

This particle occurs in sentences of particular structure. Examples illustrating affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts are given below, followed by statements about their structure.

(1) The forms in brackets are in free variation with the preceding form.

(2) The dots indicate that other forms may follow la, forming a negative particle-complex.

A) Affirmative sentences

- 1 - mhammad hayaakul 'Muhammad will eat'
- 2 - silsakl jaahiz 'the food is ready'
- 3 - silxajaba tawiila 'the piece of wood is long'
- 4 - gali şahbi 'Ali is my friend'
- 5 - silgiyaal foog 'the boys are upstairs'
- 6 - silkitaab fi ijfanṭa? 'is the book in the (brief) case?'
- 7 - miin saamiḡ? 'who can hear?'
- 8 - silwad itṣaxxar minha hasan raajiḡ 'the boy is late and that is why Hasan is going back'
- 9 - sin gali yaab ilgiyaal hayiṣṭayalu 'if Ali is delayed the boys will work'
- 10 - hasan haykuun fi ilyeet 'Hasan will be in the field'

Negative sentences

- 1 - mhammad maj hayaakul 'Muhammad will not eat'
- 2 - silsakl maj jaahiz 'the food is not ready'
- 3 - silxajaba maj tawiila 'the piece of wood is not long'
- 4 - gali maj şahbi 'Ali is not my friend'
- 5 - silgiyaal maj foog 'the boys are not upstairs'
- 6 - silkitaab maj fi ijfanṭa? 'isn't the book in the (brief) case?'
- 7 - miin maj saamiḡ? 'who cannot hear?'
- 8 - silwad itṣaxxar minha hasan maj raajiḡ 'the boy is late and that is why Hasan is not going back'

- 9 - *sin gali yaab ilgiyaal maf hayistayalu* 'if Ali is delayed the boys will not work'
- 10 - *hasan maf haykuun fi ilyeet* 'Hasan will not be in the field'

The structure of the sentences illustrated by the above examples, with the exception of exx. 8, 9, 10, can be symbolized by:

$$N - V \text{im f}^{(1)} / P/A/N/Par$$

The symbolization does not take into account the negative particle, the presence or absence of which respectively characterizes negative and affirmative sentences.

Examples 8, 9 and 10 were chosen to illustrate respectively compound, complex and aspect II sentences. Compound and complex sentences may contain more than one negative particle. They can be exemplified by:

- filwad ma itfaxxarf minha hasan maf raajiz* 'the boy was not late, and that is why Hasan is not going back'
- sin gali ma wasalf ilgiyaal maf hayistayalu* 'if Ali does not arrive the boys will not work'

However, when *maf* occurs in compound and complex sentences, it should be followed by one of the elements which follow N in the above symbolization.

Examples 1-5 illustrate simple declarative sentences of

(1) im f = imperfect future.

aspect I, while 6 and 7 illustrate respectively simple interrogative and question-sentences of aspect I. Not all question-sentences, however, can contain negative particles. (1)

B) Another type of simple sentences is selected to illustrate a further point of comparison between affirmative and negative sentences. It is proposed to give examples of the twofold division first and then follow them with statements about their structure.

Affirmative sentences

- 1 - mhammad hayaakul wi hayistirayyah 'Muhammad will eat and have a rest'
- 2 - Sillaama masluuga wi mithammardh 'the meat is boiled and fried'
- 3 - Siixajaba tawiila wi xariiqah 'the piece of wood is long and broad'
- 4 - xali xahbi wi xariibi 'Ali is my friend and my relative'
- 5 - Siikitaab fi ixfanxa xala ilmaktab 'the book is in the case on the desk'
- 6 - Siixiyaal foog juwwa ilmaggad 'the boys are upstairs in the upper room'

Negative sentences

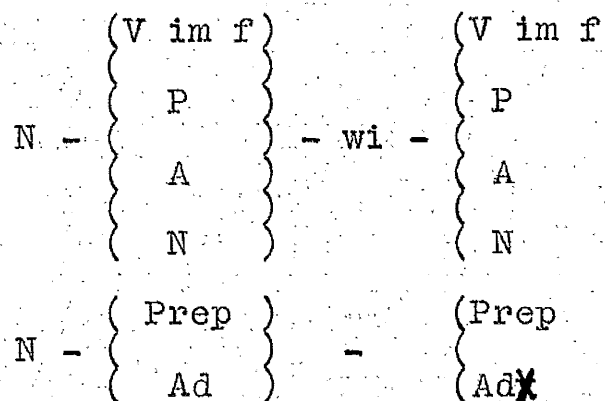
- 1 - mhammad maj hayaakul da hayistirayyah 'Muhammad is not going to eat, he is going to have a rest'

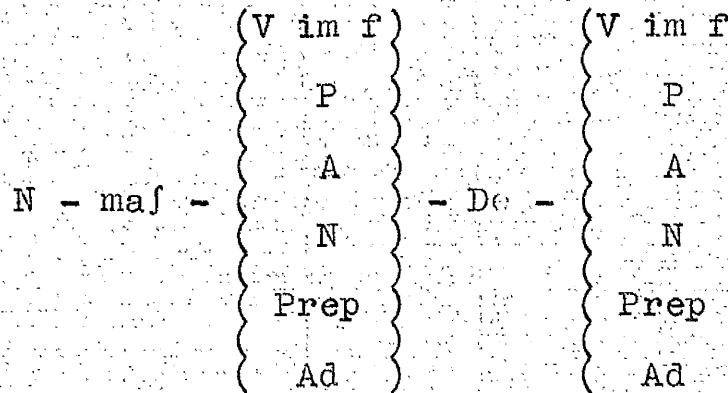
(1) See question-sentences (p. 89)

- 2 - Sillahma maj masluuga di mithammara 'the meat is not boiled, it is fried'
- 3 - Silxajaba maj tuwiila di xariida 'the piece of wood is not long, it is broad'
- 4 - xali maj xahbi da xariibi 'Ali is not my friend, he is my relative'
- 5 - Silkitaab maj fi ijjanta da xala ilmaktab 'the book is not in the case, it is on the desk'
- 6 - Silxiyaal maj taht dool juwwa ilmaggad 'the boys are not downstairs, they are in the upper room'

The absence of the negative particle and the demonstrative da (di, dool) in the last group of affirmative sentences above together with the occurrence of wi in the first four examples of this group distinguishes the affirmative sentences from their negative counterparts. In the latter, the negative particle, together with the demonstrative pronoun da (di, dool), occurs in all the examples. The two structures which these examples illustrate can be symbolized as follows:

Affirmative



Negative

The demonstrative in the fourth place in negative sentences agrees with the noun in the head-position in respect of number-cum-gender. A noun identical in form with the noun in head-position may occur in the place of the demonstrative; cf.

mhammad maf hayaakul mhammad hayistirayyah 'Muhammad is not going to eat, (he) Muhammad is going to have a rest'

fillahma maf masluuga illahma mithammara 'the meat is not boiled, (it) the meat is fried'

These negative sentences may be contrasted with their affirmative counterparts where a noun identical with that in the head-position cannot occur in the place of wi in the same manner as a noun can replace the demonstrative; (see the last group of affirmative sentences).

The negative particle muj is in free variation with maf and is also invariable. Thus, cf.,

mhammad muj hayaakul 'Muhammad will not eat'

fillakl muj jaahiz 'the food is not ready'

Unlike *maɣ* and *muɣ*, *mahuɣ*, which is also in free variation with *maɣ*, is invariable and is describable, like personal pronouns, in terms of person and number-cum-gender. The following examples are selected to illustrate the different forms of the negative particle *mahuɣ*.

ɣani *maniɣ* *ɤaaliɣ* 'I(m) am not going out'

ɣani *maniɣ* *ɤalɣa* 'I(f) am not going out'

ɣihna *mahnaɣ* *ɤalɣiin* 'we are not going out'

ɣinta *manɤaɣ* *ɤaaliɣ* 'you(m) are not going out'

ɣinti *manɤiɣ* *ɤalɣa* 'you(f) are not going out'

ɣintu *manɤuɣ* *ɤalɣiin* 'you(pl) are not going out'

huwwa *mahuɣ* (*mahuwwaɣ*) ⁽¹⁾ *ɤaaliɣ* 'he is not going out'

hiyya *mahiɣ* (*mahiyyaɣ*) ⁽¹⁾ *ɤalɣa* 'she is not going out'

humma *mahuɣ* (*mahummaɣ*) ⁽¹⁾ *ɤalɣiin* 'they are not going out'

A system of eight units can be established for the negative particle in the previous examples. The following table shows the exponents of person and number-cum-gender:

(1) The form in brackets is in free variation with the preceding form.

TABLE I

Exponent	Person	Number-cum-gender
ni	1st {	m/f
hna		pl
nta	2nd {	m
nti		f
nta		pl
hu(huwwa)	3rd {	m
hi(hiyya)		f
hum(humma)		pl

N.B.

Affirmative and negative sentences containing participle of motion exhibit an interesting point of difference from those containing other sub-classes of participle. This is formally observed in the sub-class of adverb colligable with participle of motion and that colligable with other sub-classes of participle. Participle of motion is colligable with sub-class 3 adverb ⁽¹⁾ only in both affirmative and negative sentences. In contrast, other sub-classes of participle are colligable with sub-class 2 adverb only in affirmative sentences and with sub-class 3 adverb only in negative sentences. Compare the following

(1) For sub-classes of adverb see pp. 325-329

examples under (1) and (2).

(1) Participle of motion

Affirmative sentences

hasan misaafir bukra 'Hasan will leave tomorrow'

xalti talga ilhijaaz issana ijjaaya 'my aunt will go
on pilgrimage next year'

Negative sentences

hasan maf misaafir bukra 'Hasan will not leave tomorrow'

xalti maf talga ilhijaaz issana ijjaaya 'my aunt will
not go on pilgrimage next year'

(2) Other sub-classes of participle

Affirmative sentences

hasan mixallas ilbaarah 'Hasan finished yesterday'

xalti wakla gabl idquhr 'my aunt ate before midday (noon)'

Negative sentences

hasan maf mixallas bukra 'Hasan will not finish tomorrow'

xalti maf wakla bagd idquhr 'my aunt will not eat in the
afternoon'

II - ma -- f

This negative particle complex accompanies a) perfect, imperfect present and imperfect neutral verbs, b) prepositional and adverbial particles when they are associated with fii (in

affirmative sentences fiih) and undetermined nouns (see note (iv) ~~(iii)~~ below pp. 37-38 about the possibility of the adverbial particles hina and hinaak without fii) and c) the colligations of prepositional and adverbial particles - pronominal suffix where the latter agrees in number-cum-gender with a preceding noun. Examples of affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts are given below for comparison. They contain the elements enumerated above in their respective order.

Affirmative sentences

- (a) 1 - ɣali ʃalaɣ 'Ali has gone out'
 2 - ʃiʃʃaʃʃa bitihrag 'the chilli is hot'
 3 - ʃittalamza yiɣrafu 'the pupils know'
 4 - ɣarrabu 'hurry up'
- (b) 1 - fiih maɣaalig ɣa ittarabiiza 'there are spoons on the table'
 2 - fiih foog haʃab 'there is straw upstairs'
- (c) 1 - ʃilʃooɖa fiiha karaasi 'there are chairs in the room'
 2 - mħammad ɣandu ɖuyuuʃ 'Muhammad has visitors'

Negative sentences

- (a) 1 - ɣali ma ʃalaɣʃ 'Ali has not gone out'
 2 - ʃiʃʃaʃʃa ma bitihragʃ 'the chilli is not hot'
 3 - ʃittalamza ma yiɣrafuuʃ 'the pupils do not know'
 4 - ma tigarrabʃ 'do not hurry'

(b) 1 - ma fiif magaaliŋ ga ittarabiiza 'there are no spoons
on the table'

2 - ma fiif foog haŋab 'there is no straw upstairs'

(c) 1 - fiifooŋa ma fihaaf karaasi 'there are no chairs in
the room'

2 - mhammad ma ɣanduuf ɗuyyuuf 'Muhammad has no visitors'

Notes:

(i) Comparing affirmative and negative sentences under (a) above, it can be seen that in negative sentences ma precedes the verb immediately and ʃ is suffixed to it. Pronominal suffixes, however, come between the verb and ʃ; cf.

ɣali ma baɣathaaf 'Ali did not send it'

When the verb is followed by the prepositional particle li the latter precedes the pronominal suffix and ʃ comes after both of them; e.g.

mhammad ma katablihaaf 'Muhammad has not written to her'

In the case of the occurrence of prepositional particles other than li in association with a pronominal suffix the prepositional piece occurs after ʃ; e.g.

mhammad ma katabʃ ɣaleeha 'Muhammad did not write on it'

mhammad ma katabʃ biha 'Muhammad did not write with it'

(ii) The negative counterpart of imperative verb is imperfect neutral verb associated with the negative complex ma -- ʃ (see the ~~third~~ ^{fourth} example under (a) in affirmative and negative sen-

tences above) cf., also:

Affirmative

ʕiʕrab 'drink'

ʕiktib 'write'

Negative

ma tiʕrabʕ 'do not drink'

ma tiktibʕ 'do not write'

(iii) It is useful to compare sentences containing particles and undetermined nouns under (b) with those containing particles and determined nouns where the negative particle is maʕ; cf., for example,

Affirmative

ʕilhaʕab foog 'the straw is upstairs'

ʕilʕiyaal fi ilyeet 'the boys are in the field'

Negative

ʕilhaʕab maʕ foog 'the straw is not upstairs'

ʕilʕiyaal maʕ fi ilyeet 'the boys are not in the field'

It should be noted that fiih and ma fiiʕ do not respectively occur in affirmative and negative sentences accompanying determined nouns.

(iv) Unlike other adverbial particles, hina and hinaak may occur in affirmative sentences and in their negative counterparts with the appearance of neither fiih nor fii respectively; cf.,

Affirmative

hina ʒasal 'there is honey here'

hinaak mihraat 'there is a plough there'

Negative

ma hinaaf ʒasal 'there is no honey here'

ma hinakf mihraat 'there is no plough there'

It should be observed, however, that adverbial particles other than hina and hinaak accompany nouns in affirmative sentences in a similar manner to these two adverbial particles: but when occurring in negative sentences adverbial particles other than hina and hinaak must be associated with fii

Affirmative

taht faas 'there is an axe downstairs'

juwwa hafla 'there is a party inside'

Negative

ma fii taht faas 'there is no axe downstairs'

ma fii juwwa hafla 'there is no party inside'

(v) The qualification that the pronominal suffix in sentences under (c) above agrees with a preceding noun in number-cum-gender is to exclude sentences not confirming to this characteristic and containing the negative particle maf; e.g.

Affirmative

mhammad ʒandina 'Muhammad is at our house (with us)'

ʒilhagg ʒaleehum 'they are wrong'

Negative

mhammad maf gandina 'Muhammad is not at our house (with us)'
 filhagg maf galeehum 'they are not wrong'

III - ma

This negative particle occurs in sentences containing verbs and certain forms, namely, ya reet and ya rabb. Let us have affirmative sentences first and then their negative counterparts.

Affirmative sentences

ya reetu rach 'I wish he had gone'
 ya reetha tirjag 'I wish she would return'
 ya rabb yitfaxxar 'I hope he will be late'

Negative sentences

ya reetu ma rach 'I wish he had not gone'
 ya reetha ma tirjag 'I wish she would not come back'
 ya rabb ma yitfaxxar 'I hope he won't be late'

The verbs which are associated with ya reet are either perfect or imperfect neutral while those associated with ya rabb can only be imperfect neutral.

IV - la -- ...

Sentences of this class are divided into two main sub-classes according to whether the negative particle is the single form la or a group of forms termed here as a negative particle-complex.

A) la

This particle appears in answer to interrogative sentences. Unlike other negative particles, it has an affirmative counterpart which is siywa. With one exception, siywa and la respectively may be associated with the presence and absence of another negative particle. ⁽¹⁾ The exception is in the case of interrogative negative sentences where the reverse may happen i.e. siywa and la in the answer may be associated with the respective presence or absence of another negative particle. There is a possibility of pause after both the affirmative and the negative particle in which case the latter appears in the form laʃ. Examples of the answer to affirmative interrogative sentences and negative interrogative sentences are given below under (1) and (2).

(1) Affirmative particles (in answer)

- mhammad jih? 'has Muhammad come?' - siywa jih 'yes
he has (come)'

- hasan hinaak? 'is Hasan there?' - siywa 'yes'

Negative particles (in answer)

- mhammad jih? 'has Muhammad come?' - la ma jaaf
'no he has not'

- hasan hinaak? 'is Hasan there?' - laʃ 'no'

(1) The other negative particle is not considered here as forming a negative particle-complex with la since it belongs to one of the different classes of this chapter i.e. maʃ ma -- ʃ...etc.

(2) Affirmative particle (in answer)

- mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?' - siywa ma
jaaf 'no he hasn't (come)'

- hasan maf hinaak? 'isn't Hasan there?' - siywa hinaak
'yes he is there'

Negative particles (in answer)

- mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?' - la ma jaaf
'no he hasn't come'

- hasan maf hinaak? 'isn't Hasan there?' - laq, hinaak (1)
'yes, he is there'

There is always a pause after the negative particle in sentences of the type illustrated by the last example where laq is not associated with another negative particle in answer to an interrogative negative sentence.

B) la -- wa la --... (2)

The negative particle-complex in this sub-class contrasts with the single negative particle in a) above. It either consists of the forms given in the heading only or there may be some additional forms according to the different grammatical categories with which it is colligated. These categories can be verbs, participles, nouns or particles (adverbial and/or prepositional particles). Affirmative and negative sentences contain

(1) , = a pause recognized in the analysis.

(2) The dots indicate that the negative particle-complex may contain more forms.

two forms of one of the above-mentioned categories. These two forms are connected by wi in affirmative sentences and by wa in negative sentences. ⁽¹⁾ According to the forms of the negative particle-complex, sentences of this sub-class are further classified into the following:

(i) la -- wa la

Sentences are here characterized by the occurrence of two verbs connected by wi (in the affirmative sentences) or wa (in negative sentences). ⁽¹⁾

Examples of affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts are:

Affirmative sentences

silwad kal wi talaḡ 'the boy has eaten and has gone out'

hasan xallaḡ wi hayrawwan 'Hasan has finished and will go home'

silḡiyaal waḡalu wi biyiḡtayalu 'the boys have arrived and are working'

ḡali biyityadda wi biyiḡḡas 'Ali sleeps after lunch (lit. eats and sleeps)'

faiḡna haḡismaḡna wi haḡjufna 'Fatima will hear and see us'

ḡali yiḡuul ilfaḡ wi yiḡraḡ yikḡsaru 'Ali can reach the branch and break it'

(1) See, however, sentences under b) ii) below, where wi does not occur in affirmative sentences while wa occurs in their negative counterparts.

Negative sentences

fiwwad la kal wa la talag 'the boy has neither eaten nor
has he gone out'

hasan la xallaş wa la hayrawwan 'Hasan has not finished
and will not go home'

ğali la biyityadda wa la biyinqas 'Ali neither has lunch
nor sleeps (in the afternoons)'

faţna la hatismagna wa la hatjufna 'Fatima will neither
hear nor see us'

ğali la yiţuul ilfarğ wa la yigrat yiksaru 'Ali can
neither reach the branch nor can he break it'

The first verbal form in the above affirmative and negative sentences can be perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral). Verbs of perfect tense can be followed by perfect, imperfect present or imperfect future verbs while the different sub-classes of imperfect verb (present, future and neutral) are followed by verbs of the same sub-class. (1) The structure of the previous sentences can be symbolized as follows:

Affirmative

N - V - wi - V

Negative

N - la - V - wa la - V

-
- (1) Compare the tense of verbs in these sentences with class I and class II above where the negative particles ma and ma -- j are accompanied with imperfect future verb and perfect, imperfect present and imperfect neutral respectively.

(ii) la hu -- wa la hu

This form of the negative particle-complex accompanies 1) participle and 2) adverbial and prepositional particles. hu is variable and describable in terms of number-cum-gender and person. (1)

Two further sub-classes of the sentences under consideration are recognized as follows:

1 - Sentences containing participles

The colligation of participles with independent personal pronoun is chosen in that it will best illustrate the characteristics of the sub-class under consideration.

Examples are:

Affirmative sentences

ʕani raayah wi jaay 'I am going out and will return'

ʕihna gaʕdiin wi mistirayyahiin 'we are sitting down and resting'

ʕinta jaayif wi saamiʕ 'you(m) can see and hear'

ʕinti ʕarfa wi mitʕakkida 'you(f) know for sure'

ʕintu zagyiin wi mixallaʕiin 'you(pl) have watered your field and have finished'

huwwa raagid wi ʕayyaan 'he is lying ill in bed'

hiyya labsa wi mitwadqaba 'she is dressed and ready'

humma misafriin wi mistaʕjiliin 'they are leaving and are in a hurry'

(1) Compare with mahuf under Ipp.32-33 above.

Negative sentences

ʕani la ani raayah wa la ani jaay 'I am not going anywhere'

ʕihna la ihna gaɣdiin wa la ihna mistirayyahiin 'we are not having any rest'

ʕinta la inta jaayif wa la inta saamiɣ 'you(m) can neither see nor hear'

ʕinti la inti ɣarfa wa la inti mitʕakkida 'you(f) do not know for sure'

ʕintu la intu zagyiiu wa la intu mixallaɣiin 'you(m) will neither water your field nor finish'

huwwa la hu raagiɗ wa la hu ɣayyaan 'he is neither lying in bed nor ill'

hiyya la hi labsa wa la hi mitwaɗɗaba 'she is neither dressed nor ready'

humma la hum misafriin wa la hum mistaɣjiliin 'they are neither leaving nor in a hurry'

The exponents of person and number-cum-gender with reference to the negative particle-complex are abstractable as follows:

TABLE II

Exponent	Person	Number-cum-gender
ani	1st {	m/f
ihna		pl
inta	2nd {	m
inti		f
intu		pl
hu	3rd {	m
hi		f
hum		pl

2 - Sentences containing adverbial and prepositional particles

Sentences of this sub-class are different from sub-class 1 above in that i) adverbial and prepositional particles occur in place of participle and ii) wi does not occur in affirmative sentences while their negative counterparts contain wa.

(1)

Examples are

Affirmative sentences

huwwa fi ilyeet maga ixwaatuh 'he is in the field with his brothers'

hiyya gandukum barra 'she is outside there (lit. with you)'

humma foog fi ilmaggad 'they are upstairs in the upper room'

(1) Compare these examples of affirmative and negative sentences with those under I - B) 5 and 6 above.

Negative sentences

huwwa la hu fi ilyeet wa la hu mağa ixwaatuh 'he is
neither in the field nor with his brothers'

hiyya la hi ɣandukum wa la hi barra 'she is neither there
(lit. with you) nor outside'

humma la hum foog wa la hum fi ilmaggad 'they are neither
upstairs nor in the upper room'

(iii) la - (la) - wa la

All sentences of this sub-class contain verbs followed
either by 1) two nominal forms or 2) two adverbial forms.

1) Examples are:

Affirmative sentences

mħammad jaab ilkutub wi ilkarariis 'Muhammad has brought
the books and the exercise books'

hasan yiɣraf ɣali wi axuuh 'Hasan knows Ali and his
brother'

fatna bitkallim innajjaar wi ahmad 'Fatima is speaking to
the carpenter and to Ahmed'

ɕijjamaaɣa hayizgu iddura wi ilguɕn 'they will water the
maize and the cotton'

Negative sentences

mħammad la jaab (la) ilkutub wa la ilkarariis 'Muhammad
has brought neither the books nor the exercise books'

(1) The form in brackets may or may not occur.

hasan la yiɣraf (la) ɣali wa la axuuh 'Hasan knows neither Ali nor his brother'

Siɣjamaaɣa la hayizgu (la) iddura wa la ilguɣn 'they will water neither the maize nor the cotton'

It is clear from the above examples that the verbal form colligated with the negative particle-complex can be perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral). This contrasts with sentences of sub-class I and II above where *maʃ* and *ma -- ʃ* accompany imperfect future verb and perfect, imperfect present and imperfect neutral verbs respectively.

Emphatic affirmative and negative sentences

The term emphatic is here used to designate sentences of particular structures necessitating their appearance as either affirmative or negative. In other words emphatic affirmative sentences have no negative counterparts and vice versa.

Emphatic affirmative sentences

This group of sentences is divided into two sub-classes according to their structure.

- (i) Sentences of the structure N - (Ad/Prep)⁽¹⁾ - De
- (ii) Sentences of the structure N - A - N

(1) Members of the categories in brackets may or may not occur.

Examples of sub-class (i) are

ʕilgalam ahuh 'here is the pen'

ʕinnaɟja hinaak ahiih 'the sheep is over there'

ʕilfuus fi ilxarja ahum 'the axes are over there in the stable'

The contrast is made between the above sentences and all other affirmative sentences which have negative counterparts. (1) It is useful, however, to contrast the above emphatic affirmative sentences with the particular affirmative sentences of the structure N - V/P - De which are not emphatic sentences i.e. they can have negative counterparts; e.g.

Affirmative sentences

mhammad waʕal ahuh 'Muhammad has already arrived'

hasan ʕaaliɟ ahuh 'Hasan is going out soon'

Negative sentences

mhammad ma waʕalj ahuh 'Muhammad has not arrived yet'

hasan maf ʕaaliɟ ahuh 'Hasan is not going out'

Examples of sub-class (ii) are

ʕilheeʕa ɟalya jabal 'the wall is very high (lit. as high as a mountain)'

ʕilhabl jaamid haadiid 'the rope is very strong (lit. as strong as iron)'

(1) See examples under I, II, III and IV above.

Emphatic negative sentences

Characteristic of these sentences is the occurrence of specific elements, other than negative particles, which cannot appear in affirmative sentences. According to these elements, emphatic negative sentences are divided into two sub-classes:

- (i) Sentences containing one of the elements: ṣabadan, waṣīl min ṣaṣlu, yeer and ṣilla and either the negative particle maḥ or ma -- ḥ
- (ii) Sentences containing ḡumr and either the negative particle ma or la

Examples of sub-class (i) are

mḥammad maḥ ḥayinsa ṣabadan 'Muhammad will never forget'

ṣilbitt maḥ ḡarfa waṣīl 'the girl does not know at all'

ṣiḥḥaḥḥa ma bitihraḡḥ minṣaṣlu 'the chilli is not hot at all'

ṣittalamza ma yiḡraḥuḥ illa ilmudarris 'the pupils know the teacher only'

ḡuṣmaan maḥ ḥaylaaḡi illa itneen . 'Osman will find two only'

Examples of sub-class (ii) are

1 - ya reetu ḡumru ma raḥḥ 'I wish he had never gone'

2 - ya reetak ḡumrak ma ruḥḥ 'I wish you had never gone'

3 - ya reetna ḡumrina ma ruḥna 'I wish we had never gone'

4 - ya rabb ḡumru ma yiḡi 'I hope he will never come'

- 5 - ya rabb fajna gumraha ma tiɣya 'I hope Fatima will never be ill'
- 6 - ya rabb ittujjaar gumruhum ma yixɣaru 'I hope merchants will never lose'
- 7 - ɣilwad la gumru hayruuh wa la hayjiib ilkutub 'the boy will never go and bring the books'
- 8 - ɣilbitt la gumraha jaafit ilɣafiir wa la tiɣrafu 'the girl never saw the night-watchman and she does not know him'
- 9 - ɣirrijaala la gumruhum raahu ṭanta wa la iskindria 'the boys have never gone to ṭanta nor to Alexandria'

It should be noted that gumr is followed by a pronominal suffix in agreement with the affixes of a following verb in all the examples and a preceding pronominal suffix after reet (exx. 1, 2 and 3), a preceding noun after rabb which may or may not occur (exx. 4, 5 and 6) and a preceding noun before la (exx. 7, 8 and 9). The structure of the above sentences may be symbolized by:

ya reet - Prs - gumr - Prs - ma - V
 I I I

ya rabb - N - gumr - Prs - ma - V
 I I I

N - la - gumr - Prs - V - wa la - V
 I I I I

Chapter II

Simple, Compound and Complex Sentences

The criterion selected for the establishment of different types of sentences as above is the occurrence or absence of certain conjunctive particles.

A. Simple sentences

These sentences may or may not contain verbal forms, but they do not contain any of the particles appearing in the other two classes.

Examples are:

hasan haykallim axxuh 'Hasan will speak to his brother'

ɣali jih 'Ali has come'

naadi li mhammad 'Call Muhammad'

ɣillianfaar maj fi iddaar? 'Aren't the workmen in the
house?'

B. Compound sentences

These sentences are characterized by the occurrence of one of the series of particles, wi, ⁽¹⁾ laakin, ɣinnama and minha.

(1) Except when wi separates two members of the same category in the type of simple sentences illustrated by:

hasan wi ɣali ɣalaɣu 'Hasan and Ali have gone out'

hasan kal wi naɣas 'Hasan has eaten and slept'

Examples are:

fahmi haykallim axuuh wi hayjiib ilkutub 'Fahmi will speak to his brother and will bring the books'

gali jih minha uxtuh farhaana gawi 'Ali has come, and that is why his sister is very pleased'

naadi li mhammad wi tagaala 'call Muhammad and come along'

fillanfaar maj fi iddaar laakin ilgiyaal hinaak 'the workmen are not in the house but the boys are there'

C. Complex sentences

Each of the sentences belonging to this class is characterized by the occurrence of one of the particle-series, *sin*, *siza*, *law*, *luma*, *lamma*, *saaqit ma*, *wagt ma*, *yoom ma*, *baqd ma* and *kull ma*.

Examples are:

sin fahmi kallim axuuh hayjiib ilkutub 'if Fahmi speaks to his brother, he will bring the books'

siza nadeet li mhammad tagaala miqaah 'if you call Muhammad come with him'

lamma illanfaar ma biykunuuf fi iddaar ilgiyaal biykuunu hinaak 'when the workmen are not in the house, the boys are there'

In the ensuing part of this chapter comparison is made between the structure of sentences belonging to the above three types. The significant points of difference may be best shown by focussing attention on the verb. Investigation brings out the

following points.

I - Simple sentences may contain one, or more than one, verb. According to this feature they are divided into two groups.

a) Simple sentences containing one verb

The verb in this type of sentences may be of the perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral) tense. (1)

Examples are:

ʕali saafir ilbaarah 'Ali went away yesterday'

ʕilwad⁽²⁾ biyiftayal fi ilʕeeʃ 'the boy works in the field'

ʕijjamaaʕa hayizgu bukra 'they will water the field tomorrow'

ʕuxtak tigraʃ ilhikaaya 'your sister knows the story'

b) Simple sentences with more than one verb

There may be more than two verbs in a simple sentence, (3) but, for the purpose of the comparison made here, only sentences containing two verbs are selected. The main point of interest

(1) For the terms perfect and imperfect (present, future and neutral) see Chapter II pp. 117-119

(2) In pre-pausal position, the form ʕilwala occurs instead of ʕilwad; e.g. hasan qarab ilwala 'Hasan has beaten the boy'. ʕilwalad, which is common in educated speech, occurs only in pre-pausal position when associated with the vocative ya in typical T.D. speech; e.g. ya wad ya hasan ya walad 'Hasan! you boy!'

(3) See, for example, Chapter II with reference to auxiliary verbs pp. 123-126 and other sentences containing more than one verbal form pp. 135-139

is the relationship obtaining between the two verbs in terms of tense. A further twofold division of the sentences under consideration is made in accordance with the presence or absence of the conjunctive particle *wi* 'and'.

(i) Sentences with the conjunctive particle *wi*

Before proceeding with the statement about the relationship between the two verbal forms in this type of simple sentence, it is necessary to point out the difference between such sentences and compound sentences containing *wi* 'and'. In simple sentences, but not in compound sentences, the two verbal forms agree with regard to number-cum-gender.

Compare:

Simple sentences

ḥasan katab ijjawwab *wi* ḥayirmiih *fi* ilbuṣṭa 'Hasan has written the letter and will post it'

faṭna yaṣalit ilgamiis *wi* bitikwiih 'Fatima has washed the dress and is (now) pressing it'

ṣilḡiyaal kasaru ilbaab *wi* xadu ilfaas 'the boys have broken the door, and have taken the axe'

Compound sentences

ḥasan katab ijjawwab *wi* samya ḥatirmiih *fi* ilbuṣṭa 'Hasan has written the letter and Samia will post it'

faṭna yaṣalit ilgamiis *wi* ilxaddaam biyikwiih 'Fatima has washed the dress and the servant is (now) pressing it'

Ɔilgiyaal kasaru ilbaab wi irraajil xad ilfaas 'the boys
have broken the door and the man has taken the axe'

With reference to tense, the relationship obtaining between
the two verbal forms in simple sentences containing wi 'and' is:

1st verb	(1) 2nd verb
perfect	{ perfect present imperfect future imperfect
present imperfect	{ present imperfect future imperfect
future imperfect or neutral imperfect	{ future imperfect neutral imperfect

The following examples are given to illustrate this
feature.

hasan gaabil mhammad wi iddaah ilkitaab 'Hasan has met
Muhammad and has given him the book'

faṭna naqqafit issamak wi bitigliih 'Fatima has cleaned
the fish and is frying it'

Ɔilgiyaal lagu ilkalb wi haywadduuh li iṣhaabuh 'the
boys have found the dog and will take it to its owners'

(1) 1st verb precedes wi and 2nd verb follows it.

silwad biykassar ilguşy wi biyirmiha 'the boy breaks the sticks and throws them (the pieces) away'

sijjamaaşa biyizragu ilguşn wi hayizguuh 'they are planting the cotton and will water it'

sijjazzaar haygaŋŋa illahma wi hayiwzinha 'the butcher will cut up the meat and will weigh it'

silyafiir hayimsik ilgiyaal wi yijibhum hina 'the night-watchman will arrest the boys and bring them here'

mhammad yigraf ilhikaaya wi haygulha 'Muhammad knows the story and will tell it'

surayya tigrab li fahmi wi tigdār ɣaleeh 'Surayya is a relative of Muhammad and can influence him'

(ii) Sentences without the conjunctive particle wi

Simple sentences of this type, containing two verbs, are either those with auxiliary verbs or with non-auxiliary verbs. The characteristics of the two groups are given in the chapter about verb. (1) The summary of the relationship between the two

(1) See pp. 123 - 126 : pp. 135 - 139 .

verbs in such sentences with regard to tense is:

Auxiliary

	1st verb	2nd verb
perfect		{ perfect
		{ neutral imperfect
imperfect		neutral imperfect
(present, future, neutral)		

Examples are:

Siilwad nazal fatah ilbaab 'the boy has gone down and opened the door'

Siilbitt gaamit tinaadi la axuuha 'the girl has gone to call her brother'

Siisayyadiin biyiiflagu yishiidu badri 'the fishermen go fishing early'

sayyid hayiji yaakul miqaana 'Sayyid will come to eat with us'

Ali yigdar yixallas inniharda 'Ali can finish today'

Non-auxiliary

As it is shown in the chapter about verb these sentences are divisible into three sub-classes. (1) However, for the

(1) See pp. 135-139 below.

purpose of the comparison made here sub-classes 1 and 2 are considered as one group under (1) here. The relationship between the two verbs in the sentence with reference to tense is:

(1)	1st verb	2nd verb
	perfect	perfect
		future imperfect
		neutral imperfect
	imperfect	neutral imperfect
	(present or future) (1)	

Examples are:

ʕali baʕat samya jaabit ilʕakl 'Ali sent Samia and she has brought the food'

ʕizzaabit ʕalab ilʕiyaal hayiʕhadu 'the officer has asked for the boys to testify (lit. they will give evidence)'

ʕilbitt rahit li mhammad tiwarriih ilkitaab 'the girl has gone to Muhammad to show him the book'

fahmi biyibʕat ʕiyaalu yiftayalu fi ilʕizba 'Fahmi sends his sons to work on the farm'

ʕilmudair haysaffar ibnu yitʕallim fi ʕurubba 'the director will send his son to Europe to study'

(1) Neutral imperfect does not occur in this place.

(2)	1st verb	2nd verb
	perfect	perfect
	imperfect:	imperfect:
	present	present
	future	future

Examples are:

Siilmudarris farah li ittalamza, fahamu 'the teacher explained to the pupils and they understood'

Siilbanaat biyiftimu irraajil, biyidrabhum 'the girls insult the man and that is why he beats them'

fahmi haygaakis ilkalb, hayguuqdu 'Fahmi will tease the dog, then it will bite him'

II - Compound sentences, with one exception mentioned below, contain two verbal forms at a time. In other words, whenever the conjunctive particle is preceded by a verb, another verb follows it. The relationship between these two in regard to tense contrasts with that which obtains between verbs in simple sentences, as well as between those in complex sentences. The relationship between verbs in compound sentences is:

1st verb	2nd verb
perfect	{ perfect present imperfect future imperfect
present imperfect	{ present imperfect future imperfect
future imperfect	future imperfect
neutral imperfect	{ future imperfect neutral imperfect

Examples are:

hasan jaab ilgulla wi faḥna malatha 'Hasan brought the jar and Fatima filled it (with water)'

ḡali waggaḡ ilgirj wi ilbitt bitdawwar ḡaleeh 'Ali dropped the piastre and the girl is looking for it'

ḡilḡiyaal zaḡḡalu ilbitt laakin ani hanḡalihha 'the boys have made the girl angry but I will comfort her'

ḡirraḡjil biykassar ilxajab wi ilḡiyaal biyizgu ilguḡn 'the man is chopping the wood and the boys are watering the cotton'

ḡilmizaariḡ biyiḡḡayal kuwayyis innama ilḡiyaal hayḡaḡḡaluuh 'the farm-labourer works hard but the boys will delay him'

ʕijjamaaʕa hayijmaʕu ilguʔn minha hasan haysaʕidhum 'they will gather the cotton harvest and that is why Hasan is going to help them'

mhammad yigraf ilyeet wi hasan yiʕuul ilfarg 'Muhammad knows the field and Hasan can reach the branch'

ʕali yigdar yijiib ilxajaba innama firraajil haykassarha 'Ali can bring the piece of wood, but the man will chop it up'

The exception mentioned above is when the conjunctive particle is preceded by a present imperfect verb in which case it may not be followed by another verb; cf., for example,

hasan biyzaakir wi mhammad fi ilyeet 'Hasan is studying and Muhammad is in the field'

ʕillanfaar biyityaddu innama saʕd taht 'the workers are having lunch but Sa'd is on the other side of the field'

Three other points of interest to be mentioned here are:

a) Compound sentences can be contrasted with simple sentences in that the former may contain twice as many verbal forms as the latter i.e. the conjunctive particle can be preceded and followed by a verb or group of verbs similar to those of a simple sentence. e.g.

Simple sentences

Ƨilbaab infatah 'the door has been opened'

mħammad rajaƧ yijiib ilkitaab 'Muhammad has returned to bring the book'

Ƨinnajjar hayaaxud issanduug yiƧallahu 'the carpenter will take the box to mend it'

Compound sentences

Ƨilbaab infatah innama ilmuftaah inkasar 'the door has been opened but the key has been broken'

mħammad rajaƧ yijiib ilkitaab wi ilbitt raahit timla ilgulla
'Muhammad has returned to bring the book and the girl has gone to fill the jar (with water)'

Ƨinnajjar hayaaxud issanduug yiƧallahu minha axuuk

hayibƧat saƧd yiddiilu ilfluus 'the carpenter will take the box to mend it and that is why your brother will send Sa'd to give him the money'

b) Both simple sentences and compound sentences, with one exception which is mentioned below, contrast with complex sentences in that the latter must contain two verbs while both the former may or may not contain verbal forms. Compare:

Simple and compound sentences

mħammad fi ilyeet 'Muhammad is in the field'

Ƨilbitt maƧa ixwatha 'the girl is with her brothers'

Ƨali barra wi ħasan miƧaah 'Ali is outside and Hasan is with him'

verbs occur in the 1st place in complex sentences they may or may not be potential verbs. (1) Examples are given under (1) and (2) below for comparison.

(1) Simple and Compound sentences

fittaajir yigbal issiyr 'the merchant will accept the price'

mursi yigdar gala fahmi 'Mursi can influence Fahmi'

gali yirqa yiji laakin suxtu hatijsa 'Ali will come, but his sister will refuse (to come)'

(2) Complex sentences

lamma hasan yiji maadiili 'when Hasan comes call me'

saagit ma ittaajir yigbal issiyr hanaxdu ilbiqaaga 'when the merchant accepts the (our) price we shall take the goods'

III - Complex sentences are divided into two sub-classes according to the conjunctive particle in the sentence and the relationship obtaining between the two verbs it contains.

a) The common characteristics between sentences of this group is that the 1st verb can only be perfect. They are further divided into two groups according to the tense of the 2nd verb

(1) Only one sub-class of Complex sentences may contain neutral verbs in the 1st place. See III b) pp.66-67 below.

and the conjunctive particle they contain.

(i) Sentences containing the conjunctive particles fin, fiza and law where the 2nd verbal form can either be future imperfect or imperative. (1)

Examples are:

fin kaan ḡali fi ilyeeṭ hasan hayibḡatu 'if Ali is in the field, Hasan will send him'

law mhammad waḡal badri kallimu fi ilmaḡuuḡ 'if Muhammad arrives early, speak to him about the matter'

fiza ilḡiyaal ṭalaḡu innaxla irraajil hayidrabhum 'if the boys climb the tree, the man will beat them'

(ii) Sentences containing luma where the 2nd verb can only be perfect.

