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.

Corrigenda

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<td>mhammed itsallim hijab 'Muhammed has received the letter'</td>
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<td>add after 17</td>
<td>feel 'has car'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jayyil 'has as'</td>
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<td>jerrr 'has pub'</td>
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<td>jarrer 'has ask'</td>
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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 filli
s = singular
V = verb

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society

TD = Tahway Dialect
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 filli 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, 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-Shariyya, 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
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
Although computer programs have been extensively used in the generation of objectives, it is important to emphasize the need to develop and implement new programs. The framework of analyzing complex issues in conjunction with the expertise of computer programmers is necessary to fully exploit the potential of computer-aided processing and ensure a comprehensive system of the strategic plan for the future.
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 labiodental 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, z, voiceless and voiced pharyngal fricatives; ?, 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, z, and ?, are dento-alveolar sibilant consonants, t, ?, d, and q, 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, a, 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.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{matbuux} & = \text{maqbuux}, & \text{fakbar} & = \text{faqbar} \\
\text{fasda} & = \text{fazda}, & \text{majduud} & = \text{majduud} \\
\text{masjuun} & = \text{mazjuun} \\
\text{radh} & = \text{rath}, & \text{malimaag} & = \text{malimaag} \\
\text{maysuul} & = \text{maxsuul}, & \text{maqtuub} & = \text{mahtuub}
\end{align*} \]

(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 o- should be treated similarly; e.g. xaali ahmad = xaal-ahmad mandilli abyaq = mandil-abyaq.

Elide also word-initial i- after any vowel; e.g. fiiffanta illkibiira = fiiffanta-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 闪闪 (a) is elsewhere frequently elided e.g. fiirraajil but min irraajil
(b) corresponds to gemination of 1 in article-noun or article-adjective complexes when the noun-component is
(i) plural and of the structure §VCCaaC where V = a or i; e.g. Sanfaar but fiillanfaar
Qirtaal but fiillirtaal
In singular nouns of this structure and some plural nouns where $V = a$, $i$ is not elided. Compare the previous examples with:

**Singular**
- $\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\xi\x
(2) "Initial" $\text{\$il-}$ of these $\text{\$il-}$-beginning forms is elided after a word with consonant final; e.g.

\begin{align*}
\text{rayyis} & \text{ il\text{\$}an\text{\$}a\text{\$}ar} = \text{rayyis} \text{ lan\text{\$}a\text{\$}ar} \\
\text{\$il\text{\$}war\text{\$}\text{\$}ag} & \text{ ill\text{\$}a\text{\$}y\text{\$}a\text{\$}q} = \text{\$ilwar\text{\$}ag} \text{ lab\text{\$}a\text{\$}q}
\end{align*}

Compare these examples with

\begin{align*}
\text{rayyis} & \text{ il\begin{scriptsize}g\end{scriptsize}iz\begin{scriptsize}b\end{scriptsize}ih} = \text{rayyis} \text{ il\begin{scriptsize}g\end{scriptsize}iz\begin{scriptsize}b\end{scriptsize}ih} \\
\text{\$il\text{\$}war\text{\$}ag} & \text{ il\begin{scriptsize}f\end{scriptsize}am\begin{scriptsize}r\end{scriptsize}ika\text{\$}ani} = \text{\$ilwar\text{\$}ag} \text{ il\begin{scriptsize}f\end{scriptsize}am\begin{scriptsize}r\end{scriptsize}ika\text{\$}ani}
\end{align*}

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

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

\begin{align*}
\text{ma \text{\$m\text{\$}i\text{\$}\text{\$}a\text{\$}h\text{\$}j} \text{ h\text{\$}a\text{\$}a\text{\$}j\text{\$}a\text{\$} w\text{\$a\text{\$}\text{\$}s\text{\$}i\text{\$}l} \text{ but } \text{ma \text{\$m\text{\$}i\text{\$}\text{\$}a\text{\$}h\text{\$}j} \text{ h\text{\$}a\text{\$}a\text{\$}j\text{\$}i\text{\$}h} \text{ he\text{\$}e\text{\$}\text{\$}t\text{\$}\text{\$}h\text{\$}a\text{\$} \text{ but } \text{he\text{\$}e\text{\$}\text{\$}t\text{\$}\text{\$}h\text{\$}a}}
\end{align*}

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

a) If the penultimate syllable is of the structure $CVC$, $-\text{\$a}$ and $-\text{\$a}$, not $-\text{ih}$ and $-\text{ah}$, appear pre-pausally.
Compare

gilwaḍ garafḥa  'the boy knew her'
filbitt mitqayga  'the girl is annoyed'
hinaak farxa  'there is a hen there'
jaal farha  'the shawl of Farha'

with the following examples and with examples under b)

gabilt ilgundih  'have met the chief'
qali xallas mizakhirih  'Ali has finished studying'

hasan qallimla ilkitaabih  'Hasan taught her how to write'

Sirraqijil gaawiz 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.

samaka kibiirih but kalt samakah  'a big fish'

xalaga ʕafrah but hittit xalagah  'a yellow rag'  'a piece of rag'
balaha wi burtugaanih but xad balahah 'a date and an orange' 'he took a date'
filfiriqal juaal but kassaru ilfiriqah 'the branches are cut' 'they cut the high' branches'
fissabaxa fiiha koom but filkoom fi issabaxah 'there is a pile in the wet salty land' 'the pile is in the wet salty land'
fissaayafalilin but fijtiri min issaayah 'the goldsmiths are closed' 'buy from the goldsmiths' (1)
wayyaahaa hasan but hasan wayyaahah 'Hasan is with her' 'Hasan is with her Hasan'!

(1) Failure to observe the distinctions under (a) and (b) commonly reveals the "foreigner" in the village.
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', qaraft '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. milaxbat 'confused', maqlaga 'a spoon', samagni '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. qilabak 'your tins', and in the case of words of four or five syllables, the pre-antepenultimate is not a further CV syllable, e.g. qarabitu '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', gidiila 'straight'.

(ii) words of the structure CaCiCu or CuCuCa, e.g. jaalitu 'she carried it', jalitu 'she reached it', duruba 'lanes', butuma '(field-) boundaries'. Compare these examples with the following examples which conform to rule (2), e.g. qilabu 'his tins', qamalu 'they did', qulama 'learned'.
Part I

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', TFS, 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:

(1) I - maj (μαυ, μαχυμ)

II - ma —

III - ma

IV - la — ...

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 - maj (μαυ, μαχυμ)

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 - Muhammad hayaakul 'Muhammad will eat'
2 - ilaakl jaahiz 'the food is ready'
3 - ilaajaba ṭawiila 'the piece of wood is long'
4 - ẓali ẓahbi 'Ali is my friend'
5 - ilaqiyaal foog 'the boys are upstairs'
6 - ila kitaab fi ifṣanṭa? 'is the book in the (brief) case?'
7 - miin saamig? 'who can hear?'
8 - ila wa'd itṣaxxur minha hasan raajig 'the boy is late and that is why Hasan is going back'
9 - ẓin ẓali ẓaab ilaqiyaal hayistayalu 'if Ali is delayed the boys will work'
10 - hasan haykuun fi ilyeet 'Hasan will be in the field'

Negative sentences

1 - Muhammad maj hayaakul 'Muhammad will not eat'
2 - ilaakl maj jaahiz 'the food is not ready'
3 - ilaajaba maj ṭawiila 'the piece of wood is not long'
4 - ẓali maj ẓahbi 'Ali is not my friend'
5 - ilaqiyaal maj foog 'the boys are not upstairs'
6 - ila kitaab maj fi ifṣanṭa? 'isn't the book in the (brief) case?'
7 - miin maj saamig? 'who cannot hear?'
8 - ila wa'd itṣaxxur minha hasan maj raajig 'the boy is late and that is why Hasan is not going back'
9 - ḥin ǧali yaab ilqiyaaal ǧmaj hayiʃtayalu 'if Ali is delayed the boys will not work''

10 - hasan ǧmaj haykuun f1 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:

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

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 ittâxxarj minha hasan ǧmaj raajiɡ 'the boy was not late, and that is why Hasan is not going back'

ḫin ǧali ma woaʃəf ilqiyaaal ǧmaj hayiʃtayalu 'if Ali does not arrive the boys will not work'

However, when ǧmaj 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. Muhammad hayaakul wi hayistirayyah 'Muhammad will eat and have a rest'
2. Fillaahma masluuga wi mithammara 'the meat is boiled and fried'
3. Filxajaba tawiila wi gariib 'the piece of wood is long and broad'
4. Qali sahabi wi gariibi 'Ali is my friend and my relative'
5. Filkitaab fi isfan'at gula ilmaktab 'the book is in the case on the desk'
6. Filgiyaal foog juwwa ilmagjad 'the boys are upstairs in the upper room'

**Negative sentences**

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

(1) See question-sentences p.89
2 - fillahma maj masluuga di mithammara 'the meat is not boiled, it is fried'
3 - fillxajaba maj tawiila di gariiga 'the piece of wood is not long, it is broad'
4 - gul maj gahbi da gariibi 'Ali is not my friend, he is my relative'
5 - fillkitaab maj fi issanta da gula ilmaktab 'the book is not in the case, it is on the desk'
6 - fillgiyaal maj taht dool juwaa ilmagrad '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

\[
\begin{align*}
(V \text{ im } f) & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad (V \text{ im } f) \\
\{P\} & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{P\} \\
\{N\} & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{N\} \\
\{A\} & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{A\} \\
\{Prep\} & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{Prep\} \\
\{Ad\} & \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{Ad\}
\end{align*}
\]
Negative

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(V \text{ im } f) \\
P \\
(A) \\
(N) \\
(\text{Prep}) \\
(\text{Ad}) \\
(V \text{ im } f) \\
P \\
(A) \\
(N) \\
(\text{Prep}) \\
(\text{Ad})
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\text{mhammad maf hayaakul mhammad hayistirayyah} \quad \text{'Muhammad is not going to eat, (he) Muhammad is going to have a rest'}
\]

\[
\text{Sillahma maf masluuga illahma mithammara} \quad \text{'the meat is not boiled, (it) the meat is fried'}
\]

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 mu̲f is in free variation with maf and is also invariable. Thus, cf.,

\[
\text{mhammad mu̲f hayaakul} \quad \text{'Muhammad will not eat'}
\]

\[
\text{Sillahl mu̲f jaahiz} \quad \text{'the food is not ready'}
\]
Unlike maj and mus, mahuj, which is also in free variation with maj, 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 mahuj.