Examples are:

luma mhammad haaf̣ ilbitṭ kaṭ kasariṭ ilgulla 'if Muhammad had not stopped the girl, she would have broken the jar'

luma ilwaḍ kaan fi ilyeeṭ kaanu ilkizaaṇ inṡaragu 'if the boy had not been in the field, the corn cobs would have been stolen'

b) Unlike sentences under the previous sub-class of complex sentences, the 1st verb in sentences of this sub-class can be perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral) and they

(1) For the term imperative see pp. 75-78

contain lamma, saaɣit ma, wagt ma and baɣd ma;

Examples are:

lamma izzaabit jih hasan gablu 'when the officer came,
Hasan met him'

saaɣit ma ɣali kaan ɣandina axuuh waɣal 'when Ali was
at our house, his brother arrived'

wagt ma ijjamaaɣa biysafru biyaxdu ilɣarabiyya miɣaahum
'whenever they go away they take the car with them'

baɣd ma hatiju hatlaagu ilfakl jaahiz 'soon after you
arrive you will find the meal ready'

lamma tiju hanwarriiku ilkutub 'when you come I will
show you the books'

c) The 1st verbal form in this sub-class can only be imperfect (present, future or neutral) and the only conjunctive particle it contains is kull ma.

Examples are:

kull ma biniɽlaɣ binigaabil hasan 'whenever I go out
I meet Hasan'

kull ma ɣali haysaafir faɽna hatisaafir miɣaah 'whenever
Ali will go away Fatima will go with him'

kull ma ilɣiyaal yiju mhammad hayibɣat li 'whenever
the boys come Muhammad will send for me'

kull ma ilḡiyaal yiju ibḡat li . . . 'whenever the boys
come send for me'

The following is a summary of the relationship obtaining
between the 1st and 2nd verb in complex sentences and is to be
contrasted with simple and compound sentences above.

a)

(i)	1st verb	2nd verb
	perfect	{ future imperfect imperative

(ii)	perfect	perfect
------	---------	---------

b)

perfect	perfect
present imperfect	present imperfect
future imperfect	future imperfect
neutral imperfect	future imperfect

c)

present imperfect	present imperfect
future imperfect	future imperfect
neutral imperfect	{ future imperfect imperative

Chapter III

Declarative, Request-, Interrogative and
Question-Sentences

The kind of response evoked by the sentences classified is selected here as a criterion for the preliminary establishment of different types of sentences. According to this criterion, it is feasible to set up the following types:

A. Declarative sentences

Sentences belonging to this class evoke the response
(1)

ʔab...

Examples are:

(2) A	(2) B
hasan ʔalaʕ 'Hasan has gone out'	ʔab xalliik inta hina 'all right, stay here'
ʕani jibt ilgulla 'I have brought the jar'	ʔab kattar xeerak 'all right, thank you'
ʕali fi ilyeet 'Ali is in the field'	ʔab ruh luh 'all right, go to him'
mhammad zaʕlaan ʕaʕaan ʕalamu ɖaɖɖ 'Muhammad is angry because he lost his pen'	ʔab wi-ani hanigmil lu ʕeeh? 'well, what can I do about it?'

(1) The dots indicate that other elements follow the given form.

(2) A = First speaker. B = Second speaker.

B. Request-sentences

Sentences belonging to this class evoke the response
 ṭayyib... or ma nigdarf⁽¹⁾

Examples are:

A	B
ṣiktib ijjaawab 'write the letter'	ṭayyib lamma nixallaṣ ṣilli fi ṣiidi 'I will, when I finish what I am doing'
tisallim ḡala xuuk wi tiji ḡala ṭuul 'welcome your brother and come quickly'	ma nigdarf, laazim nistanna miḡaah ṣuwayya 'I cannot come quickly; I must stay with him for some time'
kutt iktib ijjaawab 'you should have written the letter'	ma gadartif 'I could not'

C. Interrogative sentences⁽²⁾

Sentences belonging to this class evoke either the response
 ṣiywa..., ṣaayor ṣa...⁽³⁾ or laṣ or la...⁽³⁾

Examples are:

A	B
ḡasan ṭalaḡ? 'has Hasan gone out?'	ṣiywa ṭalaḡ 'yes, he has'

-
- (1) This form can be associated with different 'verbal affixes'.
 (2) The terms interrogative and question are traditionally used to designate one grammatical category. The analysis is here different and the two terms are used differently to designate two different categories.
 (3) ṣa and la cannot be followed immediately by a pause hence the dots.

A		B
ʒali maf hinaak?	'is	laf maf hinaak 'no, he is
Ali not there?'		not there'
ʒiza xalloʒna badri nibʒatlak		ʒiywa ibʒatu 'yes, do'
hasan? 'shall I send you		
Hasan, if we finish early?'		
ʒinta jaay bukra?	'are you	ʒaay 'yes'
coming tomorrow?'		

(1)

D. Question -sentences

These sentences are grouped together because they do not evoke any of the responses mentioned above. They evoke different responses typical of each of their sub-classes. ⁽²⁾

Examples are:

A		B
hasan feen?	'where is	fi ilyeet 'in the field'
Hasan?'		
miin maʒaak?	'who is	saʒd '(it is) Sa'd'
with you?'		
ʒaxuuk zaʒlaan leeh?	'why	ʒaʒaan galamu qaʒʒ 'because
is your brother angry?		he lost his pen'

In the following part of this chapter different characteristics of the above four types of sentences are dis-

(1) See footnote (2) p. 70

(2) See below pp. 90-99

cussed and contrasted.

I - Declarative sentences

Before embarking on the analysis, it is proposed to give the following examples of declarative sentences for comparison with other types considered in this chapter.

- 1 - sayyid katab ijjawab 'Sayyid has written the letter'
- 2 - sayyid raajig 'Sayyid is coming back'
- 3 - sayyid jadağ 'Sayyid is clever'
- 4 - sayyid zimiilak 'Sayyid is your fellow-student'
- 5 - sayyid foog 'Sayyid is upstairs'
- 6 - sayyid ahu 'here is Sayyid'
- 7 - sayyid bukra yiji 'Sayyid will soon come'
- 8 - fiza sayyid jih hasan hayruuh miğaah 'if Sayyid comes, Hasan will go with him'

The following points of comparison between declarative sentences and other types of sentences serve to single out the former as a grammatical category and contribute also to the recognition of request-, interrogative, and question-sentences.

i) The fact that a verb may or may not occur in declarative sentences differentiates them from request-sentences, which must contain a verb.

ii) Another point of difference between the two sub-classes lies in the tense of the verb. Declarative sentences may contain perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral) verbs. (1)

(1) For the terms perfect and imperfect see Chapter II pp. 117-1

On the other hand only imperative and neutral imperfect verbs occur in request-sentences.

Compare:

Declarative sentences

ʒali katab ijjawaab 'Ali has written the letter'

ʒinnajjaar biysallah ilkursi 'the carpenter is mending
the chair'

mhammad hayiṭlaḡ innaxla 'Muhammad will climb the palm-
tree'

ʒilyafiir yigdar ʒaleehum 'the night-watchman can deal
with them'

with

Request-sentences

ʒiktib ijjawaab 'write the letter'

ʒallahi ilkursi 'mend the chair'

ʒali yiṭlaḡ innaxla wi inta tiggud ʒand ilbahaayim 'let
Ali climb the palm-tree and you take care of the animals'

iii) The sequential order of the verb in the sentence marks yet a third difference between request-sentences and declarative sentences. With one exception, the verb occurs in initial position in the former, but not in the latter. (1)

iv) The possibility of the association of declarative sentences with a particular group of forms which cannot occur in the other three types is yet another characteristic of this category. Members of this particular group of forms are: yimkin

(1) Compare the examples under ii).

tilaagi, ɣala kull haal.

Examples are:

yimkin ilwad rajaɣ 'the boy might have come back'

tilaagi maħmud hinaak 'you may find Mahmud there'

ɣilɣiyaal waɣalu ɣala kull haal 'anyway, the boys have
arrived'

v) Only declarative sentences

(1)

1 - contain deictics; e.g.

ɣissabat fi ilɣaaɣa ahu 'the basket is there in
the room'

(2)

ɣilɣiyaal ahum 'here are the boys'

2 - appear in the structure N - Ad - V; e.g.

ɣilbaɣɣiix haalan yiɣiib 'the melon will soon
ripen'

ɣilwad dilwagt yingas 'the boy will soon go
to sleep'

(3)

3 - occur as the two parts of complex sentences; e.g.

ɣin ilɣiyaal ɣaabu ɣali hayiɣrabhum 'if the boys
are late, Ali will beat them'

law ilɣanfaar waɣalu bukra abuyya hayidraɣ luhum
ɣujrithum 'if the workers arrive tomorrow, then
my father will pay them their wages'

(1) For the term deictics see Chapter VII

(2) See also ex.6 p. 49

(3) See also ex.7 p. 49

II - Request-sentences

The essential character of such sentences is that they must contain a verb. Compare the following examples with declarative sentences p. above and with interrogative and question-sentences pp. respectively.

ƛismaƛ ilkalaam 'listen to me'

ƛirjaƛi ƛuufi axuuki 'go back and see to your brother'

tirmi ijjawaab wi tiji 'post the letter and come back'

According to the tense of the verb, sentences are here divided into two groups: A) sentences containing imperative verbs and B) those containing ~~neutral imperfect~~ verbs.

A) Sentences containing imperative verbs

To make statements about the verbal form in this sub-class, ^{it is} ~~the~~ ~~divided~~ ~~into~~ ~~two~~ ~~types~~ ~~according~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~root~~ of the verb, as follows:-

(i) Sentences with triliteral verbs

(ii) Sentences with non-triliteral verbs

Examples of this twofold division are:

(i) 1 - ƛiftaƛ ilbaab 'open(m) the door'

2 - ƛiftahi ilbaab 'open(f) the door'

3 - ƛiftahu ilbaab 'open(pl) the door'

(ii) 1 - siib ilkalb 'let(m) go the dog'

2 - siibi ilkalb 'let(f) go the dog'

- 3 - siibu ilkalb 'let(pl) go the dog'
 4 - kallim axuuk 'speak(m) to your brother'
 5 - kallimi axuuki 'speak(f) to your brother'
 6 - kallimu axuukum 'speak(pl) to your brother'

The exponents of number-cum-gender with reference to imperative verb are:

Triliteral verb: TABLE III

Exponent		Number-cum-gender
Prefix	Suffix	
i	-	m
i	i	f
i	u	pl

Non-triliteral verb: Table IV

Exponent		Number-cum-gender
Prefix	Suffix	
-	-	m
-	i	f
-	u	pl

Unlike perfect and imperfect verbs,

a) imperative verbs are not describable in three terms of person. Compare the above exponents of number-cum-gender in imperative verbs with exponents of number-cum-gender and person

in perfect and imperfect verbs (p.241).

b) imperative verbs cannot be associated with negative particles. The negative counterparts of imperative verbs are neutral imperfect verbs of the same root associated with the negative particle complex ma -- j. The fact that such negative sentences evoke the same response as imperative sentences justifies considering them as belonging to the same category i.e. request sentences.

Examples are:

A ⁽¹⁾	B ⁽¹⁾
ma <u>tiqlaɟ</u> barra 'don't go out'	ʔayyib 'I won't'
ma <u>tiktibiɟ</u> ijjawaab 'don't write the letter'	ma nigdarɟ 'I must' (lit. I cannot ... (do as you wish)' (2)
ma <u>tismaɟuuf</u> kalaamuh 'don't listen to him'	ʔayyib 'we won't'

c) the first and the second auxiliary verbs in imperative sentences agree with each other with regard to number-cum-gender. (3) Compare the following two sets of examples.

-
- (1) A = first speaker and B = second speaker.
 (2) Compare these examples with those on p. 70
 (3) For auxiliary verbs see Chapter II pp. 123-126

Examples containing imperative verbs

ʕinzil iftaħ ilbaab 'go down and open the door'

ʕiggud kul miʕaana 'sit down and eat with us'

ruuhu saɣdu ʕali 'go and help Ali'

Examples containing perfect and imperfect verbs

hasan nazal yiftaħ ilbaab 'Hasan went down to open the door'

ʕilwad biyiṭlaɣ yikassar ilkubbayaat 'the boy goes up-stairs and breaks the glasses'

miin hayirjaɣ yifjuuf ilʕiyaal 'who will go back to see the boys'

B) Sentences containing neutral verbs

Unlike sentences with imperative verbs, sentences of this sub-class are characterized by:

- 1 - the occurrence of two neutral imperfect verbs separated by wi which is preceded by a pause;
- 2 - the fact that they are either simple sentences where verbal form occupies initial position, or compound sentences, where the verbal form does not occur in initial position.

Examples are:

Simple sentences

tiruuh ilyeet, wi tiggud ʕand ilbahaayim (1) 'go to the field and take care of the animals'

(1) , = a pause recognized in the analysis.

tiḥlaḡi tiḥtiri illahma, wi tiḥbuxiha '(go and) buy
the meat, then cook it'

tigḡudu tinadḡafu issamak, wi tiḥwuuh '(stay and) clean
the fish and grill it'

Compound sentences

hasan yiruuḥ ilyeet, wi faḥna tigḡud ḡand ilbahaayim
'let Hasan go to the field and Fatima take care of the
animals'

Sinta tiḥlaḡ tiḥtiri illahma, wi ihna niḥbuxuuha 'you
(go and) buy the meat and we will cook it'

These compound sentences differ from compound declarative sentences in two respects: (i) they contain the conjunctive particle *wi* only, and (ii) this *wi* must be preceded by a pause. In compound declarative sentences it is optional whether the conjunctive particles are preceded by a pause.

Compare the previous sentences with:

Compound declarative sentences

hasan katab ijḡawaab(,) ⁽¹⁾ wi faḥna rattibit ilkutub

'Hasan has written the letter and Fatima arranged the books'

ḡani hanruuḥ ilyeet(,) laakin ijḡamaaḡa hayruuhu issuuḡ

'I am going to the field but they are going to the market
place'

ḡali ḡaysaafir(,) innama uxtuh ḡatistanna yomeen 'Ali will
go away but his sister will stay for some days'

(1) The pause may or may not occur.

III - Interrogative sentences

These sentences exhibit the following characteristics:

i) The variations of intonational form with which they may be associated differ as a whole from the total intonational possibilities of sentences of the other three classes considered in this chapter. Although it is not a part of this work to make detailed statements about intonation it is felt necessary to mention this main feature of interrogative sentences.

ii) Apart from the intonation and with certain exceptions, (1) they appear in similar structures to those of declarative sentences. They contrast in this with both request- and question-sentences. Compare the following examples with declarative, request- and question-sentences pp. 72, 75 & 62-63 respectively.

sayyid katab ijjawwab? 'has Sayyid written the letter?'

sayyid raajig? 'is Sayyid coming back?'

sayyid jadaḡ? 'is Sayyid clever?'

sayyid zimiilak? 'is Sayyid your fellow-student?'

sayyid foog? 'is Sayyid upstairs?'

ʕiza sayyid jih hasan hayruuh miḡaah? 'if Sayyid comes will Hasan go with him?'

(1) See v) p. 74 concerning structures exclusive to declarative sentences.

iii) They are also similar to declarative sentences in their colligability with negative particles. (1) Compare:

Interrogative negative sentences

mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?'

mhammad ma biyiftayalf? 'isn't Muhammad working?'

mhammad maf hayirjaḡ? 'isn't Muhammad coming back?'

mhammad maf hinaak? 'isn't Muhammad there?'

with

Declarative negative sentences

mhammad ma jaaf 'Muhammad has not come'

mhammad ma biyiftayalf 'Muhammad is not working'

mhammad maf hayirjaḡ 'Muhammad will not come'

mhammad maf hinaak 'Muhammad is not there'

iv) The possibility of the occurrence of hadd (2) is a point of similarity between interrogative sentences (affirmative and negative), negative declarative and request-(affirmative and negative) sentences, all of which differ in this respect from affirmative declarative and question-(affirmative and negative) sentences in which hadd cannot occur. The following table summarizes this statement.

(1) Compare this characteristic with b) p.77 and ii) p.89 concerning negation with request- and question-sentences.

(2) This invariable form is widely used in the language under consideration.

TABLE V

Declaration		Interrogation		Request		Question (1)	
Aff.	Neg.	Aff.	Neg.	Aff.	Neg.	Aff.	Neg.
-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-

Examples are:

Declarative sentences

Negative

ğali ma bağatf hadd 'Ali has not sent anybody'

mafiif hadd foog 'there is nobody upstairs'

Interrogative sentences

Affirmative

mhammad bağat hadd? 'has Muhammad sent anybody?'

Negative

mhammad ma bağatf hadd? 'Muhammad has not sent anybody?'

Request-sentences

Affirmative

sibğat hadd 'send somebody'

Negative

ma tibğatf hadd 'do not send anybody'

v) Unlike declarative and request-sentences, interrogative and question-sentences are similar in that they may contain one of the following group of forms in initial position: huwwa (hiyya, humma), minhagg and yataru.

(1) Aff. = Affirmative and Neg. = Negative. ✓ - = occurrence and non-occurrence of hadd respectively.

Examples are:

Interrogative sentences

huwwa mhammad najaḥ? 'has Muhammad succeeded?'

hiyya faṭna hinaak? 'is Fatima there?'

humma ittujjaar waṣalu? 'have the merchants arrived?'

minḥagg uxtak hinaak? 'is your sister there?'

yatara ilḡiyaal xallaṣu? 'I wonder if the boys have
finished?'

Question-sentences

huwwa miin illi jih? 'who has come?'

hiyya feen ilḡaṣa? 'where is the stick?'

humma irrijjaala dool mineen? 'where are these men from?'

minḥagg feen ilkubbaaya? 'by the way, where is the glass?'

yatara miḡaahum eeh? 'I wonder what they have got?'

vi) With the exception of sentences containing walla,⁽¹⁾

interrogative sentences differ from all the other three types of sentences under consideration in that they may contain maj in initial position. The fact that this form occurs only in initial position and may be associated with the negative particle maj as well as the negative particle complex ma -- j serves to differentiate the initial maj in interrogative sentences from

(1) Interrogative sentences containing walla cannot be associated with initial maj position.

the negative particle maj which occurs in sentences of different types.

Examples of interrogative sentences with initial maj are:

maj axuuk hinaak? 'don't you know ^{that} your brother is there?'

maj ɣali maj jaay? 'don't you know that Ali is not coming?'

maj irradyuma biyiftayal? 'don't you know that the radio is not working?'

vii) Interrogative sentences with walla 'or' differ from both declarative and request-sentences with the same element in that the former may or may not contain a verb while a verb must occur in the latter.

Compare:

Interrogative sentences

mhammad ɣalɔɣ walla ɣali? 'is it Muhammad or Ali who has gone out?'

hasan biyaakul walla biyiftayal? 'is Hasan eating or working?'

ɣali hina walla fi iddaar? 'is Ali here or in the house?'

with

Declarative sentences

mhammad hayityadda maɣa iʃhaabu walla fi ilyeet 'Muhammad will either have lunch with his friends or in the field'

ɣali biyiftayal maɣa faɣna walla maɣa hasan 'Ali either works with Fatima or with Hasan'

Siilgiyaal biykuunu fi iddaar walla fi ilyeet 'the boys
are either in the house or in the field'

and

Request-sentences

Sibgat mhammad walla gali 'send Muhammad or Ali'

kallim gali walla ruuh li xaalak 'speak to Ali or go to
your uncle'

The response evoked by interrogative sentences

With reference to the responses siywa (saay, sa...) and laf (la...), the sentences under consideration fall into two groups.

a) Sentences evoking two types of response

These sentences are characterized by the absence of walla and evoke either the response siywa or laf. They are further divided in two groups according to affirmation and negation.

i) Interrogative affirmative sentences evoke one of the responses

siywa - affirmative sentence

la - negative sentence

Examples are:

A	B
Siilgiyaal hayruuhu ilmadrasa?	<u>siywa hayruuhu</u> 'yes, they
'will the boys go to school?'	will go'

A		B
silwad daxxal ijjamal?	'has	<u>la madaxxaluuf</u> 'no, he has
the boy led the camel in?	'	not'

ii) Interrogative negative sentences evoke one of the following three responses

siywa	- affirmative sentence
la	- affirmative sentence
la	- negative sentence

Examples are:

A		B
silbitt ma jamaɣitɣ iɣɣaɣta?		<u>siywa jamaɣitha</u> 'yes, she
'hasn't the girl collected		has'
the chillies?'		
silwad ma jabɣ ilkitaab?		<u>la jaabuh</u> 'yes (lit. no),
'hasn't the boy brought the		he brought it'
book?'		
silbagara maɣ fi ilxarɣilɣ		<u>la maɣ hinaak</u> 'no, it is
'isn't the cow in the stable?'		not there'

b) Sentences evoking one type of response

These sentences are characterized by the occurrence of walla. With certain exceptions, mentioned below, they evoke the response la and further fall into two groups according to negation and affirmation.

i) Interrogative affirmative sentences evoke the response

la - affirmative sentence

Examples are:

A	B
hasan biyaakul <u>walla</u> biyiftayal? 'is Hasan eating or working?'	la <u>biyiftayal</u> '(no) he is eating'
mhammad fi ilyeet <u>walla</u> fi iddaar? 'is Muhammad in the field or in the house?'	la <u>fi iddaar</u> '(no) he is in the house'
silkitaab miqaak <u>walla</u> maga saqd? 'is the book with you or with Sa'd?'	la <u>miqaaya</u> '(no) it is with me'

ii) Interrogative negative sentences evoke the two responses

la - affirmative sentence

and la - negative sentence

Examples are:

A	B
gali xallaş <u>walla</u> ma xallaşf? 'has Ali finished or not?'	la <u>xallaş</u> '(no) he has finished'
silkanfaar fi ilyeet <u>walla</u> maf fi ilyeet? 'are the workers in the field or not?'	la <u>maf fi ilyeet</u> '(no) they are not in the field'

The exceptions mentioned under b) are sentences which contain walla laf or walla lissa and which evoke the responses

fiywa - affirmative sentence
or la - negative sentence

e.g.

A	B
fiinta xallaŝt <u>walla laf</u> ? 'have you finished or not?'	<u>fiyw xallaŝt</u> 'yes I have finished'
fiinta jarabt <u>walla laf</u> ? 'have you had a drink (of water) or not?'	<u>la ma jarabtif</u> '(no) I haven't'
faxuuki kał <u>walla lissa</u> ? 'has your brother eaten yet or not?'	<u>fiywa kał</u> '(yes) he has eaten'
fijjamaaŝa zagu <u>walla lissa</u> ? 'have they watered(the field) yet or not?'	<u>la mazaguuf</u> '(no, they haven't watered the field yet) no, not yet'

IV - Question-sentences

This group of sentences is characterized by:

i) the occurrence of one of the following question-particles:

A - miin 'who, whom or whose', ŝeeh 'what or which';

B - nihuuh 'which', sizzayy 'how', maal 'what is wrong with';

C - kaam 'how many', gadd-seeh 'how many, how much';

D - feen 'where', mineen 'from where', sizzaay 'how', simta 'when, at what time', wagt-seeh 'when, at what time';

E - leeh 'why';

ii) with the exception of sentences containing the question-particles miin and leeh, negative particles cannot be colligated with them except in relative pieces;

iii) unlike sentences of other classes tab wi and summaal can occur in post-pausal position in them;

e.g.

summaal di gaṣat miin? 'well, then, whose stick is this?'

summaal jeet leeh? 'well, then, why did you come?'

tab wi eeh illi haṣal? 'but what has happened?'

tab wi mḥammad feen 'but where is Muhammad?'

iv) similar to interrogative sentences one of the following group of forms may occur in their initial position: huwwa (hiyya, humma), minhagg, and yatara.

Examples are:

huwwa miin illi jih? 'who has come?'

hiyya irriifa di bitaagit miin? 'whose quill is this?'

humma ilgiyaal feen? 'where are the boys?'

minhagg ilgalam bi kaam? 'by the way, how much is
the pen?'

yatara izzayy mahmud? 'I wonder how Mahmud is?'

According to the kind of response they evoke, question-sentences are divided into the following five sub-classes. The response may contain members of more than one grammatical category, but the stress is made on the category which always occurs.

A - Sentences with miin and feeh

Noun is the category which should occur in the response evoked by these sentences.

Examples are:

- | A | B |
|---|--|
| 1 - miin jazzarkun? 'who is
your butcher?' | saalim 'Saalim' |
| 2 - miin dih? 'who is this?' | sinnaazar ijjiidiid 'the new
head-master' |
| 3 - miin illi talaḡ? 'who
has gone out?' | xaali 'my uncle' |

- | A | B |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 4 - miin ma jaaf? 'who
has not arrived?' | filmudiiir 'the director' |
| 5 - miin ilkibiir? 'who
is the eldest?' | ṣalaah 'Salah' |
| 6 - seeh dih? 'what is
this?' | da galam 'this is a pen' |
| 7 - seeh illi barra? 'what
is outside?' | ṣilbagara 'the cow' |
| 8 - hatiktib bi seeh? 'what
are you going to write
with?' | bi irriiṣa 'with the quill' |

Other characteristics of sentences under this sub-class are:

1 - They may or may not contain a verb.

2 - The question-particle may

a) be preceded by a preposition; e.g.

hatilṣab maṣa miin? 'whom are you going to play
with?'

bitiktib ḡala seeh? 'on what are you writing?'

b) form a construct with a preceding noun; e.g.

ṣilwad da ibn miin? 'whose son is this?'

ṣilmuftaah da bitaag seeh? 'which key is that?'

c) be followed by the relative ṣilli exx. 3 and 7.

3 - Sentences containing miin and those containing feeh differ in that the noun evoked in response to the former belongs to the sub-category noun of personal reference while the noun occurring in response to the latter belongs either to noun of animate reference or noun of inanimate reference.

4 - The possible elements in the place following miin are: noun, demonstrative pronoun, relative pronoun, verb or noun. The comparable place after feeh is occupied either by a demonstrative pronoun or relative pronoun.

B - Sentences with niuhuh, fizzaay and maal

Adjective and participle occur in the response evoked by these sentences.

Examples are:

A	B
zageetu ilyeet niuhuh? 'which field did you water?'	silbahari 'the northern'
fizzaay mahmud? 'how is Mahmud?'	zayyaan '(he is) ill'
silwad maaluh? 'how is the boy?'	zaqlaan '(he is) angry'

The following statements are made in description of this sub-class of sentences.

i) Unlike all other question-particles, niuhuh is variable and describable in terms of number-cum-gender. Compare, for example,

gaawiz issanduug nihuuh? 'which box do you want?'
 ʒooqit mhammad nihiih? 'which is Muhammad's room?'
 jibt ilkutub nuhuum? 'which books have you brought?'

with

miin ilmudiiir? 'who is the director?'
miin ilmudarrisa? 'who is the teacher?'
miin ilmisafrin? 'who are going away?'

The following table shows the exponents of number-cum-gender with reference to nihuuh.

TABLE VI

Exponents	Number-cum-gender
nihuuh	m
nihiih	f
nuhuum	pl

ii) A point of difference between sentences with nihuuh on the one hand and sentences with ʒizzayy and maal on the other, is the respective possibility and non-possibility of the occurrence of a verb.

iii) The fact that ʒizzayy may be associated with pronominal suffixes and maal is always so associated differentiates these two question-particles from others which can never be associated with pronominal suffixes.

Examples are:

ʕizzayyak inniharda? 'how are you today?'

ʕilʕiyaal izzayyuhum? 'how are the boys?'

mħammad maaluh? 'what is wrong with Muhammad?'

faṭna malha? 'what is wrong with Fatima?'

C - Sentences with kaam and gadd-ʕeeh

Numeral and singular or dual noun occur in the response evoked by these sentences.

Examples are:

- | A | B |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1 - ʕittaajir warraak <u>kaam</u>
ʕanf? 'how many kinds
of goods has the merchant
shown you?' | ʕalaata 'three' |
| 2 - hinaak <u>kaam</u> faas? 'how
many axes are there?' | ʕitneen 'two' |
| 3 - hataaxud dura <u>gadd-ʕeeh</u> ?
'how much maize will you
take?' | xamas aradibb 'five ardebs' |
| 4 - ʕillaħma <u>gadd-ʕeeh</u> ?
'how heavy is the meat?' | ʕarbaḡ-ʕ-irṭaal 'four pounds' |
| 5 - miḡaak <u>kaam</u> ? 'how much
have you got?' | jineeh 'a pound' |

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| A | B |
| 6 - <u>Ṣiṣtareet</u> ilgalam <u>bikam</u> ? | bi girṣeen 'for two piastres' |
| 'for how much did you
buy the pencil?' | |
| 7 - <u>Ṣilguṭn</u> <u>gadd-ṣeeh</u> ? | ginṭareen 'two cantars' |
| 'how heavy is the cotton?' | |

Other characteristics of these sentences are:

- 1 - They may or may not contain a verb.
- 2 - Unlike miin and ṣeeh, they do not occur in initial position.

3 - A point of difference between gadd-ṣeeh and kaam in regard to the noun with which they are both associated is that with the former the noun can be collective or non-collective while it is non-collective with the latter. (1) e.g.

kaam

Ṣilfaṣl fiih kaam tilmiiz? 'how many pupils are there
in the classroom?'

Ṣillanfaar kaam? 'how many workers are there?'

gadd-ṣeeh

Ṣilgamḥ gadd-ṣeeh? 'how much wheat is there?'

Ṣilyeet gadd-ṣeeh? 'how big is the field?'

(1) For collective and non-collective nouns see Chapter IV
p. 203-206

D - Sentences with feen, mineen, fizzaay, fimta and wagt-feeh

This class of sentences is characterized by evoking the response particle. It is further divided into three sub-classes according to the type of particle in the response.

i) Sentences with feen

The response evoked by these sentences is either prepositional particle or adverbial particle.

Examples are:

A	B
saxuuk dayyas galamu feen? 'where has your brother lost his pen?'	fi ilmadrasa 'in the school'
gali biyiftayal feen? 'where is Ali working?'	taht 'downstairs'
feen ilfuus? 'where are the axes?'	fi ilxarja 'in the stable'
filkalb feen 'where is the dog?'	wara ilheeja 'behind the wall'

Other characteristics of these sentences are:

- 1 - The possibility of the occurrence of a verb.
- 2 - The question-particle is never preceded by a preposition.

ii) Sentences with mineen and fizzaay

These sentences evoke the response prepositional particle.

Examples are:

A	B
fajna iſtarat falha mineen? 'where did Fatima buy her shawl?'	min tanſa 'in Tanta'
saġd mineen? 'where does Sa'd come from?'	min iſkindiriyya 'from Alexandria'
jeet izzaay? 'how did you come?'	bi ilgaſr 'by train'
ſalaġt izzaay? 'how did you climb?'	min ġala ilheeſa 'from above the wall'

Although these sentences evoke the same response, they differ in that a verb is possible in sentences with mineen but it always occurs in sentences with ſizzaay. The question-particles of this sub-class are never preceded by prepositions.

iii) Sentences with wagt-ſeeh and ſimta

An adverb is the response which these sentences evoke.

Examples are:

A	B
mhammad ſalaġ wagt-ſeeh? 'when did Muhammad go out?'	ſiſſubh 'in the morning'
ſijjamaaga hina <u>min</u> wagt- ſeeh? 'since when are they here?'	min ilbaarah 'since yesterday'

A	B
Ɔintu <u>waƣalju</u> Ɔimta? 'when did you arrive?'	Ɔinniharda 'today'
Ɔilbanna <u>biyiƣtayal min</u> Ɔimta? 'since when is the builder working?'	min ilfajr 'since dawn'
Ɔilƣiyaal foog <u>min</u> Ɔimta? 'since when aƣg <u>min</u> ƣboys upstairs?'	min Ɔilƣaƣr 'since mid- afternoon'

Other characteristics of these sentences are:

- 1 - A verb may or may not occur in the sentence.
- 2 - The preposition min may precede the question-particle in a sentence containing a verb, but it always occurs in sentences without a verb, i.e. the sentence contains a verb and/or min.

An exception to this is in the case of the associability of a particular group of nouns with the question-particles. Neither min nor a verb occur in such sentences. Some of these nouns are: Ɔilƣiid, ramaƣaan, ƣaƣuura, Ɔilƣirs and Ɔidduxla.

Examples are:

Ɔilƣiid Ɔimta? 'when is the 'Id?'

Ɔilƣirs wagt-ƣeeh? 'when is the marriage ceremony?'

ƣaƣuura Ɔimta? 'when is 'Ashuura?'

E - Sentences with leeh

Verb is the response evoked by these sentences.

Examples are:

A	B
<p>Ɔilwad rajaƆ leeh? 'why has the boy returned?'</p> <p>ƆijjamaaƆa ma zaguuf leeh? 'why did not they water (the field)?'</p> <p>ƆilguƆn xusur leeh? 'why did the cotton go bad?'</p> <p>mhammad hina leeh? 'why is Muhammad here?'</p>	<p>Ɔajaa<u>n</u> yaaku<u>d</u> ilmihraat 'to take the plough'</p> <p>ƆaƆl illanfaar <u>maƆyuliin</u> 'because the workers are busy'</p> <p>ƆaƆl ilƆiyaal <u>balliinuh</u> 'because the boys made it wet'</p> <p>Ɔajaa<u>n</u> <u>yigaabil</u> innaƆar 'to meet the headmaster'</p>

Compared with other question-sentences, these sentences exhibit the following features.

- 1 - The sentence may or may not contain a verb.
- 2 - The question-particle is never preceded by a preposition.
- 3 - Negative particles can appear in the sentence.

Chapter IV

Aspect I-and Aspect II-Sentences

The fact that the verbal form kaan (associable with different affixes of tense and person)⁽¹⁾ may or may not occur in the sentence provides the basis for a further twofold subdivision of sentences. Aspect I and Aspect II are used to designate sentences not containing kaan and containing kaan respectively.

A. Aspect I

Sentences belonging to this class are characterized by the absence of kaan.

Examples are:

mursi hayi{laḡ 'Mursi will go out'

ma tiktib{ ijjawab 'don't write the letter'

faṭna fi ilyeet? 'is Fatima in the field?'

mhammad feen? 'where is Muhammad?'

B. Aspect II

Sentences belonging to this class are characterized by the presence of kaan.

(1) Affixes of tense and person will concern us later, see p. 241

Examples are:

- mursi kaan hayiɫlaɔ 'Mursi was about to go out'
 ma kuttif tiktib ijjawaab 'you shouldn't have written the
 letter'
 faɫna kat fi ilyeet? 'was Fatima in the field?'
 mħammad haykuun feen? 'where will Muhammad be?'

It is now proposed to furnish more points of comparison between the two types of sentence under consideration.

Before proceeding with the analysis, examples of kaan associated with different affixes of tense, person and number-cum-gender are given to show its similarity with other verbs in respect of affixation.

- (1)
 ɫaana kutt (binkuun, hankuun) miɔaah 'I was (am, shall be) with him'
 ɫaana kunn (binkuunu, hankuunu) miɔaah 'we were (are, shall be) with him'
 ɫinta kutt (bitkuun, hatkuun) miɔaah 'you(m) were (are, will be) with him'
 ɫinti kutti (bitkuuni, hatkuuni) miɔaah 'you(f) were (are, will be) with him'
 ɫintu kuttu (bitkuunu, hatkuunu) miɔaah 'you(pl) were (are, will be) with him'

(1) Each one of the forms in brackets can occupy the place of the form in the example given.

huwwa kaan (biykuun, haykuun) miḡaah 'he was (is, will be) with him'

hiyya kaanit (bitkuun, hatkuun) miḡaah 'she was (is, will be) with him'

humma kaanu (biykuunu, haykuunu) miḡaah 'they were (are, will be) with him'

The affixes associable with this verb are abstractable in a similar manner to verbs of Aspect I sentences (see pp. 119 and 241).

The following points of comparison between Aspect I and Aspect II sentences serve to mark off each of them as different from the other. The comparison is made in three respects.

- I - The relationship obtaining between two verbs in one sentence with regard to tense.
- II - The sub-class of adverb colligable with the perfect verb.
- III - The possible elements in the immediate place after the verb.

I - The relationship obtaining between two verbs in one sentence with regard to tense

This feature is examined in three types of sentences each of which can belong either to Aspect I or Aspect II. They are:

- A - Sentences with auxiliary verbs
- B - Compound sentences with two verbs

C - Complex sentences with *siza* or *law*.

(1)

A - Sentences with auxiliary verbs

Similar to auxiliary verbs of Aspect I, *kaan* appears as an auxiliary in a succession of two verbs. The relationship between the two verbs in regard to tense differs in sentences of Aspect I from that in sentences of Aspect II. It can be abstracted in both Aspects as follows.

Aspect I

<u>1st verb</u>	<u>2nd verb</u>
perfect	{ perfect neutral imperfect
imperfect	neutral imperfect

Aspect II

<u>1st verb</u>	<u>2nd verb</u>
perfect	{ perfect present imperfect future imperfect
imperfect	{ perfect future imperfect
present	{ perfect present imperfect
future	{ present imperfect future imperfect
neutral	{ present imperfect future imperfect

(1) For auxiliary verbs see Chapter II pp. 123-126.

Compare the following examples:-Aspect I

mhammad ɔalag jaab ilkitaab 'Muhammad has gone upstairs
and fetched the book'

hasan gaam yisaaɣid axuuh 'Hasan has gone to help his
brother'

silɣiyaal biyruuhu yiftayalu fi ilɣizba 'the boys go
to work on the farm'

silwad hayistanna yaaxud ilbagara 'the boy will wait
to take the cow'

lamma ilwad yiji yaakul guul luh 'when the boy comes
to eat, tell him'

Aspect II

lamma waɣalt ani ɣali kaan ɔalag 'when I arrived Ali
had already left'

silwad kaan biyilɣab barra 'the boy was playing outside'

sijjamaaɣa kaanu hayizgu ilguɔn 'they are going to water
the cotton (field)'

lamma ilwad biykuun xallas biyibga mabɣuɔt 'when the boy
finishes (lit. has finished), he is pleased'

lamma ilbitt bitkuun hatiftayal axuuha biysaaɣidha 'when
the girl starts to work her brother helps her'

silçiyaal haykuunu xallaşu 'you will find (that) the boys had finished'

silwad haykuun biyizgi ilbahaayim 'you will find that the boy has taken the animals to drink'

lamma mhammad yikuun biyzaakir ma tişat[aluuf] 'when Muhammad studies, don't distract him'

law faṭna tikuun hatruuh ilyeet xalliha tiḥuut ḡaleena 'if Fatima is going to the field let her call on us'

B - Compound sentences with two verbs

In sentences of Aspect I the verb before the conjunctive particle (V_1) and that after it (V_2) may or may not agree in respect of tense. This contrasts with sentences of Aspect II where V_1 and V_2 always agree in the same respect.

Examples are:

Aspect I

hasan talaḡ innaxla wi ilçiyaal biyizgu ilbahaayim

'Hasan has climbed the tree and the boys are watering the animals'

şinnajjaar biyşallah iddulaab wi ḡali hayjiib issanadiig

'the carpenter is mending the cupboard, and Ali is bringing (will bring) the boxes'

silbitt rawwahit badri laakin mahmud hayiggud magaana juwayya

'the girl went home early, but Mahmud will stay with us for a while'

mursi jatam ilbitt minha axuuh qarabuh 'Mursi has insulted the girl and that is why his brother has beaten him'

rajab hayruuh ilyeet wi idquyuuf hayruuhu miḡaah 'Rajab will go to the field and the guests will go with him'

Aspect II

mhammad kaan fi ilyeet wi hasan kaan miḡaah 'Muhammad was in the field and Hasan was with him'

mursi kaan hayidrab ilwala laakin ḡali haafuh 'Mursi was about to beat the boy but Ali stopped him'

saḡd biykuun miḡaahum innama rajab biykuun miḡaana 'Sa'd goes with them but Rajab goes with us'

ḡali haykuun fi ilyizba laakin illanfaar hayistayalu hina 'Ali will be on the farm, but the labourers will work here'

C - Complex sentences with fiḡa and law

Here, the main point of difference between sentences of Aspect I and those of Aspect II is the respective impossibility and possibility of the occurrence of a perfect verb in both the 1st and the 2nd verbal place in the sentence (1st verbal place being the verb after the conjunctive particle and the 2nd after a potential pause in the sentence). The relationship obtaining between the two verbs in the sentence is:

Aspect I1st verb2nd verb

perfect

 { future imperfect
 { neutral imperfect
Aspect II1st verb2nd verb

perfect

 { perfect
 { future imperfect
 { neutral imperfect
Examples are:Aspect I

ƒiza mhammad jaab ilbagara hasan hayizgiha 'if Muhammad
brings the cow Hasan will water it'

law ƒali kasar ilgalam axuuh yidrabu 'if Ali breaks the
pen his brother will beat him'

Aspect II

ƒiza kaan mhammad jaab ilbagara kaan hasan zagaaha 'had
Muhammad brought the cow Hasan could have taken it to drink'

law kaan ƒali kasar ilgalam axuuh hayidrabuh 'if Ali has
broken the pen his brother will beat him'

ƒiza kaan ilgumda hinaak abuuk yikuun miƒaah 'if the
chief is there your father (must) be with him'

(1)

II - The sub-class of adverb colligable with perfect verb

As shown in the chapter about particle, adverbs are classified into three groups, two of which only are colligable with perfect verbs of Aspect I sentences. On the other hand, perfect verbs of Aspect II sentences are colligable with the three sub-classes of adverb. Compare the following examples in which ṣiṣṣubh 'in the morning', ilbaarah 'yesterday' and bukra 'tomorrow' represent the three sub-classes of adverb.

Aspect I

mhammad rawwah jaab ilmihraat iṣṣubh 'Muhammad has (gone and) brought the plough in the morning'

gali saafir gaabil ilmudiiir ilbaarah 'Ali went to see the director yesterday'

fajna raahit tizuur uxtiha min ilbaarah 'Fatima has gone to see her sister since yesterday'

Aspect II

mhammad kaan ṭalag iṣṣubh 'Muhammad was out in the morning'

gali kaan xallas ilbaarah 'Ali finished yesterday'

fajna kat hatiji bukra 'Fatima was thinking of coming tomorrow'

(1) For sub-classes of adverb see pp. 325-329

III - The possible elements in the immediate place after the verb

The difference between Aspect I and Aspect II sentences in this respect is that some of the elements possible in the mentioned place in the former are not possible in the latter. Verb in Aspect I sentences may be followed by: a pause, a deictic, a noun, a particle, a verb or a participle. The first three cannot occupy the immediate place after kaan in Aspect II sentences.

Compare the following examples.

Aspect I

ɣali ʔalaɣ 'Ali has gone out'

ɣali ʔalaɣ ahuh 'look! Ali has gone out'

ɣali ʔalaɣ innaxla 'Ali has climbed the palm-tree'

ɣali ʔalaɣ ɣa iʃsaʔh 'Ali has gone upstairs'

ɣali ʔalaɣ yiftayal 'Ali has gone out to work'

ɣali ʔalaɣ zaɣlaan 'Ali has gone out angry'

Aspect II

ɣali kaan fi ilyeet 'Ali was in the field'

ɣali kaan biyiftayal 'Ali was working'

ɣali kaan ɣayyaan 'Ali was ill'

However, not all verbs of Aspect I sentences are similar to ʔalaɣ, but the fact that they may be followed by a pause, a noun or a deictic differentiates them from the perfect verb in Aspect II sentences.

The divisions of sentences
made in Part I are tabulated below.

A S P E C T I			A S P E C T II				
Declaration	Request	Interrogation	Question	Declaration	Request	Interrogation	Question
Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple
Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound
Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex
Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple
Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound	Compound
Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex	Complex

A F F I R M A T I O N

N E G A T I O N

A F F I R M A T I O N

N E G A T I O N

Part II

The analysis in this part is concerned with different grammatical categories within simple affirmative declarative sentences of Aspect I. Such categories may appear in other types of sentences, but this particular type of sentence is chosen for the purpose of clarity.

Chapter I

General Classification

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce in brief the different grammatical categories dealt with in the course of Part II. Nine categories emerged from the analysis. Each of them is exemplified and numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., under a), b) and c) below.

- a) 1 - hasan garaf 'Hasan has known'
 2 - hasan garif 'Hasan knows'
 3 - hasan mudarris 'Hasan is a teacher'
 4 - hasan tayyib 'Hasan is good'
 5 - hasan huwwa ilkibiir 'Hasan is the eldest'
 6 - hasan ahuh 'here is Hasan'
 7 - hasan luh talat kutub 'Hasan has three books'
 8 - hasan illi foog 'it is Hasan who is upstairs'
 9 - hasan gand ijjaamaɣ 'Hasan is not far from (near)
 the Mosque'
- b) 1 - faṭna garafit 'Fatima has known'
 2 - faṭna garfa 'Fatima knows'
 3 - faṭna mudarrisa 'Fatima is a teacher'

- 4 - faṭna ṭayyiba 'Fatima is good'
- 5 - faṭna hiyya ilkibiira 'Fatima is the eldest'
- 6 - faṭna ahih 'here is Fatima'
- 7 - faṭna liha talat kutub 'Fatima has three books'
- 8 - faṭna illi foog 'it is Fatima who is upstairs'
- 9 - faṭna ḡand ijjaamaḡ 'Fatima is not far from (near)
the Mosque'
- c) 1 - silḡiyaal ḡarafu 'the boys have known'
- 2 - silḡiyaal ḡarfiin 'the boys know'
- 3 - silḡiyaal mudarrisiin 'the boys (the children)
are teachers'
- 4 - silḡiyaal ṭayyibiin 'the boys are good'
- 5 - silḡiyaal humma ilkubaar 'the boys are the eldest'
- 6 - silḡiyaal ahum 'here are the boys'
- 7 - silḡiyaal luhum ṭalat kutub 'the boys have three
books'
- 8 - silḡiyaal illi foog 'it is the boys who are
upstairs'
- 9 - silḡiyaal ḡand ijjaamaḡ 'the boys are not far from
(near) the Mosque'

The system of suffixes associated with the underlined element of the structure in the above sentences can be presented as follows:

	a)	b)	c)
1.	-(1)	it	u
2.	-	a	iin
3.	-	a	iin
4.	-	a	iin
5.	huwwa	hiyya	humma
6.	ṣahuh	ṣahih	ṣahum
7.	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-

The form, total (as in the case of personal pronouns and deictics) ⁽²⁾ or partial, is taken as crucial for the establishment of the classes 1, 5 and 6.

Extended structures are needed for differentiating between classes 2, 3 and 4.

2 - hasan ṣarifni 'Hasan knows me'

3 - hasan mudarrisi 'Hasan is my teacher'

4 - hasan ṭayyib 'Hasan is good'

The occurrence of the suffixes ni, i and the non-occurrence of a suffix mark off 2, 3 and 4 from one another.

The possible elements in the immediate place after the elements under consideration in 7, 8 and 9 are taken as a

(1) - = the non-occurrence of a suffix, which is taken as a positive mark in contrast with other suffixes.

(2) For the terms personal pronouns and deictics see Chapters VI and VII respectively.

criterion for differentiating between the three classes.

- 7 - talat kutub 'three books'
 8 - filli talag 'who has gone out'
 9 - gand ijjaamağ 'near the Mosque'

The fact that an undetermined noun, a verb and a determined noun follow the elements in 7, 8 and 9 respectively serves as a marker of each of them.

Chapters II-X in this part of the thesis deal with elements exemplified in 1-9 respectively under the headings: verb, participle, noun, adjective, personal pronoun, demonstratives and deictics, numeral, the relative filli and particles. (1)

The difference between the systems of suffixes under a), b) and c) above is taken as a criterion for the classification of each group as belonging to a category different from the other two. This division is feasible in terms of number-cum-gender. (2) The three groups a), b) and c) are designated masculine (m), feminine (f) and plural (pl) respectively. The term singular is used only when contrasting masculine and feminine on the one hand with plural on the other.

(1) This does not mean that the approach adopted here agrees with the traditional way of labelling every word of any text with the name of a class regardless of different contexts. Word-class labels are used in the present work 'to provide designation for syntagms'. Cf. T.F. Mitchell, Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis, T.P.S., 1958, p.103.

(2) This term is taken from F.R. Palmer's Verb in Bilin, BSOAS, 1957, XIX/1, p.133 "Number-cum-gender. Number and gender are not to be regarded as two grammatical categories, but as a single category with a system of three terms. In traditional terminology, these would probably be referred to as 'masculine singular', 'feminine singular', and 'plural common' but to avoid the implication that number and gender are distinct categories, they will be referred to simply as 'masculine', 'feminine', and 'plural'."

Chapter II

Verb

In this chapter attention is focused on the verbal form and its relationship with other elements in the structure of the sentence. Although reference is made to the verb in the course of the chapter, it should be stressed that the approach adopted here takes as basic to the analysis, not the 'morphology of words', but the function of elements, being in this chapter verbs, in the structure. Elements occupy places in the structure and terms 'commute within systems set up to give value to the elements of structure' ⁽¹⁾.

It has been found profitable also to account for successive ⁽²⁾ order of linguistic forms in the phonic data since it is grammatically significant in the language under consideration.

The category verb is classified in the following different ways according to the features taken into consideration.

AI - Perfect and Imperfect (Present, Future and Neutral) tense.

Different from all other grammatical categories, verbal forms are associable with certain systems of affixes. Verbs

(1) Cf. J.R. Firth, A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955, TPS, 1958, p.5.

(2) Cf. W.S. Allen, Structure and System in Abaza, TPS, 1956, pp. 160-162.

are divided into two sub-categories according to the system of affixes with which they are regularly associated. The two classes are designated: perfect and imperfect; the latter is subdivided into present, future and neutral.

(1)
Examples are

1 - Perfect

hasan gadar 'Hasan has been able to...'
 faḥna gadarit 'Fatima has been able to...'
 ṣilḡiyaal gadaru 'the boys have been able to...'

2 - Imperfect

a) Present

hasan biyigdar 'Hasan can'
 faḥna bitigdar 'Fatima can'
 ṣilḡiyaal biyigdaru 'the boys can'

b) Future

hasan hayidar 'Hasan will be able to...'
 faḥna hatigdar 'Fatima will be able to...'
 ṣilḡiyaal hayigdaru 'the boys will be able to...'

c) Neutral

hasan yigdar 'Hasan can'
 faḥna tigdar 'Fatima can'
 ṣilḡiyaal yigdaru 'the boys can'

(1) The examples given here are all of active verbs, but it should be clear that the systems of affixation are applicable for passive verbs as well.

Affixes associated with the verbal forms are of 3-term systems and may be abstracted and listed as follows "by (A) 'exponential' labels derived from their phonological/orthographic representation; (B) 'situational' labels derived from their contextual functions:--"⁽¹⁾

(2)
TABLE VIII

A		B
Prefixes	Suffixes	
-	-	1 - Perfect, m.
-	it	f.
-	u	pl.
		2 - Imperfect;
bi { y	-	a) present, m.
{ t	-	f.
{ y	u	pl.
ha { y	-	b) future, m.
{ t	-	f.
{ y	u	pl.
y	-	c) neutral, m.
t	-	f.
y	u	pl.

(1) Cf. W.S. Allen, Structure and System in Abaza, TPS, 1956, p.153.

(2) See also verbal affixes when verb is colligated with independent personal pronoun p.24, below.

fajna hafat ixurg gugal 'Fatima has filled the
hall with sticks'

Examples are:

Intransitive: Sentence-structure: N - V - N (1)

hasan naḡas duyri 'Hasan fell asleep immediately'

hasan biyilḡab fijjineena 'Hasan is playing in the
garden'

hasan insarḡ 'Hasan has been robbed'

Transitive: Sentence-structure: N - V - N

hasan katab jawabeen 'Hasan has written two letters'

hasan biyaakul tiffaaha 'Hasan is eating an apple'

ḡilḡalam (2) intala hibr 'the pencil has been filled
with ink'

The fact that the noun following transitive verb is inflected in number-cum-gender and determination excludes examples like

ḡilḡaṣa inkasarit hittiteen 'the stick has been broken
in two pieces'

ḡilḡaṣa itkassarit hitat 'the stick has been broken in
pieces'

where hittiteen and hitat are always of the same number-cum-gender/and undetermined. Thus the two verbs preceding them are considered intransitive.

(1) N = no noun.

(2) As a rule, nouns of the same class like hasan (nouns of personal reference do not occur in this place. See p. below.

Similarly, verbs in the following examples are considered transitive, not doubly transitive, because the second noun after the verb is of a constant number-cum-gender and is always undetermined.

e.g. hasan gasam ilgamh komeen 'Hasan has divided
the corn into two piles'

 hasan gassim ilgamh ikwaam 'Hasan has divided
the corn into piles'

Doubly transitive: Sentence-structure: N - V - N - N

hasan idda iddaktuura ijjawaab 'Hasan has given the
letter to the doctor (the doctor the letter)'

hasan biygallim ixwaatu ilkitaabih 'Hasan is teaching
his brothers to write' ⁽¹⁾

The verbal forms in the above examples can be of perfect or imperfect ⁽²⁾ (present, future or neutral) tense. Thus a four-term system is statable for the verbal place in sentences of the above structures with reference to tense. Added to this is a three-term system in regard to number-cum-gender: masculine, feminine and plural. Considering the three terms intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive, the total possibility of verbal classes following noun is, up to this point of the analysis, 36 in theory and with the exclusion of

(1) It would have been expected to find a third example under Doubly transitive corresponding to the third example under Intransitive and Transitive i.e. with a passive verb (for which see p.128 ff below) but passive verbs cannot be classified as doubly transitive. See v) p.135.

(2) Neutral imperfect verbs do not appear under doubly transitive.

what might have been termed doubly transitive neutral verbs, which do not occur, the actual total possibility is 33 and may be formulated as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} - \text{V} \\ 1 + 1_3 \\ 3 \end{array} \right]_3^{(1)}$$

3 terms of number-cum-gender (m., f. and pl.) in which respect N and V agree $(1 + 1_3)_3$ 2 terms of tense (perfect and imperfect) with three subdivisions of the latter (present, future and neutral) each of which is of 3 terms (intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive).

III - Auxiliary verbs and Non-auxiliary verbs.

A further division of verbs is feasible on the basis of distributional criteria as follows: the occurrence of two or three verbal forms in agreement with each other in respect of number-cum-gender is taken to be characteristic of what are called auxiliary verbs and distinguishes them from non-auxiliary verbs. As there may be three verbal forms in succession the first is designated first auxiliary and the second second auxiliary. Examples of this twofold division of verbs are:

Auxiliary verbs

1 - mhammad gaḡad kal maga ilwala 'Muhammad sat down
and ate with the boy'

(1) As is clear from the above examples the sequential order by which N precedes and does not follow V is an element of structure, which is expressed by the linear relationship obtaining between N and V. The order V - N is a characteristic of structures containing passive verbs only. See pp. 131 below.

- 2 - mhammad hayruuh yijiib ilgulla 'Muhammad will go to fetch the jar'
- 3 - mhammad garrab yiji yikjif ḡa-lḡayyaan 'Muhammad is about to come to examine the patient'
- 4 - mhammad biykassil yiguum yizgi ilbahaayim 'Muhammad is too lazy to take the animals to drink'
- 5 - mhammad yigraf yiruuh yijiib ilmihraat 'Muhammad knows how to go and bring the plough'

Non-auxiliary verbs

- 1 - mhammad kal maḡa-ilwala 'Muhammad has eaten with the boy'
- 2 - mhammad hayjiib ilgulla 'Muhammad will bring the jar'
- 3 - mhammad biyikjif ḡailḡayyaan 'Muhammad is examining the patient'
- 4 - mhammad zaga ilbahaayim 'Muhammad has taken the animals to drink'
- 5 - mhammad yigraf ilhikaayih 'Muhammad knows the matter'

Other characteristics of syntagms containing auxiliary verbs are:-

- 1) The relationship obtaining between the verbal forms in succession is:

1st verbal form	2nd verbal form	3rd verbal form
perfect	{ perfect	<u>neutral</u> imperfect
	{ neutral imperfect	
imperfect	neutral imperfect	neutral imperfect

This may be formulated as follows:

$$V_1 + i_3 \rightarrow V_1 + i \rightarrow V_1$$

(\rightarrow = the congruence of the successive order of the grammatical statement with the linguistic data)

ii) Verbs of present or future imperfect tense may occur in the second place in the verbal piece only if i) the first verbal form is of perfect tense and ii) there is a pause before the second verbal form. e.g.

(1)
faṭna rajaṣit, bitjiib ilḡeej 'Fatima has gone
back, she is (going to) bring the bread'

faṭna gaamit, hatnaadi li-axuuha 'Fatima has left,
she will call her brother'

Imperfect present verbs occur also when the verb *baga* is used in which case no pause is recognized before the second verbal form. e.g.

mhammad бага biyṭuul ifriḡit innaxliḡ 'Muhammad can
now reach the branches of the tree'

iii) There is no possibility of the occurrence of a noun between verbal forms. In other words neither the first verbal form nor the second in the context of three such

(1) , = a recognized pause in the analysis.

forms can be transitive or doubly transitive, nor can either be followed by a prepositional piece ⁽¹⁾ (a preposition followed by a noun).

IV - Potential ⁽²⁾ and Non-potential verbs.

It has been stated above that a verbal form occurring after a noun can be of perfect or imperfect (present, future or neutral) tense. (See formulae pp. 123 and 125 above.)

Not all verbs, however, are associable with the imperfect neutral affixes in the structure N - V. According to the total possibility of affixes associable with the verbal form, verbs are divisible into two classes:-

Difference in the distribution of tense forms in place 2 in the colligation N - V is taken to justify the recognition of two categories of verb: potential and non-potential. Non-potential verbs, as distinct from potential verbs, may not be of neutral imperfect form.

Potential verbs are also different from non-potential verbs in that they do not occur in the 4th place in sentences of the structure N - V - pause - V. (See p. 138 below.)

Compare the following systems of affixes associable with the verb when it follows a noun immediately.

(1) Compare with 1 and 2 pp. 136 and 137 below.

(2) For a similar use of 'potential' see W.S. Allen, Structure and System in Abaza, TPS, 1956, p.155.

TABLE IX

Potential	Non-potential
Perfect	Perfect
Imperfect: present	Imperfect: present
future	future
neutral	—

Examples are:

Potential.

- ɣali ʃaal ilfaɾɣ 'Ali has reached the branch'
 ɣali biyʃuul ilfaɾɣ 'Ali can reach (reaches) the branch'
 ɣali hayʃuul ilfaɾɣ 'Ali will reach the branch'
 (1)
 ɣali yiʃuul ilfaɾɣ 'Ali can reach the branch'

Non-potential.

- ɣali gara-lkitaab 'Ali has read the book'
 ɣali biyigra-lkitaab 'Ali is reading the book'
 ɣali hayigra-lkitaab 'Ali will read the book'

All potential verbs, but not all non-potential verbs, can occur as first auxiliaries. e.g.

- mhammad biyʃuul yimsik ilfaɾɣ 'Muhammad is tall enough
 to reach the branch'
 hasan biyigdar yifiil ilhajar 'Hasan is strong enough
 to carry the stone'

(1) Similar verbs are: gadar, raɗa and ɣaraf.

V - Active and passive verbs.

According to the pattern of the verbal form and to the sentence-structure in which it appears, verbs are divisible into active verbs and passive verbs.

The following characteristics differentiate the two categories:-

- i) The active verbal form is neither characterised by prefixed in nor by prefixed or infix it.

As a rule, the structure of the active verbal form follows one of the following patterns CVCVC, CVCV, GVVC, CVCC - CVCCVC, CVVCVC, CVCCV and ICCVCC

(C = consonant, V = vowel and i = i). Verbs following one of the first four patterns are called trilateral, and those which follow one of the last four patterns are called quadrilateral.

This statement of structure in terms of C and V is included in order to facilitate the description of verb form. Unlike active verbs, passive verbal forms with certain exceptions, ⁽¹⁾ are either prefixed with in (trilateral verbs) or it (quadrilateral verbs).

Trilateral verbal forms in which initial C of the root = l, n or r exhibit t infix after l, n or r. e.g.

iltaxam, intajal, irtakab;

(1) These exceptions are: daaḡ, raah, ṭalaḡ, jih, maat and faḡal.

the initial vowel is required by the phonological pattern. Quadriliteral verbal forms in which initial C = dental or alveolar consonant (denti-alveolar or palato-alveolar) exhibit gemination of initial C. Thus for itdahraj, itjammaḡ, itsawwag, itzayyin, itḡaglib, itḡabbah, itḡarrab, itḡabbag and itḡayyat read iddahraj, ijammaḡ, issawwag, izzayyin, iḡḡaglib, iḡḡabbah, idḡarrab, iḡḡabbag and izzayyat. Compare the following examples.

Active verbs

hasan ḡarab faḡna 'Hasan has beaten Fatime'
 hasan ḡahak ḡala faḡna 'Hasan has fooled Fatima'
 hasan mala'issabat burḡuḡan 'Hasan has filled the
 basket with oranges'
 hasan ḡaḡḡal faḡna 'Hasan has delayed Fatima'

Passive verbs

hasan indarab 'Hasan has been beaten'
 hasan indahak ḡaleeh 'Hasan has been fooled'
 (1)
 ḡissabat intala burḡuḡan 'the basket has been
 filled with oranges'
 hasan itḡaḡḡal 'Hasan was delayed'

- ii) The active verbal form, but not the passive verbal form, can be followed immediately by: a) nouns of

(1) See fn. 1) p. 121 and 7) p. below about passive verbs.

(1)
personal reference', b) pronominal suffixes.

Compare the following examples.

Active verbs

a) mhammad qarab uxtuh 'Muhammad has beaten his
sister'

mhammad gawwar siiduh 'Muhammad has hurt his
hand'

b) mhammad sarrafhum 'Muhammad has sent them away'

mhammad safaluh 'Muhammad has asked him'

a) mhammad uxtuh inqarabit 'Muhammad's sister has
been beaten'

mhammad itgawwarit siiduh 'Muhammad's hand has
been hurt'

mhammad insafal galeeh 'Muhammad has been asked
for'

N.B. In sentences of similar structure where the
successive order can either be N V P_{ps} N
I I I

or N V N P_{ps} the place occupied by the
I I I

pronominal suffix may be used as criterion for
determining whether the verbal form is active

(1) For further details about the grammatical category of 'noun of personal reference' see pp 186-189 below. It may, however, be mentioned here that *uxt* is a noun of personal reference and *siid* is a noun of inanimate reference.

or passive; one is enabled to classify *ḡaḡ* as a passive verb in:

mḡammad ḡaḡit karrastuh 'Muhammad's exercise
book has been lost'

Compare this example with the active verb *ḡarab* in:

mḡammad ḡarabituh faṭnah 'Muhammad has been
beaten by Fatima'

- iii) The active verbal form must be preceded by a noun with which it agrees in respect of number-cum-gender. This is not the case with the passive verbal form which may occur in initial position in the sentence in which case the sentence-structure is V - prepositional piece - N where masculine and feminine nouns agree with the verbal form in respect of number-cum-gender. If the noun is plural the verbal form is of masculine singular shape. Compare

Active verbs

ḡasan ḡaḡ gurḡa 'Hasan has reserved a melon-
field'

faṭna katabit jawaab 'Fatima has written a
letter'

ḡanḡaar kitiir baḡatu li mḡammad 'Many workmen
have sent for Muhammad'

Passive verbs

fiinhaajit li hasan gurqa	'a melon-field has been reserved for Hasan'
fiinkatab li fajna jawaab	'a letter has been written to Fatima'
fiinbaqat li mhammad sanfaar kitiiir	'many workmen have been sent to Muhammad'

The material may be formulated as follows:

Active	Passive
[N — V] ₃	V ₂ — N ₃

(3 = three terms of number-cum-gender; m., f. and pl.)

2 = two terms of number-cum-gender: m. and f.)

iv) In sentences of the structure

N — V — N — Prs

active verbs agree, in respect of number-cum-gender, with the preceding noun while passive verbs agree, in the same respect, with the following noun. Compare

Active verbs

mhammad jarrah sawabqah	'Muhammad has hurt his fingers'
fajna jallidit kitabha	'Fatima has bound her book'
silgiyaal kasaru qasathum	'the boys have broken their stick'

Passive verbs

mħammad itjarrahit (itjarrahu) sawabgħuh 'Muhammad's
fingers have been hurt'

fatna itjallid kitabha 'Fatima's book has been
bound'

silgiyaal inkasarit għağathum 'the boy's stick has
been broken'

The structure of sentences containing active verbs and passive verbs is also different in that the pronominal suffix does not necessarily agree with nouns preceding active verbs, but it must agree with nouns preceding passive verbs. A system of eight pronominal-suffix terms can be set up for the place of the pronominal suffix with active verbs. Thus the following formulae may summarize the difference between the two structures:

Active verb

N	V	N	Prsg
I	I		

Passive verb

N	V	N	Prs
I	I	I	I

Agreement operates between those elements of structure which are linked by I—I. 8 = 8 terms of pronominal suffixes.
(1)

(1) See pronouns p.246 below.

hasan inbağatu lu irrijaalih 'the men have
been sent to Hasan'

hasan inbağat lu rijjaala-kitiir 'many men
have been sent to Hasan'

- v) Unlike passive verbs, active verbs may be doubly transitive and may appear as auxiliaries in complexes containing three successive verbal forms.

Compare

Active

fatna hafat ilxurg t̄iin 'Fatima has filled
the hole with mud'

ğali gaam t̄alag jaab ilğasah 'Ali got up and
went and fetched the stick'

Passive

ilxurg inħafa t̄iin 'the hole has been filled
with mud'

ğali in t̄alab yinsafal 'Ali has been asked to
go and give evidence'

B

Sentences containing more than one verbal
form other than auxiliaries.

The statements made thus far have concerned the relationship obtaining between the verb and other categories which are immediately colligated with it.

(1)
 Extended, or bigger, sentences which contain more than one verbal piece are now dealt with. Interest centres on new characteristics of verbal forms in different places of sentence-structures.

1 - Sentences of the structure

N - V - N - V
I - I - I - I

Unlike auxiliary verbs,⁽²⁾ the main points of interest about the verbal forms in sentences of the above structure are:

- i) the first verbal form must be followed by a noun which agrees with the second verbal form in respect of number-cum-gender;
- ii) the second verbal form does not agree in number-cum-gender with the first one;
- iii) the syntagmatic relations obtaining between the first verbal form and the second are as follows:-⁽³⁾

1st verbal form

2nd verbal form

perfect

{ perfect
 { present imperfect
 { future imperfect
 { neutral imperfect

imperfect

neutral imperfect

(1) These are still simple sentences.

(2) The contrast is made here between auxiliary verbs and verbs of the above structure since they are similar in containing more than one verbal form. See also 2 and 3 below pp. 137 and 138 .

(3) See also Part I, Chapter II p. 54 ff.

Examples are:

ɣali hayjiib liirrijaala yaklu 'Ali will bring
(some food) for the men to eat'

ɣali xalla faɲna jaabit ilgullih 'Ali asked Fatima
to bring the jar (and she did)'

ɣali baɣat liilɣiyaal hayjiibu ilmihraat 'Ali has
sent (somebody) to the boys (to ask them) to bring the
plough'

Sentences may be extended with other verbal forms conforming
to the characteristics of the second verbal form in the above
examples. e.g.

ɣali xalla ilɣiyaal naadu li uxtuhum jaabit ilyada
li irrijaala ityaddu 'Ali asked the boys and they
called their sister who brought some lunch for the men
and they ate it'

2 - Sentences of the structure

a) N - V - N - V
I I I I

or b) N - V - N - V
I I I I

These sentences are different from 1 above in that the
alternative sentence-structure is possible with the same verbal
(1)
forms.

Examples are:

a) ɣali xad faɲna tiwdrriih ilmagraɗ 'Ali has taken

(1) See p. 136 above.

Fatima to show him the show'

faṭna fatahit iḥḥibaak yihawwiilfooḍa 'Fatima opened
the window to let some fresh air into the room'

b) ʕali xad faṭna yiwarriiha ilmaḡraḍ 'Ali has taken
Fatima to show her the show'

faṭna fatahit iḥḥibbaak tihawwiilfooḍa 'Fatima has
opened the window to let some fresh air in the room'

3 - Sentences of the structure

N - V - pause - V⁽¹⁾
 I I

These sentences are different from other successions of verbs (auxiliary verbs and verbs under 2 and 3 above) in that:

i) the verbal form agrees with the first verbal form in the sentence in respect of tense as follows:

<u>1st verbal form</u>	<u>Verbal form after pause</u>
perfect	perfect
imperfect:	imperfect:
present	present
future ⁽²⁾	future

ii) there is a pause before the last verbal form (or verbal piece) in the sentence and the intonational possibilities are different from those of other sentences.

(1) These verbs may be designated 'resultative verbs'.

(2) Potential verbs (see p.126), the only verbs which can be of neutral imperfect tense immediately after the initial noun in the sentence, do not occur in sentences of this structure.

Examples are:

hasan baḡat faṭnaiddaar, yaabit 'Hasan sent Fatima
to the house but she was late'

hasan biyilḡab biilkoora, bitḡiiḡ '(whenever)
Hasan plays with the ball it gets lost'

hasan hayiggud yilḡab, hayitṣaxxar ḡalḡaṭr 'Hasan
will keep playing about and will lose the train'

C

Sentences containing verbs of one particular tense

1 - Sentences of the structure

(1)

N Adverbial particle or prepositional
piece V

Contrary to the facts of all structures above, here the verbal form can only be present imperfect.

Examples are:

hasan foog biyityadda 'Hasan is lunching upstairs'

hasan fiilmustajfa biyitḡaalij 'Hasan is being
treated (for his illness) in the hospital'

When noun of inanimate reference occurs in N-place in sentences of the above structure, the verbal form must belong to the passive category. Compare the above examples with:

ṣilḡifl foog biyitṣallah 'the lock is being mended
upstairs'

ṣilḡifl fi-lwarḡa biyinqamal luh muftaah 'the lock
is in the workshop, a key is being made for it'

(1) See p. 321 below for this term.

2 - Sentences of the structureN - Adverb - V⁽¹⁾

The verbal form can only be neutral imperfect in sentences of this structure.

Examples are:

fajna bukra tigrif ilhikaayih 'Fatima will know
the matter one day'

silgiyaal dilwagt yiju 'the boys will soon come'

The grammatical statement of the sentence-structure in 1 and 2 is congruent with the exponential sequence in phonic data. In sentences of the structure

N - V - Adverbial particle or prepositional piece

and N - V - Adverb

the verbal form is different in respect of tense from the verbal form in 1 and 2. Compare with examples under 4:

hasan ityadda foog 'Hasan has had his lunch upstairs'

hasan hayityadda foog 'Hasan will have his lunch
upstairs'

hasan biyityadda foog 'Hasan is having his lunch
upstairs'

And compare with examples under 2:

fajna hatiji bukrah 'Fatima will come tomorrow'

silgiyaal wasalu dilwagt 'the boys have arrived now'

(1) See p. 312 below for this term.

D

Verbal sub-classes

It is now proposed to sub-divide the verb category according to

- i) the verbal patterns with which one root ⁽¹⁾ may be associated,
- and ii) the syntagmatic relations obtaining between elements in sentences containing different verbal sub-classes into ten classes.

Special mention should be made of 'kuwayyis', 'gawi', 'maḡa or wayya - noun of personal reference' and 'ḡala - noun of place reference' ⁽²⁾ which are taken, inter alia, as catalytic elements in establishing different sub-classes of verb. 'kuwayyis', for example, may or may not agree in respect of number-cum-gender with other elements in the sentence.

Compare

mahmuud rajaḡ kuwayyis 'Mahmud was well when he came back'

ḡamaḡa rajaḡit kuwayyisa 'Sham'a was well when she came back'

ḡirrijaala rajaḡu kuwayyisiin 'the men were well when they came back'

(1) The root consists of the total sum of consonants in the verbal form each of which is represented in the patterns given below by C.

(2) For ^{these} sub-classes of noun see pp. 186-189 and 206 respectively.

with

maḥmuud iḥṭayal kuwayyis 'Mahmud has worked well'
 ṣamḡa iḥṭayalit kuwayyis 'Sham'a has written well'
 ṣirriḡjaala iḥṭayalu kuwayyis 'the men have worked
 well'

Variable 'kuwayyis' and invariable 'kuwayyis' are symbolized k_3 and k_1 respectively. In the course of the analysis, reference is made to the occurrence of k_3 , k_1 or the non-occurrence of k .

The occurrence and non-occurrence of the other elements, i.e. 'gawī', 'maḡa or wayya - noun of personal reference' or 'ḡala - noun of place reference', are taken as criteria for the establishment of a given sub-class.

Perfect verb only is taken into consideration when dealing with the patterns of the verbal form. With some exceptions like *jih*, *xad* and *kal* 'has come', 'has taken' and 'has eaten', the verbal form appears in one of the following patterns:

(1)
 1 - CVCVC or CaCa
 e.g. katab 'he has written'

(2)
 2 - CVCC
 e.g. xaff 'he has entered'

(1) C = consonant and V = vowel.

(2) CC = gemination.

3 - CaaC

e.g. gaas 'he has measured'

4 - CVVCiC

e.g. faarik 'he has shared'

5 - CVCCVC

e.g. gaṭṭaḡ 'he has chopped'

gallim 'he has trimmed'

6 - CiVCaCC

e.g. sihmarr 'it has become red'

7 - CiVCaCVC

e.g. siṣṣakbar 'he has been conceited'

siṣṣaḡjil 'he has been in a hurry'

8 - CVCCVC

e.g. faḡfat 'he smudged (the ink)'

kaḡbil 'he tripped him up'

The ten sub-classes of verb are:

(1)

I - Sub-class 1

The verbal form

1) appears in the patterns CaCaC or CaaC and CaCCaC; (2)

e.g. nazal 'has gone down', nazzil 'has taken down';

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'verb of motion'.

(2) saafir 'has travelled' is the only verb of this group which appears in the pattern CaaCiC. Similar to other verbs here the root appears in CaCCaC i.e. saffar 'has sent away'.

raah 'has gone', rawwah 'has gone (or has taken) home',
 2) with few exceptions like ragad 'he has lain down' may
 be followed by

i) a noun of place; e.g.

hasan rajaḡ iskindria 'Hasan has returned to
 Alexandria'

ḡali raah ṭanṭa 'Ali has gone to Tanta'

maḥmuud saafir banha 'Mahmud has gone to Benha'

mḥammad saffar ilḡafj maṣr 'Muhammad has sent
 luggage to Cairo'

ii) 'ḡala - a noun of place'; e.g.

hasan rajaḡ ḡala iskindria 'Hasan has returned
 to Alexandria'

ḡali raah ḡala ṭanṭa 'Ali has gone to Tanta'

maḥmuud saafir ḡala banha 'Mahmud has gone to
 Benha'

mḥammad saffar ilḡafj ḡala maṣr 'Muhammad has
 sent the luggage to Cairo'

3) may be followed by k₃; e.g.

mursi saafir kuwayyis 'Mursi was well when he
 went away'

ṣalḥa safrīt kuwayyisa 'Salha was well when she
 went away'

ṣilḡiyaal safru kuwayyisiin 'the boys were well
 when they went away'

4) when of the pattern CaaC or CaCaC, occurs

i) in intransitive sentences; ⁽¹⁾ e.g.

mħammad raħħ 'Muhammad has gone'

ħali nazal 'Ali has gone down',

ii) as auxiliary verb; e.g.

mħammad raħħ yilħab 'Muhammad has gone to play'

ħali ħalaħ yiħalli 'Ali has gone (to the Mosque)
to say his prayers', and

5) when of the pattern CaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences; ⁽²⁾ e.g.

ħali fawwit ilħiyyal 'Ali has allowed the boys to
pass (through)'

ħasan nazzil ilfaas 'Hasan has taken down the axe'

II - Sub-class 2

The verbal form -

1) appears in the patterns CaCaC and CaCCiC; e.g.

ħaraf 'he has known', ħarraf 'he has told',

2) may be followed by k_1 ; e.g.

ħali katab ijħawaab kuwayyis 'Ali has written the
letter well'

samya katabit ijħawaab kuwayyis 'Samia has written
the letter well'

ħirrijaala katabu ijħawabaat kuwayyis 'the men
have written the letters well'

(1) Here defined as sentences where intransitive verb occurs.

(2) Here defined as sentences where transitive verb occurs.

- 3) when of the pattern CaCaC, occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.

ɣali labas ilbalɣu 'Ali has put on the coat', and

- 4) when of the pattern CaCCiC, occurs in doubly transitive sentences; e.g.

ɣali saħħab ilwad ijjamuusa 'Ali has made the boy lead the buffalo'

ɣaraf warras wilaadu ɣizba 'Sharaf has bequeathed a farm to his children'

III - Sub-class 3

The verbal form

- 1) appears in the pattern CaaCiC; e.g. ɣaħhib 'has become friendly with',
 2) occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.

mħammad ɣaarik ɣali 'Muhammad has taken part with Ali'

mħammad ɣaawir faɣna 'Muhammad has consulted Fatima', and

- 3) is colligated with noun of personal reference only i.e. both the noun preceding the verbal form and that which follows it belong to the above-mentioned sub-category of noun; e.g.

ɣali ɣaħhib mursi 'Ali has become friendly with Mursi'

ɣaxuuk ħaasib ill'anfaar 'your brother has settled the account with the labourers'

IV - Sub-class 4

The verbal form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaCaC and CaCCaC; e.g.
 farah, farrah 'has been glad, caused to be glad',
- 2) may be followed by 'gawi'; e.g.
 silwad farah gawi 'the boy has become very happy'
 silgiyaal zaḡalu gawi 'the boys have become very
 angry',
- 3) when of the pattern CaCaC, occurs in intransitive
 sentences; e.g.
 siddura ḡaṭaṣ 'the maize-field needs watering'
 ḡali yaḡab 'Ali has become angry', and
- 4) when of the pattern CaCCaC, occurs in transitive
 sentences; e.g.
 silwad zaḡḡal ilbitt 'the boy has made the girl
 angry'
 silharr zahhag ḡali 'the heat made Ali tired'

V - Sub-class 5

The verbal form

- 1) appears in one of the patterns CaCaC and CaCCaC; X
 e.g. gasam, gassim 'has divided',
- 2) occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
 mhammad ḡaṭaḡ ilhabl 'Muhammad has severed the
 rope'
 mhammad ḡaṭṭaḡ ijallabiyya 'Muhammad has torn
 the gown'

It is useful at this point to compare examples of this sub-class with those of sub-class 2, in which the verbal form appears also in either of the patterns, CaCaC or CaCCaC. In sub-class 2, these patterns appear in transitive and doubly-transitive sentences respectively. This contrasts with the fact that both patterns appear in transitive sentences in sub-class 5. Compare the previous examples with the following of sub-class 2. (1)

ʃilwad ʃarab iddawa 'the boy has taken (lit. has drunk) the medicine'

ʃiddaktuur ʃarrab ilwad iddawa 'the doctor has given the boy (lit. has made the boy drink) the

medicine', (2)

3) is followed only by noun of inanimate reference;

e.g.

ʒali kasar ilkubbaayih 'Ali has broken the glass'

hasan gassim ilfuluus 'Hasan has divided the money',

4) may be followed by k_1 ; e.g.

ʒali gaʃaʒ ilhabl kuwayyis 'Ali has cut the rope well'

faʃna gaʃaʒit ilhabl kuwayyis 'Fatima has cut the rope well'

ʃilʒiyaal gaʃaʒu ilhabl kuwayyis 'the boys have cut the rope neatly', and

(1) Compare also with sub-class 6 below.

(2) For this term see pp. 189-193

5) may also be followed by 'gawi', e.g.

ʕilwad garaʕ ilfarɛ gawi 'the boy has cut the
branch too short'

ʕali garraʕ ilɛugda gawi 'Ali has tied a strong
knot'

VI - Sub-class 6

The verbal form

1) appears in the patterns CaCaC or CaaC and CaCCVC;
e.g. wagaɛ, waggaaɛ 'has dropped, has made (it) drop';
ɖaaɛ, ɖayyaɛ 'has lost, has let (it) get lost',

2) when in either of the patterns CaCaC or CaaC, occurs
in intransitive sentences; e.g.

ʕilwad wagaɛ 'the boy has fallen down'

ʕilgalam ɖaaɛ 'the pen has been lost',

3) when of the pattern CaCCVC, occurs in transitive
sentences; e.g.

ʕilwad waggaaɛ ilkitaab 'the boy has dropped the
book'

hasan ɖayyaɛ ilgalam 'Hasan has lost the pen',
and

4) unlike other sub-classes of verb, occurs in initial
position when of the pattern CaCaC or CaaC; e.g.

wagaɛ li faɖna xaatim 'a ring has been lost by
Fatima'

maat li saɛd ɛayyil 'one of Sa'd's children has
died'

VII - Sub-class 7

The verbal form

- 1) appears in one of the patterns CaCaC, CaCCVC or CaCCVC; e.g. ħarat 'has ploughed', waqqab 'has prepared', saħmið 'pulled down',
- 2) occurs in transitive sentences, and
- 3) may be followed by k_1 ; e.g.

ħasan zaraġ ilguġn kuwayyis 'Hasan has planted
the cotton well'
ġali ġallag ilbadla kuwayyis 'Ali has hung the
suit well'
mħmuud daħrag ilbarmiil kuwayyis 'Mahmud has
rolled the barrel well'

VIII - Sub-class 8

The verbal form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaCaC or CaaC and CaCCVC;
e.g. jahaz, jahhiz 'has been ready, has made ready';
daab, dawwib 'has melted, has caused to melt',
- 2) when of the pattern CaCaC or CaaC occurs in
intransitive sentences; e.g.
ġilwad ħarab 'the boy has run away'
ġiddihm saah 'the fat has melted', and
- 3) when of the pattern CaCCVC, occurs in transitive
sentences; e.g.

ʕilwad harrab ilkuwar 'the boy has hidden the
balls'

ʕilbitt sayyahit issamma 'the girl has melted
the butter'

IX - Sub-class 9 (1)

The verbal form

- 1) appears in the pattern ʕiCCaCC; e.g. ʕiswadd, 'has become black',
- 2) occurs in intransitive sentences,
- 3) may be followed by 'gawi', and
- 4) is colligable with noun of inanimate reference only; e.g.