£ani manij ṭaqliq 'I(m) am not going out'
£ani manij ṭalça 'I(f) am not going out'
šihna mahnaž ṭalqiin 'we are not going out'
šinta mantaj ṭaqliq 'you(m) are not going out'
šinti mantaj ṭalça 'you(f) are not going out'
šintu mantuž ṭalqiin 'you(pl) are not going out'

huwwa mahuj (mahuwwaž) ṭaqliq 'he is not going out'
hiyya manaj (mahiyyaž) ṭalça 'she is not going out'
humma mahumuj (mahummaž) τalqiin '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exponent</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hna</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nta</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nti</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nta</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu(huwwa)</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi(hiyya)</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum(humna)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 ṭalqa ilhijaaz issana ijjaya 'my aunt will go on pilgrimage next year'

Negative sentences

hasan maj misaafir bukra 'Hasan will not leave tomorrow'

xalti maj ṭalqa ilhijaaz issana ijjaya 'my aunt will not go on pilgrimage next year'

(2) Other sub-classes of participle

Affirmative sentences

hasan mixallaş ilbaarah 'Hasan finished yesterday'

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

Negative sentences

hasan maj mixallaş bukra 'Hasan will not finish tomorrow'

xalti maj wakla baqğ iqquhr 'my aunt will not eat in the afternoon'

II - ma - I

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 (\textsuperscript{111}) below \textsuperscript{p.172} about the possibility of the adverbial particles hina and hinaak without fiih) 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 - ʧa li ʧalaj 'Ali has gone out'
   2 - ʧiʧaqq a bitihraq 'the chilli is hot'
   3 - ʧit talam ẓa yiʧrafu 'the pupils know'
   4 - magaallig ʧhh magaalig 'hurry up'

(b) 1 - fiih maʤaalg ġa ittarabiiza 'there are spoons on the table'
   2 - fiih fooq ġtarab 'there is straw upstairs'

(c) 1 - ʧilfoqqa fiiha karaasi 'there are chairs in the room'
    2 - ẓa muhammad ġandu quyuuf 'Muhammad has visitors'

**Negative sentences**

(a) 1' - ʧa li ma ʧalajf 'Ali has not gone out'
   2 - ʧiʧaqq a ma bitihraq 'the chilli is not hot'
   3 - ẓittalam ẓa ma yiʧrafuuf 'the pupils do not know'
   4 - ma tigarrabf 'do not hurry'
(b) 1 - ma fiij magaelig ça ittarabiiza 'there are no spoons on the table'
   2 - ma fiij foog haţab 'there is no straw upstairs'.

(c) 1 - filfoqq ma fihaaj karaasi 'there are no chairs in the room'
   2 - mhammad ma ğanduuj quyuuf '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 j is suffixed to it. Pronominal suffixes, however, come between the verb and j; cf.
   ġali ma baţathaaj 'Ali did not send it'

When the verb is followed by the prepositional particle li the latter precedes the pronominal suffix and j comes after both of them; e.g.
   mhammad ma katablihaaj '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 j; e.g.
   mhammad ma katabj ġaleeha 'Muhammad did not write on it'
   mhammad ma katabj biilha 'Muhammad did not write with it'

(ii) The negative counterpart of imperative verb is imperfect neutral verb associated with the negative complex ma -- j (see the above example under (a) in affirmative and negative sen-
Affirmative

tences above) cf., also:

Affirmative

Siṣrāb 'drink'
Siṭtīb 'write'

Negative

ma tijrāb 'do not drink'
ma tiktīb '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 maṣ; cf., for example,

Affirmative

Siḥṭātab foog 'the straw is upstairs'
Siḡiyāal fi ilyeet 'the boys are in the field'

Negative

Siḥṭātab maṣ foog 'the straw is not upstairs'
Siḡiyāal maṣ fi ilyeet 'the boys are not in the field'

It should be noted that fiḥ and ma fiḥ 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 fiḥ nor fiḥ respectively; cf.,
Affirmative

hina çaal 'there is honey here'
hinaak mihraat 'there is a plough there'

Negative

ma hinaaj çaal 'there is no honey here'
ma hinaak 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

tahh faas 'there is an axe downstairs'
juwwa hafla 'there is a party inside'

Negative

ma fiij tahh faas 'there is no axe downstairs'
ma fiij 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 ma; e.g.

Affirmative

mhammad çaandina 'Muhammad is at our house (with us)'
filhagg galeehum 'they are wrong'
Negative

mhadmad maj 'andina 'Muhammad is not at our house (with us)'  
Sihagg maj 'aleehum '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 radd 'I wish he had gone'
ya reetha tirjaq 'I wish she would return'
ya rabb yittaxcar 'I hope he will be late'

Negative sentences

ya reetu ma radd 'I wish he had not gone'
ya reetha ma tirjaq 'I wish she would not come back'
ya rabb ma yittaxcar '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 subclasses 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 fiywa. With one exception, fiywa and la respectively may be associated with the presence and absence of another negative particle. The exception is in the case of interrogative negative sentences where the reverse may happen i.e. fiywa 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 later appears in the form lafi. Examples of the answer to affirmative interrogative sentences and negative interrogative sentences are given below under (1) and (2).

(1) **Affirmative particle (in answer)**

- mhammad jih? 'has Muhammad come?'  - fiywa jih 'yes (come)'
- hasan hinaak? 'is Hasan there?'  - fiywa 'yes'

(2) **Negative particle (in answer)**

- mhammad jih? 'has Muhammad come?'  - la ma jaaf 'no he has not'
- hasan hinaak? 'is Hasan there?'  - laf '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. maj ma -- §...etc.
(2) **Affirmative particle** (in answer)

- mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?' - §iywa ma jaaf 'no he hasn't (come)'
- hasan maʃ hinaak? 'isn't Hasan there?' - §iywa hinaak 'yes he is there'

**Negative particle** (in answer)

- mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?' - la ma jaaf 'no he hasn't come'
- hasan maʃ hinaak? 'isn't Hasan there?' - laʃ, hinaak 'yes, he is there'

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

B) la -- wa la --...

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. 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).

Examples of affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts are:

**Affirmative sentences**

Silwad kal wi ṭalaṣ 'the boy has eaten and has gone out'

ḥasan xallṣ wi ḥayrawwah 'Hasan has finished and will go home'

Silgiyaal waṣalu wi biyiṭayalu 'the boys have arrived and are working'

ẓali biyiṭyadda wi biyincas 'Ali sleeps after lunch (lit. eats and sleeps)'

faṭna hatismaŋna wi hatʃufna 'Fatima will hear and see us'

ẓali yitʃuul ilfarg wi yigraf yiksaru '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

*filwad la kal wa la ṭalaṣ ' the boy has neither eaten nor has he gone out *

ḥasan la xallāṣ wa la hayrawwah 'Hasan has not finished and will not go home'

ẓali la biyityadda wa la biyingsas 'Ali neither has lunch nor sleeps (in the afternoons)'

fatina la hatismarna wa la hatʃufna 'Fatima will neither hear nor see us'

ẓali la yiṭuul ilfarg wa la yigraf 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. 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 maʃ and ma -- ū are accompanied with imperfect future verb and perfect, imperfect present and imperfect neutral respectively.
(ii) \( \text{la hu} \, -- \, \text{wa la hu} \)

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

\( \text{fani raayah wi jaay} \, \text{I am going out and will return'} \)

\( \text{sinha ga\&ldiin wi mistirayyahiiin} \, \text{we are sitting down and resting'} \)

\( \text{inta jaayif wi saami\&lig} \, \text{you(m) can see and hear'} \)

\( \text{inti garfa wi mit\&ligkida} \, \text{you(f) know for sure'} \)

\( \text{intu zagyilin wi mixallaqiin} \, \text{you(pl) have watered your field and have finished'} \)

\( \text{huwwa ragid wi ga\&ligyaan} \, \text{he is lying ill in bed'} \)

\( \text{hiyya labsa wi mitwa\&ligqa\&lig} \, \text{she is dressed and ready'} \)

\( \text{humma misafriin wi mistaqjiliin} \, \text{they are leaving and are in a hurry'} \)

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

I am not going anywhere
we are not having any rest
you(m) can neither see nor hear
you(f) do not know for sure
you(m) will neither water your field nor finish
he is neither lying in bed nor ill
she is neither dressed nor ready
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exponent</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>m/f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihna</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inta</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inti</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intu</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 - **Sentences containing adverbial and prepositional particles**

Sentences of this subclass are different from subclass 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**

- hüwwa fi ilyeet maqa ixwaatun 'he is in the field with his brothers'
- hiyya ẓandukum barra 'she is outside there (lit. with you)'
- humma foog fi ilmaghad '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 maqa ixwaatuh 'he is neither in the field nor with his brothers'  
hiyya la hi kandukum 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

mhammad jaab ilkutub wi ilkarariis 'Muhammad has brought the books and the exercise books'  
hasan yigraf qali wi axuuh 'Hasan knows Ali and his brother'  
fa'tna bitkallim innajjaar wi ahmad 'Fatima is speaking to the carpenter and to Ahmed'  
Sijjamaaga hayizgu iddura wi ilgu'un 'they will water the maize and the cotton'

Negative sentences

mhammad 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 knows neither Ali nor his brother.

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 maf and ma — — 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) - 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

\\( \text{Siilgalam ahuh 'here is the pen'}\\)

\\( \text{Siinnaarja hinaak ahuh 'the sheep is over there'}\\)

\\( \text{Siilfuus 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. It is useful, however, to contrast the above emphatic affirmative sentences with the particular affirmative sentences of the structure \( N \rightarrow V/P \rightarrow De \) which are not emphatic sentences i.e. they can have negative counterparts; e.g.

**Affirmative sentences**

\\( \text{mhammad waqal ahuh 'Muhammad has already arrived'}\\)

\\( \text{hasan taaliq ahuh 'Hasan is going out soon'}\\)

**Negative sentences**

\\( \text{mhammad ma waqalj ahuh 'Muhammad has not arrived yet'}\\)

\\( \text{hasan ma\$ taaliq ahuh 'Hasan is not going out'}\\)

Examples of sub-class (ii) are

\\( \text{Siilheetj galya Jabal 'the wall is very high (lit. as high as a mountain)}\\)

\\( \text{Siilhabj jaamid hadiid '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, waqšil min Ṣašlu, yeer and Ṣilla and either the negative particle mař or ma -- Ṣi

(ii) Sentences containing Ṣumr and either the negative particle ma or la

Examples of sub-class (i) are

mḥammad mař hayinsa Ṣabadan  'Muhammad will never forget'
filbitt mař ẓarfa waqšil  'the girl does not know at all'
Ṣifṣṭa ma bitihrag maš Ṣašlu  'the chilli is not hot at all'
ṣittalamza ma yiṣraju ẓilla ilmudarris  'the pupils know the teacher only'
ṣuṣmaan mař haylaagi ẓilla itheen  'Osman will find two only'

Examples of sub-class (ii) are

1 - ya reetu ẓumru ma raḥ  'I wish he had never gone'
2 - ya reetak ẓumrank ma ruḥt  'I wish you had never gone'
3 - ya reetna ẓumrina ma ruḥna  'I wish we had never gone'
4 - ya rabb ẓumru ma yiṭi  'I hope he will never come'
5 - ya rabb fațna qumrāha ma tīgya 'I hope Fatima will never be ill'

6 - ya rabb ittujuˈjaʔ ruqumrhum ma yīx̱aru 'I hope merchants will never lose'

7 - ʕilwad la qumr hu hayruh wa la hayjiib ilkutub 'the boy will never go and bring the books'

8 - ʕilbitt la qumr hum ʃaafit i̲yafiir wa la tigrafu 'the girl never saw the night-watchman and she does not know him'

9 - ʕirrijiʃaala la qumrum ɾaʔu ʃaŋta wa la ɨʃkindria 'the boys have never gone to ʃaŋta nor to Alexandria'

It should be noted that qumr 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
yə reet & - Prs - qumr - Prs - ma - V \\
\underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \\
yə rabb & - N - qumr - Prs - ma - V \\
\underline{I} \underline{I} \\
N & - la - qumr - Prs - V - wa la - V \\
\underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I}
\end{align*}
\]
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 will speak to his brother
'Ali has come'
Call Muhammad
'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, laakin, finnama and minha.

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

Hasan and Ali have gone out
Hasan has eaten and slept
Examples are:
fahmi haykallim axuuh wi hayjiib ilkutub 'Fahmi will speak to his brother and will bring the books'
ğali jih minha uxtuh farhaana gawi 'Ali has come, and that is why his sister is very pleased'
naadi li mhammad wi tağaala 'call Muhammad and come along'
Sillanfaar maf fi iddaar laakin ilğiyaal 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, saqit ma, wagt ma, yoom ma, bagd 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 tağaala mişaah 'if you call Muhammad come with him'
lamma illanfaar ma biykunuuf fi iddaar ilğiyaal biykunu 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.

Examples are:

\( \text{\textsection} \) saafir ilbaarah 'Ali went away yesterday'
\( \text{\textsection} \) biyi\textsection tayal fi ilyeet 'the boy works in the field'
\( \text{\textsection} \) hijjamaaga hayizgu bukra 'they will water the field tomorrow'
\( \text{\textsection} \) xuxtak tigraf ilhiqaaya 'your sister knows the story'

b) Simple sentences with more than one verb

There may be more than two verbs in a simple sentence, 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 \textsection ilwala occurs instead of \textsection ilwad; e.g. hasan qarub ilwala 'Hasan has beaten the boy'. \textsection ilwala, 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 verbspp. 123-126 and other sentences containing more than one verbal formpp. 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**

Hasan katab ijjawaab wi hayirmiih fi ilbuṣṭa. 'Hasan has written the letter and will post it'

Fatna yasalit ilgumiš wi bitikwihi. 'Fatima has washed the dress and is (now) pressing it'

Silgiyaal kasaru ilbaab wi xadu ilfaas. 'The boys have broken the door, and have taken the axe'

**Compound sentences**

Hasan katab ijjawaab wi samya hatirmiih fi ilbuṣṭa. 'Hasan has written the letter and Samia will post it'

Fatna yasalit ilgumiš wi ilxaddaam biyikwihi. 'Fatima has washed the dress and the servant is (now) pressing it'
filgiyaal 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:

(1) 1st verb  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>present imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present imperfect</td>
<td>present imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future imperfect</td>
<td>future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or neutral imperfect</td>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'

fatna naddafit issamak wi bitigliih 'Fatima has cleaned the fish and is frying it'

filgiyaal lagu ilkalb wi hayyadduh li ishaqubun '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 ilgusy wi biyirmiιaha 'the boy breaks the sticks and throws them (the pieces) away'

fiijjamaaga biyizragu ilguṯn wi ḥayizguuu 'they are planting the cotton and will water it'

fiijjazzaar haygaffac illahma wi ḥayiwzinha 'the butcher will cut up the meat and will weigh it'

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

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

surayya tigrab li fahmi wi tigdar galeeh '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 the verb. The summary of the relationship between the two

verbs in such sentences with regard to tense is:

**Auxiliary**

1st verb \(\text{perfect} \), \(\text{imperfect} \) (present, future, neutral)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd verb</th>
<th>perfect</th>
<th>neutral imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(neutral imperfect)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples are:**

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

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

fiṣṣayyadiin biyįḷagu yiśiīdu badri 'the fishermen go fishing early'

sayyid hayiįi yaakul miq̲aana 'Sayyid will come to eat with us'

yali yigdar yixaallas inniḥarda 'Ali can finish today'

**Non-auxiliary**

As it is shown in the chapter about verb these sentences are divisible into three sub-classes. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future imperfect</td>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
<td>(present or future)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

علي باقر سامية جاءت غالي 'Ali sent Samia and she has brought the food'

السّرّيّةוריّة تلّعب الـويجيال العشاد 'the officer has asked for the boys to testify (lit. they will give evidence)'

السّرّيّةوريّة تلّعب على محمد المشاریع الـاوّل 'the girl has gone to Muhammad to show him the book'

فهمي بن يحيى بن جيالا يستعمل في الـويل 'Fahmi sends his sons to work on the farm'

السّموديّر هيصافر بن يترالم في الـوروب '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:
Filmdurriss farah li ittalamza, fahamu  'the teacher
explained to the pupils and they understood'
Filbanaat biyistimu irraajil, biyidrabhum  'the girls
insult the man and that is why he beats them'
Fahmi haygaakis ilkalb, hayguudu  '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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present imperfect</td>
<td>present imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future imperfect</td>
<td>future imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

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

gali waggari ilgirš wi ilbitt bitdawwar galeeh 'Ali dropped the piastre and the girl is looking for it'

silginyaal zaggalu ilbitt laakin ani hansalihha 'the boys have made the girl angry but I will comfort her'

Sirradjil biykassar ilxajab wi ilginyaal biyizgu ilguţn 'the man is chopping the wood and the boys are watering the cotton'

Silmizaariça biyištayal kuwayyis innama ilginyaal haygaṭṭaluu ‘ the farm-labourer works hard but the boys will delay him’
gijjamaaga hayijmaag ilguṭn minha hasan haysagidhum 'they will gather the cotton harvest and that is why Hasan is going to help them'

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

'ali yigdar yijiib ilxafaba innama firqaajil 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'

'illunfaar biyityaddu innama sad 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

Silbaab infatah 'the door has been opened'

mhammad rajaq yijlib ilkitaab 'Muhammad has returned to bring the book'

Sinnajjar hayaaxud issanduug yisallahu 'the carpenter will take the box to mend it'

Compound sentences

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

mhammad rajaq yijlib ilkitaab wi ilbitt raakit timla ilgulla 'Muhammad has returned to bring the book and the girl has gone to fill the jar (with water)'

Sinnajjar hayaaxud issanduug yisallahu minha axuuk hayibqat sagd 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

mhammad fi ilyeet 'Muhammad is in the field'

Silbitt maqa ixwatha 'the girl is with her brothers'

galib brra wi hasan miqaaah '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. Examples are given under (1) and (2) below for comparison.