ʕilbalaḥ ʕihmarr gawi 'the dates have become very
red'

ʕiddura ʕiṣfarr gawi 'the maize plants have
become very yellow'

ʕilgumaaf ʕibyadd gawi 'the cloth has become very
white'

X - Sub-class 10

The appearance of the verbal root in a form prefixed with ʕist- differentiates this verb from previous sub-classes. The total of the following features taken as a whole are character-

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'verb of colour reference'.

istic of this sub-class. The verbal form

- (1)
- 1) appears in the patterns i) $\text{\$istVCCVC}$, CaCaC and CaCCVC ; ii) in the first two of them or iii) in the first one only; e.g. $\text{\$istakbar}$, kabar , kabbar 'has been conceited, has grown big, has caused to grow big'; $\text{\$ista\text{g}mil}$, $\text{\text{g}amal}$ 'has used, has done'; $\text{\$istanna}$ 'has waited for',
 - 2) with certain exceptions, may be followed by 'gawi'; e.g.
 $\text{\text{g}ali \text{\$istakbar} \text{gawi}}$ 'Ali has been very conceited'
 $\text{\$ilwad} \text{kabbar} \text{ilkoom} \text{gawi}$ 'the boy has made the heap very big'
 $\text{\$ilwad} \text{kabar} \text{gawi}$ 'the boy has grown very big',
 - 3) when of the pattern CaCCVC , it occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
 $\text{\$irra\text{d}ajil} \text{\text{t}awwil} \text{il\text{h}abl}$ 'the man has lengthened the rope'
 $\text{\$ilwad} \text{xabba} \text{ilkoora}$ 'the boy has hidden the ball',
 and
 - 4) when of the pattern $\text{\$istaCCVC}$, may occur in intransitive or transitive sentences; e.g.

(1) In the case of doubled verbs in which the second and third consonants of the root are identical, the verbal form appears in the pattern $\text{\$istVCVCC}$ e.g. $\text{\$istalazz}$ 'has found (it) sweet, $\text{\$istamarr}$ 'has continued'.

ʕali istaʕmil ilgalam 'Ali has used the pen'

hasan istahwa 'Hasan has caught a cold'

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the above ten sub-classes of verb.

TABLE X

Sub-class	Intransitive	Transitive	Doubly transitive	kuwayyis	gawi	Other features
I	1/3 ⁽¹⁾	5	-	k ₃	-	V occurs as an auxiliary
II	-	1/2	5	k ₁	-	-
III	-	4	-	-	-	V is colligated with Npr only
IV	1	5	-	-	gawi	-
V	-	1,5 ⁽³⁾	-	k ₁	-	followed by Nir only
VI	1/3	5	-	-	-	may occupy initial position in the sentence
VII	-	1/5/8	-	k ₁	-	-
VIII	1/3	5	-	-	-	-
IX	6	-	-	-	gawi	V is colligated with Nir only
X	1	5/7	-	-	gawi	

(1) The figures indicate the verbal form pattern. See pp. 142-143 above.

(2) - = the absence of the element or feature in the heading.

(3) , here = and.

Chapter III

Participle

The relationships obtaining between different elements in sentences containing participle, noun, adjective and verb make it feasible to mark off participle from the three latter categories. The comparison is made between sentences containing these four grammatical categories only because they have some features in common. It is proposed, however, first to give certain points of difference between participle and the other three categories.

1 - The exponents of masculine, feminine and plural in the participial form are the endings nil, a and iin respectively. But in the adjectival forms comparable exponents may or may not be the endings nil, a and iin. Compare the following examples.

Noun-Participle

ɣali mafɣuul	'Ali is busy'
faɣna mafɣuula	'Fatima is busy'
ɣixwaatu mafɣuuliin	'his brothers are busy'

Noun-Adjective

ɣali ɣawiil	'Ali is tall'
faɣna ɣawiila	'Fatima is tall'
ɣixwaatu ɣuwaal	'his brothers are tall'

ḡixwaatu ṭayyibiin (1) 'his brothers are good'

ḡixwaatu jadd 'his brothers are serious'

2 - Unlike adjective also, participle is associable with ḡilli in sentences of the structure N - P - N.

Compare

ḡilmudarris illi saafir ḡahbi 'the teacher who
has gone away is my friend'

with

ḡilmudarris iṭṭawiil ḡahbi 'the tall teacher is
my friend'

3 - Participle is also different from noun in that, when both participle and noun are followed by a noun, the ending a is a mark of feminine in the participial form while the comparable mark in the nominal form is the ending it.

Compare

faṭna ḡarfa ilmudarris 'Fatima knows the teacher'

with

faṭna ḡariibit ilmudarris 'Fatima is a relative
of the teacher'

4 - Another point of difference between participle on one hand and noun and adjective on the other hand is that the participle has always a root in common with verbal forms.

(1) This is an example of what I call invariable adjective i.e. no 'expected' endings marking number-cum-gender are associated with the adjectival form. See pp 215/216 below.

Compare

hasan kaatib ijjawaab 'Hasan has written the letter'

hasan mirajjağ ilkitaab 'Hasan has returned the
book'

hasan misaafir jaayif axuuh 'Hasan has gone and
seen his brother'

with

hasan katab ijjawaab 'Hasan has written the book'

hasan rajjağ ilkitaab 'Hasan has returned the
book'

hasan saafir jaaf axuuh 'Hasan has gone and seen
his brother'

5 - A clear line is drawn between participle and verb in
the light of the affixes colligable with each one of them. (1)

There are, however, certain points of similarity between
participle and verb. One of them is the occurrence of 'n'
when both of them are colligated with '1st person singular
pronominal suffix'. (2)

e.g.

ğali ğarifni 'Ali knows me'

ğali ğarafni 'Ali has known me'

Further similarity between participle and verb lies in the
relationships obtaining between different elements in different

(1) See Part II Chapter I p.115. and p. above.

(2) See pronouns below.

participial sentences and those obtaining between different elements in different verbal sentences. Compare, for example, the classification of both categories in terms of intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive and in terms of active and passive.

6 - The total sum of patterns in which the participial form can appear are also taken as a criterion for differentiating the participle from other grammatical categories. With certain exceptions, ⁽¹⁾ there are eleven patterns:

1 - CaaCiC

e.g. kaatib 'he has written'

2 - miCaaCiC

e.g. mifaarik 'he has taken part with...'

3 - miCaCCVC

e.g. midahraj 'he has thrown...'

4 - i - mistaCCVC

e.g. mistakbar 'he is conceited'

ii - mistaCaCC

e.g. mistagall 'he is belittling'

(1) These exceptions are: mihtaaj, mihtaar, mihtiri, miylaab, mihtaram and muhtaram. They are left out of the scope of the analysis since the patterns in which they appear and the sentences in which they occur do not exhibit regular characteristics which can be included in the analysis made here. Other participles, considered as exceptions and excluded from the analysis, although they are similar in form to some of the patterns given above, are naawi, gaawiz, migarrab and mikassil.

- (1)
- 5 - miCaCCVC
 e.g. mikassar 'he has broken'
 miɣallim 'he has taught'
- 6 - i - maCCuuC
 e.g. maksuur 'it is broken'
 ii - minCaaaC
 e.g. minɣaan 'it has been taken away'
- 7 - mitCaCCVC
 e.g. mitɣallag 'it is hung^{ɔ̄}'
 mitɣallim 'he has been taught'
- 8 - mitCaCCVC
 e.g. mitdahraɟ 'it is thrown'
- 9 - CaCCaan
 e.g. zaɣlaan 'he is angry'
- 10 - mitCaaCiC
 e.g. mitjaarik 'he is taking part with...'
- 11 - miCCiCC
 e.g. mihmirr 'it is reddish'

A

For the purpose of establishing participial sub-classes, it is proposed to classify the sentences containing participles in three different ways. The three sets of terms used for the

(1) CC = gemination. Exponents of V in the final syllable are variously a close front or an open vowel, in accordance with the consonantal context.

first, second and third manner of classification are:

- I) intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive
- II) monomial and binomial
- III) active and passive.

I: Intransitive, Transitive and Doubly Transitive participles

The classification under this heading rests on the occurrence or non-occurrence of a noun or two nouns after the participial form.

1 - Intransitive participles

The participial form is not followed by a noun in sentences containing members of this class. e.g.

mhammad zaḡlaan 'Muhammad is angry'

2 - Transitive participles

In sentences containing members of this class, the participial form is followed by one noun inflected in number-cum-gender and determination. e.g.

mhammad waakil ittiffaahah 'Muhammad has eaten the apple'

The noun following the participial form may or may not be associated with the definite article; it can also be masculine, feminine or plural; e.g.

mhammad waaxid tiffaahah 'Muhammad has taken an apple'

mhammad waaxid galam 'Muhammad has taken a pen'

mhammad waaxid ilkutub 'Muhammad has taken
the books'

The fact that the noun following transitive participle is inflected in number-cum-gender and determination serves to differentiate this class of participle and intransitive participle which can be followed only by a noun of constant grammatical number-cum-gender not associable with the definite article or a 'noun of place' ⁽¹⁾ . e.g.

ʕilʕaʕa mitkassara hitat 'the stick has been
broken into pieces'

ʕijjazma maqrunba warniif 'the shoe is
polished (with polish)'

hasan misaafir maʕr 'Hasan is going to Cairo'

The difference between the two structures may be symbolized as follows

Transitive

N - P - ʕilN₃

Intransitive

N - P - N

(ʕil = presence or absence of the definite article)
3 = the noun may be masculine, feminine or plural)

(1) See p.206 below.

3- Doubly transitive participles

The participial form of this class is followed by two nouns inflected in number-cum-gender and determination. e.g.

mhammad mikattib fajna ijjawaab 'Muhammad
has made Fatima write the letter'

In the manner of the noun following transitive participle, the two nouns following the participial form of doubly transitive participle can be determined or undetermined; they can also be masculine, feminine or plural. e.g.

mhammad muddi gayyil girj 'Muhammad has given
a boy a piastre'

filmudarris muddi ittalamza kutub 'the teacher
has given the pupils books'

filmudarris muddi fajna ilkarraasih 'the teacher
has given Fatima the exercise book'

Sentences where the second nominal place after the participle is either occupied by a masculine determined noun or an undetermined noun of constant grammatical number-cum-gender are considered transitive not doubly transitive.

Compare the above examples with

ʕilbagara miwarriyya hasan ilmurr 'the cow
is causing Hasan great trouble'

ʕali qadrib ilheeʕa buhyih 'Ali has painted
the wall (with paint)'

hasan gaʕiʕ ilhabl nuʕseen 'Hasan has cut
the rope into two pieces'

The following two formulae summarize the difference
between the two structures:

Doubly transitive

N - P - ʕilN₃ - ʕilN₃

Transitive

N - P - ʕilN₃ - N (1)

As a rule, participial forms appearing in
doubly transitive sentences exhibit gemination. They
are similar in this respect to verbal forms occurring
in doubly transitive verbal sentences. (2)

II: Monomial and Binomial participles

The fact that two participial forms agreeing with each
other in respect of number-cum-gender occur in immediate
succession is taken as a basic difference between what are
called binomial participles and monomial participles where the

(1) See formulae under transitive and intransitive p.160 above.

(2) See p.120 above.

participial form cannot be immediately followed by another participial form. Examples of this twofold division are:

Monomial participles

fahmi faatih ilbaab 'Fahmi has opened the door'

silbitt yaybiḥ 'the girl is absent'

silḡiyaal mitḡarbiin maḡa hasan 'the boys have quarrelled with Hasan'

Binomial participles

fahmi jaay raakib 'Fahmi has come riding (a donkey)'

silbitt ṭalḡa mitdayḡaḥ 'the girl has gone out annoyed'

silḡiyaal maḡrubiin maḡṭuhiin 'the boys have been badly beaten'

It should be noticed that the participle category differs from the verb in that three forms of the latter only can appear in immediate succession, an example of which is:

mhammad gaam ṭalḡa jaab ilgullih 'Muhammad has got up and gone (up) to bring the jar'

III: Active and Passive participles

The classification of participle into active and passive is based on both the pattern of the participial form and the relationships obtaining between the participle and the different elements which may follow it. As a rule, every participial form in an active sentence has a root in common with another participial form in a passive sentence.

Participial forms, in active sentences, belonging to the pattern-categories CaaCiC, miCaaCiC, miCaCCVC and miCaCCVC are relatable in this way respectively to participial forms belonging to the pattern-categories maCCuuC, mitCaaCiC, mitCaCCVC and, in the case of miCaCCVC, variously to mitCaCCaC, CaaCiC or CaCCaan.

e.g.

Active sentences

ɣali kaatib ijjawaab 'Ali has written the letter'

ɣali miɣaarik faɣna 'Ali is taking part with Fatima'

ɣali mikaɣbil ilbitt 'Ali has caused the girl to fall down'

ɣali miɣallah iɣɣibbaak 'Ali has mended the window'

ɣali miɣayyaɣ ilgirɣ 'Ali has lost the piastre'

ɣali miɣaɣɣab uxtuh 'Ali has made his sister angry'

Passive sentences

ɣijjawaab maktuub 'the letter has been written'
(1)

ɣali mitɣaarik miɣa faɣna 'Ali is taking part with Fatima'

ɣali mitkaɣbil 'Ali has fallen down'

ɣiɣɣibbaak mitɣallah 'the window has been mended'

ɣilgirɣ ɣaayɣ 'the piastre has been lost'

ɣali ɣaɣbaan 'Ali is angry'

Active participle

The following characteristics mark off active participle from passive participle. The participial form

(1) Read miɣaarik and see p.128 concerning passive quadrilateral verbal form with the prefix 'it'.

i) may be followed by a pronominal suffix; e.g.

ɣali kasirha 'Ali has broken it'

ɣali miwaggaxuh 'Ali has thrown it down',

ii) occurs as intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive; e.g.

ɣali raajig 'Ali is coming back'

ɣali waakil ittiffaahah 'Ali has eaten the apple'

ɣali miɣarraf axuuh ilhikaayih 'Ali has told his brother the story',

iii) may occupy the first or the second participial place in binomial participle in which cases the first participle is a participle of 'motion'; ⁽¹⁾ e.g.

ɣali tɔaliɣ kaatib ijjawaab 'Ali has gone up and has written the letter'

ɣali waagif maasikyggasa 'Ali is standing with a stick in his hand'

iv) follows a noun i.e. does not occur in initial position, and

v) belongs to one of the pattern-categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 11 (see pp. 157-158 above).

Passive participle

In contrast with active participle the participial form of this class

i) cannot be followed by a pronominal suffix,

(1) See I p. 169 below.

ii) occurs as intransitive only; e.g.

ʕilʕaʕa maksuurdh 'the stick is broken'

hasan mitʕaatim miʕa faʕndh 'Hasan has
quarrelled with Fatima',

iii) may occupy the first or the second place in binomial
participle in which cases the first participle may or
may not be a participle of 'motion;

ʕilbiqaaʕa mitrajjaʕa marbuuʕdh 'the goods
are sent back packed'

ʕilbiqaaʕa markuuna marbuuʕdh 'the goods are
put aside packed',

iv) may, with certain exceptions, (1) occur in the initial
position in the sentence in which case it is of a
constant grammatical number; e.g.

maksuur liʕali ʕaʕdh 'one of Ali's sticks is
broken'

mitʕaarik maʕa faʕna raʕjil min ilʕizbiʕh 'a
man from the outskirts is taking part with Fatima,
and

v) appears in one of the patterns 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, (2) 10

(see 6pp. 157-158 above).

(1) The exception is in the case of participles appearing in the
patterns CaCCan; e.g. zaʕlaan 'angry'.

(2) With reference to pattern 1, see participle of subclass 6
~~in the appendix below~~ VI p. 177 below.

Participial Sub-classes

The above general characteristics having been stated, it is now proposed to sub-divide the participle category into ten sub-classes in accordance with

- (1)
- i) the participial patterns with which one root may be associated, and
 - ii) the syntagmatic relations obtaining between different elements in different participial sentences containing each of the participial sub-classes.

In addition to the terms used above, 'kuwayyis', 'gawi' and certain prepositional pieces are taken as catalytic elements. 'kuwayyis', for example, may or may not agree in respect of number-cum-gender with other elements in the sentence.

Compare

hasan naazil <u>kuwayyis</u>	'Hasan was well when he went down'
faṭna nazla <u>kuwayyisiḥ</u>	'Fatima was well when she went down'
silḡiyaal nazliin <u>kuwayyisiin</u>	'the boys were well when they went down'

with

hasan laabis <u>kuwayyis</u>	'Hasan is well-dressed'
faṭna labsa <u>kuwayyis</u>	'Fatima is well-dressed'
Silḡiyaal labsiin <u>kuwayyis</u>	'the boys are well-dressed'

(1) The root consists of the total sum of consonants in the participial form each of which is represented in the patterns given below with C.

'kuwayyis' is symbolized k_3 and k_1 respectively when it agrees and does not agree with other elements in the sentence in respect of number-cum-gender.

The occurrence of k_1 is possible where k_3 occurs but the reverse is not true. Thus k_1 occurs in:

hasan naazil kuwayyis 'Hasan has gone down well'

fajna nazla kuwayyis 'Fatima has gone down well'

šilšiyaal nazliin kuwayyis 'the boys have gone down well'

No reference, however, is made in the analysis below to the fact that k_1 may occur where k_3 occurs. Reference is made to the occurrence of k_3 , k_1 or the non-occurrence of k .

Similarly, the possibility of the occurrence or non-occurrence of 'gawi' is taken, among the other formal criteria, as a criterion for establishing sub-classes of participle.

As a rule, prepositional pieces occur after the participial form. This is of no significance to the sub-division of participles, unless certain prepositional pieces are regularly associated with members of participial sub-categories. It will be found below that the two prepositional pieces 'šala ~~šala~~ - noun of place reference' and 'mašax^{or wayya} - noun of personal reference' are used, inter alia, in establishing the two sub-classes I and V below.

The absence of any of the characteristics attributed to one of the sub-classes from those attributed to another is taken as

a criterion for considering both sub-classes as different from each other.

Another point to be mentioned before proceeding with the analysis is that an attempt has been made to choose names for the several sub-classes. Although the choice has not been made on formal grounds, it is hoped that the names chosen are appropriate and make the exposition clearer than mere numbers.

The ten sub-classes of participle are:

(1)
I - Sub-class 1

The participial form

(2)
1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC , miCaCCaC and mitCaCCaC.

2) with certain exceptions, may be followed by

i) a noun of 'place' e.g.

hasan raajiḡ maṣr 'Hasan is going back to Cairo'

hasan mirajjaḡ axuuh maṣr 'Hasan is sending

his brother back to Cairo'

ḡilmihraat mitrajjaḡ maṣr 'the plough has been
taken back to Cairo'

ii a noun of 'place' preceded by 'ḡala'.

hasan raajiḡ ḡala-maṣr 'Hasan has gone back to
Cairo'

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'participle of motion'.

(2) Only misaaḡfir which is an example of this sub-class appears in the pattern miCaaCiC.

hasan mirajjaḡ axuuh ḡala-ḡḡaar 'Hasan has sent
his brother back to the house'

ḡilmihraat mitrajjaḡ ḡala-ḡḡaar 'the plough
has been sent back to the house',

3) may be followed by k_3 e.g.

hasan raajiḡ kuwayyis 'Hasan was well when he
went back'

faḡnd rajḡa kuwayyisa 'Fatima was well when she
went back'

ḡilḡiyaal rajḡiin kuwayyisiin 'the boys were
well when they went back'

ḡali mirajjaḡ faḡnd kuwayyisa 'Fatima was well
when she was sent back by Ali'

ḡilkutub mitrajjaḡiin kuwayyisiin 'the books
were in good condition when they were sent back',

4) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs

(1)
i) in intransitive sentences e.g.

hasan raajiḡ 'Hasan is going back'

hasan misaafir 'Hasan is going away'

ii) in binomial sentences where it occupies the first
(2)
participial place e.g.

hasan raajiḡ maafiḡ 'Hasan is going back on
foot'

(1) Defined as sentences where intransitive participle occurs.

(2) Defined as sentences where binomial participle occurs.

hasan misaafir mabsuut 'Hasan was happy when
he went away', and

- 5) when of the pattern miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences e.g.

hasan mirajjaḡ ilkitaab 'Hasan has sent back
the book'.

II - Sub-class 2

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCiC and maCCVVC,
2) may be followed by k_1 , e.g.

ḡali kaatib ijjawuab kuwayyis 'Ali has written
the letter well'

faḡna mikattiba ḡali ijjawabaat kuwayyis 'Fatima
made Ali write the letters well'

ḡijjawabaat maktubiin kuwayyis 'the letters
are written well',

- 3) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.

ḡali kaatib ijjawuab 'Ali has written the
letter', and

- 4) when of the pattern miCaCCiC, occurs in doubly transitive sentences, e.g.

ḡali mikattib ilwad ilwaḡl 'Ali made the boy
write the receipt'.

III - Sub-class 3

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns miCaaCiC and mitCaaCiC,
- 2) when of the pattern miCaaCiC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.

mhammad mijaarik faṭṭnah 'Muhammad is taking
part with Fatima'

- 3) when of the pattern mitCaaCiC, is followed by maḡa or wayya and a noun of personal reference e.g.

mhammad mitjaarik maḡa faṭṭnah 'Muhammad is
taking part with Fatima'

mhammad mitḡaarik wayya faṭṭnah 'Muhammad has
quarrelled with Fatima', and

- 4) is colligated with nouns of personal reference only i.e. the noun preceding the participial form and that which follows it are nouns of personal reference. To make the last statement clearer let us compare

mhammad mihaasib faṭṭnah 'Muhammad balanced
his account with Fatima'

faṭṭna mithasba maḡa mhammad 'Fatima has
balanced her account with Muhammad'

with

mhammad haasib ilmablay 'Muhammad has
counted the money'

ɣilmablay maḥsub (1) 'the money has been counted'
 ɣilmaglay and similar nouns which are not nouns of personal
 reference (2) cannot occur with examples of the participial
 sub-class under discussion. The participial forms in the
 above examples are deliberately chosen with the same root
 to emphasize that, although the root cannot be taken as basic
 criterion for the recognition of a grammatical category or
 sub-category, (3) nevertheless scatters of related forms are
 highly relevant to grammatical analysis.

IV - Sub-class 4

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaCCaan and miCaCCaC,
- 2) can be followed by 'gawi' e.g.

ɣilmudarris zaɣlaan gawi 'the teacher is very
angry'

ɣittilmiiz mizaɣɣal ilmudarris gawi 'the pupil
has made the teacher very angry',

- 3) when of the pattern CaCCaan, occurs in intransitive
sentences. e.g.

ɣali zaɣlaan 'Ali is angry'

faɣna farhaana 'Fatima is happy', and

(1) These examples belong to sub-class 7 (see p.178 below).

(2) See Chapter IV pp.186-189 below.

(3) Cf. T.F. Mitchell, 'Particle-Noun Complexes in a Berber Dialect (Zuara)' BSOAS., 1953, xv/2. p.377 "It may be observed that the phonetic and typographical resemblance.....if it does not positively obscure, does little to clarify important grammatical distinctions in languages"

- 4) when of the pattern miCaCCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences. e.g.

fijsjaal mifarrah fatna 'the shawl has made Fatima
happy'

V - Sub-class 5

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCCaC, maCuuC and mitCaCCCaC,

- 2) when occurring in transitive sentences, is followed only by a noun of ~~inanimate~~ reference. e.g.

hasan gaatiɛ ilhabl 'Hasan has cut the rope'

ɣilkalb kassar ilgulal 'the dog has broken the jars'

- 3) may be followed by k₁. e.g.

ɣali gaatiɛ ilɣuud kuwayyis 'Ali has cut the
stick well'

fatna gaɣɣa ilwaraga kuwayyis 'Fatima has cut the
paper well'

ɣilɣiyaal gaɣɣiin ilɣidaan kuwayyis 'the boys have
cut the sticks well',

- 4) may also be followed by 'gawi' e.g.

ɣali gaatiɛ ittagiyya gawi 'Ali has made a big
gash in the cap'

ɣittagiyya mitgaɣɣa gawi 'the cap has a big gash
(or is cut to ribbons)',

- 5) when of the patterns CaaCiC and miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences in which case it is followed by noun of inanimate reference only.

ɣali gaasim ilburɕugaaɗv 'Ali has divided the
oranges'

ɣali migassim ilburɕugaaɗ 'Ali has divided the
oranges'

- 6) unlike other sub-classes of participle, the participle of sub-class 5 is divisible into two further sub-classes according to the grammatical number of the noun of inanimate reference colligable with the participle: participial form is always of the patterns miCaCCaC and mitCaCCaC. The two further sub-classes are
a) participle colligable with masculine, feminine, plural and collective noun
and b) participle colligable with plural and collective noun only.

Examples of a) are

ɣali mikassar ilkursi 'Ali has broken the chair'

ɕilkanaba mikassarɗ 'the sofa is broken'

ɕilkaraasi mitkassariin 'the chairs have been
broken'

ɕilɕidaan mikassariin 'the sticks are broken'

ɕiddura mikassar 'the maize (plants) are broken'

Examples of b) are

ɣali mixallaɣ ilmasamiir 'Ali has pulled out
the nails'

ɣilmasamiir mixallaɣiin 'the nails are pulled
out'

ɣilmasamiir mitxallaɣiin 'the nails have been
pulled out'

ɣilɣeeɣ miɣarrag 'the bread is burnt'

ɣilɣeeɣ miɣarrag 'the bread has been burnt'

Another point to be made in this respect is that there is a possibility of the occurrence of an undetermined noun after the participle of sub-class a), but not that of sub-class b).

Compare

ɣilxajaba mitgassima hitat 'the piece of wood
has been divided into pieces'

with

hasan migaffil ilbibaan 'Hasan has shut the
doors'

It is felt useful at this point to compare the total possibility of structures and word-order of sentences containing participle of sub-class 5 and those containing the participle of sub-class 2.

Compare

Examples of sub-class 5

ɣali gaɗiɛ ijɟallabiyyih 'Ali has torn the gown'

ɣali miɟaɗɗaɛ ijɟallabiyyih 'Ali has torn the gown'

ɗijɟallabiyya maɟɗuɗɗi 'the gown is torn'

ɗijɟallabiyya mitɟaɗɗaɗɗi 'the gown has been torn'

with

Examples of sub-class 2

ɣali laabis ijɟallabiyyih 'Ali has put on the gown'

ɣali milabbis hasan ijɟallabiyyih 'Ali has helped Hasan to put on the gown'

ijɟallabiyya malbuusih 'the gown is worn'

VI - Sub-class 6

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC and miCaCCaC,
- 2) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs in intransitive sentences, e.g.

ɗilkitaab ɗaayig 'the book has been lost',

- 3) when of the pattern miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.

hasan miɗayyaɛ ilkitaab 'Hasan has lost the book', and

4) unlike other sub-classes of participle, occurs in initial position when of the pattern CaaCiC, e.g.

ḡaayig liḡali kitaab 'Ali has lost a book of his'

yaayib lizeenab kitabeen 'two of Zainab's books are missing'

VII - Sub-class 7

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaaCVC and maCCuuC, (1)
miCaCCaC and mitCaCCaC or miCaCCaC and mitCaCCaC,
- 2) occurs in transitive sentences when it appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCaC and miCaCCaC, and
- 3) with certain exceptions, may be followed by k_1 , e.g.

ḡali zaariḡ ilḡuḡn kuwayyis 'Ali has planted the cotton well'

ḡilḡuḡn mazruuḡ kuwayyis 'the cotton is planted well'

faḡna miḡallaga-ilbadla kuwayyis 'Fatima is hanging the suit well'

ḡilḡiyaal midahrajiin ilkuwar kuwayyis 'the boys have thrown the balls well'

(1) In the case of so-called hollow verbs, characterised throughout much of their scatter by a second radical consonant y, the participial form is of the pattern minCaaC.

(1)
 ṣilkuwar mitdahrajiin kuwayyis 'the balls
 have been thrown well'

VIII - Sub-class 8

The participial form

- 1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCaC, and mitCaCCaC,
- 2) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs in intransitive sentences. e.g.

ṣilṣakl jaahiz 'the food is ready'

- 3) when of the pattern miCaCCiC, occurs in transitive sentences. e.g.

hasan mijahhiz ilṣakl 'Hasan has prepared
 the food'

IX - Sub-class 9 (2)

The participial form

- 1) appears in the pattern miCCiCC,
- 2) occurs in intransitive sentences,
- 3) may be followed by 'gawi', and
- 4) is associated with nouns of inanimate reference only.
 e.g.

ṣilgumaaf miḥmirr gawi 'the cloth is too red'

ṣiddura miṣfirr gawi 'the maize plants are
 too yellow'

(1) Read middahrajiin and see p.128 concerning passive quadri-literal verbal forms with the prefix 'it'.
 (2) This sub-class may be designated 'participle of colour reference'.

ʕilwarag mibyiqd 'the papers are whitish'

X - Sub-class 10

The appearance of the root in a form prefixed with mist- differentiates this participle from the earlier sub-classes. The characteristics of this sub-class are given below in the practice which has been followed throughout.

The participial form

1) appears in the patterns mistaCCVC⁽¹⁾, miCaCCVC and mitCaCCVC, mistaCCVC and miCaCCVC or only in the pattern mistaCCVC,

2) with certain exceptions, may be followed by 'gawi', e.g.

ʕali mistagall ittaman gawi 'Ali thinks the price is too low'

fahmi mistaʕjil gawi 'Fahmi is in a great hurry'

ʕirraqjil mitkabbar gawi 'the man is conceited,

3) when of the pattern miCaCCVC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.

mhammad mixaffif ilhiml 'Muhammad has lightened the load; and

(1) In the case of doubled verbs in which the second and third consonants of the root are identical the pattern in which the participial form appears is mistaCaCC e.g. mistajadd = is new, mistaʕadd = is ready.

4) when of the pattern mistaCCVC, may occur in intransitive or transitive sentences, e.g.

ʕali mistalazz ilʕakl 'Ali is enjoying the meal'

hasan mistixabbi 'Hasan is hiding'

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the ten sub-classes of participle above.

TABLE XI

	Intransitive	Transitive	Doubly transitive	kuwayyis	gawi	Other features
I	1, 7 ⁽¹⁾	5	-	k ₃	-	P. occurs as a member of binomial participle
II	6	1	5	k ₁	-	-
III	10	2	-	-	-	P. is coligated with Npr only
IV	9	5	-	-	gawi	
V	6, 7	1, 5	-	k ₁	gawi	P. is followed by Npr only
VI	1	5				
VII	6/7/8	1/5/3	-	k ₁	-	-
VIII	1, 7	5	-	-	-	-
IX	11	-	-	-	gawi	-
X	4, 7	4, 5	-	-	-	-

(1) The figures indicate the participial form pattern. See pp.157-158 above.

Chapter IV

Noun

The category noun exhibits certain similarities to participle and adjective in its associability with the definite article *şil* and its colligability with suffixes referable to number-cum-gender.⁽¹⁾

Noun, however, may be established as a grammatical category different from both participle and adjective. It is proposed first to underline certain outstanding differences between the three categories. Let us start with a comparison between noun and participle. The colligations selected (N-N-N) and (N-P-N) exhibit minimally difference between the two categories,

e.g. *faṭna gariibit mhammad* 'Fatima is a relative
of Muhammad'

faṭna ɣarfa mhammad 'Fatima knows Muhammad'

The fact that *gariibit* and *ɣarfa* end with the suffixes *-it* and *-a* respectively is one means, inter alia, of differentiating between noun and participle.

As for noun and adjective, they differ in regard to grammatical number in comparable structures. Following a noun

(1) See the general classification given in Chapter I, pp. 113 ff.

applicable to different sub-classes of noun is made in terms of determination.

A determined noun exhibits one of the following characteristics. It is either

- 1) associated with a prefixed *fi*,
(1)
- 2) a proper noun or a noun of place,
(2)
- 3) colligated with a pronominal suffix, or
- 4) colligated with a following determined noun in what is
(3)
termed construct.

A noun cannot exhibit at one time more than one of the above characteristics.

The lack of any of these features is characteristic of the undetermined noun.

One place in which the determined noun only occurs is initial in the colligation N-Prp (prepositional piece),

- e.g. *fi*lkiitaab *fi* iddaar 'the book is in the house'
gali *fi* iddaar 'Ali is in the house'
liyoon *fi* faransa 'Lyon is in France'
kitaabi *fi* iddaar 'my book is in the house'
kitaab axuuk *fi* iddaar 'your brother's book is
in the house'

On the other hand, the undetermined noun only is colligated with the prepositional piece in the reverse order,

(1) See p.193 below
(3) See p.185 below.

(2) See p.206 below

B - the total possible inflections with which the theme of the noun is associable.

The second criterion is applied only in II where further sub-classes of the threefold division of noun under I are established.

I

Noun of personal reference, Noun of animate reference and Noun of inanimate reference:

The first division of noun is made in the above terms by comparing different colligations containing the category noun.

Noun of personal reference (Npr)

Comparison between N-A colligations makes it feasible to establish this sub-class of noun.

1) First, within the framework Noun-Variable Adjective (1)

compare

Ɔilɔiyaal kubɔar 'the boys are big'

Ɔittalamza ɔuyayyariin 'the students are young'

Ɔilmudarrisiin tuwaal 'the teachers are tall'

with

Ɔiddiyuuk kubɔar (kibiira) (2) 'the cocks are big'

(1) See Chapter IV p.223

(2) The form in brackets is freely variant with the preceding form.

Şilmawaziin şuyayyariin (şuyayyara) 'the
scales are small'

Şilğuşy tıwaal (tawiila) 'the sticks are long'

The fact that two adjectival forms are freely variant in association with the plural noun of the second group of examples (1), but not in the first group, serves as a criterion for recognizing a category noun of personal reference to which the noun in the first group belongs.

2) Colligation with another sub-class of adjective, namely adjective of origin, provides another criterion for establishing the noun of personal reference as a different sub-class from other nouns.

Compare

Şilmudarris Şamrikaani 'the teacher is an American'

Şilmudarrisa Şamrikaniyya 'the teacher is an
American'

Şilmudarrisiin Şamrikaan 'the teachers are
American'

with

Şilgalam Şamrikaani 'the pen is American'

Şiffanta Şamrikaani 'the case is American'

Şiffunat Şamrikaani 'the cases are American'

The occurrence of an adjective of variable form and an adjective

(1) An exception to this is Nar ending with -aat, which, although not a noun of personal reference, is colligable only with the plural form of the adjective. See ~~(p. 207)~~ p.207 below.

of constant form in the first and second set of examples respectively marks off the noun in each of them as different from the other and adds to the definition of Npr.

3) A third criterion for the establishment of noun of personal reference lies in the grammatical number of the noun following bitaag. When bitaag is preceded by Npr, the following noun can only be of plural or collective form. With other subclasses of noun, the noun following bitaag can be masculine, feminine and plural.

Compare

ḡirraajil bitaag ilgūlal (issamak) 'the man who
sells jars (fish)'

with

ḡissafa bitaag issamak (issamaka, issamakaat)
'the bones of the fish'

ḡilḡummar bitaag irraajil (ilmara, irrijaala)
'the donkey of the man (woman, men)'

4) Compare also

mḡammad uxtu itḡaḡḡalit 'Muhammad's sister has
been delayed'

with

mḡammad ḡuylitu itḡaḡḡalit 'Muhammad's job has
been delayed'

which is freely variant with
mḡammad itḡaḡḡalit ḡuylitu

The successive order of elements in the first example, where the second noun is Npr, is fixed, while there are two possible successive orders for the second example where the comparable noun is not a noun of personal reference.

So far, a distinction has been recognised between Npr and other nouns. Further examination of the material makes it feasible to establish two further sub-classes.

Noun of animate reference (Nar) and Noun of inanimate reference (Nir).

Examples like

farx injiliizi 'an English cockerel'

farxa injiliizi 'an English hen'

firaax injiliizi 'English chickens'

and

gifi injiliizi 'an English lock'

jazma injiliizi 'an English shoe'

ŕigfaal injiliizi 'English locks'

(1)
are similar in that adjectival form is constant ; but comparison within the colligation N-Prp-V brings to light a difference between the behaviour of the noun in the first group of examples and that in the second. Thus, for example,

ŕilfarx fi ilŕooŕa biyindabaŕ (biyaakul) 'the
cockerel is being killed (eating) in the room',

(1) See 2, p.187 above.

where either a passive or an active verb may occupy the verbal place, is different from

šilgiḡl fi ilfooḡa biyiṡšallah 'the lock is being mended in the room', where a passive verb only occurs in the comparable place. This makes it feasible to distinguish between the nouns concerned. They are designated respectively noun of animate reference and noun of inanimate reference.

Similarly, comparison between examples of

(1)
N-Vm - 'kuwayyis'

provides another criterion in support of the difference recognized between Nar and Nir. Thus, in the two series,

(1) šifšabb rajaḡ kuwayyis 'the ox has come back all right'

šilbagara rajaḡit kuwayyis 'the cow has come back all right'

šilbahaayim rajaḡu kuwayyis 'the animals have come back all right',

and (2)

šilgamiš rajaḡ kuwayyis 'the shirt was all right when it came back'

šilbadla rajaḡit kuwayyisa 'the suit was all right when it came back'

šilbidal rajaḡu kuwayyisiin 'the suits were all right when they came back'.

(1) Vm = 'verb of motion'; see Chapter II p.143

The fact of constant kuwayyis under (1), as opposed to variable kuwayyis under (2) is considered to relate to the difference between Nar and Nir.

Yet again, in binomial sentences in which a verb of motion is followed by another verb, the second verb can be active or passive when a noun of animate reference precedes the verb of motion; but when the latter is preceded by a noun of inanimate reference, the second verbal form can only be passive.

Compare

Siġġamal ʃalaḡ yiħammil (yithammil) 'the camel
has gone out to be loaded'

with

Siħħaṭab ʃalaḡ yithammil 'the straw was taken
out to be loaded'

A fourth context of difference between Nar and Nir is provided by certain doubly transitive verbs preceding nouns of the two categories; Nar may be followed in these circumstances by either a noun or a prepositional piece and Nir by a prepositional piece only

Compare

ġali idda ilkalb ilkoora (li fahmi) 'Ali has
given the dog the ball (to Fahmi)'

ġali warra iġġamal ilkizaan (li fahmi) 'Ali has
shown the camel the corn cobs (to Fahmi)'

with

ɣali idda ilkoora li ilkalb (li fahmi)

'Ali has given the ball to the dog (to Fahmi)'

ɣali warra ilkizaan li ijjamal (li fahmi)

'Ali has shown the corn cobs to the camel (to Fahmi)'

Finally, compare also the following series of examples of N-A-A

(1) gidla bagar yalya 'an expensive calf'

gidliteen bagar yalyiin 'two expensive calves'

and

(2) fanɕa jild yalya (yaali) 'an expensive leather case'

fanɕiteen jild yalyiin (yaali) 'two expensive leather cases'

Free variation in the final adjectival form under (2) is in contrast with (1). This difference relates to the presence of a noun of animate or inanimate reference in the head-position.

The invariable adjective in the second place in all the above examples contrasts yet again with examples of similar structure where the first noun is a noun of personal reference, for in this case the adjective in the second place cannot be invariable; e.g.

wiliyya bayyaaga yalya 'a saleswoman who charges too much'

wiliyyiteen bayyaagin yalyiin 'two saleswomen who charge too much'

The difference between the three sub-classes of noun in this respect may be summarized by the following formulation in which vertical dashes indicate those elements between which agreement is operative:

	Npr - A - A
	<u>I</u> I I
	Nar - A - A
	<u>I</u> I
or	Nir - A - A
	<u>I</u> I
	<u>I</u> I

II

Having established the three sub-classes of noun, the analysis will now proceed with further possible sub-divisions under each.

Npr

It is feasible to divide nouns belonging to this sub-class into five ⁽¹⁾ further sub-classes.

1 - Proper noun

The theme of proper noun

i) appears always in the same form and occurs only in

(1) It has been possible to find names for the first four sub-classes. The fifth is designated sub-class 5 owing to the shortage of terms.

either masculine or feminine pieces; e.g.

mhammad faṭṭar 'Muhammad is clever'

faṭna faṭra 'Fatima is clever'

The presence of the ending **-a** in faṭna and its absence in mhammad cannot be abstracted as exponents of feminine and masculine since it is not a regular difference; *faṭn kibiir and *mhammada kibiira do not occur. It is different in this respect from mudarris kibiir 'a big teacher' and the corresponding feminine form mudarrisa kibiira. Moreover, the presence and absence of the ending **-a** is found respectively in masculine and feminine examples of the category; e.g.

masculine

jimḡa iṭṭawiil rajaḡ 'the tall Gomḡa has come back'

hamza ilkibiir ṭalaḡ 'Big Hamza has gone out'

feminine

zeenab iṭṭawiila rajaḡit 'the tall Zainab has come back'

sawsan ilkibiira ṭalaḡit 'Big Susan has gone out'

ii) cannot be associated with the definite article ḡil. Like the final **-a** in examples above, initial ḡil which appears in the form of some proper nouns cannot be abstracted in the same way as the definite article elsewhere.