(1) Simple and Compound sentences

\[\text{ittaaq} \text{ajir yigbal issigr} \quad \text{'the merchant will accept the price'}\]

\[\text{mursi yiqdar qala fahmi} \quad \text{'Mursi can influence Fahmi'}\]

\[\text{qali yirqa yiji laakin Suxtu hatiga} \quad \text{'Ali will come, but his sister will refuse (to come)'}\]

(2) Complex sentences

\[\text{lamma hasawyiji raddiili} \quad \text{'when Hasan comes call me'}\]

\[\text{saaqit ma ittaqajir yigbal issigr hanaxdu ilbwaqaa} \quad \text{'when the merchant accepts the (our) price we shall take the goods'}\]

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, siza and law where the 2nd verbal form can either be future imperfect or imperative.

Examples are:

fin kaan gali fi ilyeet hasan hayibgatu 'if Ali is in the field, Hasan will send him'

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

siza ilciyaal talagu 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 haaf ilbitt kat kasarit ilgulla 'if Muhammad had not stopped the girl, she would have broken the jar'

luma ilwad kaan fi ilyeet kaanu ilkizaan insaragu '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, saāgit ma, wagt ma and baḏ ma;

Examples are:

**[1]** lamma izzadbit jih hasan gablu  'when the officer came, Hasan met him'

**[2]** saāgit ma ġali kaan ġandina axuuh waṣal  'when Ali was at our house, his brother arrived'

**[3]** wagt ma ijjamaağa biysafru biyaxdu ilṣurabiyya miṣaahum  'whenever they go away they take the car with them'

**[4]** baḏ ma hatiju hatlaagu ilṣakl jaahiz  'soon after you arrive you will find the meal ready'

**[5]** 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:

**[6]** kull ma biniṭlač binigaabil hasan  'whenever I go out I meet Hasan'

**[7]** kull ma ġali ḡaysaafir faţna hatissaafir miṣaah  'whenever Ali will go away Fatima will go with him'

**[8]** kull ma ilgiyaal yiju  mḥammad ḡayibgat li  'whenever the boys come Muhammad will send for me'
kull ma ilşıyaal yiju ibrat 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

- perfect
- (future imperfect
  - imperative

(ii) perfect

b) perfect

- present imperfect
- future imperfect
- neutral imperfect

(c) present 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)

Examples are:

(2)

A

B

hasil ṭaluq 'Hasan has gone out'

ṯab xalilik inta hina 'all right, stay here'

xani jibt ilgulla 'I have brought the jar'

ṯab kattar xeerak 'all right, thank you'

xalif fi ilyeeti 'Ali is in the field'

ṯab ruḥ luh 'all right, go to him'

mhammad zaqlaan gajaan

ṯab w̱ani haniqmil lu

galaumu qaag 'Muhammad is angry because he lost his pen' 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 tayyib... or ma nigdarj\(^{(1)}\).

Examples are:

A

B

istikhib ijjawaab 'write the
letter'

istikhib lamma nixallaṣ filli
fi šiidi 'I will, when I
finish what I am doing'

tisallim čala xuuk wi tiji
čala įuul 'welcome your
brother and come quickly'

ma nigdarj, laazim nistanna
miγaah jũwayya 'I cannot come
quickly; I must stay with him
for some time'

kutt iktib ijjawaab 'you
should have written the
letter'

ma gadartiṣ 'I could not'

(2)

C. Interrogative sentences

Sentences belonging to this class evoke either the response tayywa..., tayyor ŋa... or la₇ or la...

Examples are:

A

B

hasan ḏalaq? 'has Hasan
have gone out?'

taywa ḏalaq '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) ŋa and la cannot be followed immediately by a pause hence the
dots.
A

Гали маф хинаак? 'is
Ali not there?'

Гиза халисна бацри ниграткурра
Hasan? 'shall I send you
Hasan, if we finish early?'

Гиinta яац bukra? 'are you
coming tomorrow?'

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.

Examples are:

A

Hasan fee? 'where is
Hasan?'

Мин магак? 'who is
with you?'

Газуун текстоо лех? 'why
is your brother angry?'

B

лаф маф хинаак 'no, he is
not there'

Гиыва нигату 'yes, do'

Яац 'yes'

(1)

Fi lyeet 'in the field'

Сард '(it is) Sa'd'

(2)

Cajsaan galamu tqaay 'because
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 ijjawaab 'Sayyid has written the letter'
2 - sayyid raajiç 'Sayyid is coming back'
3 - sayyid jadaq 'Sayyid is clever'
4 - sayyid zimilak '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 - Yiza sayyid jih hasan hayruuh miqaah '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) For the terms perfect and imperfect see Chapter II pp. 117-
On the other hand only imperative and neutral imperfect verbs occur in request-sentences.

Compare:

Declarative sentences

gali katab ijjawaab 'Ali has written the letter'

innajjaar biysallah ilkursi 'the carpenter is mending the chair'

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

silyafiir yigdar galeehum 'the night-watchman can deal with them'

with

Request-sentences

istikib ijjawaab 'write the letter'

sallahi ilkursi 'mend the chair'

gali yitlaq innaxla wi inta tigud gand 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.

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, ǧala kull haal.

Examples are:

yimkin ilwad rajaŋ 'the boy might have come back'
tilaagi mahmud hinaak 'you may find Mahmud there'
šilgiyaal wašalu ǧala kull haal 'anyway, the boys have arrived'

v) Only declarative sentences

1 - contain deictics; e.g.
šisabat fi ilgaaga ahu 'the basket is there in the room'
šilgiyaal ahum 'here are the boys'

2 - appear in the structure N - Ad - V; e.g.
šilbatṭiix haalan yiṭiib 'the melon will soon ripen'
šilwad dilwagt yingas 'the boy will soon go to sleep'

3 - occur as the two parts of complex sentences; e.g.
šin ilgiyaal yaabu ǧali hayidrabhum 'if the boys are late, Ali will beat them'
law iljanfaar wašalu bukra abuuya hayidraŋ luhum ūwrithum '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. 72
(3) See also ex.7 p. 79
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.

ُسُمْعَةَ اَلْكَلَامَ 'listen to me'
ُسِيرِّاجَةَ جَعْفَةَ الخُمُّ 'go back and see to your brother'
ُتيْرُمَال ِإِيْجَاعِ وَالْتِيْبَ '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 imperative verbs.

A) Sentences containing imperative verbs

To make statements about the verbal form in this sub-class, it is 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 - سَفِتُحَ الْبَابَ 'open(m) the door'
    2 - سَفْتَحِي الْبَابَ 'open(f) the door'
    3 - سَفْتُحُ الْبَابَ 'open(pl) the door'
(ii) 1 - سِيِّبَ الْقَلْبَ 'let(m) go the dog'
     2 - سِيِّبَ الْقَلْبَ '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exponent</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
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<td>i</td>
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**Non-triliteral verb:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exponent</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 244).

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:

\[ \text{A(1)} \]
\[ \text{B(1)} \]

ma titlaʃʃ barra 'don't go out'

ma tiktiBIʃ ijjawaab 'don't write the letter'

ma tismaʁuʃ kalaamuh 'don't listen to him'

tayyib 'I won't'

ma nigdarʃ 'I must' (lit. I cannot ... (do as you wish)'

(2)

tayyib 'we won't'

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

---

(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

Sinizil iftah ilbaab  'go down and open the door'
Siggud kul migaana  'sit down and eat with us'
Ruwu saqdu gali  'go and help Ali'

Examples containing perfect and imperfect verbs

Hasan nazal yiftah ilbaab  'Hasan went down to open the door'
Silwad biyitlaq yikassin ilkubbayaat  'the boy goes upstairs and breaks the glasses'
Min hayirjaq yijuuf ilqyaaal  '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 ilyeyt, wi tiggud qand ilbahasyim  'go to the field and take care of the animals'

(1), = a pause recognized in the analysis.
tiṭlaqi tiṭtiri illahma, wi tiṭbuxiha ' (go and) buy the meat, then cook it' 
tiggudu tinaqdafa' issamak, wi tiṣwuuh ' (stay and) clean the fish and grill it'

Compound sentences
Hasan yiruuh ilyeet, wi faṭna tiggud ġand ilbaḥaayim 'let Hasan go to the field and Fatima take care of the animals'
Šinta tiṭlaqi tiṭtiri illahma, wi ihna niṭbuxuuha '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 ijjawaab(,) wi faṭna rattibit ilkutub 'Hasan has written the letter and Fatima arranged the books'
šani hanruuh ilyeet(,) laakin ijjamaağa hayruu ġu issuug 'I am going to the field but they are going to the market place'
ğali haysaafir(,) innamu uxtuh hatistanna 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, 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 ijjawaab? 'has Sayyid written the letter?'
sayyid raajij? 'is Sayyid coming back?'
sayyid jadaq? 'is Sayyid clever?'
sayyid zimilak? 'is Sayyid your fellow-student?'
sayyid foog? 'is Sayyid upstairs?'
qiza sayyid jih hasan hayruuh migaa? '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. Compare:

Interrogative negative sentences

mhammad ma jaaf? 'hasn't Muhammad come?'
mhammad ma biyistayaf? 'isn't Muhammad working?'
mhammad maj hayirjaq? 'isn't Muhammad coming back?'
mhammad maj hinaak? 'isn't Muhammad there?'

with

Declarative negative sentences

mhammad ma jaaf 'Muhammad has not come'
mhammad ma biyistayaf 'Muhammad is not working'
mhammad maj hayirjaq 'Muhammad will not come'
mhammad maj hinaak 'Muhammad is not there'

iv) The possibility of the occurrence of hadd 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 p.89 concerning negation with request- and question-sentences.

(2) This invariable form is widely used in the language under consideration.
### Examples are:

#### Declarative sentences

**Negative**

- ḍāli ma baḥāṣ hadd  'Ali has not sent anybody'
- mafiṣ hadd foog  'there is nobody upstairs'

#### Interrogative sentences

**Affirmative**

- mhammad baḥāṣ hadd  'has Muhammad sent anybody?'

**Negative**

- mhammad ma baḥāṣ hadd  'Muhammad has not sent anybody?'

#### Request-sentences

**Affirmative**

- ṭibḥāṣ hadd  'send somebody'

**Negative**

- ma ṭibḥāṣ 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 yatara.

(1) **Aff.** = Affirmative and **Neg.** = Negative. ✓ = occurrence and non-occurrence of ḫadd respectively.
Examples are:

**Interrogative sentences**

- huwwa mhammad najah? 'Has Muhammad succeeded?'
- hiyya fajna hinaak? 'Is Fatima there?'
- humma ittujuuar wasalu? 'Have the merchants arrived?'
- minhagg uxtak hinaak? 'Is your sister there?'
- yatara ilgiyaal xallasu? 'I wonder if the boys have finished?'

**Question-sentences**

- huwwa min illi jih? 'Who has come?'
- hiyya feen ilgasa? 'Where is the stick?'
- humma irrijjaala dool mineen? 'Where are these men from?'
- minhagg feen ilkubbaaya? 'By the way, where is the glass?'
- yatara miqahum 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 — s 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 your brother is there?'
- maj žali maj jaay? 'don't you know that Ali is not coming?'
- maj irroqyuma biyiʃtayal? '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**

- muhammad ʃalag walla žali? 'is it Muhammad or Ali who has gone out?'
- hasan biyaakul walla biyiʃtayal? 'is Hasan eating or working?'
- žali hina walla fi iddaar? 'is Ali here or in the house?'

**Declarative sentences**

- muhammad hayityadda maça ışhaabu walla fi ilyeet 'Muhammad will either have lunch with his friends or in the field'
- žali biyiʃtayal maça foŋna walla maça hasan 'Ali either works with Fatima or with Hasan'
and

Request-sentences

_frag mat mhaimad walla _gal _send Muhammad or Ali_

_kallim gal walla ruuh li xaalak _speak to Ali or go to your uncle_

The response evoked by interrogative sentences

With reference to the responses _fiywa_ (taay, ta...) and _laay_ (laa...), 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 _fiywa_ or _laay_. They are further divided into two groups according to affirmation and negation.

i) Interrogative affirmative sentences evoke one of the responses

_ _fiywa _affirmative sentence

_ _laay _negative sentence

Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>filgiyaal hayruuhu ilmadrasa?</em></td>
<td><em>fiywa hayruuhu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii) Interrogative negative sentences evoke one of the following three responses

- liywa - affirmative sentence
- la - affirmative sentence
- la - negative sentence

Examples are:

\[\text{A}\]
\[\text{filbitt ma jama}gitja fatta?\]
'hasn't the girl collected the chillies?'

\[\text{filwad ma jab}f il kitaab?\]
'hasn't the boy brought the book?'

\[\text{filbagara ma}f fi il xarjuk?\]
'isn't the cow in the stable?'

\[\text{B}\]
\[\text{liywa jama}githa}\]
'yes, she has'

\[\text{la jaabuh}\]
'yes (lit. no), he brought it'

\[\text{la maj hinaak}\]
'no, it is 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 walla

la biyiftayal

'(no) he is eating'

biyiftayal? 'is Hasan
eating or working?'

mhammad fi ilyeet walla fi

la fi iddaar

'(no) he is in
iddenar? 'is Muhammad in
the field or in the house?'

fiikitaab miqaak walla maqa

la miqaaya

'(no) it is with
sagd? 'is the book with
you or with Sa'd?'

ii) Interrogative negative sentences evoke the two responses

la - affirmative sentence

and

la - negative sentence

Examples are:

A

B

'ali xallasq walla ma xallasq? 'has Ali finished or not?'

la xallasq

'(no) he has

'finished'

silJanfaar fi ilyeet walla

la maj fi ilyeet

'maj fi ilyeet? 'are the
'(no) they

workers in the field or not?'

are not in the field'
The exceptions mentioned under b) are sentences which contain walla la-sync or walla liss-sync and which evoke the responses:

- $\bar{\text{iywa}}$ - affirmative sentence
- $\bar{\text{la}}$ - negative sentence

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{?inta xall$\bar{\text{a}}$t walla la-sync?}$</td>
<td>$\bar{\text{iyw xall$\bar{\text{a}}$t}}$ 'yes I have finished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'have you finished or not?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{?inta jarabt walla la-sync?}$</td>
<td>$\text{la ma jarabti-sync}$ '(no) I haven't'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'have you had a drink (of water) or not?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{?axuuki kal walla liss-sync?}$</td>
<td>$\bar{\text{iywa kall}}$ '(yes) he has eaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'has your brother eaten yet or not?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{?ijjama-sync zagu walla liss-sync?}$</td>
<td>$\text{la mazagu$\bar{\text{u}}$}$ '(no, they haven't watered the field yet)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'have they watered (the field) yet or not?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IV - Question-sentences**

This group of sentences is characterized by:

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

- $\bar{\text{miin}}$ 'who, whom or whose', $\bar{\text{feeh}}$ 'what or which';
B - nihuuh 'which', fizzare 'how', maal 'what is wrong with';
C - kaam 'how many', gadd-deeh 'how many, how much';
D - feen 'where', mineen 'from where', fizzare 'how',
Simta 'when, at what time', waqt-deeh '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 $asat miin? *well, then, whose stick is
this?*

$summaal jeet leeh? *well, then, why did you come?*

*tab wi eeh illi hadal? *but what has happened?*

*tab wi hammad 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, hamma), minhagg, and yatara.

Examples are:

_huwwa miin illi jih? *who has come?*

_hiyya irriifa di bitaagit miin? *whose quill is this?*
humma ilîiyaal 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 leen

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

Examples are:

A

1 - miin jizzarkum? 'who is your butcher?'
2 - miin dih? 'who is this?'
3 - miin illi ṭalaq? 'who has gone out?'

B

saalim 'Saalim'
Sinnazaar ijjidid 'the new head-master'
xaali 'my uncle'
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.
      hatilğa b maŋa miin? 'whom are you going to play with?'
      bitiktib xala ʃeeh? 'on what are you writing?'
   b) form a construct with a preceding noun; e.g.
      filwad da ibn miin? 'whose son is this?'
      filmuʃtaaʃ da bitaag ʃeeh? 'which key is that?'
   c) be followed by the relative filli 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 nihuuh, gizzayy and maal

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

Examples are:

A

zageetu ilyeet nihuuh?
'which field did you water?'

Gizzayy mahmud?
'how is Mahmud?'

Gilwad maaluh?
'how is the boy?'

B

gilbahari 'the northern'

Gayyaan '(he is) ill'

Zaglaan '(he is) angry'

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

1) Unlike all other question-particles, nihuuh is variable and describable in terms of number-cum-gender. Compare, for example,
The following table shows the exponents of number-cum-gender with reference to nihuuh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exponents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihuuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nihiih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuhuum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

iii) The fact that sizzayy 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:
Sizzayyak inniharda? 'how are you today?'
Silgiyaal izzayyuhum? 'how are the boys?'
Mhannmad maaluh? 'what is wrong with Muhammad?'
Fatna malha? 'what is wrong with Fatima?'