Compare

ʕilʕadli fi ilyeet 'ʕil-'Adli is in the field'

and ʕadli fi ilyeet 'Adli is in the field'

where the proper noun, with or without ʕil, occupies
the place of determined noun ⁽¹⁾, with

ʕilmudarris fi ilyeet 'the teacher is in the
field'

and fi ilyeet mudarris 'there is a teacher in the
field'

where the noun of profession ⁽²⁾ cannot occur in the place
of determined noun unless associated with ʕil,

iii) cannot be associated with pronominal suffixes,

iv) contrasts with all other sub-classes of noun in that it is
colligable with titles ⁽³⁾ ;

e.g. ʕilhajj mhammad 'Hadji Muhammad'

hasan beeh 'Hasan Bey', and

v) comes last when associated with other nouns in construct;

e.g. mudarrisit ʕali 'Ali's teacher'

mudarrisit axu ʕali 'the teacher of Ali's
brother'

mudarrisit axu ʕaahib ʕali 'the teacher of
Ali's friend's brother'

(1) See p.183 above.

(2) See sub-class 4 p.199 below.

(3) See titles below specially ii) p.196 .

Compare these examples with

galam mudarrisit axuuk 'the pen of your brother's
teacher'

and

galam axu mudarristak 'the pen of your teacher's
brother'

2 - Title

This sub-class exhibits the following characteristics:

- i) The theme of the noun appears in the masculine and feminine forms only i.e. not in the plural form.
- ii) It is colligable with proper noun only in which case it either precedes or follows the proper noun. Titles which occupy pre-nominal position are a) either associated with the definite article or with a pronominal suffix and b) appear in both the masculine and feminine form; e.g.

Ṣilhajj mḥammad 'Hadji Muhammad'

Ṣilhajja faṭna 'Hadji Fatima'

Ṣabuuya mḥammad 'Uncle Muhammad'

Ṣummi faṭna 'Aunt Fatima'

Those characterized by their occurrence after the proper noun a) can neither be associated with the definite article nor with pronominal suffixes and b) appear only in one form. They may be termed 'loan titles';

e.g. jimḡa afandi 'Gom'a Effendi'

ʒali baafa 'Ali Pasha'

layla haanim 'Madam Laila'
(1)

iii) It contrasts with noun of relationship and noun of profession (2) in that it is colligable with pronominal suffixes of 1st and 2nd person only.

Compare

ʒaxuuya	'my brother'	mudarrisi	'my teacher'
ʒaxuuk	'your brother'	mudarrisak	'your teacher'
ʒaxuuki	'your brother'	mudarrisik	'your teacher'
ʒaxuuh	'his brother'	mudarrisuh	'his teacher'
ʒaxuuha	'her brother'	mudarrisha	'her teacher'
	...etc.		...etc.

with the following total possibilities with title

ʒabuuya ʒali	'uncle Ali'
ʒabuuk ʒali	'uncle Ali'
ʒabuuki ʒali	' " " '
ʒabuuku ʒali	' " " '

iv) Title may be identical in form with noun of relationship;

Compare

ʒabuuya ʒali 'Uncle Ali'

with

ʒabuuya fi ilyeet 'my father is in the field'

(1) See sub-class 3 below.

(2) See sub-class 4 below.

3 - Noun of relationship.

Characteristic of this class is that

- (1)
i) with two exceptions, the nominal theme is associable with the suffixes *nil*, *-a*, *-een*, *-teen* and *-aat*, which may be abstracted as exponents of masculine, feminine, dual and plural;

e.g.	<i>xaal ṭayyib</i>	'a good uncle'
	<i>xaala ṭayyiba</i>	'a good aunt'
	<i>xaleen ṭayyibiin</i>	'two good uncles'
	<i>xalteen ṭayyibiin</i>	'two good aunts'
	<i>xalaat ṭayyibiin</i>	'good aunts'

It also appears in 'broken plural' forms; e.g.

<i>sixwaal ṭayyibiin</i>	'good uncles'
--------------------------	---------------

- ii) Nouns of relationship cannot be associated with the definite article.
- iii) Members of the class can be followed by a noun of personal reference only in a construct;

Compare

<i>xaal mḥammad</i>	'Muhammad's uncle'
<i>xaalit ilxaddaam</i>	'the servant's aunt'

with

<i>mudarris ilfaṣl</i>	'the class teacher'
<i>mudarrisit ittariix</i>	'the history teacher'

(1) *ṣabb* and *ṣumm* 'father and mother'

4. - Noun of profession

This sub-class of noun exhibits the following characteristics:

- i) The theme of the noun may be associated with the endings *ni* and *-a* respectively in masculine and feminine pieces;

e.g.	<i>mudarris laṭiif</i>	'a nice teacher'
	<i>mudarrisa laṭiifa</i>	'a nice teacher'
	<i>taajir kuwayyis</i>	'a good merchant'
	<i>tajra kuwayyisa</i>	'a good merchant'

Unlike other sub-classes, the nominal form is either suffixed with *-iin* and *-aat* or appear in 'broken plural' forms in plural pieces; e.g.

	<i>mudarrisiin ṭayyibiin</i>	'good teachers'
	<i>mudarrisaat ṭayyibiin</i>	'good teachers'
	<i>tujjaar ṭayyibiin</i>	'good merchants'
	<i>yufara ṭayyibiin</i>	'good night-watchmen'

- ii) Dual forms do not appear in this sub-class; it contrasts in this regard with noun of relationship and sub-class (1)
5 ;

Compare

<i>Ṣitneen xaddamiin</i>	'two servants'
<i>Ṣitneen sammakiin</i>	'two fishermen'
<i>Ṣitneen tujjaar</i>	'two merchants'

(1) See i) under each of these sub-classes p.198 above and p.201 below respectively.

with

ṣaxxeen ṣitneen 'two brothers'

ṣuxteen ṣitneen 'two sisters'

ṣayyileen ṣitueen 'two boys'

The occurrence of the ending -iin and the 'broken plural' form as opposed to -een and -teen respectively in the first and second series of examples together with the successive order of the numeral ṣitneen relate to the difference between noun of profession and the other two sub-classes.

iii) The total scatter of forms associated with this noun may also be employed adjectively;

e.g. ṣilwad ilxaddaam ṣaṭṭar 'the servant-boy is
clever'

ṣilbitt ilxaddaama ṣaṭra 'the servant-maid
is clever'

ṣilḡiyaal ilxaddamiin ṣuṭṭaar 'the servant-
boys are clever'

ṣilbanaat ilxaddamaat ṣuṭṭaar 'the servant-
maids are clever'

iv) When occurring in a construct, this noun may be followed
(1)
by noun of personal, animate or inanimate reference;

e.g. xaddaam ḡali 'the servant of Ali'

bayyaaḡ issamak 'the fishmonger'

(1) Compare with v) and iii) under sub-classes 1 and 3 above.

taajir ilguṭn 'the cotton merchant'

5 - Sub-class 5

Characteristic of this noun is that:

- (1)
i) With one exception, the nominal theme appears in three forms, namely masculine or feminine, dual and plural; e.g.

ṡirraajil kibiir 'the man is big'
ṡirraajleen kubaar 'the two men are big'
ṡirrijaala kubaar 'the men are big'
ṡilbitt kibiira 'the girl is big'
ṡilbitteen kubaar 'the two girls are big'
ṡilbanaat kubaar 'the girls are big'

- ii) The appearance of one dual form of this noun marks it off from noun of relationship which appears in two dual forms; (2)

Compare

raajleen kubaar 'the two big men'
marateen kubaar 'the two women'

with

ṡamneen kubaar 'two big uncles'
ṡammiteen kubaar 'two big aunts'

- iii) The fact that there is one plural form only of this noun differentiates between it and both noun of relationship

(1) ṡayyil 'boy' which appears in six forms: ṡayyil, ṡayyila, ṡayyileen, ṡayyilteen, ṡiyaal, ṡayyilaat.

(2) See ii) p.198 above.

and noun of profession which appear in two plural forms;

Compare

ʒilwilaad iʃʃuʃtaar 'the clever boys'

ʒirrijjaala ilkubaar 'the big men'

with

ʒigmaam ʒayniyya 'rich uncles'

ʒammaat ʒayniyya 'rich aunts'

ʒilmudarrisiin ʒayyibiin 'the teachers are
good'

ʒilmudarrisaat ʒayyibaat 'the teachers are
good'

iv) When occurring in a construct, it may be followed by
(1)
either Npr or Nir i.e. not by Nar;

e.g. rijjaalit ilɣumda 'the men who work
for the chief'

ɣiyaal ilhitta 'the boys of the district'

v) It is associable with the definite article. Contrast in
this respect is with the proper noun and the noun of
relationship.

vi) It also contrasts with the noun of profession in that it
is not identical in form with adjective, but it precedes
(2)
such an adjective.

(1) Compare with v), iii) and iv) under sub-classes 1, 3 and 4 respectively.

(2) See examples under iii) p.200 above.

Nar

Nouns of animate reference are divisible into the following two sub-classes.

Collective noun and Non-collective noun.

Comparison between similar examples is made below to show the differences between collective and non-collective:

i) Comparison between

(1)
hamaam kitiir 'a lot of pigeons'

bagar kitiir 'a lot of cows'

baɣɣ kitiir 'a lot of ducks'

and

himiir kitiir 'a lot of donkeys'

guɣaɣ kitiir 'a lot of cats'

firaax kitiir 'a lot of hens'

reveals a first difference between the collective nouns hamaam, bagar and baɣɣ on the one hand and the non-collective nouns himiir, guɣaɣ and firaax on the other.

The masculine form of the first group of nouns is followed by kitiir, while it is the plural of the latter group which occupies the comparable place. The fact that

hamaam yaali 'expensive pigeons'

and

himiir yalyiin 'expensive donkeys'

(1) yaama and dinya are in free variation with kitiir.

occur justifies the consideration of hamaam and himiir as masculine and plural forms respectively.

- ii) A further criterion for the recognition of collective and non-collective categories is provided by the total scatter of forms in which nominal themes belonging to them appear;

Compare	<u>collective</u>	
	bagar yaali	'expensive cows'
	bagara yalya	'an expensive cow'
	bagarteen yalyiin	'two expensive cows'
	bagaraat yalyiin	'expensive cows'
with	<u>non-collective</u>	
	humaar yaali	'an expensive donkey'
	humara yalya	'an expensive donkey'
	humareen yalyiin	'two expensive donkeys'
	humarteen yalyiin	'two expensive donkeys'
	himiir yalyiin	'expensive donkeys'
	humaraat yalyiin	'expensive donkeys'

The appearance of one dual form and one plural form only in collective contrasts with the appearance of two forms for each of the dual and the plural in non-collective. Some non-collective nouns, however, appear in three forms

only and this can also be contrasted with collective which always appear in four forms; e.g.

diik kibiir 'a big cock'
 dikeen kubaar 'two big cocks'
 diyuuk kubaar 'big cocks'

iii) A third point of difference between the two is that the collective masculine form, but not the corresponding non-collective form, may be used adjectively;

e.g. samnit ilbagar 'cow's butter'

and

silgidla ilbagar 'the calf',

in which ilbagar is respectively collective and adjective.

iv) The colligation Numeral-Noun exhibits another difference between collective and non-collective. The masculine form of the **former** must be accompanied by another form with certain numerals while the masculine form alone of the latter occupies the comparable place;

Compare

hidaafax gidl bagar 'eleven calves'

with

hidaafar humaar 'eleven donkeys'

v) Unlike other sub-classes of noun, collective can be immediately preceded by a dual form;

Compare

silgidleen ilbagar 'the two calves'

characteristics to collective nouns of animate reference. (1)

A point of difference between the two, however, is the associability of the ending -aaya with the theme of the former;

- e.g.
- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| mifmif kuwayyis | 'nice apricots' |
| mifmifa kuwayyisa | 'a nice apricot' |
| mifmifaaya kuwayyisa | 'a nice apricot' |
| mifmifteent kuwayyisiin | 'two nice apricots' |
| mifmifaat kuwayyisiin | 'nice apricots' |

Another point of difference is that collective Nir is regularly colligable with noun of measurement; (2)

- e.g.
- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| ʕilʕuggit ilmifmif | 'the oke of apricot' |
| ʕilʕardabb ilgamb | 'the ardab of wheat' |
| ʕilhabbaayit iddura | 'the grain of maize' |

A third point of difference between collective Nir and collective Nar is that the first, but not the latter, contrasts with non-collective Nir in the colligability of the plural form ending in -aat with adjective. Comparable examples of Nir are:

collective

- (1) ʕilmifmifaat ʕuyayyariin 'the apricots are small'
 ʕilbeqaat kuwayyisiin 'the eggs are good'

non-collective

- (2) ʕilʕarabiyyaat ʕuyayyariin (ʕuyayyara) (3) 'the cars
 are small'

(1) See pp. 203 ff. above. (2) See sub-class 6ii) p. 213 below.
 (3) See footnote (2) p. 186 above.

ǧilkarrasaat kuwayyisiin (kuwayyisa) 'the exercise
books are good'

Free variation in the adjectival form under (2) is in contrast with (1). This difference relates to the presence of collective or non-collective noun in the head-position. This criterion is not applicable to Nar collective and non-collective;

e.g. ǧilbagaraat kubaar 'the cows are big'
ǧilhumaraat kubaar 'the donkeys are big'

This adds also to the definition of Nar and Nir.

Examples of collective Nir conforming to the characteristics given under collective Nar are:

i) baṭaaṭiṣ kitiir 'a lot of potatoes'

guṭn yaama 'a lot of cotton'

ii) used adjectively;

ǧilhizaam ilguṭn 'the cotton belt'

iii) colligated with numeral;

hidaafar ginṭaar guṭn 'eleven cantars of cotton'

iv) immediately preceded by a dual form;

ǧilǧilbiteen ilkabriit 'the two boxes of matches' (1)

3 - Non-collective

This sub-class is established also in a similar way to the non-collective Nar. (2) Unlike the latter, however, the theme of the noun under consideration appears always in three

(1) For further explanation of the significance of these examples see respectively i), iii), iv) and v) pp.203-206 above.

(2) See pp.203 ff. above.

forms:

e.g.	galam kibiir	'a big pen'
	galameen kubaar	'two big pens'
	figlaam kubaar	'big pens'
	riija kibiira	'a big quill'
	rifteen kubaar	'two big quills'
	riyaj kubaar	'big quills'

Compare the following examples with those under i), ii), iii) and iv) p.208 respectively.

- i) figlaam kitiiir 'a lot of pens'
- riyaj kitiiir 'a lot of quills'
- ii) Non-collective contrasts with collective in that it cannot be used adjectively; e.g.
- hizaam ijjanqa 'the belt of the suit-case'
- iii) hidaajar kitaab 'eleven hooks'
- iv) fillabbisteen bituug ilgalam 'the two covers of the pen'

4 - Verbal noun

This sub-class of Nir exhibits the following characteristics.

- i) It is similar to collective noun in that it is associable with kitiiir, dinya and yaama, and is there in the masculine form, (1) e.g.

ƣakl kitiiir 'much food'

(1) See i) p.203 above.

fuy1 kitiir 'much work'

mafy dinya 'much walking'

- ii) But the verbal noun differs from the collective noun in that it cannot be preceded by a numeral of measurement. (1)
- iii) The following examples provide yet another difference between verbal noun and other sub-classes of noun. Compare (2)

kutr ilmafy 'a great deal of walking'

with

kutr ittoom 'a great deal of garlic'

kutr fakl ittoom 'eating a lot of garlic'

kutr illiglaam 'a lot of pens'

kutr bary illiglaam 'sharpening the pencils a good deal'

The interpolability of a noun between *kutr* and a following noun of other sub-classes, but not between *kutr* and a following verbal noun, marks off the latter from other sub-classes of noun.

- iv) Unlike all other sub-classes of noun, the verbal noun regularly has a root in common with verbal forms; e.g.

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Verbal noun</u>
kal 'he ate'	fakl 'eating/food'
katab 'he wrote'	kitaaba 'writing'
şarraf 'he dealt with'	taşriif 'dealing with'
fistayfar 'he asked pardon'	fistiyyaar 'asking pardon'

(1) See pp. 212 ff. above.

(2) Similar to *kutr* are *şadam* and *gillit*.

- v) The fact that the adjectival form has only the ending **-a** after verbal nouns ending in **-aat** is in contrast with the collective noun and all other nouns associable with the ending **-aat**, which are followed in comparable examples by an adjective of plural form.

Compare

ʕittaglimaat kitiirih 'there are many
regulations'

with

ʕilkarrasaat kutaar (kitiira) ⁽¹⁾ 'the exercise
books are many'

ʕilbaʕalaat kutaar 'there are many onions'

ʕilbayyagaat kutaar 'there are many sales-
women'

5 - Loan noun

Members of this sub-class of noun are characterized by their appearance in the singular form when colligated with numeral '3-10'. They contrast in this respect with all other sub-classes of noun which appear in the plural form in the comparable position. Compare the following examples under (1) and (2) which contain respectively loan nouns and nouns belonging to other sub-classes.

(1) talaata jineeh 'three pounds'

xamṣa taḡariifa 'five half-piastres'

(1) See ~~opposite~~ p.207 above.

(2) talat rijjaala 'three men'

xamas kutub 'five books'

The two forms of numeral colligated with noun under (1) and (2) are also different. They are in the free and bound form respectively. (1)

The theme of loan noun appears in three forms; namely masculine, dual and plural. It contrasts in this with collective which appears in more than three forms. (2)

e.g. jineeh jidiid 'a new pound'

jineheen judaad 'two new pounds'

jinahaat judaad (jidiida) 'new pounds'

The colligability of the plural form with either the plural of the feminine form of adjective is another difference between loan noun and collective noun. Loan noun is similar in this respect to non-collective noun of inanimate reference. (3)

6 - Noun of measurement

This noun is characterized by

- i) its associability with both the ending -it and the definite article at the same time. It contrasts in this respect with other sub-classes of noun which are associable either with the ending -a and the definite

(1) See p. 288 below for the use of the terms free form and bound form.

(2) See p. 207 above.

(3) See pp. 207 ff. above.

article or with -it only.

Compare

ʕilyardit iʕʕuuf 'the yard of the woollen material'

with

ʕijjallabiyya iʕʕuuf 'the woollen gown'
jallabit hasan 'Hasan's gown'

ii) Nouns of measurement can precede collective nouns only.

In examples like

yardit ittaajir 'the yardstick of the salesman'

yardit is not a noun of measurement inspite of its identical form with the above example. Examples of different categories may often be identical in form but the syntagmatic relations obtaining between elements of the structures containing them mark them off in each case as belonging to different categories; cf., for example, hariir in

noun

hariir iʕjaal kuwayyis 'the silk of the shawl is good'

adjective

ʕiʕjaal ilhariir kuwayyis 'the silk shawl is good'

iii) Unlike all other sub-classes of noun, nouns of measurement appear in the dual form immediately before the noun.

Compare

ʕilmitreen iʕʕuuf 'the two metres of woollen material'

ʕillugmiteen ilʕeeʕ 'the two pieces of bread'

ʕirraseen ittoom 'the two garlic plants'

ʕilhittiteen issukkar 'the two lumps of sugar'

with

ʕilmusmareen bituuʕ ilfaas 'the two nails of the axe'

ʕilmuftaheen bituuʕ ilbaab 'the two keys of the door'

ʕijʕibbakeen bituuʕ ilʕooḍa 'the two windows of the room'

7 - bitaaʕ

The theme of this noun appears in the patterns bitaaʕ, bitaaʕa (bitaaʕit) and bituuʕ. It exhibits certain similarities to noun of relationship. The most common position occupied by bitaaʕ is between two determined nouns, cf.

hasan bitaaʕ ijjaaz 'Hasan who sells paraffin oil'

ʕilbagara bitaaʕit ʕali 'the cow of Ali'

ʕilfuruuʕ bituuʕ innaxla 'the branches of the tree'

Similarly, noun of relationship can occur in examples such as:-

hasan gariib ilmudarris 'Hasan is a relative of the teacher'

ḡilbitt gariibit ḡali 'the girl is a relative of Ali'

ḡittujjaar garaayib saḡd 'the merchants are relatives of Sa'd'

Three-place structures with bitaaḡ or noun of relationship in the second place differ from examples like

hasan mudarris tariix 'Hasan is a teacher of history'

faḡna bayyaagit balah 'Fatima is a seller of dates'

ḡirrijjaala tujjaar guḡn 'the men are cotton merchants'

in that there is always a possibility of pause after the second element in the last set of examples and the noun in the third place is either determined or undetermined.⁽¹⁾

Structures containing noun of relationship and those containing bitaaḡ differ, however, in that:

- i) *that* noun of relationship can only be colligated with Npr, while bitaaḡ can be colligated with Npr, Nar or Nir. (2)

(1) See, however, (i) P.217.
(2) An exception to this is ḡaḡhib which can be followed by Npr, Nar or Nir, e.g.

ḡali ḡaḡhib innaaḡar 'Ali is a friend of the headmaster'
ḡali ḡaḡhib ilbagara 'Ali is the owner of the cow'
ḡali ḡaḡhib ilgalam 'Ali is the owner of the pen'

With noun of relationship, the structure can only be

Npr - Nr - Npr

but the possibilities of structures containing bitaaḡ are:

- (1) Npr - b - Nar { m collective
 Nir { pl non-collective
 { noun of place
- (2) Nar - b - Npr
- (3) Nir - b - {Npr
 {Nar
 {Nir

Examples are:

- (1) ṡittaajir bitaaḡ ilbagar (1) 'the merchant who
 deals in cattle'
- ṡirraajil bitaaḡ ilfiraax 'the man who deals
 in poultry'
- ṡilwiliyya bitaaḡit ilburṡugaan 'the woman
 who sells oranges'
- ṡiṡṡaḡayda bituuḡ ilbalaḡ 'the Sa'ids who
 sell dates'
- ṡilmuhandisiin bituuḡ maṡr 'the engineers of
 Cairo'
- (2) ṡilbagara bitaaḡit jiranna 'our neighbour's cow'

(1) The occurrence of Npr before bitaaḡ, with the exception of examples containing noun of place after bitaaḡ, correlates with a situation of dealing and selling, hence the use of the English verbs 'deal' and 'sell' in the translation.

- (3) *ʕissanduug bitaaʕ faʕna* 'the box of Fatima'
ʕirritʕa bitaaʕit ijʕamal 'the tether of the camel'
ʕilmafatiih bituug ilbaab 'the keys of the door'

ii) the respective possibility and impossibility of a pause after their plural forms

Compare the following examples under (1) and (2).

- (1) *ʕilʕiyaal garaayib* 'the boys are relatives'
ʕittujjaar ixwaat 'the merchants are brothers'

- (2) *ʕilyiʕaan bituug ilʕumda* 'the fields of the village chief'
ʕittujjaar bituug ilʕuʕn 'the merchants who deal in cotton'

iii) the possibility of adverbs after noun of relationship, but not after bitaaʕ

- ʕilwad bitaaʕ ilbaarah* 'the boy of yesterday'
ʕilbalaah bitaaʕ ʕammawwil 'last year's dates', and

iv) that bitaaʕ only may be associated with the definite article;

e.g.

- ʕilbitaaʕ maksuur* 'it(m) is broken'
ʕilbitaaʕa hatigaʕ 'it(f) is going to fall down'
ʕilbituug ʕuwaal 'they are long'

Chapter V

Adjective

Before embarking on the analysis it is useful to point out the following characteristics of the category adjective, ⁽¹⁾ which, when taken as a whole, distinguish adjective from other grammatical categories. These ⁽²⁾ characteristics are:

- 1 - Unlike verb, participle and noun, adjective does not occur in initial position.

Compare

ṣahbi ṭawiil 'my friend is tall'

with

ṣinqahak ḡala ṣahbi 'my friend has been fooled'

maḡhuuk ḡala ṣahbi 'my friend has been fooled'

ḡali ṣahbi 'Ali is my friend'

- 2 - The manner of association with the definite article ṣil differentiates adjective and noun. The total possibilities of (N - A) and (N - N) colligations in

(1) See also Chapter I pp. 113 ff. above.

(2) See also Chapter IV pp. 182-183 above.

this respect are:

ʕilN - ʕilA

ʕilN - A

N - A

N - ʕilN

N - N

Compare

(N - A):

ʕilbaab ilkibiir 'the big door'

ʕilbaab kibiir 'the door is big'

baab kibiir 'a big door'

with

(N - N):

baab iddaar 'the door of the house'

baab daar 'the door of a house'

- 3 - Adjective, but not verb, participle or noun
(1)
may be invariable.

Compare

(N - A):

ʕali sukkarah 'Ali is very nice'

zeenab sukkarah 'Zainab is very nice'

ʕilʕiyaal sukkarah 'the boys are very nice'

(1) See A, p.225. below.

with

(N - V):

ɣali ʔalaɣ 'Ali has gone out'

zeenab ʔalaɣit 'Zainab has gone out'

ʕilɣiyaal ʔalaɣu 'the boys have gone out'

(N - P):

ɣali ʔaaliɣ 'Ali is going out'

zeenab ʔalɣa 'Zainab is going out'

ʕilɣiyaal ʔalɣiin 'the boys are going out,

and

(N - N):

ɣali gariibi 'Ali is my relative'

zeenab garibti 'Zainab is my relative'

ʕilɣiyaal garaybi 'the boys are my relatives'

- 4 - The total sum of patterns in which the adjectival form appears is not of great significance to the analysis, but the following selected patterns in which it may appear serve as a criterion for differentiating adjective from other grammatical categories: ʕaCCaC, CVCiiC and CiCiC. e.g. ʕaʔwal 'taller', ʕaɣraj 'lame', kibiiir 'big', kariim 'generous', wisix 'dirty'.
-

For the purpose of setting up adjectival sub-classes, four grammatical features are taken into consideration:

- A - The pattern of agreement between noun and adjective in the matter of number-cum-gender. The fact that, with few exceptions, the adjectival form agrees with the preceding noun in number-cum-gender is characteristic of what may be called variable adjective and distinguishes it from the invariable adjective which does not agree with the preceding noun in this respect. ⁽¹⁾ This criterion is taken as basic for dividing the category adjective into two main sub-classes each of which is divided into further sub-classes in accordance with the other three selected criteria.
- B - The sub-class to which the noun preceding the adjective belongs. Whenever the sub-class of noun is not mentioned it should be taken that the noun can be of personal, animate or inanimate reference.
- C - The successive order obtaining between adjectives of different sub-classes when they are in agreement with regard to determination. When they are not in agreement in this respect, the undetermined

(1) See examples of this twofold division on pp. 225-226

adjective is the last in successive order regardless of the sub-class to which it belongs,

e.g.

ƒirraajil ittixiin ilguşayyar faransaawi 'the stout short man is a Frenchman'

ƒiƒƒanƒa ilkibiira issamra xafab 'the big black case is made of wood'

D - The occurrence or non-occurrence of the sub-class of adjective in ƒan- and min-sentences. In ƒan-sentences, the adjectival form which is followed by ƒan can be of various patterns and may agree in respect of number-cum-gender with the preceding noun.

e.g.

ƒali kibiir ƒan faƒnah 'Ali is bigger than Fatima'

ƒilbadla samra ƒan ilbalƒu 'the suit is darker than the coat'

ƒilgaaga harr ƒan ilmaggad 'the lower room is warmer than the upper room'

In min-sentences, the adjectival form which is followed by min can only be of the pattern ƒaCCaC and does not agree in number-cum-gender with the preceding noun;

e.g.

ğali akbar min faḡna 'Ali is bigger than Fatima'

Ğilbadla anḡaf min ilbalḡu 'the suit is
cleaner than the coat'

A feature in common between ɣan-sentences and min-sentences is that the adjective they contain is undetermined.

Other characteristics of sub-classes of adjective are given in the course of the analysis.

The category adjective is first divided into two main sub-classes:

- I - Variable adjective
- II - Invariable adjective

I - Variable adjective

It has been stated above that, with few exceptions, this sub-class of adjective agrees in number-cum-gender with the preceding noun. The "exceptions" relate to the occurrence of adjective in one of the following two grammatical structures:

- i) min-sentences, and

ii) the colligation noun of non-personal (i.e. of animate or inanimate) reference - adjective of origin;
(1)

e.g.

- Silmudarris aɣyab min innaaɣar 'the teacher(m)
 is better than the headmaster'
 Silmudarrisa aɣyab min innaaɣar 'the teacher(f)
 is better than the headmaster'
 Silmudarrisiin aɣyab min innaaɣar 'the teachers
 are better than the headmaster'
 Silɗiik injiliizi 'the cock is English'
 Silfarxa injiliizi 'the hen is English'
 Silfiraax injiliizi 'the hens are English'
 Silgalam ɣamrikaani 'the pen is American (made in
 America)'
 Simahfaza ɣamrikaani 'the wallet is American (made
 in America)'
 Silliglaam ɣamrikaani 'the pens are American (made
 in America)'.

When occurring in different structures, the adjectival form belonging to the same sub-class agrees with the preceding noun in respect of number-

(1) See p.228 below.

cum-gender. Compare the above examples with:

Ɔilmudarris ƭayyib ɣan innaɗar 'the teacher(m)
is better than the headmaster'

Ɔilmudarrisa ƭayyiba ɣan innaɗar 'the
teacher(f) is better than the headmaster'

Ɔilmudarrisiin ƭayyibiin ɣan innaɗar 'the
teachers are better than the headmaster'

Ɔilmudarris Ɔamrikaani 'the teacher(m) is
an American'

Ɔilmudarrisa Ɔamrikaniyya 'the teacher(f)
is an American'

Ɔilmudarrisiin Ɔamrikaan 'the teachers are
Americans'

The adjective in the cases mentioned under i) and ii) is considered a sub-class of the variable category and is termed 'constant', as opposed to 'invariable'.

Further examples of the variable adjective are:

Ɔilmagɗad waasaɗ 'the upper room is spacious'

Ɔilgaaga wasɗa 'the lower room is spacious'

Ɔilmagaagid wasɗiin 'the upper rooms are
spacious'

II - Invariable adjective

Adjectives belonging to this sub-class do not agree with the preceding noun with regard to number-cum-gender.

Compare the above examples of variable adjective with:

- Silmaggad qalma 'the upper room is dark'
 Silgaaga qalma 'the lower room is dark'
 Silmagaagid qalma 'the upper rooms are dark' (1)

It is now proposed to subdivide both variable and invariable adjective into further sub-classes.

I - Variable adjective:

There are four sub-classes under this heading.

Sub-class a) exhibits the following characteristics.

- 1) Unlike most of the other sub-classes, the adjectival form following a plural noun of non-personal reference is variably of the feminine or the plural form, (2) e.g.

Silbida <u>l</u> <u>jidiida</u> }	'the suits are new'
Silbida <u>l</u> <u>judaad</u> }	
Silmawa <u>giin</u> <u>wisxa</u> }	'the pots are dirty'
Silmawa <u>giin</u> <u>wisxiin</u> }	

(1) See also (N - A) examples under 3) p. 219 .

(2) Sub-class d) 'Adjective of place' is the only other class which exhibits the same characteristic. See 5, p. 231 below.

- 2) Two adjectival forms of this sub-class, but not of any other sub-class, can occur together in the sentence; e.g.

fiilgalam ittawiil ijjidiid bitaagi 'the
new long pencil is mine'

firraajil tawiil asmar 'the man is tall
and brown'

- 3) The adjectival form occurs in ξ an-sentences; e.g.

fiilgalam tawiil ξ an irriifa 'the pen is
taller than the quill'

fiilbidal sumr ξ an ilbalaati 'the suits are
darker than the coats'

The category is divisible into two further sub-classes as follows:

Sub-class (i) occurs in min-sentences;

e.g. hasan a ξ wal min ξ ali 'Hasan is
taller than Ali'

fiilmara akram min irraajil 'the
woman is more generous than the man',

and also in sentences of the structure
(noun - undetermined adjective - undetermined
noun);

e.g. Ɔiddaar Ɔalya jabal 'the house is
as high as a mountain'

Ɔillummayya suxna naar 'the water
is as hot as fire'

(1)
Sub-class (ii) does not occur in either
of the above structures. Examples of this
sub-class in different structures are:

Ɔilbalaħ ahmar 'the dates are red'

Ɔijjallabiyya beeqa Ɔan ilgamiis

'the gown is whiter than the shirt'

(2)

Sub-class b) 'Adjective of origin':

- 1) This sub-class of adjective, mostly character-
ized by a final -i in the masculine form,
exhibits the threefold alternation of variable
adjective (3) in respect of number-cum-gender
only when accompanying a noun of personal
reference,

e.g. Ɔiddaktuur injiliizi 'the doctor is an
Englishman'

-
- (1) A possible name for this class is 'adjective of colour'.
(2) For a similar use of this term see T.F. Mitchell, Syntag-
matic relations in linguistic analysis pp.113-116, TPS 1958.
(3) See examples of variable adjective p.225 above.

ƒiddaktuura injiliziyya 'the doctor is
an Englishwoman'

ƒiddakatra injiliiz 'the doctors are
Englishmen'

- 2) When the adjective accompanies a noun of non-
personal reference the adjective is 'constant'. (1)

e.g. ƒiddawa injiliizi 'the medicine is made
in England'

ƒissijjaada injiliizi 'the carpet is
made in England'

ƒilfadwiya injiliizi 'the drugs are made
in England'

- 3) With regard to successive order, adjective of
origin is the first unless it is accompanied by
'adjective of material'; (2)

e.g. ƒiddaktuur illinjiliizi iƒƒawiil ƒahbi
'the tall English doctor is my friend'
ƒilgalam ilƒamrikaani ijjiidiid lasmar ɗaaɗ
'the new brown American pen has been lost'

An example containing an adjective of material is:

ƒilgalam ilƒabanoos ilƒamrikaani ijjiidiid
ɗaaɗ 'the new American fountain pen has
been lost'

(1) See also p. 225 above.

(2) See p. 233 below.

- 4) Adjective of origin neither occurs in gan-sentences nor in min-sentences.

(1)
Sub-class c) exhibits the following characteristics:

- 1) The noun preceding the adjective of this sub-class is either a noun of personal reference or a noun of animate reference only, i.e. it cannot be a noun of inanimate reference;

e.g. *Ɔinnajjaar aɣraj* 'the carpenter is lame'

Ɔilhumaara ɣarja 'the donkey is lame'

Ɔilkilaab ɣurj 'the dogs are lame'

- 2) The adjectival form does not occur in any particular position with regard to other accompanying adjective;

e.g. *Ɔirraajil illaɣraj ilkibiir jih* 'the big lame man has come'

is freely variant with

Ɔirraajil ilkibiir illaɣraj jih 'the big lame man has come'

- 3) Examples of this sub-category do not occur in min- or gan-sentences.

Sub-class d) 'Adjective of place'

The adjectival form

(1) A possible name for this sub-class is 'adjective of defect'.

1) is always associated with the definite article,

e.g. Ɔilmaggad ilfogaani waasag 'the upper
room is large'

mhammad fi ilgaaga ijjuwaniyya 'Muhammad
is in the inner room'

2) does not occupy any particular position when
accompanied by other adjectives. The following
two word-orders are freely variant:

<u>Ɔilmaggad ilfogaani</u> ilkibiir faaƆi	} 'The big upper room is empty'
Ɔilmaggad ilkibiir <u>ilfogaani</u> faaƆi	

3) is preceded by nouns of inanimate reference only,

4) regularly has the ending -ni, niyya, niyyiin,
which are abstractable as exponents of masculine,
feminine and plural respectively; e.g.

Ɔilkitaab ittahtaani jidiid 'the lower
book is new'

Ɔilkarraasa ittahtaniyya jidiidih 'the
lower exercise book is new'

Ɔilkutub ittahtaniyyiin judaad 'the lower
books are new' and

5) when following a plural noun, is variously of the

There are three sub-classes under this heading:

(1)
Sub-class (a)

The adjectival form

- 1) is preceded by nouns of inanimate reference only,
- 2) when accompanied by other adjectives, occurs in the first adjectival position, i.e. immediately following the noun.

e.g. $\text{\textcircled{S}iffanta}$ $\text{\textcircled{ijjild}}$ $\text{\textcircled{ilkibiira}}$ $\text{\textcircled{bita\textcircled{t}ti}}$

'the big leather suitcase is mine/my
 big leather suitcase'

$\text{\textcircled{S}iffanta}$ $\text{\textcircled{ijjild}}$ $\text{\textcircled{illinjiliizi}}$ $\text{\textcircled{ilkibiira}}$
 $\text{\textcircled{bita\textcircled{t}ti}}$ 'the big English leather
 suitcase is mine/my big English
 leather suitcase',

and 3) occurs neither in $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}an}$ -sentences nor in $\text{\textcircled{\text{min}$ -sentences.

- 4) Agreement for number-cum-gender may obtain between the adjective of material and a following adjective rather than between the latter and the preceding noun;

(1) A possible name for this sub-class is 'Adjective of material'.

e.g. hinaak jallabiyya hariir abyaq
is freely variant with

hinaak jallabiyya hariir beeqa

'there is a white silk gown there'

and

hinaak fustaan gaʔiifa xadra

is in free variation with

hinaak fustaan gaʔiifa axdar

'there is a green velvet dress there'

Sub-class (b)

Adjectival forms of this class exhibit the following characteristics:

- 1) they are invariably associated with strong stress,
- 2) they cannot be followed by any other adjectival form. Compare

Examples of sub-class (b)

filwad iŝŝiŝiidi ilkibiir nimra 'the big Sa'idi
boy is very cunning'

filŝiyaal iŝŝaŝayda ilkubaar nimra 'the big
Sa'idi boys are very cunning'

hinaak bitt ŝuŝayyara nimra 'there is a very cunning
little girl there'

with the following examples of other adjectives

Ɔilgalam ijjdiid yaali 'the new pen is expensive'

Ɔilgalam ilƆamrikaani ilyaali kuwayyis 'the new expensive American pen is good'

Ɔiddaar ibarraniyya suyaayyara 'the house in the outskirts is small'

3) they appear in neither min- nor Ɔan-sentences.

Sub-class (c) exhibit the following characteristics:

1) In the manner of sub-class (b) above, it cannot be followed by another adjective.

e.g.

ƆilmagƆad ilkibiir Ɔalma 'the big upper room is dark'

Ɔilmandara ilbarraniyya harr 'the front drawing room is hot'

2) It occurs in Ɔan-sentences, e.g.

ƆilƆooda ilbarraniyya nuur Ɔan hina 'the light in the front room is better than it is here'

3) The adjectival form can be preceded by nouns of inanimate reference only.

N.B.

Adjectival phrases

Two classes of phrases occupying the place of adjective and not allotted to other grammatical categories are:

- 1 - 'ṣabu-phrases' and
- 2 - 'construct adjectival phrases'

Examples of ṣabu-phrases are:

ṣilwad abu raas ḡiryaana ḡariibi 'the bare-headed boy is my relative'

ṣilḡumaara ummu bardaḡa bitaḡitna 'the donkey with a saddle is ours'

ṣilkutub ummahaat jild aḡmar bituugi 'the books with the red cover are mine'

Compare these examples with

ṣilwad ilkibiir ḡariibi 'the big boy is my relative'

ṣilḡumaara issamra bitaḡitna 'the brown donkey is ours'

ṣilkutub ilkubaar bituugi 'the big books are mine'

The comparison between the two sets of examples above reveals the following two points:

- i) 'ṣabu-phrase' occurs in the same place as a determined adjective

ii) *ṣabu*, *ṣummu* and *ṣummahadāt* can be taken as marks of masculine, feminine and plural respectively and may for convenience be termed adjectival particles.

'Construct adjectival phrases' are grammatically distinguished from all sub-classes of adjective by the ending -it, i.e. neither a nor iyya, in the adjectival form as a mark of feminine; e.g.

<i>ṣilmara galiilit izzoog</i>	'the woman is
	impolite'
<i>ṣilbitt ṭawiilit illisaan</i>	'the girl is
	rude'

The following table summarizes the differences between the above sub-classes of adjective.

order = successive order with reference to other adjectives.

✓, - = occurrence and non-occurrence of adjective respectively.

Table XII

Variable adjective

Sub-class	Preceding Noun	Order	gan-sentence	min-sentence	Other features
a) i)	Npr, Nar, Nir		✓	✓	see 1(i) p. 227
ii)	Npr, Nar, Nir		✓	-	
b)	Npr, Nar, Nir	2nd	-	-	see 1) p. 228
c)	Npr, Nar		-	-	
d)	Nir		-	-	see 1) p. 231

Invariable adjective

TABLE XIII

Sub-class	Preceding Noun	Order	gan-sentence	min-sentence	Other features
a)	Nir	1st	-	-	see 4) p. 233
b)	Npr, Nar	last	-	-	see 1) p. 234
c)	Nir	last		-	

Chapter VI

Personal Pronoun

The category of personal pronoun is in the first place distinguished from other categories by the following two characteristics:

i) it is divisible into two sub-classes according to the pronominal form and the place it occupies in the structure. This may be briefly illustrated by comparison between examples of the colligations Pr-N and N-Prs on one hand and N-N on the other hand under (1) and (2) respectively;

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) <u>huwwa</u> ṣahbi | 'he is my friend' |
| (1) | |
| kitaab <u>uh</u> | 'his book' |
| (2) <u>hasan</u> ṣahbi | 'Hasan is my friend' |
| kitaab <u>hasan</u> | 'Hasan's book' |

The appearance of huwwa and -uh in pre- and post-nominal position respectively under (1) contrasts with the same form hasan in comparable positions in examples under (2).

ii) three different categories of person are necessary for the description of pronominal form.

(1) See p. 247 below.