C - Sentences with kaam and gadd-see "
Numeral and singular or dual noun occur in the response evoked by these sentences.
Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;1 - qittaaqir warraak kaam&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;talaata 'three'&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how many kinds of goods has the merchant shown you?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;2 - hinaak kaam faas?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;fitneen 'two'&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how many axes are there?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;3 - hataaxud dura gadd-see?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;xamas aradibb 'five ardebs'&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how much maize will you take?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;4 - Fillahma gadd-see?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Farbaq-t-irqaal 'four pounds'&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how heavy is the meat?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;5 - micaak kaam?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;jineeh 'a pound'&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;how much have you got?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 - fiṣṭareet ilgalam bikam? bi girfēen 'for two piastres'
   'for how much did you buy the pencil?'
7 - filguyn gadd-ṣeeh? 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.

   kaam
   fillfasl fiih kaam tilmiiz? 'how many pupils are there in the classroom?'
   fillanfar kaam? 'how many workers are there?'

   gadd-ṣeeh
   fillgamḥ gadd-ṣeeh? 'how much wheat is there?'
   fillyeet 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, ʕizzayy, ʕimta and wagt-ʕeem

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.

1) Sentences with feen

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

Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʕaxuuk ʃayyəs galamu feen?</td>
<td>fi ilmadrasa 'in the school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where has your brother lost his pen?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃa li biyiʃtayal feen?</td>
<td>ŧaht 'downstairs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where is Ali working?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feen ilfuus?</td>
<td>fi ilxarja 'in the stable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where are the axes?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃiikalb feen</td>
<td>warr ilheeta 'behind the wall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where is the dog?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ʕizzaay

These sentences evoke the response prepositional particle.
Examples are:

A

Fatna istarat jalha mineen?
'where did Fatima buy her shawl?'

Sagd mineen? 'where does Sa'd come from?'

Jeet izzay? 'how did you come?'

Talaq izzay? 'how did you climb?'

B

Min tan'a 'in Tanta'

Min iskindiriyya 'from Alexandria'

Bi ilga'tr 'by train'

Min sala ilheeta '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 izzay. The question-particles of this sub-class are never preceded by prepositions.

iii) Sentences with wagt-cheeh and tinta

Adverb is the response which these sentences evoke.

Examples are:

A

Muhammad talag wagt-cheeh?
'when did Muhammad go out?'

Sijjamaaga hina min wagt-cheeh? 'since when are they here?'

B

Fiqsubh 'in the morning'

Min ilbaarah 'since yesterday'
A

Filbanna biyištayal min Simta? 'since when is the builder working?'
Gilbiyaal foog min Simta? 'since when are boys upstairs?'

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: Gilgiid, ramaqan, ġajuura, Gilgir and Sidduxla. Examples are:

Gilgiid Simta? 'when is the 'Id?'
Gilgir? wagt-tees? 'when is the marriage ceremony?'
ğajuura Simta? 'when is 'Ashuura?'

B

Simniarda 'today'
Min ilfajr 'since dawn'
Min Sulqar 'since mid-afternoon'
Sentences with leeh

Verb is the response evoked by these sentences.

Examples are:

A

filwad rajaq leeh? 'why has the boy returned?'
fiijamaaga ma zaguuf leeh? 'why did not they water (the field)?'
filguyn xusur leeh? 'why did the cotton go bad?'
mhammad hina leeh? 'why is Muhammad here?'

B

gaafaan yaakuud ilmihraat 'to take the plough'
asaal illanfaar majyuliin 'because the workers are busy'
asaal ilqiyaaal balliinuh 'because the boys made it wet'
agaafaan yigaabil innaaqar 'to meet the headmaster'

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 hayīła: 'Mursi will go out'
ma tiklib ijjawaab '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 hayitlag 'Mursi was about to go out'
ma kuttij tiktib ijjawaab 'you shouldn't have written the letter'
faţna kat fi ilyeet? 'was Fatima in the field?'
mhammad 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. Ṣâhâ kutt (binkuun, hannuun) miqah 'I was (am, shall be) with him'
   Ṣâhâ kutt (binkuun, hannuun) miqah 'we were (are, shall be) with him'
   Šinta kutt (bikuuni, hatkuuni) miqah 'you(m) were (are, will be) with him'
   Šinta kutt (bikuuni, hatkuuni) miqah 'you(f) were (are, will be) with him'
   Šintu kuttu (bikuuni, hatkuuni) miqah '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.
huwaa kaan (biykuun, haykuun) migaah 'he was (is, will be) with him'
hiyya kaanit (bitkuun, hatkuun) migaah 'she was (is, will be) with him'
humma kaanu (biykuunu, haykuunu) migaah 'they were (are, will be) with him'

The affixes associative with this verb are abstractable in a similar manner to verbs of Aspect I sentences (see pp. 119 and 244).

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 1iza or law.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspect II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) For auxiliary verbs see Chapter II pp. 125-126.
Compare the following examples:

Aspect I

Muhammad has gone upstairs and fetched the book.

Hasan has gone to help his brother.

The boys go to work on the farm.

The boy will wait to take the cow.

When the boy comes to eat, tell him.

Aspect II

When I arrived Ali had already left.

The boy was playing outside.

They are going to water the cotton (field).

When the boy finishes (lit. has finished), he is pleased.

When the girl starts to work her brother helps her.
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

\(\text{hasan talaq innaxla wi ilgiyaal biyizgu ilbahaayim}\)

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

\(\text{finnajjaar biygallah iddulaab wi gali hayjiib issanadiig}\)

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

\(\text{filbitt rawwhit badri laakin mahmad hayiggud maqamaa juwayya}\)

'the girl went home early, but Mahmud will stay with us for a while'
Mursi has insulted the girl and that is why his brother has beaten him.

Rajab will go to the field and the guests will go with him.

Aspect II

Muhammad was in the field and Hasan was with him.

Mursi was about to beat the boy but Ali stopped him.

Sa'd goes with them but Rajab goes with us.

'Ali will be on the farm, but the labourers will work here.'

C - Complex sentences with tīza 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 I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>(future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(neutral imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspect II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verb</th>
<th>2nd verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>(future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(neutral imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

Aspect I

fīza mḥammad jaab ilbagara ḥasan ḥayizgiiha 'if Muhammad brings the cow Hasan will water it'
law ɣali kasar ilgalam axuuh yiqrabu 'if Ali breaks the pen his brother will beat him'

Aspect II

fīza kaan mḥammad jaab ilbagara kaan ḥasan zagaaha 'had Muhammad brought the cow Hasan could have taken it to drink'
law kaan ɣali kasar ilgalam axuuh hayiqrabus 'if Ali has broken the pen his brother will beat him'
fīza kaan ilgumda hinaak abuuk yikuun migaah 'if the chief is there your father (must) be with him'
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 figs of 'in the morning', silbaarah 'yesterday' and bukra 'tomorrow' represent the three sub-classes of adverb.

Aspect I

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

gali saaafir gaabil ilmuduir ilbaarah 'Ali went to see the director yesterday'

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

Aspect II

mhammad kaan 7alaq igsubah 'Muhammad was out in the morning'

gali kaan xallas ilbaarah 'Ali finished yesterday'

faṭna 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

\( \text{gali ūlaq} \) 'Ali has gone out'
\( \text{gali ūlaq ahuh} \) 'look! Ali has gone out'
\( \text{gali ūlaq innaxla} \) 'Ali has climbed the palm-tree'
\( \text{gali ūlaq ga īṣṣath} \) 'Ali has gone upstairs'
\( \text{gali ūlaq yiṣṭayal} \) 'Ali has gone out to work'
\( \text{gali ūlaq zağlaan} \) 'Ali has gone out angry'

Aspect II

\( \text{gali kaan fi ilyeet} \) 'Ali was in the field'
\( \text{gali kaan biyiṣṭayal} \) 'Ali was working'
\( \text{gali kaan āyyaann} \) 'Ali was ill'

However, not all verbs of Aspect I sentences are similar to ūlaq, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Affirmation</th>
<th>Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspect I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declaration</strong></td>
<td><strong>Request</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interrogation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
<td>ṭimīl</td>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib ikḥīb</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspect II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Affirmation</th>
<th>Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declaration</strong></td>
<td><strong>Request</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interrogation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡanwalj</td>
<td>ṭimīl</td>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡanwalj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Affirmation</th>
<th>Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declaration</strong></td>
<td><strong>Request</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interrogation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
<td>ṭimīl</td>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Affirmation</th>
<th>Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declaration</strong></td>
<td><strong>Request</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interrogation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
<td>ṭimīl</td>
<td>ḡaṭi ḡamal</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib iṭṭīk</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib wi</td>
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<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
<td>ḡanwalj ib</td>
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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  zaraf  'Hasan has known'
2 - Hasan  zarifa  '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  and ijjaamag  'Hasan is not far from (near) the Mosque'

b) 1 - Fatima  zarafit  'Fatima has known'
2 - Fatima  zarfa  'Fatima knows'
3 - Fatima  mudarrisa  'Fatima is a teacher'
4 - fatna ṭayyiba 'Fatima is good'
5 - fatna hiyya ilkibiira 'Fatima is the eldest'
6 - fatna ahira 'here is Fatima'
7 - fatna liha talat kutub 'Fatima has three books'
8 - fatna illi foog 'it is Fatima who is upstairs'
9 - fatna ḡand ija'amaz 'Fatima is not far from (near) the Mosque'

c) 1 - ḡiłyaaal ḡarafu 'the boys have known'
2 - ḡiłyaaal ḡarfiin 'the boys know'
3 - ḡiłyaaal mudarrisIin 'the boys (the children) are teachers'
4 - ḡiłyaaal ṭayyibiin 'the boys are good'
5 - ḡiłyaaal humma ilkubār 'the boys are the eldest'
6 - ḡiłyaaal ahum 'here are the boys'
7 - ḡiłyaaal luhum ṭalat kutub 'the boys have three books'
8 - ḡiłyaaal illi foog 'it is the boys who are upstairs'
9 - ḡiłyaaal ḡand ija'amaz '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:
The form, total (as in the case of personal pronouns and deictics) 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 zarifni 'Hasan knows me'
3 - hasan mudarrisi 'Hasan is my teacher'
4 - hasan tayyib '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 - fili talacz 'who has gone out'
9 - ḡand ijjaamaz '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.

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.

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 syntags'. 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'.

It has been found profitable also to account for successive 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.

A

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

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

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...'
faṭna gadarit 'Fatima has been able to...'
Fiğiyaaal gadaru 'the boys have been able to...'

2 - Imperfect

a) Present

hasan biyigdar 'Hasan can'
faṭna bitigdar 'Fatima can'
Fiğiyaaal biyigdaru 'the boys can'

b) Future

hasan hayigdar 'Hasan will be able to...'
faṭna hatigdar 'Fatima will be able to...'
Fiğiyaaal hayigdaru 'the boys will be able to...'

c) Neutral

hasan yigdar 'Hasan can'
faṭna tigdar 'Fatima can'
Fiğiyaaal 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:"

(2) See also verbal affixes when verb is colligated with independent personal pronoun p.241 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 - Perfect, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>f.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>{y}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 - Imperfect;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi {t}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a) present, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>f.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>{y}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b) future, m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ha {t}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>f.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TABLE VIII

(2) See also verbal affixes when verb is colligated with independent personal pronoun p.241 below.
II - Intransitive, Transitive and Doubly transitive verbs.

On the basis of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a noun or two nouns (not preceded by prepositional particles) after the verbal form, verbs are divisible into three classes:

i) Intransitive verbs:

Sentences containing intransitive verbs are characterized by the non-occurrence of a noun after the verbal form.

ii) Transitive verbs:

Sentences containing these verbs are characterized by the occurrence of one noun inflected in number-cum-gender and determination after the verbal form.

iii) Doubly transitive verbs:

Sentences containing these verbs are characterized by the occurrence of two nouns inflected also in number-cum-gender and determination after the verbal form.

As a rule, the verbal form in sentences containing doubly transitive verbs contains gemination. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule some of which are:

mhammad naawil hasan ilkitaab 'Muhammad has handed the book to Hasan'

gali mala ilgulla ummayya 'Ali has filled the jar with water'

(1) For the use of 'noun' see p. 183 below.
Fatima has filled the hall with sticks.

Examples are:

**Intransitive:** Sentence-structure: N - V - N

1. Hasan nágas duýri "Hasan fell asleep immediately."
2. Hasan biýilğab fíjjineena "Hasan is playing in the garden."
3. Hasan insarrág "Hasan has been robbed."

**Transitive:** Sentence-structure: N - V - N

1. Hasan katab jawabéén "Hasan has written two letters."
2. Hasan biýaaskul tiffaaha "Hasan is eating an apple."
3. Silgalam 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

1. Silgasa inkasarit hittiteen "The stick has been broken in two pieces."
2. Silgasa itkassarit hitat "The stick has been broken in pieces."

where hittiteen and hitat are always of the same number-cum-gender. 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 *(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.126ff below)* but passive verbs cannot be classified as doubly transitive. See 5) p.155.

*(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:

$$\left[ N \cdot V \frac{1 + 13}{3} \right]_3$$

3 terms of number-cum-gender (m., f. and pl.) in which respect N and V agree $\left( 1 + 13 \right)_3$ 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 gaṣad kal maṣa 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 p. 37 below.
2 - mhammad ḥayruḥ yijiib ilgulla  'Muhammad will go to fetch the jar'

3 - mhammad garrab yiji yikṣif ḡa-lqayyaan  '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 yiğraf yiruuh yijiib ilmiḥraat  'Muhammad knows how to go and bring the plough'

Non-auxiliary verbs

1 - mhammad kal maqṣa-ilwala  'Muhammad has eaten with the boy'

2 - mhammad hayjiib ilgulla  'Muhammad will bring the jar'

3 - mhammad biyikṣif ḡa-lqayyaan  'Muhammad is examining the patient'

4 - mhammad zaga ilbahaayim  'Muhammad has taken the animals to drink'

5 - mhammad yiğraf 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    neutral imperfect
(neutral imperfect
imperfect  neutral imperfect  neutral imperfect

This may be formulated as follows:

\[ V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_3 + V_4 \rightarrow V_1 \]

(\( \rightarrow \) = 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.

\( \text{Fatima has gone back, she is (going to) bring the bread' } \)
\( \text{Fatima has left, she will call her brother' } \)

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.

\( \text{Muhammad can now reach the branches of the tree' } \)

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 (a preposition followed by a noun).

IV - Potential 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./23 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Non-potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect: present</td>
<td>Imperfect: present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

**Potential.**
- غلي تِعِل اُلِفَرْصُ 'Ali has reached the branch'
- غلي بِيِتُول اُلِفَرْصُ 'Ali can reach (reaches) the branch'
- غلي حَيْتُول اُلِفَرْصُ (I) 'Ali will reach the branch'
- غلي يِتُول اُلِفَرْصُ 'Ali can reach the branch'

**Non-potential.**
- غلي جَارٌ-لْكِتَاب ‘Ali has read the book'
- غلي بِيِغِرا-لْكِتَاب ‘Ali is reading the book'
- غلي حَيْغِرا-لْكِتَاب ‘Ali will read the book'

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

- محمد بِيِتُول يِمْسِك اُلِفَرْصُ ‘Muhammad is tall enough to reach the branch'
- حَاسان بِيِغِدا-رِيْيُج لِلْحَاج ‘Hasan is strong enough to carry the stone'

(1) Similar verbs are: گدار, ِرَدًا and گارَف.
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:

1) The active verbal form is neither characterised by prefixed in nor by prefixed or infixed it.

As a rule, the structure of the active verbal form follows one of the following patterns CVCVC, CVCV, CVVC, CVCC - CVCCVC, CVVCVC, CVCCV and iCCVCC (C = consonant, V = vowel and i = i). Verbs following one of the first four patterns are called triliteral, and those which follow one of the last four patterns are called quadriliteral.

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 (triliteral verbs) or it (quadriliteral verbs).

Triliteral verbal forms in which initial C of the root = l, n or r exhibit t infixed after l, n or r. e.g. iltaxam, intajal, irtakab;

(1) These exceptions are: daəz, raḥ, talaæ, jih, maat and faqal.
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, itjammar, itsawwag, itzayyin, itjaglib, itsabbah, itqarrab, ittablbag and itzayyat read iddahraj, ijammara, issawwag, izzayyin, issaglib, issabbah, idqarrab, ittablbag and izzayyat.

Compare the following examples.

Active verbs

hasan qarab fatna  'Hasan has beaten Fatima'
hasan qahak qala fatna  'Hasan has fooled Fatima'
hasan malaissabat burtugaan  'Hasan has filled the basket with oranges'
hasan qattal fatna  'Hasan has delayed Fatima'

Passive verbs

hasan inqarab  'Hasan has been beaten'
hasan indahak qaleeh  'Hasan has been fooled'
issabat intala burtugaan  'the basket has been filled with oranges'
hasan itqattal  '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
personal reference, b) pronominal suffixes.
Compare the following examples.

Active verbs
a) mhammad 造价 uxtuh 'Muhammad has beaten his sister'
mhammad 造价 warfare 二 'Muhammad has hurt his hand'
b) mhammad 造价 warfare 'Muhammad has sent them away' mhammad safaluh 'Muhammad has asked him'

a) mhammad uxtuh 造价 warfare 'Muhammad's sister has been beaten'
mhammad 造价 warfare warfare 二 '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&S N or N V N P&S the place occupied by the 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. 58-69 below. It may, however, be mentioned here that 二 is a noun of personal reference and 二 is a noun of inanimate reference.
or passive; one is enabled to classify ƙaaƙ as a passive verb in:

mhammad ƙaaƙit karrastuh 'Muhammad's exercise book has been lost'

Compare this example with the active verb ƙarab in:

mhammad ƙarabituh faƙnaa '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**

hasan haƙaƙ gurƙa 'Hasan has reserved a melon-field'

ƙaƙna katabit jawaab 'Fatima has written a letter'

ƙanfaƙar kitir baƙatu li mhammad 'Many workmen have sent for Muhammad'
Passive verbs

قینحافیت لی هسان گروگ 'a melon-field has been reserved for Hasan
قیبتاذ لی فاتنا جواذ 'a letter has been written to Fatima
قینتاذ لی مهمامد یانوئر کیتیئ 'many workmen have been sent to Muhammad'

The material may be formulated as follows:

Active          Passive

\[ [N - V]_3 \quad V_2 - N_3 \]

(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

مهماد جرراج شواعبع 'Muhammad has hurt his fingers'
فانتنا جالدید کیتبها 'Fatima has bound her book'
للسیفاال کاسرود قاشاهم 'the boys have broken their stick'
Passive verbs

mḥammad itjarrahit (itjarrahu) ǧawabguh "Muhammad's fingers have been hurt"
faṭna itjallid kitabha "Fatima's book has been bound"
šilṣiyal inkasarit ǧašathum "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

\[ N \quad V \quad N \quad \text{Prs}/\text{Prsg} \]

Passive verb

\[ N \quad V \quad N \quad \text{Prs} \]

Agreement operates between those elements of structure which are linked by \[ \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \underline{I} \]. \( 8 = 8 \) terms of pronominal suffixes.