The two sub-classes of personal pronoun are:

- A - Independent personal pronouns
- B - Pronominal suffixes

A - Independent personal pronoun:

Examples of this sub-class in the colligation Pr-V are:

- ʕani xallaʕt 'I have finished'
- ʕihna xallaʕna 'we have finished'
- ʕinta xallaʕt 'you(m) have finished'
- ʕinti xallaʕti 'you(f) have finished'
- ʕintu xallaʕtu 'you(pl) have finished'
- huwwa xallaʕ 'he has finished'
- hiyya xallaʕit 'she has finished'
- humma xallaʕu 'they have finished'

The following exponents of person and number-cum-gender are abstractable with reference to this pronominal sub-class.

TABLE XIV

Person	Number-cum-gender	Exponent
1st	s(m/f) ⁽¹⁾	ʕani
	pl	ʕihna
2nd	s { m	ʕinta
	f	ʕinti
	pl	ʕintu
3rd	s { m	huwwa
	f	hiyya
	pl	humma

(1) / = or

Verbal affixes in the above examples agree with the independent pronoun in respect of person and number-cum-gender. Before giving the affixal exponents of these categories, however, here are some examples of the colligation Pr-Imperfect Verb;

ɕani haniɕlaɕ	'I shall go out'
ɕihna haniɕlaɕu	'we shall go out'
ɕinta hatiɕlaɕ	'you(m) will go out'
ɕinti hatiɕlaɕi	'you(f) will go out'
ɕintu hatiɕlaɕu	'you(pl) will go out'
huwwa hayiɕlaɕ	'he will go out'
hiyya hatiɕlaɕ	'she will go out'
humma hayiɕlaɕu	'they will go out'

Affixal exponents of person and number-cum-gender with reference to both perfect and imperfect verbs are:

TABLE XV

Person	Number-cum-gender	Exponents		
		Perfect	Imperfect	
		suffix	prefix	suffix
1st	s(m/f)	-t	n	nil
	pl	-na	n	u
2nd	s { m	-it	t	nil
	{ f	-ti	t	i
	pl	-tu	t	u
3rd	s { m	nil	y	nil
	{ f	-t	t	nil
	pl	-u	y	u

Although verbal affixes are describable in terms of person and number-cum-gender, they differ from the two sub-classes of personal pronoun in that they are colligable with verb only. Personal pronouns are colligable with verb, participle, noun, etc.; cf, for example, the following Pr-P colligations.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|
| 1 - | ƙani ƙarifi | 'I(m) know' |
| 2 - | ƙani ƙarfa | 'I(f) know' |
| 3 - | ƙihna ƙarfiin | 'we know' |
| 4 - | ƙinta ƙarifi | 'you(m) know' |
| 5 - | ƙinti ƙarfa | 'you(f) know' |
| 6 - | ƙintu ƙarfiin | 'you(pl) know' |
| 7 - | huwwa ƙarifi | 'he knows' |
| 8 - | hiyya ƙarfa | 'she knows' |
| 9 - | humma ƙarfiin | 'they know' |

The participial form in the above examples is describable in terms of number-cum-gender only, i.e. person is excluded. ⁽¹⁾ A point of interest, however, is that, unlike 2nd and 3rd person forms, the first person singular pronominal form/s is/are neutral as to gender. Compare examples 1 and 2 with examples 4 and 5 and 7 and 8 in the above examples. Compare also the following examples of the colligation Pr-A under (1) and (2)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------|
| (1) | ƙani kibiir | 'I(m) am old' |
| | ƙani kibiira | 'I(f) am old' |

(1) See p.240 above.

- (2) *ʕinta kibiir* 'you(m) are old'
ʕinti kibiira 'you(f) are old'
huwwa kibiir 'he is old'
hiyya kibiira 'she is old'

In examples given so far, members of this sub-class of personal pronoun occur in initial position. One of the contexts in which 3rd person pronominal forms, but not those of the 1st or 2nd person, occur in non-initial position is after a determined noun, in which case the post-pronominal position is exclusive to *ʕilli*; e.g.

- ʕilgalam huwwa illi qaag* 'it is the pen that has
been lost'
ʕissaaga hiyya illi wagfa 'it is the watch that
has stopped'
ʕiyaal hasan humma illi barrah 'it is Hasan's chil-
dren who are outside'

Pronouns contrast with both adjectives and participles in such a structure. The last-named categories may or may not be followed by *illi*. Compare the last examples above with:

- ʕilgalam iʕtawiil qaag* 'the long pen has been lost'
ʕissaaga ilmaksuura illi wagfa 'it is the broken
watch which has stopped'
ʕiyaal hasan ilkubaar illi barrah 'it is Hasan's
older children who are outside'

Ɔilfasatiin ijjudaad maysuliin 'the new
dresses have been cleaned'

Ɔilɔarabiyyaat ilmaɔlubiin illi yaabu 'it
is the cars which have been ordered which are
late'

These examples are in free variation respectively with

Ɔilfasatiin hiyya illi maysuula

Ɔilɔarabiyyaat hiyya illi yaabit

Ɔilfasatiin ijjidiida maysuula

Ɔilɔarabiyyaat ilmaɔluuba illi yaabit

If the plural noun belongs to the category Npr or is a collective noun, then the pronoun can only be in the plural form. Cf, for example,

Ɔirrijjaala humma illi ɔalaɔu 'it is the
man who went out'

Ɔilbagaraat humma illi ɔaraɔu 'it is the
cows which have gone to pasture'

Ɔittiffahaat humma illi maɔɔubiin 'it is the
apples which are rotten'

Before proceeding with the analysis of further colligations containing independent personal pronouns, it is proposed to state certain characteristics of suffixed pronouns, since they appear together in the structures selected for subsequent discussion.

B - Pronominal suffixes:

This sub-class is characterized by its position as a suffix which is associated with different grammatical categories. The examples selected below contain independent pronouns as well as pronominal suffixes and show the relationship between the two sub-classes in colligation.

ʕani <u>kitaabi</u> hina	'my book is here'
ʕihna <u>kitabna</u> hina	'our book is here'
ʕinta <u>kitaabak</u> hina	'your(m) book is here'
ʕinti <u>kitaabik</u> hina	'your(f) book is here'
ʕintu <u>kibabku</u> hina	'your(pl) book is here'
huwwa <u>kitaabu</u> hina	'his book is here'
hiyya <u>kitabha</u> hina	'her book is here'
humma <u>kitabhum</u> hina	'their book is here'

In the above examples pronominal suffixes following kitaab are in agreement with independent pronouns in the head position. Exponents of pronominal suffixes with regard to person and number-cum-gender are:

TABLE XVI

Person	Number-cum-gender	Exponent
1st	s(m/f)	ni, i or ya
	pl	na
2nd	m	ak
	f	ik
	pl	ku

CONT. TABLE XVI

Person	Number-cum-gender	Exponent
	1st m	u(h) ⁽¹⁾
3rd	f	ha
	pl.	hum

When colligated with verb and participle, the 1st person pronominal suffix is different in form from that which accompanies nouns, adverbs and prepositions ending with a consonant. The forms are -ni and -i respectively.

Compare:

rajab haysaḡidni 'Rajab will help me'

rajab misaḡidni 'Rajab has helped me'

with

rajab gariibi 'Rajab is my relative'

mḡammad guḡḡaami 'Muhammad is in front of me'

ḡilalam ḡandi 'I have got the pencil'

The 1st person singular pronominal suffix associated with nouns, adverbs and prepositions is again different in form when the preceding element ends with a vowel. It is neither -ni nor -i but -ya. This fact is, of course, of purely phonological relevance; the difference between -ni and -i, however, relates to difference of grammatical context.

e.g. ḡaxuuya 'my brother'

(1) h appears only in pre-pausal position.

ʕabuuya	'my father'
warɔɔya	'behind me'
wayyaaya	'with me'
fiyya	'about me'

Pronominal suffixes commonly occur third in a four-place structure in which

- (i) noun and independent pronoun commute in 1st place
- (ii) noun occurs in 2nd place and
- (iii) verb, participle, adjective and adverb commute in the 4th place; cf, for example,

ʕani galami dɔɔɛ	'my pencil has been lost'	(1)
hasan galamu maksuur	'Hasan's pencil has been broken'	
ʕinta galamak ɕawiil	'your pencil is a long one'	
ʕihna galamna foog	'our pencil is upstairs'	
faɕna galamha kuwayyis	'Fatima's pencil is a good one'	

They also frequently occur third in a four-place structure in which

- (i) noun and independent pronoun commute in both 1st and 4th places, and
- (ii) verb occurs in 2nd place.

e.g. ʕani kallimitni faɕna 'Fatima talked to me'

(1) See also examples p.246.

gali gablu innaqar 'the headmaster has met
Ali'

finta saqduuk ilxiyaal 'the boys have helped
you'

sihna jafna hasan 'Hasan has seen us'

fajnd gabilnaaha ihna 'we have met Fatima'

In both of the above four-place structures pronominal suffixes in place 3 agree in person and number-cum-gender with independent pronouns in the 1st place. They also agree with nouns in the 1st place in respect of number-cum-gender. In the first set of examples the verb in the 4th place agrees with the independent pronoun in the 1st place in respect of person and number-cum-gender and with noun in the 1st place in the last respect only. Similarly, in the second set of examples the verb occupying the 2nd place agrees with the independent pronoun in the 4th place with regard to person and number-cum-gender and with noun when it occupies the 4th place in the last respect only. Thus, the relationship between elements in the two structures may be symbolized by the following formulae:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{Pr/N} & - & \text{N} & - & \text{Prs} & - & \text{V/P/A} \\ | & & | & & | & & | \\ \hline & & & & & & \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{Pr/N} & - & \text{V} & - & \text{Prs} & - & \text{N/Pr} \\ | & & | & & | & & | \\ \hline & & & & & & \end{array}$$

A feature in common between the two is the manner of agreement between nouns in plural form occurring in the head position and

the pronominal suffix. With Npr and collective noun the pronoun is always in the plural form; cf, for example,

ʕilʕiyaal ʕideehum niq̄iifa 'the boys' hands are clean'

ʕilhamamaat riʕhum ʕawiil 'the pigeons' feathers are
long'

ʕilburʕuganaat ʕakluhum kuwayyis 'the oranges look
nice'

But with other sub-classes of noun, i.e. Nar and Nir (excluding collective), either the plural or the feminine form of the pronominal suffix may occur. ⁽¹⁾ The following examples

ʕilʕiwad̄ hiʕanhum ʕalyiin 'the rooms' walls are high'

ʕilfiraax riʕhum ʕawiil 'the hen's feathers are long'

ʕilmawaziin ʕakluhum kuwayyis 'the balances look good'

are freely variant respectively with

ʕilʕiwad̄ hiʕanha ʕalyiin

ʕilfiraax riʕha ʕawiil

ʕilmawaziin ʕakliha kuwayyis

It is now proposed to compare structures containing both the independent pronoun and pronominal suffix with similar structures containing other grammatical categories.

I - The first structure considered is one of 3 places in which

(i) place 1 is occupied by a noun and a pronominal suffix,

(ii) place 2 is occupied by either an independent pronoun,

(1) Compare with pp 244-245

a participle, a noun or an adjective, and

(iii) place 3 is occupied by a verb.

The structure containing an independent pronoun is different from those containing a participle, noun or adjective in place 2 in that the pronoun agrees with the pronominal suffix in number-cum-gender. (1) Members of the other categories occurring in place 2 agree with the noun in place 1 in the same respect. Thus, compare the following examples under (1) and (2).

- (1) Ṣaxuuya ani saafir 'my brother has gone away'
Ṣaxuuna ihna saafir 'our brother has gone away'
Ṣuxtak inta safrit 'your(m) sister has gone away'
Ṣixwaatik inti safru 'your(f) brothers have gone
away'
Ṣaxuuha hiyya saafir 'her brother has gone away'
Ṣuxtuhum humna safrit 'their sister has gone away'
- (2) Ṣaxuuya hasan saafir 'my brother Hasan has gone away'
Ṣuxtak fajna safrit 'your sister Fatima has gone
away'
Ṣaxuuha ilmijjawwiz saafir 'her married brother
has gone away'
Ṣuxtuh ilmijjawwiza safrit 'his married sister has
gone away'

(1) The independent pronoun agrees also with the pronominal suffix in respect of person. See p.257 below.

Ḥixwaatak ilkubaar safru 'your elder brothers
have gone away'

Ḥuxtuhum ilkibiira safrit 'their elder sister has
gone away'

The structure with the independent pronoun in place 2 is also different from structures containing P/N/A in the comparable place in that only in the latter structure place 1 may be occupied by a noun without pronominal suffix; cf., for example,

Ḥilwad hasan saafir '(the boy) Hasan has gone away'

Ḥilbitt ilmijjawiza safrit 'the married girl has
gone away'

Ḥilḡiyaal ilkubaar safru 'the old boys have gone
away'

The difference between the structure containing independent pronouns and that containing other categories in place 2 may be symbolized by formulae (1) and (2) respectively

$$(1) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} N & & \text{Prs} & - & \text{Pr} & - & V \\ | & & | & - & | & & | \\ \hline & & & & & & \end{array}$$

$$(2) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} N & & \text{Prs} & - & \text{P/N/A} & - & V \\ | & & | & - & | & - & | \\ \hline & & & & & & \end{array}$$

II - The second structure is also a 3-place structure in which

(i) place 1 is again occupied by a noun and a pronominal suffix,

(ii) place 2 is occupied by either an independent pronoun,

(1)
a participle , a noun or an adjective and,

(iii) place 3 is occupied by *illi* and a verb.

The pronominal form in place 2 of such a structure agrees in number-cum-gender with either the pronominal suffix or the noun in place 1. But members of other categories in place 2 agree always in the same respect with the noun in place 1. Thus, compare the following examples under (1) and (2).

- (1) *ṣaxuuya ani illi rajaḡ* 'it is my brother who has
come back'
- ṣaxuuya huwwa illi rajaḡ* 'it is my brother who has
come back'
- ṣuxtak inta illi rajaḡit* 'it is your sister who has
come back'
- ṣuxtak hiyya illi rajaḡit* 'it is your sister who
has come back'
- ṣixwaḡtak inta illi rajaḡu* 'it is your brothers who
have come back'
- ṣixwaḡtak humma illi rajaḡu* 'it is your brothers
who have come back'
- (2) *ṣaxuuya ilmijjawwiz illi rajaḡ* 'it is my married
brother who has come back'
- ṣuxti ilmijjawwiza illi rajaḡit* 'it is my married
sister who has come back'
- ṣaxuuk ilkibiir illi rajaḡ* 'it is your elder
brother who has come back'

(1) See also p.255 with regard to participle in place 2.

ṣaxuuk hasan rajaḡ 'your brother Hasan has come
back'

The pronominal form in place 2 carries a more prominent stress than other forms when it agrees with the pronominal suffix in respect of number-cum-gender hence the underlining in the translation.

Another point of difference between the structure containing pronoun and that containing other categories in place 2 is that the former only may contain two independent pronouns in place 2 the first of which agrees with the pronominal suffix in respect of number-cum-gender and the second agrees with the noun in place 1 in the same respect; cf., for example,

- (3) ṣaxuuk inta huwwa illi rajaḡ 'it was your brother
who has come back'
- ṣuxti ani hiyya illi rajaḡit 'it is my sister ~~ani~~
who has come back'
- ṣixwatna iḥna humma illi rajaḡu 'it was our brothers
who have come back'

It should be noted that the verb in place 3 agrees with the noun in place 1 in respect of number-cum-gender in examples under (1), (2) and (3) above. The following formulae summarize the manner of agreement between elements in the above structures

(1) N Prs - Pr - RV (R = relative pronoun ṣilli)
I I I I

or N Prs - Prs - RV
I I I

ḡuxti ḡarfa illi rajaḡ 'my sister knows (the person)
who has come back'

ḡixwaati ḡarfiin illi rajaḡit 'my brothers know (the
girl) who has come back'

IV - The fourth structure is also a 3-place structure in which

- (i) a noun occupies place 1
- (ii) a verb and a pronominal suffix occupies place 2
- (iii) an independent pronoun or a participle occupies place 3

The difference between the structure containing the independent pronoun and that containing the participle is that the former agrees in number-cum-gender with the pronominal suffix. ⁽¹⁾ The participle agrees in the same respect either with (a) the noun in place 1 or (b) the pronominal suffix.

Compare the following examples under (1) and (2)

- (1) saḡd ḡabilni ani 'Sa'd met me'
 ḡijjamaaḡa ḡabluuna iḡna 'they met us'
 faṭna ḡafithum humma 'Fatima has seen them'
 faṭna ḡafitak inta 'Fatima has spoken to you'

- (2) (a) saḡd ḡabilna ṭaaliḡ 'Sa'd met us going out'
 ḡijjamaaḡa ḡabluuha ṭalḡiin 'they met her going
 out'

- (b) faṭna ḡafithum wagfiin 'Fatima saw them standing'
 faṭna ḡafitak waagif 'Fatima saw you standing'

(1) They also agree in regard to person. See p.257below.

The participle in place 3 in sentences under (A) is also different from the independent pronoun in the comparable place in that the former one agrees with the verb in place 2. The following formulae symbolize concordial relationships between elements in the two structures

(1) N - V Prs - Pr
I - I I - I

(2) N - V Prs - P
I - I I - I

or N V Prs - P
I - I I - I

In comparing personal pronoun with other categories in the above structures, the agreement between its two sub-classes has been considered in regard to number-cum-gender only. Agreement between them in respect of person was left aside because other categories namely noun, participle and adjective which appear with the pronoun do not exhibit characteristics describable in terms of person. It should be mentioned here, however, that the two sub-classes of personal pronoun and verb agree with each other in respect of person whenever they agree in regard to number-cum-gender. (1) Thus, considering the eight terms of person and the three terms of number-cum-gender, the structures mentioned above as characteristic of those containing personal pronouns may be symbolized as follows:

(1) See also pp. 251 and 253 above.

(1) Pr₈ - N₃ - Prs₈ - V₃
 I I I I

e.g. fani kitaabi daag 'my book has been lost'

(2) Pr₈ - V₃ - Prs₈ - N₃
 I I I I

e.g. hiyya biyya kibbuuha ilgiyaal 'the boys like her'

(3) N₃ - V₈ - Prs₃ - Pr₈
 I I I I

e.g. hasan kallimtu ani 'I have spoken to Hasan'

(4) N₃ - Prs₈ - Pr₈ - V₃
 I I I I

e.g. saxuuku intu talag 'your(pl.) brother has gone
 out'

(5) N₃ - Prs₈ - Pr₃ - RV₃
 I I I I

e.g. saxuuku huwwa illi talag 'it is your(pl.) who
 brother who has gone out'

(6) N₃ - V₃ - Prs₈ - Pr₈
 I I I I

e.g. fatna fafitu huwwa 'Fatima has seen him'

Chapter VII

Demonstratives and Deictics

The following series of forms, under the two classes below, will be dealt with in the present chapter.

I - <u>Demonstratives</u>	masculine	feminine	plural
	dahu(h) ⁽¹⁾	dahi(h)	dahum
	dokha	dakhi	dokhum
	da	di	dool

II - Deictics

ṣahu(h)	ṣahi(h)	ṣahum
---------	---------	-------

The fact that demonstratives and deictics have the following characteristics in common serves to distinguish them from other grammatical categories and justifies grouping them together. These characteristics are:

- i) They cannot be colligated with the definite article in the manner of the adjective, participle and noun. They also differ from the last two in that they are not associable with pronominal suffixes.
- ii) Unlike verb and personal pronoun, they are not formally differentiated in terms of person.
- iii) Exponents of number-cum-gender exhibited by them are

(1) (h) = h occurs in final position only.

different from comparable exponents referable to other grammatical categories. Like verbs, participles and adjectives, however, members of the category under consideration may appear either in the plural or the feminine form when colligated with certain sub-classes of noun. (1) Thus the following examples

Ɔilkubbayaat dahum kubaar 'these glasses
(2)
are big'

Ɔilliglaam dokhum mabriyyiin 'those pencils
are sharpened'

Ɔilmawaziin dool judaad 'these balances are
new'

Ɔilgarabiyyaat Ɔahum jum 'here come the cars'
are freely variant with

Ɔilkubbayaat dahi kibiira

Ɔilliglamm dakhi mabriyya

Ɔilmawaziin di jidiida

Ɔilgarabiyyaat ahi jat

iv) The two sub-classes of this category behave similarly

(1) See p.207 above.

(2) The English distinction between "this, these" and "that, those" does not always correspond to that made between "dahu, dahi, dahum, da, di, dool" and "dokha, dakhi, dokhum" in Arabic. For example, the use of "daka...etc" which has been regularly translated "that...etc", relates to the fact that the object referred to is out of sight.

in certain structures, two of which are:

- (1) The colligation D/De-P, in which the two constituents agree in respect of number-cum-gender;

e.g.

dahu raajig 'this(m) is going to be returned'

dahi rajga 'this(f) is going to be returned'

dahum rajgiin 'these are going to be returned'

dokha maksuur 'that(m) is broken'

dakhi maksuura 'that(f) is broken'

dokhum maksuriin 'those are broken'

da ʔaaliḡ 'this(m)'ll be going out'

di ʔalga 'this(f)'ll be going out'

dool ʔalgiin 'those'll be going out'

ʕahu jaay 'he'll be coming soon'

ʕahi jaaya 'she'll be coming soon'

ʕahum jayyiin 'they'll be coming soon'

- (2) The colligation N-D/De-V, in which the three constituents agree in respect of number-cum-gender also, and the noun in head-position is determined;

e.g.

(1)

ʕilwad dahu hayrawwah 'this boy will go home'

(1) In pre-pausal position the form walah is used instead of wad. e.g. ʕilbitt qarabit ilwalah 'the girl has beaten the boy' In certain contexts where the last syllable of the word carries the prominent stress under a heavy tone the word is written as walah 'what a boy!'

ʕilbitt dakhi hatrawwah 'that girl will go home'

ʕilʕiyaal dool hayrawwahu 'these boys will go home'

ʕilʕanfaar ahum hayrawwahu 'the workmen will go home soon'

However, the two sub-classes, demonstratives and deictics are syntactically different.

- i) One of the places in which demonstratives only occur is the first in the structure D-N-A in which the noun is undetermined;

e.g. dahu wad jadaʕ 'this is a good boy'

di bagara kuwayyisiḥ 'this is a good cow'

dokhum ʕidaan tuwaal 'those are long sticks'

- ii) On the other hand deictics only occupy the first place in the structure De-N-V in which the noun is determined;

e.g. ʕahu ilwad jih 'here comes the boy'

ʕahi ilbitt tuʕaʕit 'the girl has just gone out'

- iii) The two colligations N-D and N-De are different in that there is a possibility of pause after the deictic but not after the demonstrative. This difference relates to the occurrence of

D and De and contributes to the establishment of both of them.

The elements commuting in the third place after each of the two in extended colligations mark another difference between them. With demonstratives in the second place, the third place can be occupied by one of the following seven elements: ⁽¹⁾ determined adjective, undetermined adjective, verb, participle, a noun of relationship, bitaag in the appropriate form and a noun identical in form with that occupying the first place. But with deictics in the second place, the third place is occupied by one of the following four elements: undetermined adjective, verb, participle and prepositional piece.

Examples containing demonstratives are:

Silguud dahu ijtawiil 'this is the long stick'

Silguud dahu tawiil 'this is a long stick'

Sinnajjaar dokha jih 'that carpenter has come'

Silmudarrisa dakhi jaayih 'that teacher is coming'

(1) The da-series cannot be followed by a determined adjective. See pp. 271.

ʕilmudarris dahu gariibi 'this teacher is my relative'

ʕilgalamda bitaaʕi 'this is my pen' (1)

ʕilkarraasa di bitaaʕti 'this is my exercise book'

ʕilgalam dokha galam hasan 'that pen belongs to Hasan'

ʕilkarraasa dakhi karraasit ʕali 'that exercise book belongs to Ali'

Examples containing deictics are:

ʕilʕalam ahu 'here is the pencil'

ʕilʕuud ahu iʕawiil 'the stick is long enough'

ʕinnajjaar ahu jih 'the carpenter has already come'

ʕilmudarrisa ahi jaaya 'look! here comes the teacher'

ʕittalamza ahum maʕa ilmudarris 'here are the pupils with the teacher'

- iv) When demonstratives precede a determined adjective, they are comparable with personal pronouns. Thus, there is a pause after iʕawiil in

ʕilʕuud huwwa iʕawiil 'it is the stick which is long'

(1) For the transcription of the noun (ʕilgalam) and the demonstrative (da) together as one form see pp. 270-271 below.

fissajara hiyya ittawiilih 'it is the tree
which is high'

silfiriga humma ittuwaal 'it is the branches
which are high'

but there is no possibility of pause after the
independent personal pronoun in

silguud ittawiil huwwa ilmaksuur 'it is the
long stick which is broken'

fissajara ittawiila hiyya ilmagtuugah 'it is
the high tree which is cut'

silfiriga ittuwaal humma ilkuwayyisiin 'it
is the high branches which are good'

Similarly, there is no possibility of pause
after the demonstrative pronoun in

silguud ittawiil dakha maksuur 'it is that
long stick which is broken'

fissajara ittawiila dakhi magtuuga 'it is
that high tree which is cut'

silfiriga ittuwaal dokhum kuwayyisiin 'it
is those branches which are good'

However, personal pronouns differ from demonstratives in that they cannot be followed by an undetermined adjective or participle in such a structure.

ʒahu is different from both demonstratives and personal pronouns in this respect also, in that it either accompanies a preceding determined adjective or a following undetermined adjective in which cases there is a pause after the third place in the structure; cf., for example,

ʒilʒuud ahu ʔawiil 'the stick is long enough'

ʒilbagara ahi kuwayyisih 'the cow is good
enough'

ʒilfiriga ahum ʔuwaal 'the branches are high'

ʒilʒuud iʔʔawiil ahu 'here is the long stick'

ʒilbagara ilkuwayyisa ahi 'here is the good
cow'

ʒilfiriga iʔʔuwaal ahum 'here are the high
branches'

Having established the difference between demonstratives and deictics it is now proposed to give some more characteristics of each of them.

I - Demonstratives

Members of this class occur either in the place of a noun or an adjective; hence the twofold sub-division:

- (a) Demonstrative pronouns
- (b) Demonstrative adjectives.

(a) Examples of demonstrative pronouns are:

- (i) dahu ilḡiyaal ṣallāhuuh 'the boys have mended this(m)'
- di hasan kasarha 'Hasan has broken this(f)'
- dokhum faṭna rajjaḡithum 'Fatima has returned those'

Characteristic of the above examples is that the demonstrative in the head-position agrees in respect of number-cum-gender with the pronominal suffix in the pre-pausal position and the noun in the second position is determined. The following examples, in which the head-position is occupied by a noun, conform to the same characteristics.

- ṣilifl ilḡiyaal ṣallāhuuh 'the boys have mended the lock'
- ṣilgulla hasan kasarha 'Hasan has broken the jar'
- ṣilfuus faṭna rajjaḡithum 'Fatima has returned the axes'

(ii) Another position where nouns and demonstrative pronouns freely occur is exemplified by:

- (1)
- dahu (ṣilgalam) bitaaḡ fahmi 'this(f) (the pen) belongs to Fahmi'

(1) The form between the brackets is freely variant with the preceding one.

dahi irriifa bitaagit fahmi 'this(f) (the quill)
belongs to Fahmi'

dool (ilfanfaar) ixwaat ismaaiin 'those (the workmen)
are Ismail's brothers'

dokhum (ilmuhandisiin) garaybi 'those (the engineers)
are my relatives'

The element in the head-position in the above examples agrees in respect of number-cum-gender with the following element which is bitaag or a noun of relationship. Unlike demonstratives, deictics are impossible before the latter elements. ⁽¹⁾

(iii) Demonstrative pronouns are also similar to noun in that they occur after prepositions; cf., for example

silkitaab maga dahu (ittilmiiz) 'the book is with
this (the pupil)'

silgasal fi dakhi (isqafiha) 'the honey is in that
(the tin)'

(iv) Similarly, demonstrative pronouns follow transitive verbs; a place which is typical of noun.

e.g.

silnudarris talab dahu (ilgalam) 'the teacher has
asked for this (the pen)'

silnudarris talab dakhi (ilmasgara) 'the teacher has
asked for that (the ruler)'

(1) See p. 263 above.

(v) It also appears in construct with a preceding noun in which case it, like the noun, does not agree in number-cum-gender with the preceding noun;

daar dahu (hasan) 'the house of this (Hasan)'

ɟuɟl dokhum (innajjarin) 'the work of those (the carpenters)'

The fact that a determined noun is always possible in the position occupied by demonstrative pronoun together with the impossibility of the latter in the place of undetermined noun, say, in

fi iddaar riɟjaala kitiir 'there are many men in the house'

jild kitaab saɟd 'the cover of Sa'd's book'

serve to mark demonstrative pronoun as determined.

(b) Demonstrative adjectives are identical in form with demonstrative pronouns but they differ from the latter in that they occupy the adjectival, not the nominal, position. Demonstrative adjectives are freely variant with adjectives in the second position in the following examples:

ɟilwad dahu (ilkibiir) ɟaɟar 'this (the big) boy is clever'

ɟilbitt di (ilkibirra) ɟayyiba 'this (the big) girl is good'

fiilgiyaal dokhum (ilkubaar) naŕhiin 'those (the big) boys are clever'

Members of the two categories are also freely variant in the last position in

mhammad xad ilŕooŕa dahi (ilwasŕa) 'Muhammad has taken this (the big) room'

darwiif kal issamakaat dokhum (iŕŕuyayyariin)
'Darwish has eaten those (the small) fish'

Participle is also possible in the last position of the above examples

darwiif kal issamakaat ilmafwiyyiin 'Darwish has eaten the grilled fish'

But the fact that illi, instead of the definite article, may occur before the participle differentiates between examples containing participle on one hand and those containing demonstrative adjective and adjective on the other. The last example is freely variant with

darwiif kal issamakaat illi mafwiyyiin

Before dealing with deictics, it remains to mention that the three series of demonstratives (see p.259) conform to the characteristics given under (a) and (b) with the following reservations referable to the series da, di, dool. These demonstratives

(i) cannot occur in pre-pausal position,

(ii) da and di may be suffixed to the preceding noun in

which case the two forms in combination carry one prominent stress only and may be transcribed as one form. The following examples

ʒilgalam da kuwayyis 'this is a good pen'

ʒilbadla di ɣalya 'this is an expensive suit'

are freely variant with

ʒilgalánda kuwayyis

ʒilbadláadi kuwayyisa.

This is an indication of the partly marker nature of the category, which, unlike say the article or the vocative particle, follows the noun (like the pronominal suffixes),

- (iii) unlike the other two series of demonstratives, cannot be followed by a determined adjective when used adjectively in sentences of the structure N-D-A.

Compare

ʒilgalam da ɣaali 'this(m) pen is expensive'

ʒilmahfaza di jidiidih 'this(f) wallet is new'

with

ʒilgalam dahu ɣaali (ilɣaali) 'this(m) pen is expensive (the expensive)'

ʒilmahfaza dakhi jidiida (ijjiida) 'this (f) wallet is new (the new)'

N.B. It is relevant to mention here the invariable form da which occurs initially in positions comparable

to those of the demonstrative pronoun; cf., for example,

da mawquuɣ ʔawiil 'it is a long story'

da hikaaya yariiba 'it is a strange episode'

da ɣiyaal fuɗɗaar 'they are clever boys'

It occupies also a similar position to deictics.

e.g.

da ilwad naɣas 'look! the boy has slept!'

da ilbitt naɣasit 'look! the girl has slept!'

da ijjamaaɣa jum 'look! they have come!'

However, the fact that da occurs only in initial position and is invariable in form marks it off from both demonstratives and deictics.

II - Deictics

i) Unlike demonstratives, deictics do not occur in positions comparable to those of noun and adjective. The free variation of the following three successive orders may serve to illustrate this point.

(1) ɣilbawwaab ahu jaay 'here comes the door-keeper'

ɣilbayyaaga ahi rajga 'here comes the (woman) seller'

ɣilbayyaɣiin ahum rajaɣu 'here come the sellers'

- (2) Ṣahu ilbawwaab jaay
 Ṣahi ilbayyaaga rajga
 Ṣahum ilbayyagiiin rajaḡu

- (3) Ṣilbawwaab jaay ahuh
 Ṣilbayyaaga rajga ahih
 Ṣilbayyagiiin rajgiiin ahum

The fact that two identical forms of deictics may occur in one sentence in positions not in any way comparable to nominal or adjectival positions supports the same point, e.g.

Ṣahu ilwad zaḡal ahuh 'look! the boy has become angry!'

Ṣilbitt ahi gaamit ahih 'look! the girl has got up!'

zaḡal and gaamit are both intransitive verbs i.e. are not associable with a following noun. Similarly, the fact that ahi after Ṣilbitt can precede it differentiates between deictics and adjectives which always follow the noun.

- ii) Unlike demonstratives also, deictics in the head-position of the structure De-N-V-Prs agree with the following noun, not the pronominal suffix, in respect of number-cum-gender. The following examples should be compared with those under I(a)i) above.

ṣahum ilḡiyaal ṣallahuh 'look! the boys have mended it!'

ṣahu hasan kasarha 'look! Hasan has mended it!'

ṣahi faṭna rajjaḡithum 'look! Fatima has returned them!'

- iii) When accompanied by nouns followed by pronominal suffixes, deictics and demonstratives differ in that the former can only follow the combination of the noun and the pronominal suffix while the latter may follow or precede them.

Deictics

yeṭna ahuh 'here is our field'

talfiḡtak ahih 'here is your scarf'

kutubak ahum 'here are your books'

Demonstratives

yeṭna dahu (dahu yeṭna) ⁽¹⁾ 'this is our field'

talfiḡtak ḡakhi (ḡakhi talfiḡtak) 'that is your scarf'

kutubak dahum (dahum kutubak) 'these are your books'

- iv) In sentences of the structure Pr-P-De where the participle is intransitive, deictics only, sc. not demonstratives, are possible in the third position. When 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns occur in the head-position,

(1) The forms in brackets are in free variation with the preceding forms.

the deictic is constant in the form *ṣahuh*; cf., for example,

ṣani raajiḡ ahuh 'I(m) am going back soon'

ṣani rajḡa ahuh 'I(f) am going back soon'

ṣihna rajḡiin ahuh 'we are going back soon'

ṣinta raajiḡ ahuh 'you(m) are going back soon'

ṣinti rajḡa ahuh 'you(f) are going back soon'

ṣintu rajḡiin ahuh 'you(pl) are going back soon'

With 3rd person independent pronouns, deictics are not constant and agree with the former in respect of number-cum-gender, e.g.

huwwa raajiḡ ahuh 'he is going back soon'

hiyya rajḡa ahuh 'she is going back soon'

humma rajḡiin ahuh 'they are going back soon'

Unlike sentences containing noun, the above sentences cannot be extended by an identical form of the deictic in the pre-pausal position. Compare the above examples with:

ṣahu innajjaar jih ahuh 'here comes the carpenter'

ṣahi xadra xallaṣit ahuh 'look! Khadra has finished!'

However, the above examples containing 1st and 2nd person pronouns may be extended by the invariable

form *ṣadi* in the head-position in which case personal pronouns, with the exception of 1st person singular, which appears only in the pronominal suffix form, may appear in the independent pronominal form or the pronominal suffix form.

Examples are:

ṣadiini *ṭaaliḡ* *ahuh* 'I(m)'ll soon go out'

ṣadiini *ṭalḡa* *ahuh* 'I(f)'ll soon go out'

ṣadi ihna (*ṣadiina*) ⁽¹⁾ *ṭalḡiin* *ahun* 'we'll soon go out'

ṣadi inta (*ṣadiik*) *ṭaaliḡ* *ahuh* 'you(m)'ll soon go out'

ṣadi inti (*ṣadiiki*) *ṭalḡa* *ahuh* 'you(f)'ll soon go out'

ṣadi intu (*ṣadiiku*) *ṭalḡiin* *ahuh* 'you(pl)'ll soon go out'

ṣadi can neither accompany noun nor the 3rd person of personal pronoun.

(1) The combination of *ṣadi* and the pronominal suffix in brackets is in free variation with the preceding two forms.

Chapter VIII

Numeral

Numeral contrasts with noun and adjective in respect of

- i) its associability with the definite article,
- ii) the grammatical number-cum-gender of the noun with which it appears in the colligation Nu (= numeral)-N, and
- iii) its successive order with reference to the accompanying noun.

With regard to associability with the definite article and the grammatical number-cum-gender of the noun, the relationship between the two elements in N-N and N-A colligations respectively can be symbolized as follows:

$$\underline{\S il} N_3 - \S il N_3$$

$$\text{and } (\underline{\S il} N - \underline{\S il} A) \quad (1)$$

Different sub-classes of numeral do not have the same characteristics in common with regard to the two matters under consideration. Nevertheless, the relationship obtaining between noun and different sub-classes of numeral cannot be symbolized

(1) $\underline{\S il}$ and $\S il$ = respectively potential occurrence and non-occurrence of the definite article.
 3 = the three grammatical concordial relations termed masculine, feminine and plural. For further clarification of these formulae, see p.182 and pp.218-219 above.

by either of the above formulae. This serves as a criterion for differentiating numeral from both noun and adjective.

In the following examples, the noun colligated with the numeral can only be of the singular form;

tilmiiz wadhid 'one pupil'

ʃilʃiʃriin tilmiiz 'the twenty pupils'

And only the plural form of noun can be used in the following examples;
(1)

talat talamzih 'three pupils'

ʃittalamza ittalaatih 'the three pupils'

Compare the above examples with:

ʃtilmiiz kibiir 'a big pupil'

ʃittilmiiz kibiir 'the pupil is big'

ʃittalamza kubaar 'the pupils are big'

and

koorit tilmiiz 'a pupil's ball'

kutub ittilmiiz 'the pupil's books'

libs ittalamza 'the pupils' clothes'

Examples like

ʃidduur ilkibiira 'the big houses'

and ʃidduur ittalaata 'the three houses'

may look similar and there may be an inclination to consider talaata an adjective like kibiira. But the total possibility of structures with kibiira differ from those containing talaata.

(1) Excluding 'loan noun' (see p.211) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Other possibilities with kibiira are:

ƣidduur kibiira 'the houses are big'

duur kibiira 'big houses' and

daar kibiira 'a big house'

The only other possibility with talaata is:

ƣidduur talaata 'the houses are three'

The fact that i) a singular or plural noun may be colligated with kibiira and ii) both the noun and the adjective (kibiira) may or may not be associated with the definite article contrast with examples containing talaata which is accompanied by plural nouns only, while the preceding noun is always colligated with the definite article. The associability of the plural noun duur with another form of adjective related to kibiira; cf.,

duur kubaar 'big houses'

is taken as a further difference between the adjective (kibiira) and the numeral (talaata). Similarly, a useful comparison is made between

(1) ƣilmudarrisiin ƣayyibiin 'the teachers are good'

ƣilmudarrisiin iƣayyibiin 'the good teachers'

and

(2) ƣilmudarrisiin talatiin 'the teachers are thirty'

ƣilmudarrisiin ittataliin 'the thirty teachers'

There are two features in common between the second forms in examples under (1) and (2). The first is the ending -iin and the second is the association with the definite article. With

regard to the second feature the second forms in both (1) and (2) may or may not be associated with the definite article. But with talatiin (exx. (2)) the preceding noun must be determined while the noun in the comparable place with (exx. (1)) may be determined or undetermined; cf.,

mudarrisiin ṭayyibiin 'good teachers'

Another important difference between ṭayyibiin and talatiin is that the latter, but not the former, may be accompanied by a noun of singular form.

e.g. talatiin mudarris 'thirty teachers'

ṣilmudarris ittataliin 'the thirtieth teacher'

In the last example the two forms must be associated with ṣil. The fact that there are two successive orders, although they are not in free variation, ⁽¹⁾ can also be taken as a mark of difference between ṭayyibiin and talatiin. The form mudarris cannot be associated with ṭayyibiin but with the related form ṭayyib.

e.g. ṣilmudarris ṭayyib 'the teacher is good'

The sum of the above differences between ṭayyibiin and talatiin makes it feasible to classify them as members of the grammatical

(1) A difference between the two successive orders can be illustrated by extended colligation with a following adjective. In the order Nu-N-A the adjective must be of the plural form.

e.g. talatiin mudarris ṭuwaal 'thirty tall teachers'

But when the successive order is N=Nu-A the adjective must be of the singular form.

e.g. ṣilmudarris ittataliin ṭawiil 'the thirtieth teacher is tall'

categories adjective and numeral respectively. This adds to the general definition of the two categories and also supports the view taken here that talat, talaata and talatiin are not describable in respect of the number-cum-gender terms: masculine, feminine and plural respectively in the manner of the adjectival forms tayyib, tayyiba and tayyibiin. (1) Similarly, fitneen is not describable as a dual form in the manner of noun since there is no comparable singular form. *fitn gaali is not used, but both jaamaḡ gaali 'a high mosque' and jamaḡeen galyiin 'two high mosques', for example, occur.

Within the colligation Nu-N it is necessary to sub-divide the category numeral into six sub-classes. Associability with the definite article, the successive order obtaining between the two categories and the grammatical number-cum-gender of the noun are basic to the analysis.

The colligation Nu-A is also relevant, though to a lesser degree.

1 - Sub-classes '1' and '2'

Before stating the major differences between the two we are going to state first the features which they share in contradistinction to other numeral sub-classes.

(1) See the discussion of this point pp.287-288 below.

(1)
 With certain exceptions, this sub-class is characterized by the occurrence of the numeral after the noun in the colligation Nu-N and by the agreement between both elements in respect of their associability with the definite article; the definite article may or may not accompany both:

e.g. kitaab waahid 'one book'
 fanṭa waḥda 'one suitcase'
 fanṭiteen itneen 'two suitcases'
 ṣilkitaab ilwaahid 'the (single) book'
 ṣiffanṭiteen illitneen 'the two books'

The above characteristics are similar in a way to adjective and participle, which follow the noun and may agree with it in respect of their associability with the definite article; cf., for example,

kitaab maftuuh 'an opened book'
 fanṭa hamra 'a red suitcase'
 ṣilkitaab ilmaftuuh 'the opened book'
 ṣiffanṭa ilhamra 'the red suitcase'

But the fact that the preceding noun can be with ṣil while the adjective or participle is without it is one of the differences between this sub-class of numeral on one hand and adjective and participle on the other hand. Compare the above

(1) See p.285 below where it will be seen that the numeral ṣitneen precedes certain nouns.

examples containing numerals with:

ʕilkitaab maftuuh 'the book is opened'

ʕifjanʕa hamra 'the suitcase is red'

This numeral sub-class can be further sub-divided into two according to the grammatical number of the noun that accompanies the numeral and the characteristics exhibited in the colligation Nu-A. The two further sub-classes are:

a) wahid (wahda)

The only member of this sub-class is wahid 'one' which is characterized by either the absence or presence of the ending -a in masculine and feminine pieces respectively. It is colligated only with the singular noun. e.g.

saʕa wahda 'one hour' (1)

galam wahid 'one pen'

In the colligation Nu-A neither the numeral nor the adjective is associable with the definite article and the adjective is in the singular form.

e.g. wahid ʕawiil 'a tall one'

wahda mudarrisa 'one (woman) teacher'

The agreement between wahid and the following adjective in respect of the ending -a justifies abstracting its presence and absence as exponents of feminine and masculine respectively.

(1) See N.B. p.286 below.

N.B.

Examples like

ƣilwaahid baƣlaan 'I am (one is) tired'

ƣilwaahid maƣyuul 'I am (one is) busy'

are grammatically and situationally different from examples containing waahid and having the above characteristics. Situational characteristics will not detain us here since, although they provide good grounds for linguistic statements, they are outside the scope of this grammatical study. ⁽¹⁾

Grammatically, ƣilwaahid in the above examples can only be accompanied by participle and is always associated with the definite article. But the member of sub-class a) above is not associated with the definite article and can be followed by an adjective or a participle. e.g.

waahid asmar 'a brown one'

waahid maksuur 'a broken one'

b) ƣitneen

ƣitneen, an invariable form, is likewise the sole member of this sub-class. Unlike waahid, the noun preceding it is either of the dual or the plural form. With the latter both the noun and the numeral adjective must be

(1) See J.R. Firth 'Personality and language in Society' The Sociological Review, x/ii, 2, 1950.

colligated with the definite article.

Examples with dual noun are:

waragteen itneen 'two papers'

ʕilgalameen illitneen 'the two pens'

And examples with plural noun are:

ʕilliglaam illitneen 'the two pencils'

ʕilbagaraat illitneen 'the two cows'

ʕitneen also exhibits different characteristics from wachid when colligated with an adjective. It accompanies adjectives of plural form only and the colligation Nu-A, where ʕitneen occupies the numeral place, is similar to (1) N-A colligation in respect of the definite article; cf., for example,

ʕitneen ʕufr 'two yellow (ones)'

ʕillitneen ʕufr 'the two are yellow'

ʕillitneen iʕufr 'the two yellow ones'

Unlike wachid also, ʕitneen is colligable with a following singular noun belonging to a sub-class of loan noun. Thus colligated, the numeral only may be associated with the definite article;

e.g. ʕitneen jineeh 'two pounds'

ʕillitneen jineeh 'the two pounds'

ʕitneen is similar in this last characteristic to sub-class (2) '3-10' below.

(1) See p. 219 above.

(2) See p. 289 below.

N.B.

Examples like

ƒissaaga waħda '(it is) one o'clock'

ƒissaaga itneen '(it is) two o'clock'

ƒissaaga talaata '(it is) three o'clock'

are situationally and grammatically different from numerals under consideration. From the grammatical point of view, which concerns us here, such examples appear in fixed structural patterns containing elements identical in form, but not in function, with different sub-classes of numeral. It may be added also that such examples are collocationally limited.⁽¹⁾ ƒissaaga is a constant element in such examples followed by certain variable elements which can be listed. It is not proposed to do this here, but further examples are:

ƒissaaga xamsa wi nuṣṣ 'it is half past
five'

ƒissaaga sabɣa illa rubɣ 'it is quarter to
seven'

ƒissaaga tisɣa wi xamsa wi ɣiɣriin 'it is
twenty five past nine'

(1) For the use of the term collocation see J.R. Firth, 'Modes of Meaning', Essays and Studies, The English Association, 1951. See also T.F. Mitchell, 'Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis', TPS, 1958, pp.103-104.

2 - Sub-class '3-10'

Members of this numeral sub-class appear in two forms. When followed by a plural noun, the numeral form is characterized by the absence of the ending -a which, however, appears elsewhere. This presence and absence of the ending -a are not considered as exponents of feminine and masculine, because the relationship obtaining between the numeral and accompanying categories is different from that which obtains between other grammatical categories, noun and adjective for example, where the ending -a may conveniently be abstracted as an exponent of number-cum-gender. Thus, compare

talaata ʃuwaal 'three tall (men)'

talat kutub 'three books'

with

ɣayyila ʃawiila 'a tall girl'

ɣayyil ʃawiil 'a tall boy'

talaata, but not ɣayyila, is followed by a plural adjective. It may be argued that ʃawiila also can be colligated with plural noun in examples like ɣidaan ʃawiila 'long sticks' but, apart from the fact that such a form is not colligable with all sub-classes of noun, it is also the occurrence of ɣayyil ʃawiil that justifies abstracting the presence and absence of the ending -a respectively as exponents of feminine and masculine. The com-

parison of examples containing talat and ʔawiil shows yet another difference between the two cases. While talat and similar numerals are always colligated with plural nouns, ʔawiil can never be accompanied with a plural noun.

It will, however, be seen that the relationship between talat and talaata is not a simple one of the suffixation of -a as in the case of ʔawiil - ʔawiila, ʒayyil - ʒayyila, etc. Further contrast, for example, is between the long vowel of the second syllable of talaata and the short one of the corresponding syllable of talat. This difference between talaata and talat, and similar though not wholly parallel differences between other pairs of the same numeral sub-class, serves further to mark off numeral from noun and adjective.

For convenience of reference, it is proposed to designate the numeral form with the ending -a and that without the same ending free form and bound form respectively. ⁽¹⁾

Numerals of this sub-class are:

<u>Free form</u>	<u>Bound form</u>	
talaata	talat	'three'
ʒarbaqa	ʒarbaq	'four'
xamsa	xamas	'five'

(1) The terms are, of course, Bloomfield's, though differently employed. "Free form" is employed in the thesis in a substantially similar way to Bloomfield's "linguistic form". This term has been chosen, however, because talaata is the form occurring as an isolate as pre-pausally.

<u>Free form</u>	<u>Bound form</u>	
sitta	sitt	'six'
sabga	sabaḡ	'seven'
tamanya	taman	'eight'
tisga	tisaḡ	'nine'
ḡafara	ḡafar	'ten'

Unlike sub-class 1, a numeral of this class may precede or follow the noun. When the noun follows the numeral, it is either plural or singular depending upon the category to which it belongs, and the numeral only is colligible with the definite article. The noun appears in the singular form when it belongs to the sub-class loan noun in which case the numeral form is different from that preceding nouns belonging to other categories. The free form of the numeral is colligated with loan noun while other sub-classes of noun are colligated with the bound form of numeral.

e.g.

talat kutub	'three books'
ḡittalat kutub	'the three books'
sabga saay	'seven piastres'
ḡissabga saay	'the seven piastres'

With nouns in which the vowel i is initial, the colligation Nu-N is characterized by the occurrence of a linking t between the numeral and the noun; cf., for example,

xamas-t-iyyaam 'five days'

ǧaǧar-t-iǧhur 'ten months'

The colligation Nu-N differs in this respect from the colligation N-N where a linking t does not appear when the second noun begins with i; e.g.

ǧalam ibnak 'your son's pen'

ǧuyl iyyaam iǧṣeef 'work in summertime'

Difference of prominence marks off the construct feminine noun-noun where the first noun ends with the feminine exponent from numeral pieces containing the linking t as between

xámas-t-ihmaal 'five loads'

and jinéenit ilbeet 'the garden of the house'

Extended structures containing an adjective in the third place exhibit another difference between the linking t and the feminine exponent; cf., for example,

xamas-t-ihmaal kubaar 'five big loads'

and jinent ilbeet kibiira 'the garden of the house
is big'

The numeral piece, not the construct, must be followed by an adjective in the plural form.

When the numeral follows the noun, (i) the numeral may or may not be associated with the definite article while the noun must be so accompanied and (ii) the noun is always of the plural form. e.g.

ǧirrijjaala talaata 'the men are three'

ǧirrijjaala ittalaata 'the three men'

The fact that the noun in the above examples must be accompanied with the definite article and is always of the plural form differentiates between numeral and adjective where the noun may or may not be accompanied with *ʕil* and may be masculine, feminine or plural; cf., for example,

guʕt asmar 'a brown cat (m)'

ʕilguʕta samra 'the cat (f) is brown'

ʕilguʕat samra 'the cats are brown'

In the colligation Nu-A, behaviour in respect of the definite article is similar to that in the colligation N-A (1) but the adjective in association with the numeral is always plural in form; e.g.

talaata kubdar 'three big (ones)'

ʕittalaata kubdar 'the three are big'

ʕittalaata ilkubdar 'the big three'

Binomial numerals

Two forms of '3-10' numerals may be used together to form a complex whole, in which case, with one exception, they agree in regard to form, i.e. both of them may be free or bound. (2)

(1) See p. 219 above.

(2) The exception is *sabʕa taman* where the first and the second forms are free and bound respectively; cf., *sabʕa taman waraʕat* 'seven papers or so'.

Such a colligation of numerals functions in the structure in the same way as numerals of single form with regard to:

- i) the definite article; the colligation is associable with one definite article only, e.g.

ʃittalat arbaḡ kutuh 'the four or so books',

- ii) colligability with nouns; it is colligable with loan nouns of singular form and with the plural form of nouns belonging to other categories, e.g.

xamsa sittā jineeh 'five pounds or so'

xamas sitt ʒiyaal 'the five boys or so'

Notice also the use of the free form and the bound form with loan noun and other nouns respectively.

But binomial numeral complexes are different from the single numeral in that when accompanied by the definite article they colligate with the determined adjective only. Thus, compare the sole possibility of

ʃissabḡa tamanya ilkubaar 'the five or so big ones'

with the dual possibility of

either ʃissabḡa ilkubaar 'the big seven'

or ʃissabḡa kubaar 'the seven are big'

Binomial numerals of this sub-class are:

Free forms

talaata arbaḡa

ʃarbaḡa xamsa

xamsa sittā

Bound forms

talat arbaḡ

ʃarbaḡ xamas

xamas sitt

Free forms

sitta sabɣa

sabɣa tamanya

Bound forms

sitt sabɣ (1)

sabɣa taman

3 - Sub-class 'eleven-million'

This sub-class of numeral is similar to the previous one in that it may precede or follow the accompanying noun. But it is different in that the noun colligated with this numeral is of the singular form when the numeral precedes the noun and of either plural or singular form when the numeral follows. The numeral only is associable with the definite article when it precedes the noun;

e.g. hidaajar kitaab 'eleven books'

ʕilhidaajar kitaab 'the eleven books'

miit ɣaamil 'hundred workmen'

ʕilxumsumiit ɣaamil 'the five hundred workmen'

When the numeral follows the noun, the noun must be determined and if the noun is of the singular form the numeral must be colligated with the definite article.

e.g. ʕilkitaab ilhidaajar 'the eleventh book'

ʕilkitaab ilmiyya 'the hundredth book'

(1) It might have been expected to find more examples of binomial numerals containing tamanya, tisɣa and ɣafara, but in fact they are not used.

But in the case of a plural noun, the numeral may or may not be accompanied with *ʕil*; e.g.

ʕilkutub hidaajar 'the books are eleven'
ʕiʕanhum ilʕiʕriin 'their twenty fields'
ʕiglaam hasan ʕiʕriin 'Hasan has twenty pens'
ʕilʕummaal miyyiʕ 'the workmen are hundred'

The fact that the series

miyya (*miit*), *miteen*, *miyyaat*
ʕalf, *ʕalfeen*, *ʕalaaf*

milyoon, *ʕitneen milyoon*, *malayiin*

are used in the language under consideration requires a comparison between these forms and the nouns which appear in singular, dual and plural like

hadiyya (*hadiyyit*), *hadiyyaat*
kitaab, *kitabeen*, *kutub*

jineeh, *ʕitneen jineeh*, *jinahaat*

The relationship obtaining between each of the above forms and adjective is first considered.

- (1) *miyya kubaar* 'big hundred'
miteen kubaar 'big two hundred'
ʕalf (milyoon) kubaar 'big thousand (million)'
- (2) *hadiyya kibiira* 'big present'
kitaab kibiir 'big book'
hadiyyiteen (kitabeen) kubaar 'two big presents
 (books)'
jinahaat judaad 'new pounds'

The associability of miyya, ʕalf and milyoon with plural adjectives differentiates between these forms and the singular nominal forms hadiyya and kitaab which accompany singular masculine and feminine adjectives respectively.

The forms miyyaat, ʕalaaf and malayiin are not usually accompanied by adjectives and are used in limited grammatical structures such as

ʕanduhum miyyaat (ʕalaaf, malayiin)

'they have hundreds (thousands, millions) (of pounds)'

ʕabuuhum faat luhum ʕalaaf 'their father left thousands (of pounds) for them'

in which case they carry a more prominent stress than nouns usually do; the complex of numeral form and strong stress contribute to a special emphatic context.

When accompanied by a following noun, the structures containing the two series of forms exhibit different characteristics also:

(1) miit tilmiiz 'hundred pupils'

ʕilmiit tilmiiz 'the hundred pupils'

ʕilmiteen tilmiiz 'the two hundred pupils'

(2) hadiyyit tilmiiz 'a pupil's present'

hadiyyit ittilmiiz 'the pupil's present'

hadiyyit ittilmizeen 'the present of the two pupils'

plural in form. Thus, compare

ʕilʕummaal ilʕafar-talaaf 'the ten thousand workmen'
 ʕilʕummaal ilmiyya sabʕa wi ʕifriin 'the hundred and
 seventy one workmen'

with

ʕilʕaamil ittalatiin 'the 30th workman'
 ʕilʕummaal ittalatiin 'the thirty workmen'

Binomial numeral

This sub-class is further sub-divided into two:

- a) The only members of this sub-class are ʕafara hidaafar and hidaafar iʕnaafar which are in free variation; e.g.

ʕafara hidaafar kuuz 'the ten or so corncobs'
 ʕilʕafara iʕnaafar kuuz 'the ten or so corncobs'

Unlike other sub-classes of numeral 'eleven-million', these numerals do not follow the accompanying noun in the colligation Nu-N.

- b) 'hundred, thousand and million'

The constituents of the numeral complex of this sub-class are the plural form ʕalaaf and a bound '3-10' form or the singular form milyoon with a free form of the same numeral or with the numeral ʕitneen, cf., for example,

ʕafar-t-alaaf ʕaamil 'ten thousand workmen'
 xamsa milyoon kitaab 'five million pounds'
 ʕitneen milyoon huʕaan 'two million horses'

The occurrence of a linking t between the two forms of numeral in the first example marks the numeral complex off from other structures containing *ɣalaaf* like

ɣanduhum ɣalaaf 'they have thousands'

Unlike *ɣalf*, *milyoon* is similar to loan noun in that it is in the singular form in the above examples. However, the occurrence of a singular noun after the numeral complex differentiates *ɣalaaf* and *milyoon* from other nouns which cannot be followed by a singular noun in the same manner. (1)

With this sub-class of binomial numeral the accompanying noun may precede the numeral in which case the noun must be in the plural form and determined; e.g.

ɣilliglaam ɣaɣar-t-alaaf 'the pens are ten thousands'

ɣummaal ijfirka talaata milyoon 'the workmen of the company are three million (strong)'

Polynomial numeral

Members of this sub-class may contain three forms or more one of which is the form *wi* 'and'. They may be divided into two further sub-classes according to the different forms they contain.

(1) See p.290 above.

a) '20-99'

A polynomial numeral of this group contains three forms only, one of which is either wachid, šitneen or one of the free forms of sub-class '3-10'. The second form is characterized by the ending -iin i.e. šifriin, talatiin, šarbišiin, etc; cf., for example,

wachid wi šifriin jamal 'twenty-one camels'

šilxamsa wi tiššiin tilmiiz 'the ninety-five pupils'

It should be noted that the form wahda is not used in polynomial numerals even when the numeral is colligated with a *feminine* noun; e.g.

wachid wi šifriin naxla 'twenty-one palm-trees'

b) '100-1,000,000'

Examples of this polynomial sub-class are:

(1) miyya wi talaata jineeh 'š103'

šalf wi xamsa daar '1,005 houses'

šilmilyoon wi sabša šaamil 'the million and seven workmen'

These examples are freely variant respectively with:

miit jineeh wi talaata

šalf daar wi xamsa

šilmilyoon šaamil wi sabša

It will be seen that '3-10' numerals occurring in the polynomial complex are of the free form. The fact that

one noun only is colligable with the polynomial numeral differentiates it from two numeral pieces linked with wi. Compare the above examples with

miit jineeh wi talat guruuf '£100 and 3 piastres'
 silmiit jineeh wi sittalat guruuf '£100 and the 3
 piastres'

The colligation of the numeral in both of the two pieces linked by wi in the last example is yet another difference between them and the polynomial with which the definite article can occur once only.

4 - Ordinal numerals

The numeral of this sub-class may precede or follow the accompanying noun in the colligation Nu-N. It contrasts in this respect therefore with sub-class 1 and agrees with sub-classes 2 and 3 above. Unlike other numerals, however, when the numeral precedes the noun neither of them can be associated with the definite article and the noun appears in the singular form. Compare

taalit gayyil '(the) third boy'
 gaafir gayyila '(the) tenth girl'

with

sittalat giyaal 'the three boys'
 silgaafir giyaal 'the ten boys'

Similarly, this numeral is marked off from sub-class 3 above, since when it follows the noun both the numeral and the noun are either associated with the definite article or not. Comparison between the following examples under (1) and (2) illustrates the difference.

- (1) jamal xaamis 'a fifth camel'
 silbagara ilxamsih 'the fifth cow'
- (2) silkutub hidaajar 'the books are eleven'
 sijfanja ilhidaajar 'the eleventh suitcase'
 silkursi ilhidaajar 'the eleventh chair'

Comparison between the above examples reveals also two further important differences.

- i) The ordinal numeral is similar to waahid and different from other numerals in the matter of its agreement with the preceding noun in gender.
- ii) It can only be colligated with a singular noun. It is also similar to waahid and different from other numerals in this respect.

Another characteristic of the ordinal numeral distinguishing it from other numeral categories is the regular appearance of its masculine form in the pattern CaaCiC. As it happens that waahid is also of the same pattern and shares the other two characteristics with ordinal numerals, it should be mentioned that it is different from the ordinal numeral in that it cannot precede the noun. Comparison between examples (1) and (2) below

illustrates the difference.

(1) taalit kitaab

silkitaab ittaalit

(2) silkitaab ilwaaḥid

kitaab waaḥid

Chapter IX

The Relative *ŷilli*

The only member of this category is the invariable form *ŷilli*. The fact that it is invariable and cannot occur in pre-pausal position distinguishes it from all other grammatical categories except prepositions. It differs also from the latter in regard to the kind of elements occurring after each of them. For instance, while a verb can follow *ŷilli*, it cannot follow a preposition; e.g.

hasan illi hayiṭlaḡ 'it is Hasan who will go out'

again, while pronomial suffixes can follow the prepositions, they cannot follow *ŷilli*; e.g.

ŷilgalam ḡandak 'you have the pen'

ŷilwarda liki 'the rose is for you'

The relative *ŷilli* is also characterized by its occurrence in exclusive places.

(1) One of such places is third in the structure

dN-Pr-R-V/P/Ad/Prep

in which the determined noun in the head-position agrees in number-cum-gender with the following 3rd person independent pronoun; e.g.

ŷilgalam huwwa illi inkasar 'it is the pen which has been broken'

ʃilkarraasa hiyya illi magtuuḡah 'it is the exercise book which is torn'

ʃilḡiyaal humma illi foog 'it is the boys who are upstairs'

ḡasan huwwa illi fi ilyeet 'it is Hasan who is in the field'

(2) Another place where ~~only the~~ relative ʃilli can occur is the second in the structure

dN-R-Pr-V/P-V

in which, unlike the previous structure, the independent personal pronoun is of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person and does not agree in number-cum-gender with the noun in the head-position; cf., for example,

ʃilʃakl illi ihna ṭalabnaah yaab 'the food which we have asked for is late'

ʃilfaas illi huwwa jayibha inkasarit 'the axe which he brought has been broken'

kizaan iddura illi inta baḡattuhum waḡalu 'the corncobs which you sent have arrived'

The different possible elements after the relative ʃilli are:

- i) verb
- ii) participle
- iii) noun (independent pronoun, demonstrative pronoun)

iv) adverb (1)

v) prepositional piece (1)

The fact that filli must be followed by any one of the above elements and that the whole piece occurs in the place of one element, noun or adjective, as will be clear from the analysis, justifies considering filli and the following form or forms as a unitary piece which is here termed relative piece.

The elements following filli exhibit different characteristics depending on the type of structure in which the relative piece appears. In accordance with the place they occupy, relative pieces are grouped into two classes; namely adjectival relative piece and pronominal relative piece.

I - Adjectival relative piece

This piece occurs in a position comparable to that of a determined adjective and, like the latter, is always preceded by a determined noun; cf. the following examples under (1) and (2).

(1) silxajab illi jibtu xallaşnaah 'we have finished the wood you brought'

şiddaar illi iftaranaaha xalyih 'the house which we bought is expensive'

şilkutub illi axuuk rajjağhum sulaam 'the books which your brother returned are in good condition'

(1) For the terms adverb and prepositional piece see p. 312 and p. 315 respectively.

- (2) silxafab ilgadiim xallaṣnaah 'we have finished the old wood'
fiidbaar ilgurayyiba yalyāh 'the nearer house is expensive'
silkutub ijjudaad sulaam 'the new books are in good condition'

Characteristics of the adjectival piece

- (i) Verbs and participles occurring in adjectival relative piece may or may not be intransitive.
 (a) In the case of intransitive verbs or participles, the verbal or participial form agrees with the determined noun in respect of number-cum-gender.

Examples containing intransitive verb are:

- mhammad illi talax 'it is Muhammad who has gone out'
faṭna illi ramahit 'it is Fatima who has run away'
firrijjaala illi gaamu 'it is the men who have left'

Examples containing participles are:

- hasan illi yaayib 'it is Hasan who is absent'
ṣuxtak illi talga 'it is your sister who is going out'
ṣinnaxlaat illi mitgallimiin 'it is the palm trees which are trimmed'

- (b) When the verb and participle are transitive or doubly transitive the noun in head-position either agrees with the verbal or participial form, or agrees with a pro-

nominal suffix following either of them in respect of number-cum-gender.

Examples with transitive and doubly transitive verbs are:

hasan illi kallim ilmudir 'Hasan who has talked to the director'

silbaab illi shallahtuuh 'the door you have mended'

silbitt illi jufnaahah 'the girl whom we have seen'

silwiliyya illi iddat mhammad izzibda 'the woman who gave Muhammad the butter'

silbanaat illi gabluunih 'the girls who met us'

silbanaat illi warreenahum ijineenih 'the girls to whom we showed the garden'

Examples containing transitive and doubly transitive participles are:

silgalam illi gaajib hasan 'the pen which Hasan likes'

silxaddaam illi talbach issitt 'the servant whom the woman asked for'

silwiliyya illi miballaya fahmi ilhikaayih 'the woman who related the episode to Fahmi'

silbitt illi gajyinha ilgulal 'the girl to whom they give the jars'

sijjamaaga illi misammiliin mhammad 'those who saw Muhammad off'

(ii) When a noun immediately follows ʕilli, the relative piece must contain a pronominal suffix agreeing in number-cum-gender with the noun in head-position, cf., for example,

ʕilgalam illi sinnu inkasar 'the pen whose nib has been broken'

ʕilmudarrisiin illi ʕali ʕazimhum 'the teachers whom Ali has invited'

ʕilmara illi ibnaha fi ilmustajfa 'the woman whose son is in hospital'

ʕilkursi illi ilkarraasa fooguh 'the chair with the exercise book on it'

ʕilʕooqa illi ilʕiyaal fiiha 'the room which the boys are in'

Similarly, when an independent pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun occurs immediately after ʕilli, the determined noun in head-position agrees with a pronominal suffix in the relative piece, cf.,

ʕirraajil illi ihna gabilnaah 'the man whom we met'

ʕilkanaba illi huwwa jabha 'the sofa which he brought'

ʕilkitaab illi dakhil xadituh 'the book which that person (f) has taken'

ʕittiffaaha illi dahu kalha 'the apple which this person (m) has eaten'

(iii) When adverb or prepositional pieces follow *şilli* there is no agreement between the determined noun preceding *şilli* and elements in the relative piece; e.g.

şissajara illi fi ijjineena 'the tree which is in the garden'

şilkursi illi fi ilşooqa 'the chair which is in the room'

şilşarabiyyaat illi barra 'the cars which are outside'

şilli in the above examples under I - (i), (ii) and (iii) is comparable with the definite article *şil*. The presence and absence of *şilli* correlates respectively with the possibility and impossibility of the element in the final position in, say,

şilwad illi fi maşr rajağ 'the boy who lives in Cairo has come back'

şirriifa illi maksuura bitağti 'the broken quill is mine'

şilmudarrisiin illi haqaru ilhafla zumalaati 'the teachers who attended the party are my colleagues'

and

şilwad fi maşr 'the boy is in Cairo'

şirriifa maksuurdh 'the quill is broken'

şilmudarrisiin haqara ilhaflh 'the teachers have attended the party'

Similarly, the presence and absence of *ɕil* respectively correlates with the occurrence and non-occurrence of comparable elements in the final position in examples such as

ɕilwad ilkiɓiir raɗaɗ 'the big boy has come back'

ɕirriiɗa ilmaksuura bitaɗti 'the broken quill is mine'

ɕilmudarrisiin iɗɗudaad garaybi 'the new teachers are my relatives'

and

ɕilwad kiɓiir 'the boy is big'

ɕirriiɗa maksuura 'the quill is broken'

ɕilmudarrisiin judaad 'the teachers are new'

II - Pronominal relative piece

This relative piece occupies places typical of noun:

(i) One such place is after a preposition, cf.

ɗalam min illi fi iddurɗ 'a pencil from those (which are) in the drawer'

ɗali maɗa illi biyiftayalu 'Ali is with those who are working'

ɗayisɗal ɗala illi ɗayyaanɗi 'he will enquire about that person (f) who is ill'

Unlike the adjectival relative piece, elements in the relative piece do not agree in any respect with other elements in the structure.

(ii) Another place of the pronominal relative piece comparable to that of noun is shown in the following examples;

daar illi zurnaahum 'the house of those (whom)
we visited'

ṣaxu illi ijjawizit 'the brother of the
person (f) who got married'

filuus illi fi ilmustajfa 'the money which
belongs to the person who is in hospital'

The relative piece in the above examples occupies the place of the second noun in a construct. ⁽¹⁾ Thus, in each case, the noun in the head-position is undetermined and no element in the relative piece agrees with it in number-cum-gender. Compare this last set of examples with:

daar iddaktuur 'the doctor's house'

ṣaxu faṭna 'Fatima's brother'

filuus hasan 'Hasan's money'

(1) See p. 185 above.

Chapter X

Particles (1)

The common characteristics of the elements under consideration in this chapter are:

- (i) Invariability of form with the exception of those consisting of more than one form.
- (ii) Non-associability with the definite article.

The following division of particles into three classes is based on syntactical characteristics exhibited by structures in which they occur.

I - Prepositional particles, e.g.

mhammad fi iddaar

faṭna fi ilyeet

II - Adverbial particles, e.g.

ṣilwad foog 'the boy is upstairs'

ṣilbitt foog iṣṣaḥ 'the girl is upstairs'

III - Adverbs, e.g.

ṣilmudarris saafir ilbaarah 'the teacher(m) went away yesterday'

ṣilmudarrisa saafir ilbaarah 'the teacher(f) went away yesterday'

(1) Negative interrogative and conjunctive particles are excluded from this chapter. They appear under relevant headings in chapters of Part I.

The main differences which distinguish these three classes are:

- i) A certain group of elements commute in the immediate place after prepositional particles which cannot be followed by a pause while adverbial particles are either followed by one of a similar group of elements or by a pause. Adverbs, on the other hand, cannot be followed by elements similar to those which are possible after prepositional and adverbial particles. They are usually followed by a pause. ⁽¹⁾
- ii) Prepositional and adverbial particles may or may not accompany verbs while adverbs are always colligated with verbs.

It is now proposed to exemplify some structures containing particles of all the three classes and to point out the characteristic features they exhibit:

I - Prepositional particles

Prepositional particles must be followed by one of the following elements:

- 1 - a noun
- 2 - a pronominal suffix
- 3 - a demonstrative pronoun

(1) See, however, the possibility of imperfect neutral verbs after adverbs p. 321 below.

- 4 - a relative piece
- 5 - an adverbial particle
- 6 - an adverb
- 7 - a prepositional piece.

The fact that pronominal suffixes can follow the prepositional particle, but cannot occur after the relative *šilli* which, on its part, can be followed by independent personal pronouns and verbs neither of which can appear after the prepositional particle, serves as a criterion in delineating the dividing line between the sub-class in question and the relative *šilli*. The differentiation is rather relevant in view of the similarity between the two elements neither of which can be inflected or occur in pre-pausal position. The following examples are chosen to illustrate the difference. ⁽¹⁾

- 1 - *šilkitaab fi iddurj* 'the book is in the drawer'
- 2 - *šilhagg šaleek* 'you are wrong'
- 3 - *mhammad maša dokhum* 'Muhammad is with those people'
- 4 - *šilhibaal wayya illi barra* 'those outside have the ropes (lit. the ropes are with those who are outside)'
- 5 - *šilbanaat ŧalašu šala foog* 'the girls have gone upstairs'
- 6 - *šinnajjaar hayxallaš šala bukra* 'the carpenter will finish by tomorrow'

(1) Compare with examples containing *šillipp* 307-308 above.

7 - silginab min gand hasan 'the grapes are from Hasan'

Another point of difference emerging from comparison between the above examples and those containing the relative filli is the lack of agreement in number-cum-gender between the elements following the prepositional particle and the noun preceding it. Such an agreement between the noun preceding filli and the elements following it is clearly observed in the following examples:

silwad illi inta gabiltu 'the boy whom you have met'

silbitt illi ijjawizha 'the girl whom he married'

The fact that the prepositional particle must of necessity be associated with one of the elements enumerated above, justifies the consideration of the combination prepositional particle plus subsequent element as a unitary piece, henceforth termed 'prepositional piece'.

Having given this description of the prepositional piece the analysis will now proceed with some of the structures where it occurs.

- i) Within the colligation N-Prep either of the two structural components can precede the other. The noun preceding the prepositional piece is always ~~determined~~ determined, e.g.

silgaşa mağa çali 'Ali has the stick (lit. the stick with Ali)'

filwad fi ilfooqa 'the boy is ~~was~~ in the room'

A noun following the prepositional piece must, however, be invariably undetermined, e.g.

maqa gali xaqa 'Ali has a stick (lit. with Ali a stick)'

fi ilfooqa xayyil 'there is a boy in the room (lit. in the room a boy)'

ii) In the structure

N-Pre-Prs-N

the pronominal suffix agrees in number-cum-gender with a determined noun in the head position and a determined or undetermined noun occupies the final position, cf.,

gali xandu kitabeen 'Ali has two books'

faḥna miḡaaha ilkitabeen 'Fatima has the two books'

ḡittalamza wayyaahum kitabeen 'the pupils have two books'

Non-occurrence of verbs in final position differentiates, inter alia, between the above examples and those containing a noun in place of the prepositional particle such as:

gali mahfazḡu qaḡḡit 'Ali's wallet has been lost'

faḥna axuuha rajaḡ 'Fatima's brother has returned'

ḡittalamza kutubhum inbaḡatit 'the pupils' books have been sent'

N.B.

The form *fiih*, which is identical with the combination *fi*-3rd person masculine pronominal suffix, differs from the latter in that it is invariable, occurs in head-position and is always followed by an undetermined noun. On the other hand, the prepositional piece *fi*-pronominal suffix follows a determined noun with which the pronominal suffix agrees in number-cum-gender. Thus, compare

fiih kitaab ġala ilmaktab 'there is a book on the desk'

fiih warda fi ilkubbaayih 'there is a rose in the glass'

fiih janġiteen juwwa 'there are two cases inside'

with

kitaab hasan fiih ġuwar 'Hasan's book is illustrated (lit. Hasan's book ~~with~~ it pictures)'

ġooġit hasan fiiha kanaba 'there is a sofa in Hasan's room'

ġiġġunaġ fiihum ilkutub 'the books are in the cases'

iii) In the three-place structure

N-Prep-V

the verb can, with certain exceptions, follow or precede the prepositional piece. When the verb occurs in the second place it may be perfect or imperfect, e.g.

ɣali ityadda fi ilmaɗɣam 'Ali had lunch in the restaurant'

faɗna bitilɣab maɣa mhammad 'Fatima is playing with Muhammad'

ɣilɣiyaal hayiftayalu wayya uxtuhum 'the boys will work with their sister'

It is observed, however, that when the verb follows the prepositional piece i.e. occurs in the third place it must always be in the imperfect present form, cf.

ɣali fi ilmaɗɣam biyityadda 'Ali is having lunch in the restaurant'

faɗna maɣa mhammad bitilɣab 'Fatima is playing with Muhammad (lit. Fatima with Muhammad playing)'

ɣilɣiyaal wayya uxtuhum biyiftayalu 'the boys are working with their sister'
(1)

Not all prepositional pieces, however, can occur before a verb. Those with the prepositional particles

(1) Compare these examples with those containing adverbial particles and adverbs p.321 below.

li, bi, gabl, bağd and min occur only ~~after~~ the verb, cf., for example,

ğali nadah li axuuh 'Ali has called his brother'

ğilbitt bitaakul bi ilmağlaga 'the girl is eating with the spoon'

In sentences containing verbs of motion also, prepositional pieces can only follow the verb, cf.

mħammad saafir ğala mağr 'Muhammad has travelled to Cairo'

fağna hatiğlağ mağa ğahbitha 'Fatima will go out with her friend'

ğilğiyaal biyirjağ fi ilğarabiyya 'the boys (always) return by car'

Notes

1 - li

Doubly transitive verbs are followed by two nouns in the successive order

Npr-Nar/Nir

or Nar-Nir.

If this order is reversed li must precede the noun in final position, cf.

ğali sallim mħammad ilbagara 'Ali has given Muhammad the cow'

ğali ğarrab ilbitt iddawa 'Ali has made the girl drink the medicine'

ɣali fayyil ilhumaar ilmihraat 'Ali has loaded the
donkey with the plough'

But

ɣali sallim ilbagara li mhammad 'Ali has given the
cow to Muhammad'

ɣali farrab iddawa li ilbitt 'Ali has made the girl
drink the medicine'

ɣali fayyil ilmihraat li ilhumaar 'Ali has loaded
the plough on the donkey'

2 - min and ɣala

When these prepositional particles precede the
definite article, they are freely variant with mi and
ɣa respectively, cf.

ɣilwahla min(mi) innatara 'the mire comes from the
rain'

ɣilɣarabiyfaat ɣala(ɣa) ijjisr 'the cars are on the
(river) bank'

Compare these examples with the following where mi and
ɣa are impossible.

ɣilwahla min iyyaam innatara 'the mire comes (is left)
from the rainy days'

ɣilyada ɣala iwlaad haamid 'Hamed's sons are
providing today's lunch'

II - Adverbial particles

In addition to the general criteria differentiating adverbial particles from the other two sub-classes of particle, adverbial particles differ from the latter in that they can be immediately followed by a verb in the imperfect present form; e.g.

Ɔilɓanfaar barra biyiɗtayalu 'the workmen are working outside'

Ɔidɗuyuuɗ juwwa biyityaddu 'the guests are having lunch inside'

Prepositional pieces, not prepositional particles, are possible in such a place (see exx. p. 318). On the other hand, the adverbs which occur in a comparable position are followed by an imperfect neutral form, cf.

Ɔilɓanfaar bukra yijɗtayalu 'the workmen will find jobs after sometime'

Ɔidɗuyuuɗ dilwagt yiju 'the guests will soon arrive'

Other elements commutable in the immediate place after adverbial particles are:

- 1 - a noun
- 2 - a pronominal suffix
- 3 - a demonstrative pronoun
- 4 - a relative piece
- 5 - a prepositional piece
- 6 - an adverb

Examples containing these elements respectively are:

- 1 - hasan foog innaxla 'Hasan is up the tree'
- 2 - silkitaab tahtak 'you are sitting on the book (lit. the book is under you)'
- 3 - silhuduum juwwa dokha 'the clothes are inside that (one)'
- 4 - sijjamal guddaam illi faatu 'the camel is in front of those who have passed'
- 5 - silwad barra fi ijineeni 'the boy is outside in the garden'
- 6 - silbannayiin iftayalu taht ilbaarah 'the builders worked downstairs yesterday'

A difference between sentences with a prepositional particle followed by an adverb and those with an adverbial particle followed by an adverb is that there is a potential pause after the adverbial particle, not after the prepositional particle. The combination of the adverbial particle and one of the elements enumerated above is termed adverbial piece.

Apart from the fact that either the adverbial particle alone or the adverbial piece occupies the place of the prepositional piece, members of this sub-class appear in similar structures to those which contain prepositional particles.

(i) In the colligation N-Ad/Adp either of the two components can precede the other. If the noun precedes the ad-

verbial particle or the adverbial piece it may be determined or undetermined; e.g.

ʕijjamal barrah 'the camel is outside'

ʕayyila foog ilʕiʕʕiʕh 'there is a girl on top of the hut'

When the noun occurs in the second position it must be undetermined, cf.

barra jamal 'there is a camel outside (lit. outside a camel)'

foog ilʕiʕʕa ʕayyila 'there is a girl on top of the hut (lit. over the hut a girl)'

(ii) (ii) In the structure

N-Ad/Adp-Prs-N

the determined noun in head position agrees in number-cum-gender with the pronominal suffix; e.g.

ʕiddulaab ʕahtu xafaba 'there is a piece of wood under the cupboard'

xarjit hasan juwwacha ilmihraat 'the plough is inside Hasan's stable'

ʕilʕiyaal guddamhum ilʕakl 'the table is laid for the boys (lit. the boys in front of them food)'

(iii) When accompanying a verb, an adverbial particle or an adverbial piece may precede or follow the verb. If either the adverbial particle or the adverbial piece precedes it is of

the imperfect present form (see exx. on p. 321 above). But when they follow the verb may be perfect or imperfect, cf.

- hasan zaakir foog 'Hasan has studied upstairs'
 ʕali biyifhat wara ilheeʕa 'Ali is digging behind
 the wall'
 ʕamiin hayiʔlaʕ gabl hasan 'Amin will go out before
 Hasan'

Similar to structures containing prepositional pieces and verbs of motion adverbial particles and adverbial pieces can only follow the verb of motion; e.g.

- hasan ʔalaʕ foog 'Hasan has gone upstairs'
 fahmi hayiggud taht issajara 'Fahmi will sit under
 the tree'

Note

hina and hinaak

These two adverbial particles differ from other members of the category in that they cannot be associated with following similar elements. But they are similar to the rest of the category in their associability with noun and verb, cf., for example,

- ʕilkitaab hinaak 'the book is there'
 hinaak kitaab 'there is a book there'
 hasan hayitʕajfa hina 'Hasan will have dinner here'
 ʕali imtaħan hina 'Ali sat for his examination here'
 hasan hina biyitʕajfa 'Hasan is here having dinner'

III - Adverbs

This sub-class of particles is classified in a different manner from the above two sub-classes according to the features exhibited by the structures in which its members occur. The tense of the verb colligated with adverbs is taken as basic for dividing them into three groups.

1 - Adverbs colligated with verbs of perfect or imperfect tense; e.g.

mhammad kal idquhr 'Muhammad has eaten at noon'

mhammad biyaakul idquhr 'Muhammad (always) eats at noon'

mhammad hayaakul idquhr 'Muhammad will eat at noon'

2 - Adverbs colligated with perfect verbs only; e.g.

gali wasal ilbaarah 'Ali has arrived yesterday'

hasan ijjawwiz ilbeela illi faatit 'Hasan was married yesterday'

3 - Adverbs colligated only with imperfect future verbs; cf.

mahmud hayimtahan bukrāh 'Mahmud will sit for his exams tomorrow'

sissajara hati|rah issana ijjaayih 'the tree will bear fruit next year'

The form (or the complex of forms) of the adverb together with the interpolable prepositional particles between the verbal form and the adverb are characteristic of each sub-group and supports the basic criterion selected above.

Sub-class 1

Adverbial ~~phrases~~ of this sub-class a) consist either of one form or more and b) with certain exceptions can be preceded by min, ğala, ğabl and bağd, cf.

mahmud rajas ilmayrib 'Mahmud returned at sunset'

mahmud rajas min ilmayrib 'Mahmud has returned and has been here since sunset'

mahmud biyirjas ğala ilmayrib 'Mahmud returns at about sunset'

mahmud hayirjas ğabl ilmayrib 'Mahmud will return before sunset'

mahmud rajas bağd ilmayrib 'Mahmud has returned after sunset'

Other adverbs of this class which are commutable in the place of ilmayrib in the above examples are:

adverbs of one form: fidquhr, silğasr, ~~silğasr~~, silçifa, 'at noon, at mid-afternoon, ~~at dusk~~ at dusk'

adverbs of more than one form: yoom ijjimğa, yoom issabt, yoom ilhad...etc 'Friday, Saturday, Sunday...etc' fissaaga itneen, fissaaga talaata...etc 'two o'clock, three o'clock...etc'

ḡissaaga talaata wi rubḡ, ḡissaaga talaata wi nuḡḡ...etc 'at quarter past three, at half past three...etc'

Unlike other members of this class, the following adverbs cannot be associated with the group of prepositional particles interpolable between verb and the following adverb. These adverbs are: haalan, duḡri, badri (min badrā), ḡala tuul 'soon, quickly, early (since early), immediately'

Sub-class 2

With the exception of ḡilbaaraḡ, the adverb consists of a complex of forms a part of which is ḡilli faat/faatit; e.g. ḡiffaḡr illi faat, ḡissana illi faatit. The prepositional particles interpolable between the verb and the adverb are: min, gaḡl, baḡd and zayy, cf., for example,

ḡali ijḡawwiz issana illi faatit 'Ali married last year'

ḡali ijḡawwiz min issana illi faatit 'Ali married since last year'

ḡali ijḡawwiz gaḡl issana illi faatit 'Ali married before last year'

ḡali ijḡawwiz baḡd ilḡiid illi faat 'Ali married after the last feast'

ḡali ijḡawwiz zayy illeela illi faatit 'Ali married yesterday week'

The three-form adverbs of this sub-class can be extended by the occurrence of the prepositional particle *gabl* in which case *ʕilli* occurs twice,

e.g.

ʕissana illi gabl illi faatit 'the year before last'

ʕissabt illi gabl illi faat 'the Saturday before the last'

ʕawwil baarah and *ʕawwil ʕawwil baarah* occur in the same position of other adverbs of this sub-class, cf., for example,

mahmud rajag awwil baarah 'Mahmud came the day before yesterday'

mahmud rajag min awwil awwil baarah 'Mahmud came two days ago'

Sub-class 3

With the exception of *bukra*, the adverb consists of a complex of forms a part of which is *ʕijjaay/ʕijjaaya* or *ʕilli-jayya/ʕilli-jaaya* and can be preceded by the prepositional particles *min*, *zayy*, *ʕala* and *li*, cf., for example,

hasan hayiftayal issabt ijjaay 'Hasan will work next Saturday'

hasan hayiftayal min issabt ijjaay 'Hasan will start working as from (next) Saturday'

hasan hayiftayal zayy issabt ijjaay 'Hasan will start working as from (next) Saturday week'

hasan hayiftayal gala issabt ijjaay 'Hasan will
start working (next) Saturday'

hasan hayiftayal li iffahr ijjaay 'Hasan will work
till next month'

In contrast with the occurrence of *gabl* in the complex of adverbs belonging to sub-class 2, *bağd* occurs in the complex of adverbs in the sub-class under discussion; e.g.

or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fissana illi bağd ijjaaya} \\ \text{fissana illi bağd illi jaaya} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{'the year after the next'}$

or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fiiffahr illi bağd ijjaay} \\ \text{fiiffahr illi bağd illi jaaya} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{'the month after the next'}$

bağd bukra and *bağd bağd bukra* which belong to this class can be contrasted with *şawwil baarah* and *şawwil awwil baarah* of sub-class 2, cf.

mahmud hayirjag bağd bukra 'Mahmud will come the
day after tomorrow'

mahmud hayistanna li bağd bağd bukra 'Mahmud will
stay for two more days'

Appendix

Arabic Texts and Translation

Appendix

Texts and Translations

Most of the material below relates to agriculture in the day-to-day life of the village and is based on recordings made in Cairo with the help of Mr. Hasan Gom'a, who generously received certain members of my family at his Cairo home where the recording was made in the autumn of 1958.

My thanks are due to all those who kindly took part; they are all natives of Tahway and the following is a brief introduction to them:

(1) My father, Sheikh Ahmad Abu El-Farag (A) ⁽¹⁾ is a graduate of the Islamic University of 'Al-'Azhar (1925) and taught in primary schools until his retirement a few years ago. He has always been interested in preaching and in leading the Friday prayer, which requires the giving of a special address in neo-classical Arabic. He is 66 years old.

(2) Sheikh Sayyid Gom'a (S) received a religious education and has since been teaching and preaching in neo-classical Arabic. He spends most of his time in Cairo, but is in constant touch with natives of the village and frequently uses TD. He is in his late fifties.

(1) The letter between brackets after the name is used in the text to refer to the person concerned.

(3) My uncle, Sheikh Abd El-Baaqi Abu El-Farag (B) received his primary education in the village and learned the Koran by heart. He is a farmer in his forties and has spent all his life in Tahway.

(4) Mr. Hasan Gom'ra (H) is a graduate of Cairo University and is working as an examining magistrate. He spends most of his time in Cairo, but is still in touch with the village and the villagers and frequently speaks TD. He is in his thirties.

(5) My brother, Sheikh Abd El-Hamid Abu El-Farag (D) received his primary education in the village where, like B, he attended the Koranic school, learned the Koran by heart and is working as a farmer. He is in his late twenties, and has spent most of his life in the village.

(6) My youngest brother, Mr. Abd El-Khaliq Abu El-Farag (K) is a student of law at the University of Alexandria. He spends all his vacations at home in the village and is a typical TD speaker. He is twenty-two years of age.

(7) Mr. Mahmud Abd El-Jaliil (M), has received his primary education in the village. He left school to work as a farmer. He is in his thirties and has spent most of his life in Tahway.

Arabic Text

1 - Silguṭn

(1)
 H - Seeh saxbaar ilguṭn ya gamm ilhajj gabd ilbaagi?
 B - maḥsuul ilguṭn kuwayyis issana di xaalaṣ. H - rama gadd-
 seeh? B - silfaddaan biyirmi sitt ganaṭiir wi sabaḡ ganaṭiir
 wi taman ganaṭiir. H - wi rama ganduku kaam? B - rama gandina
 ihna tamanyih. H - biḡtuuh walla lissih? B - la lissa.
 H - leeh? B - tamḡaniin fi issiḡr. H - siṣsiḡr nazal dilwagt?
 B - la mutawaṣṣiṭ. H - waṣal kaam? B - waṣal talatṭaaṣar.
 H - biig, sahu kuwayyis kidih. B - sin jaaf allaaḥ nibiig.
 H - wi ḡamaltu seeh fi jamḡ ilguṭn? B - kareena ḡiyaal wi
 jamagnaah. H - silfaddaan biyjiilu kaam ḡayyil?
 B - silfaddaan biyjiilu xamsiin ḡayyil. H - yijnu ṭuul
 innihaar? B - ṭuul innihaar. yiṭlaḡu yityaddu bass
 idḡuhr. masaafit ma yityaddu wi yiṣrabu iṣjaay yitdallu
 taani yijnu lihadd ilmayrib. H - wi iṣṣuyṭ da biykuun
 fi iṣṣeef? B - siywa, ḡajaan da miḡaad jany ilguṭn.
 H - laazim iddinya bitkuun harr gawi wi iṣṣuyṭ biykuun
 mutḡib. B - da ṣahiḥ, laakin ilfallahiin ḡaryiin ḡa
 ilharr.

(1) ya gamm is Cairene usage. Corresponding TD is ya aba.

English Translation

1 - Cotton

H - What about the cotton, Uncle Hadji Abd EL-Baaqi?

B - The cotton crop is very good this year. H - How much did it [the acre]⁽¹⁾ yield? B - [The annual yield

is] six, seven or eight cantars to the acre. H - How

many [cantars] did your acreage yield? B - [Ours

yielded] eight [cantars]. H - Have you sold it or not

yet? B - No, not yet. H - Why? B - Hoping for a

[higher] price. H - Is the price low now? B - No,

average. H - How much is it? B - (lit. it has reached)

£13. H - Sell, it is good at that [price]. B - I hope

we shall. H - (And)⁽²⁾ what did you do to gather the

cotton [harvest]? B - We hired some boys and collected

it. H - How many boys do you hire to the acre?

B - Fifty boys (are hired) for one (lit. the) acre.

H - Do they work (lit. collect the harvest) the whole

day? B - [Yes], the whole day. They only stop for

lunch at noon. As soon as they have had lunch and drink

some tea they go back to work till sunset. H - Does this

(work) take place in summer? B - Yes, because that is the

(1) Noteworthy additions to the Arabic are included in square brackets.

(2) Noteworthy omissions from the Arabic are included in round brackets.

time of the cotton-harvest. H - It must be very hot then and the work very tiring. B - That is true, but the farmers are used to the heat.

Arabic Text

2 - fizziraaga

H - gamaltu seeh fi izziraaga ya jeex gabd ilhamiid?

zaraqtu illyallih? D - binizragu illyalla dilwagt wi binihritu wi gabd irraazag jih biysaaidna wi mabsutiin.

H - xallaq min iskindiriyyih? D - xallaq wi ilhamdu li illaah wi ilhikaaya zayta.

H - jih baga lu gadd-seeh? D - jih baga lu yiji jah.

H - wi zaraqtu illyalla izzaay? D - zaraqna yalla gafiir. S - guul lina seeh ilgafiir dii? D - sillyalla ilgafiir

binibduruuha gala wiff ilfarq wi nizahhafuuha laakin

ilyalla ilhiraati biniifu liha ilfarq wi nihrituuha wi

nilaggaatu ilhabb fi ilxuuuq wara ilmihraat. H - gandar

iwlaad biysagduuk fi ilyeet? D - gandi iwlaad innama

suwayyariin ma yigdaruuq yiftayalu fi ilyeet lissih.

H - fakbarhum gandu kaam sanii? D - fakbarhum gali

gandu sabag siniin. biyruuh ilkuttaab dilwagt. ma

raquuq yaxduuh fi ilmadrasa issana di. H - ma xaduhf

leeh? D - faqlu ilhagiiga lissa ma balayf sabag siniin

tamaam. H - wi bitizragu seeh ilyomeen dool yeer illyalla?

B - binizragu jigfiir wi fuul. H - bitizragu ifjigfiir

izzaay? D - biniɗfu ilɗarɗ wi nihrituuha wi nilaggaɗu
habb ifjiɗiir ɗaw nibduruuh wi nizahhafu ilɗarɗ. H - wi
ilfuul bitizraguuh izzaay? D - binizgu ilɗarɗ ilɗawwil
wi nisibuuha lamma tinɗaf juwayya wi nixaɗɗaɗuula wi
baɗdeen niraɗɗagu ilhabb fi ilxuɗuɗ. H - wi ilɗustaaz
mhammad yigraɗ ɗariigit ziraagit ilhayaat di kullihih?
D - ɗiywa yigraɗ ɗaɗaan ihna binkallimuuh ɗanha lamma
biyiji yigaɗɗi ilɗajaaza miɗaanih. H - biyɗufku wi intu
bitizragu? D - la ma biyɗufnaaf fi ziraagit ilɗalla wi
ifjiɗiir wi ilfuul innama biyihɗar fi ziraagit iddura fi
iɗɗeef. H - ɗab ma tigullina bitizragu iddura izzaay.
D - biniɗfu ilɗarɗ ilɗawwil wi nisibuuha lamma tinɗaf.
H - ɗinnama ɗeeh faydit izzigiyya iza kuttu bitsiibu
ilɗarɗ tinɗaf taani? D - ɗihna ma binsibuhaaf lamma
tinɗaf xaalaɗ. ɗihna binsibuuha bass lamma tistaɗmil
ridleen ilbahaayim wi ihna binihritu. H - yaɗni intu
bitihrituuha baɗɗma tiɗfuuhah? D - ɗiywa ilɗarɗ
bitinɗarat baɗɗ iɗɗafy wi ilhabb biyitlaggat fi ilxuɗuɗ.
H - ɗani lamma binruuh nizuur ilbalad binlaagi yiɗaan
iddura mitgassima igzaam ɗuyayyarah. leeh kida? D - ɗaɗɗ
iddura biyɗuuz yiɗrab bi ilhikma laazim ilwaahid yaaxud
baalu kuwayyis wi huwwa biyizgiih xuɗuusan lamma yikuun

suɣayyar ɣaɣaan kida bingassimu yeet iddura guny wi
 nigassimu ilguny ihwaad wi binizguuh bi ilfaɣl. H - ɣin
 ɣaaɣ allaaɣ lamma ilɣustaaz mɣammad yiji niruuɣu ɣanduku
 wi naklu dura maɣwi. D - ɣahlan wa saɣlan da intu
 tiɣarraɣuuna. niɣwu liku dura wi samak min ilbaɣr wi
 niwakkiluuku balaaɣ kamaan hiɣw gawi min ɣandinih. wi
 itfaɣɣal haɣritak min yeer ma yikuun mɣammad hinih.
 H - kattaɣ xeeraɣ ya ɣeex ɣabɣ ilhamid.

English Translation

2 - Sowing

H - What have you done about sowing, Sheikh Abd El-Hamid? Have you sown the wheat? D - We are (in the middle of) sowing the wheat now and we are ploughing [too]. Abd El-Raazag has returned and is helping us. We are content.

H - Has he finished [his job] in Alexandria? D - He has finished, thank goodness, and everything is all right.

H - How long ago did he come? D - He returned about a month ago. H - And how did you sow the wheat? D - We

sowed 'Afiir wheat. S - Tell us what this 'Afiir' is?

D - [For] the 'Afiir [way of planting] wheat we scatter it [the seeds] on the surface of the soil, level over

the surface and water it. But we water the soil [first]

for the 'Hirati' wheat, plough it and put the seeds in

the furrows after the plough. H - Have you any children

to help you in the fields? D - I have children, but

they are too young to work (lit. in the fields). H -

How old is the eldest of them? D - (The eldest, Ali, is seven

years old. He goes to the kuttab (Koranic school) now.

They haven't taken him in the primary school this year.

H - Why not? D - It is due to the fact that he is not

quite seven yet. H - What else do you sow now besides wheat? D - We sow barley and beans. H - How do you sow barley? D - We water the land, plough it, put the barley seeds in the furrows or else scatter them [all over the field] and level off the surface of the ground. H - And how do you sow the beans? D - We water the soil first, leave it till it has dried a little, then mark it out and sow the seeds along the lines. H - Does Mr. Muhammad know how to sow all these things? D - Yes, he knows because we tell him about them when he comes to spend the vacation with us. H - Does he watch you as you sow? D - No, he does not see us sowing wheat, barley and beans, but he is there when we sow maize in summer. H - Would you tell us then how you sow the maize? D - We water the land first then leave it till it dries. H - But what is the use of watering the soil if you leave it to dry again? D - We do not let it become very dry. We leave it till it is possible for the animals to walk on it when we plough. H - That means you plough [the soil] after you water [it]? D - Yes, the soil is ploughed after watering and then the seeds are put in the furrows. H - When I go to visit the village I find the maize fields divided up into small sections. Why is that? D - That is because the maize needs careful watering. One must

take great care when watering it especially when it is sprouting. And that is why we divide the maize field into large sections and [then] divide these into smaller parts; and we water it [the maize] by means of a small canal [running in the field]. H - When Mr. Muhammad comes we shall come to you to have corn-on-the-cob. D - Do. It will be a great [pleasure]. We can grill corn-on-the-cob and fish from the river for you. We can also offer you some of our sweet dates. And we should be glad to see you while Muhammad is away (lit. without Muhammad being here). H - Thank you, Sheikh Abd El-Hamid.

3 - farg ilhuduud

H - Sihnna binismaagu kitiir gan farg ilhuduud fi ilgaqaya bitaagitna. Seeh farg ilhuduud da ya gamm ilhajj gabd ilbaagi? B - Silyiqaan bitaagit ilfallahiin mitfarraga min baqaha bi hadiid. wahda fi irraasdi wi wahda fi irraasdi. baqd kullzarqa binifragu ilhuduud wi nihuutu galamaat tibayyin kull yeej. H - wi leeh bitigmiluuha baqd kull zarqa. ma bitifraguuf ilhuduud marra wahda leeh wi xalaas? B - Saql kull ma binihritu ilhuduud bititlaxbat. H - tab tismah tiguul lina бага izzaay bitifragu ilhuduud beenku wi been ijjiiraan.

B - waahid biyigaf gala ilhadiida wi yifrag wi waahid bi yigaf gala ilhadiida ittanya wi ittaalit yigaf fi ilwiqt. wi illi biyifrag yitallit lamma yistaqdil innafareen ittanyiin gubaal baqd kafinuhum nafar waahid wi yihuuttiddindaana gala ilhadd gubaal iddindaana lamma tizyur li iddindaan tilagiih kullu gala xeej waahid.

H - wi iddindaana di seeh? B - Siddindaana gasa gadiyya min issajar. H - wi innaas illi bitjibuumhum biykuunu yurb walla ijjiiraan? B - la, ijjiiraan. H - yaqni iqhaab

ilfarq ma yigafuuf? B - la yigafu ma fiij maaniɛ.
 ɣaahib ilfarq yigaf wi jaaru wi waahid taalit Sibnu walla
 irraajil illi biyiftayal miɣaah. H - Silfallahiin
 buyitxangu ɣala ilhuduud fi baladna? B - la baladna naas
 tayyibiin saagit ma ijjaar yifrag ilhadd jaaru yirda ɣala
 tuul. K - fi marra abuuk ilhajj gaal li taɣaala igaf
 lina ɣala ilhadd. H - wi baɣdeen? K - ruht wagaft fi
 innuɣ wi kaan abuuya ilhajj waagif ɣala ilhadiida di wi
 waahid ɣala ilhadiida illi fi ilyamma ittanya wi kaanit
 ɣinayya fi ifjams. wi abuuk ilhajj ɣabd ilbaagi gaɣad
 yiguul taɣaala ilyammaadi juwayya ruuh ilyamma ittanya
 juwayya. H - Silkalaam da kaan wagt-seeh. K - fi iŝseeef
 illi faat baɣd ma gaɣaɣu iddura. baɣd kida kull ma
 nijufhum biyifragu ilhadd nisibhum wi nijri. H - kutt
 ilbis lak tagiyya madaam kaan fiih jams. K - kutt laabis
 tagiyya laakin ma fiij fayda. ɣaɣlu lamma biyigɣud
 yifrag ilhadd biyyiib kitiir. laazim yigmil ifjuyl
 mazbuuɣ miyya fi ilmiyyih. bituug ilhitta kull ma yiju
 yifragu ilhadd yiguulu haatu abuuku ilhajj ɣabd ilbaagi.
 huwwa biyifrag kuwayyis.

English Translation

3 - Land-boundary marking

H - We often hear about boundary marking in the cases we deal with. What is land-boundary marking, Uncle Hadji Abd El-Baaqi? B - The farmers' fields are separated from each other by iron boundary markers: one at each end. We mark the boundaries after each crop and put out markers for every field. H - And why do you do this after every crop? Why don't you mark the boundaries once and for all? B - Because whenever we plough [the fields] the boundaries become displaced. H - would you please tell us then how you mark the boundaries between you and (the) [your] neighbours. B - One stands at the [first] iron marker and directs (the operation), the next one stands at the other marker, and the third in the middle. The 'controller' looks along the line of the other two till they appear as if they are one person, then he fixes the boundary-markers in a straight line. If you look at them they appear as one stretched thread. H - And what is the boundary-marker? B - The boundary-marker is an ordinary tree-branch. H - Are the people who help (lit. whom you bring) strangers or neighbours? B - No, they are neigh-

bours (lit. No, the neighbours). H - Does this mean that the owners of the land do not take part (lit. do not stand)? B - There is nothing to stop them from taking part (lit. No, they stand, no objection). The owner of the land, his neighbour and a third person take part. [The latter is] probably his son [the owner's son] or the labourer who helps him. H - Do farmers quarrel over boundaries in our village? B - No, the people of our village are good. When one neighbour marks the boundary, the other (lit. his neighbour) is immediately satisfied. K - Once Uncle Hadji [Abd El-Baaqi] asked me to help in marking the boundary (lit. said to me: come! stand for us on the boundary). H - And then? K - I went and stood in the middle. Uncle Hadji [Abd El-Baaqi] was standing at the iron-marker at the near end [of the field] and another person was at the far end. I was looking into the sun. Uncle Hadji Abd El-Baaqi kept asking me to go this way a little and that way a little. H - When did this happen? K - Last summer after they cut the maize. Since then whenever I see them marking the boundaries I disappear and leave them alone. H - You should have worn a cap, since there was a [hot] sun. K - I had a cap, but it was of no use because [Uncle] takes a long time when he marks the boundary. He insists on

making the work hundred per cent correct. Whenever people around want to mark the boundary they ask for Uncle Hadji Abd El-Baaqi. He marks the boundary properly.

Arabic Text

(1)
4 - silwihda ilmujammiga

(2)
H - seeh raSyak fi ilwihda ilmujammiga ya gamm
ifjeex ahmad? A - di haaja kuwayyisa xaalas. bitinfag
ilbalad kitiir. H - sintu dafaqtu min takalifha haajih?
A - siywa dafagna salf wi xumsumiit jineeh wi ilhukuuma
dafagit ilbaagi. H - dafaqtu ilSalf wi xumsumiit jineeh
izzaay? A - sinjamaSu min ahl ilbalad. kull waahid
dafag gala gadd ma yigdar. H - wi seeh ilmabaani illi
fi ilwihda? A - fiiha mustajfa wi masjid (3) wi
madrasteen wahda li ilbaniin wi wahda li ilbanaat. wi
fiiha masaakin li ilmuwazzafiin. S - wi fiih duktuur
muqim hinaak? A - saynaSam fiih duktuur muqim. (3)
A - gala kida ahl ilbalad istirayyahu min mafawliir afmuun
wi minuuf li iddakatrih? A - tabSan istirayyahu kitiir.
H - wi ilgilaaaj fi ilmustajfa bi fuluus? A - silgilaaaj
balaaj laakin iddaaxil biyidfaag mablay baSiiS gala

(1) This usage is not typical TD. It is introduced by the officials who use it as a name for the place.

(2) See note on p. 333.

(3) masjid, duktuur, muqim and saynaSam appear only in the speech of educated persons. The corresponding typical TD words are respectively jaamaS, daktuur, daayim and siywa.

tazkarit idduxuul. S - filmustajfa fiiha daxliy?

A - siywa fiih daxli wi fiih xarjiy. H - sazun ma fiij bilaad janbina sandiha wihaat mujammaa?

A - la fiih. H - fiih fi markaz saamuun? A - fiih fi markaz saamuun taqriiban ⁽¹⁾ sarbaa saw xamsih. wi markaz minuuf fiih kitiir. H - silwihda fiiha kahraba?

A - siywa fiiha kahraba. wi fargiin fi tarkiib makana tijallaa ummayya wi tizgi ilbalad kullaha. S - wi illummayya dilwagt bitjilku mineen? A - sillummayya bitiwshal lina min issahriij ilgumuuni min kafr ittaraynih.

S - fiih ziraaga fi ilwihdih? A - sa jabulha muwazzafiin biyizragu fiiha min jamiig ilxuqrawaat wi biybiquuha li hisaab ilwihda. S - min hagg fiiha burj hamaam?

A - siywa fiiha burj hamaam wi gawziin yihuutu fiih hamaam baladi galajaan yijlib ilhamaam ijjabali.

(1) taqriiban is an educated usage corresponding to the typical TD taqriiban.

English Translation

4 - The collective (unit)

H - What do you think of the collective unit, Uncle Sheikh Ahmed? A - It is a very good thing. The village benefits a great deal from it. H - Have you paid any of its costs? A - Yes, we paid one thousand five hundred pounds and the government paid the rest. How did you pay the £1,500? A - They were collected from the villagers. Everyone paid as much as he could. H - And what are the buildings in the unit? A - There is a hospital, a mosque and two schools, one for boys and one for girls. There are also dwelling-houses for the officials. S - Is there a resident doctor there? A - Yes, there is a resident doctor. S - Therefore, the local people have been relieved from the trouble of travelling to Ashmun and Minuf for doctors. A - Indeed, it's a great relief for them.

H - Do you pay for hospital treatment (lit. does the treatment cost money)? A - [The] treatment is free but everyone who goes to hospital pays a small sum for (the) admission (ticket). S - Are there in-patients in the hospital? A - Yes, there are in-patients and out-patients. H - I suppose there are not any collective units in the neighbourhood. A - Yes (lit.No), there are. H - Is there [any] in the

region of Ashmun? A - There are about four or five in Ashmun and there are many in Minuf. H - Is there electricity in the unit? A - Yes, there is (electricity in it). And they are about to erect a machine for pumping water for the communal use of the village. S - Where

do you get water from (lit. the water comes to you) now?

A - We get the water (lit. the water reaches us) from the general tank in Kafr El-Taraina. S - Are there any

crops in the unit? A - Yes, they [the government] brought workmen to plant all sorts of vegetables and sell them for the unit's account. S - Is there a dovecot in it?

A - Yes, they built a dovecot (in it) and they will put domestic pigeons in it in order to attract wild pigeons.

Arabic Text

5 - Sifjaay wi idduxaan

(1)

H - gulli ya gam ilhajj gabd ilbaagi. bitifrab jaay?
 B - Saay. H - kuwayyis ifjaay yaani? bitifrab kitiir?
 B - la ma binifrabf kitiir. H - bitifrab kaam marra fi
 ilyoom? B - tabag izzuruf. tabag gabd ilhamiid wi
 gali. Sin gamalu wi ani mawjuud binifrab wayyaan,
 laakin gamaayil li nafsi ma yimkinf. H - leeh baga?
 B - maf kayyiif. H - yaani law gaqadt yoom min yeer
 ma yikuunu humma mawjudiin ma tifrabf? B - la ma nifrabf.
 H - bituug baladna kulluhum biyifrabu jaay? B - biyifrabu.
 H - wi hatta illi maf laagi girf fi jeebu biyifrab.
 bithibb ifjaay tigiil walla xafiif? B - binhibbu hilw.
 humma biyhallu li kubbayti maxsuus. garfiin ittabe
 bitaagi. humma biyifrabu keef wa ani laf. H - seeh
 rafyak inta baga fi ifjaay muqirr walla mafmuqirr?
 B - Sifjay illi biyifrabuuh humma muqirr innama ifjaay
 illi ani binifrabu maf muqirr. M - tayyib asmigna intih?
 B - sani binifrabu hilw sukkar. H - Sifjaay ilmuqirr
 muqirr leeh? B - galajaan biyhuftu jaay yaama wi
 biyibga tigiil xaalaq minha biyigmil imsaak. H - wi
 azunn kamaan min nahyit ilfuluus. B - nahyit ilfuluus

(1) See note p. 333.

di humma mahummaaf fakriin fiiha. H - lamma yikuun
 gaamil biyaaxud lu sitta sabaa saay fi ilyoom. B - da
 biyihlikhum. mafiiɗ sabadan minhaas wi mindaas illa
 ilgaamil. biyirab jaay iɗsubh wi idduhr wi ilmayrib
 wi in ma kanɗ miɗaah ilfuluus biyitdaayin. H - biyirab
 bi kaam бага? B - biyirab lu bi girɗ saay iɗsubh wi
 bigirɗ saay idduhr wi bigirɗ saay ilmayrib. talaata
 saay gala iɗjaay bass wi in kaan kayyiif duxxaan ya dahya
 wi duggi. H - tabɗan haɗritak ma bitirabɗ duxxaan.
 B - la, saɗaazana allahu minh. (1) H - fiih kitiir fi
 baladna biyirabu duxxaan? B - siɗfaktar biyirab. wi
 illi zayy halatna ahum biyɗayyibu galeeh. biyguulu lu:
 la inta mi ijjiil ilgadiim. H - miin illi biyɗaayib?
 B - siɗnaas ilfuɗaraaf, (2) halkiin nafsuhum min ittabziir.
 H - tab wi intu maf tinɗahuuhum iɗjubbaan dool illi
 biyirabu iɗjaay wi idduxaan wi yibazzaru. biyguulu
 zamanku da sibuuɗ. siɗna zamanna ihna huwwa illi бага
 bitaag iɗjaay wi idduxaan. siɗnama zamanku intu intahah.
 law kuttu ɗareetu zayyina ma kuttuɗ tiɗayyibu galeenih.

(1) saɗaazana allahu minh is a rather educated usage.

(2) siɗfuɗaraaf is an educated usage. The corresponding
 typical TD is siɗfuɗara.

English Translation

5 - Tea and Tobacco

H - Tell me, Uncle ^{hadi} Abd El-Baaqi, do you drink tea?
 B - Yes. H - Is the tea good? Do you drink a lot [of it]? B - No, I don't drink much [tea]. H - How often do you drink tea a day? B - It depends on the circumstances. It depends on Abd El-Hamid and Ali. If they make tea when I am there I drink with them, but I never make tea [specially] for myself. H - But why? B - [I am] not very fond of it. H - Does this mean that if you pass [alone] a day [in the field] without them you don't drink [tea]? B - That's it, I don't drink any. H - Do all our local village folk drink tea? B - They do (lit. they drink). H - Even those who haven't enough money (lit. ^{those} who havn't a piastre in his pocket) drink it. Do you like your tea strong or weak? B - I like it [weak and] sweet. They put extra sugar in my cup especially. They know my habit. They drink strong tea but I don't. H - And what is your opinion on tea; is it harmful or not? B - The tea which they drink is harmful but not what I drink. M - But why isn't your tea harmful (lit. why you)?

B - I drink it very sweet. H - How can the tea be harmful (lit. the harmful tea; why is it harmful)?

B - Because they put in [too] much tea. It comes out very strong and causes constipation. H - I think money also enters into it. B - They don't worry about money.

H - If a worker gets about six piastres a day.... B - He spends (destroys) them. Nobody is in greater difficulty than the worker. He drinks tea in the morning, at noon and at sunset. If he has no money he gets into debt.

H - How much does he spend on tea (lit. for how much does he drink then)? B - (He spends) a piastre in the morning, another at noon and a third at sunset. Three

piastres on tea alone, and if he smokes, then it is disastrous. H - Of course, you don't smoke! B - No, God forbid! H - Are there many smokers in our village?

B - The majority smoke, and they laugh at people like me (lit. us) saying: you are out of date (lit. a man from the old ages). H - Who laughs? B - The poor folk who do

themselves a lot of harm by wasting their money. H - Why don't you give advice to these youngsters? B - They say [to us]: forget about your past (lit. old time). This

time of our is the time of drinking tea and smoking, but your time has passed. Had you been used [to such things] like us, you would not have thought us at fault.

Arabic Text

6 - Şillumayya

H - Şillumayya şamla ŷeeh şanduku illiyamdi?

D - Şillumayya kuwayyisa wi ilhamdu li illaah. dilwagt şandina kababiis maşadŷ ŷanabiir xalaş. naaxud ilkarakiib wi niruuh mişallag wi ilwaahid yixalli innafar illi şandu yinzil guddaam illummayya wi yisuug lu ilkabbaas wi xalaş. wala şaad ŷanabiir wala haşaat min di, dilwagt kull yeeŷ бага şaleeh kabbaas. wi ilhitta ilmifaħfa binjiibu fiha makanih. Şin jih iddoor jih wi in ma jaaf iddoor nidawwaru ilmakanih şilfilaaha bititragga ŷuwayya bi ŷuwayya.

English Translation

6 - Watering the fields

(lit. The water)

H - What about the water [for your fields] nowadays?

D - There is enough water (lit. the water is good), thank God. Now we have water-wheels; no more water-screws. I take the [necessary] harness and fasten [a cow to the water-wheel]. The labourer watches the water in the field and I see that the cow is turning the water-wheel. There are no more water screws or similar [troublesome] things. In the places without enough water, there are pumping machines. If the water reaches [such places] well and good, if not, we use the pumping machine. Farming is progressing bit by bit.

Arabic Text

7 - magaad innoom wi magaad isshayaan

(1)
 H - gulli ya gamm ilhajj gabd ilbaagi. Sinta bitnaam
 simta wi tisha simta? B - binŕalli ilŕifa wi nirawwah
 ninaam ŕala tuul. D - zayy ilŕaada ilgadiimih?
 B - Saay, baŕd ŕalaat ilŕifa ŕala tuul niruuh ninaam
 wi gabl ilfajr bi ŕizn illaah niguum niruuh ŕa ijjaamaŕ
 nitwaŕŕa wi niŕalli ilfajr jamaaŕa wi niŕi nirakki wi
 nigammar. wi in kaan бага yoom faŕa niguul luhum guumu
 ihlibu wi iŕmilu ŕaŕida yiguumu yihbibu wi yigmilu
 ŕaŕida wi niguumu naxdu ilbahaayim wi niruuhu nisrahu.

(1) See note on p. 353.

English Translation

7 - Bedtime and waking (time)

H - Tell me, Uncle Hadji Abd El-Baaqi, when do you go to bed and when do you wake up? B - I say my late prayers (approximately two hours after sunset) and go to bed right away. D - According to the old custom?

B - Yes, I go to sleep immediately after the late prayers and by the grace of God I get up before dawn [approximately 4 a.m.], go to the mosque, perform my ablution and say my prayers with the congregation. Then I return home to make a fire and toast some bread. And if we do not have much to do I ask my wife (lit. them) to get up, milk [the cows] and make some gruel. They get up and make gruel. After this we take the animals to the field.

Arabic Text

8 - Sakla fi ilyeet (1)

Sani ruht ilyeet ilbaarah maga gali. Sijjamaaga kaanu
 biyizgu iddura wi kaanu karyiin xamas-t-anfaar yisaaduuhum.
 lamma wasalna kaanu lissa ma xallaasuuf zigiyya. gaadna
 juwayya wi baadeen ijamaaga jum. gult li gabd irraazag
 ihna gawziin naklu samak. gaal intu hazzuku kuwayyis.
 waahid min ifjayaala illi mi'aana biyigraf yisiid samak
 kuwayyis wi ihna ba'atnaah min badri yisiid lina samak
 gajaan ilyadih. fi iyyaam inniil issamak biyibga kitiir
 wi ilfallaahin fi ilgaada biysiidu li nafsuhum. baad
 juwayya inna'ar illi kaan raah yisiid wasal wi mi'aah
 safiika kibiira malyaana samak. sissamak kaan saahi wi
 jaklu kuwayyis gawi. silgiyaal lammu gugal wi gamalu
 rakya kibiira wi naqqafu issamak wi ha'juuh ga innaar
 wi kull ma kat samaka tinjawi kaanu biyfiluuha min
 gala innaar wi yihu'juuha fi ummayya bi malh wi jatta.
 da biyxalli issamak tijim. baad ma xallaasu gaadna
 kalna sawa wi kat sakla laziiza xaalaq. wi ihna binaklu

(1) All of this text is given by the writer.

kaan waahid min ilxiyaal haqij barraad ifjaay sala
innaar. lamma xallaqna fakl gaqad yigmil ifjaay.

Silfallahiin biyifrabu jaay tigiil gawi wi
biyigmiluuu biqariiga muxtalifa gan tarigitnih. biyhuutu
ifjaay fi illunmayya wi yisibuuha tiyli wi baqdeen
yiqubbu ifjaay fi ilbarraad wi yihuutu qaleeh sukkar
galiil wi biysamu da sawwil door. baqad kida biyhuutu
ummayya jidiida wi biyixlu ifjaay illi fi ilyallaay
taani min yeer ma yihuutu jaay jidiid wi da iddoor ittaani
wi baqdeen iddoor ittaalit. Sinnama iddoor ilqawwalaani
bitaqhum murr gawi. la ani wala qali gadarna niqrabuuu.

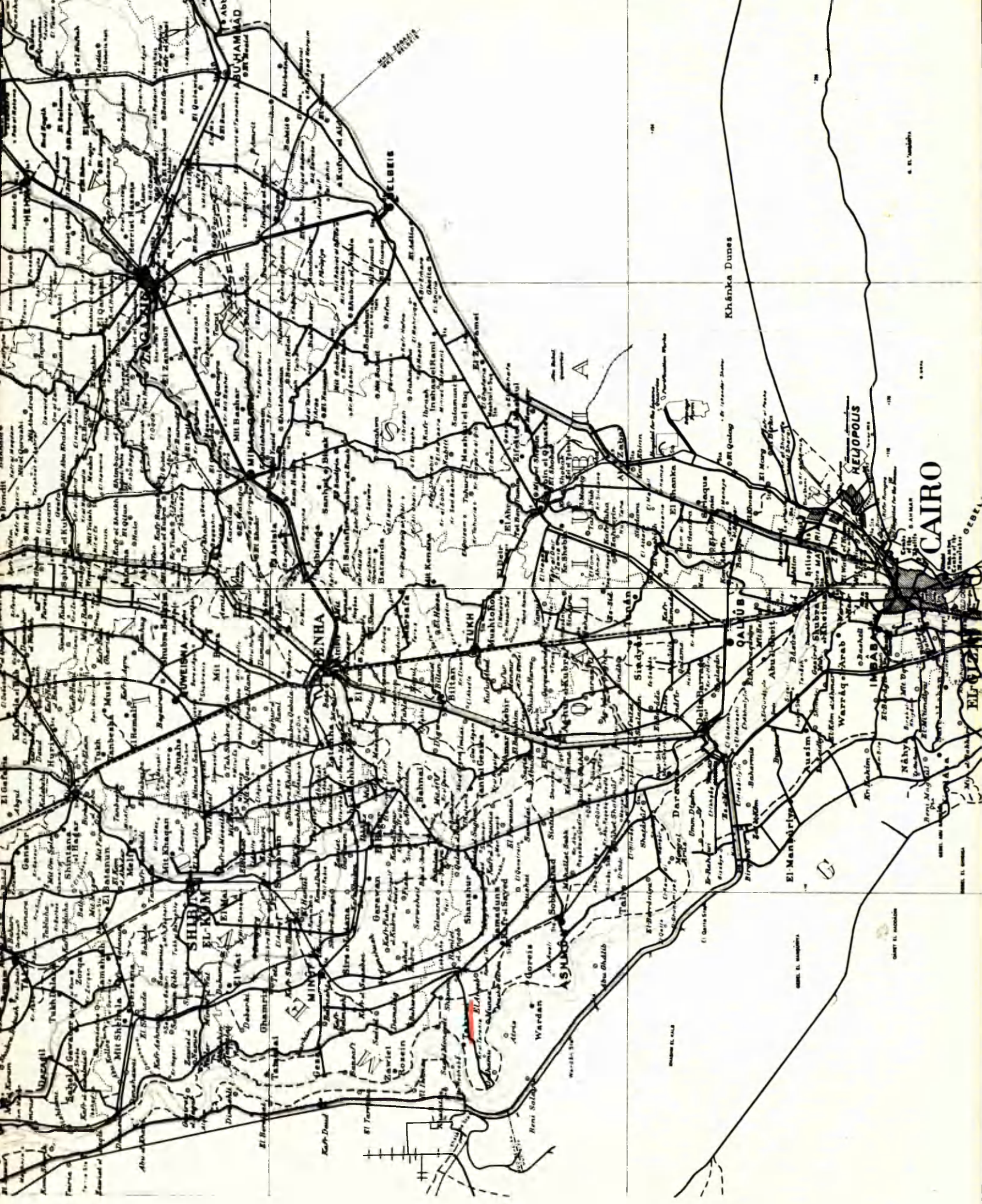
English Translation

8 - A meal in the field

I went to the field yesterday with Ali. They (lit. the group [from my family]) were watering the maize [field]. They were hiring five labourers to help them. When we arrived they had not yet finished watering [the field]. We waited for a while till they came. I said to Abd El-Raaziq: we want to eat fish. He said: you are lucky, one of the labourers who are with us is good at fishing. We have sent him to bring us some fish for lunch. In the days of the flood (lit. in the days of the Nile), there is plenty of fish, and farmers usually fish for themselves. After a while, the labourer who was fishing arrived with a big can full of fish. The fish were alive and looked very fine. The boys collected [some] sticks, made a big fire, cleaned the fish and put them on the fire. Whenever a fish was grilled they took it and put it in [a bowl full of] salted water with chilli in it. This gives the fish a special flavour. When we finished [grilling the fish], we sat to our meal together [with the group of the people in the field]. While we were eating one of the boys put a kettle on the fire. After finishing the meal he started

to make the tea.

Farmers drink very strong tea. They prepare it in a different way from ours. They put the tea in water and leave it [on fire] to boil. Then they strain the tea into a pot and add a little sugar. They call this the first round. Then they add fresh water [to the tea in the kettle], boil it without adding any fresh tea and this is the second round. And after this they make the third round. But [the tea of] their first round is very bitter. Neither I nor Ali could drink it.



G. H. WOOD