(1) See pronouns p.246 below.
N.B. In sentences of the structure

\[ N - V - Pr - Prs - N \]

where \( V \) can be active or passive verb, the difference between sentences containing active verbs and those containing passive verbs is located in the noun which follows the verbal form. With active verbs the noun is always determined, while it may be determined or undetermined with passive verbs. Compare

**Active**

- hasan bagat lu irraajil  'the man has sent for Hasan'
- hasan bagatit lu ilbitt  'the girl has sent for Hasan'
- hasan bagatu lu irrijjaala  'the men have sent for Hasan'

**Passive**

- hasan inbagat lu irraajil (raajil)  'the man (a man) has been sent to Hasan'
- hasan inbagatit lu ilbitt (bitt)  'the girl (a girl) has been sent to Hasan'

(1) If this \( N \) is plural and undetermined, the passive verbal form is of masculine singular shape. See also (iii), p.

(2) For the terms determined and undetermined see p. 183 below.
hasan inbaṣatu lu irrijjaalih  'the men have been sent to Hasan'  
hasan inbaṣat 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**  

fuṭna ḥaṣat ilxurg ṭiin  'Fatima has filled the hole with mud'  
ḡali gaam ṭalag jaab ilqasah  'Ali got up and went and fetched the stick'  

**Passive**  

ṭilxurg inhaṣa ṭiin  'the hole has been filled with mud'  
ḡali inṭalab 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.
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

\[ N - V - N - V \]

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

1) the first verbal form must be followed by a noun which agrees with the second verbal form in respect of number-cum-gender;

2) the second verbal form does not agree in number-cum-gender with the first one;

3) the syntagmatic relations obtaining between the first verbal form and the second are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verbal form</th>
<th>2nd verbal form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(perfect</td>
<td>present imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
<td>future imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>neutral imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.
Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gali hayjiib liirrijjala yaklu} & \quad \text{'Ali will bring (some food) for the men to eat'} \\
\text{Gali xalla faṭna jaabit ilgullih} & \quad \text{'Ali asked Fatima to bring the jar (and she did)}' \\
\text{Gali baṣat lilgiyaal hayjiibu ilmihraat} & \quad \text{'Ali has sent (somebody) to the boys (to ask them) to bring the plough'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gali xalla ilgiyaal naadu li uxtuhum jaabit ilyada li irrijjala ityaddu} & \quad \text{'Ali asked the boys and they called their sister who brought some lunch for the men and they ate it'}
\end{align*}
\]

2 - Sentences of the structure

\[
\begin{align*}
a) & \quad N - V - N - V \\
\text{or } b) & \quad N - V - N - V
\end{align*}
\]

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

Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
a) & \quad \text{Gali xad faṭna tiwdrriih ilmagrad} \quad \text{'Ali has taken}
\end{align*}
\]

(1) See p. 136 above.
Fatima to show him the show'

\[
\text{Fatima to show him the show'}
\]

b) \[
\text{Fatima has opened the window to let some fresh air into the room'}
\]

3 - Sentences of the structure

\[N \rightarrow V \rightarrow \text{pause} \rightarrow V\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st verbal form</th>
<th>Verbal form after pause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect:</td>
<td>imperfect:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future (2)</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bāgat faţnaiddaar, yaabit 'Hasan sent Fatima to the house but she was late'

hasan biyilgāb biilkoora, bitdiix '(whenever) Hasan plays with the ball it gets lost'

hasan hayiggūd yilgāb, hayitgaaxar calgatr 'Hasan will keep playing about and will lose the train'

Sentences containing verbs of one particular tense

1 - Sentences of the structure

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 biyitgaalij '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:

filgiff filgiff foog biyitgaallah 'the lock is being mended upstairs'

filgiff fi-lwarja biyingamal 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 structure

N - Adverb - V(1)

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

Examples are:

фақна букра тиграф илхиааий 'Fatima will know the matter one day'

fäliğiyaal 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 phonetic 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:

hasil ityadda foog 'Hasan has had his lunch upstairs'

hasil hayityadda foog 'Hasan will have his lunch

upstairs'

hasil biityadda foog 'Hasan is having his lunch

upstairs'

And compare with examples under 2:

фақна хатики букра 'Fatima will come tomorrow'

fäliğiyaal wāṣalu dilwagt 'the boys have arrived now'

(1) See pp. 12 below for this term.
Verbal sub-classes

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

i) the verbal patterns with which one root 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', 'mağa or wayya - noun of personal reference' and 'qala - noun of place reference' 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 rajağ kuwayyis 'Mahmud was well when he came back'

jamğa rajaqit kuwwyyisa 'Sham'a was well when she came back'

firrijjaala rajağ kuwwyisiin '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 sub-classes of noun see pp. 186-189 and 206 respectively.
Mahmud has worked well
Sham'a has written well
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. 'gawi', 'mağə or wayya - noun of personal reference' or 'gala - 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. $C-V-C-V-C$ or CaCa
   e.g. katab 'he has written'
   bara 'he has sharpened'

2. $C-V-C-C$
   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. Jaarik 'he has shared'

5 - CVCCVC
   e.g. gattac 'he has chopped'
   gallim 'he has trimmed'

6 - CiVCaCC
   e.g. Shmmarr 'it has become red'

7 - CiVCaCVC
   e.g. listakbar 'he has been conceited'
   listagjil 'he has been in a hurry'

8 - CVCCVC
   e.g. salfat 'he smudged( the ink)'
   saqbil 'he tripped him up'

The ten sub-classes of verb are:
   (1)
I - Sub-class 1

   The verbal form
   1) appears in the patterns CaaC or CaaC and CaCCaC;
      e.g. nazal 'has gone down', nazzil 'has taken down';

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'verb of motion'.
(2) saaffir 'has travelled' is the only verb of this group which
    appears in the pattern CaaC1C. Similar to other verbs here
    the root appears in CaCCaC i.e. saaffir 'has sent away'.


rach 'has gone', rawwaah '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 raja¢ iskindri¢a 'Hasan has returned to Alexandria'

cali rach tonta 'Ali has gone to Tanta'
mahmuud saafir banha 'Mahmud has gone to Benha'
mhammad saaffar il¢aff masr 'Muhammad has sent luggage to Cairo'

ii) 'gala - a noun of place'; e.g.

hasan raja¢ gala iskindri¢a 'Hasan has returned to Alexandria'

cali rach gala tonta 'Ali has gone to Tanta'
mahmuud saafir gala banha 'Mahmud has gone to Benha'
mhammad saffar il¢aff gala masr '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'

gulha safrit kuwayyis¢a 'Salha was well when she went away'

filgiyaal safru kuwayysiin 'the boys were well when they went away'
4) when of the pattern CaaC or CaCaC, occurs
   i) in intransitive sentences; e.g.
      Ṣhammad ṭalā 'Muḥammad has gone'
      Ṣali ṭalā 'Ali has gone down',
   ii) as auxiliary verb; e.g.
      Ṣhammad ṭalā yilgab 'Muḥammad has gone to play'
      Ṣali ṭulāq yilgab Ṣalli 'Ali has gone (to the Mosque) to say his prayers', and

5) when of the pattern CaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
   Ṣali fawwit ilgiyal 'Ali has allowed the boys to pass (through)'
   Ṣahas 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.
   Ṣarraf 'he has known', Ṣarraf 'he has told',
2) may be followed by kī; e.g.
   Ṣali katab ijjawāb kuwayyīs 'Ali has written the letter well'
   samya katabit ijjawāb kuwayyīs 'Samia has written the letter well'
   Ṣirrījaala katabu ijjawabaat kuwayyīs '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.

gali labas ilbalṭu 'Ali has put on the coat', and

4) when of the pattern CaCCiC, occurs in doubly transitive sentences; e.g.

gali saḥhab ilwād ijjamuusa 'Ali has made the boy lead the buffalo'

jaraf warras wilasdu ẓizba 'Sharaf has bequeathed a farm to his children'

III - Sub-class 3

The verbal form

1) appears in the pattern CaaCiC; e.g. ẓaṣhib 'has become friendly with',

2) occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.

mḥammad ṣaārīk ẓāli 'Muhammad has taken part with Ali'

mḥammad ṣaawir faṭna '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.

gali ẓaṣhib muṛsi 'Ali has become friendly with Mursi'

ṣaxuuk hasib illaṭ안faṭ ṣar '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.
   ilwad farah gawi 'the boy has become very happy'
   ilgiyaal zaqalu gawi 'the boys have become very angry',
3) when of the pattern CaCaC, occurs in intransitive sentences; e.g.
   ildura gataf 'the maize-field needs watering'
   gali yaqab 'Ali has become angry', and
4) when of the pattern CaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
   ilwad zaqal ilbitt 'the boy has made the girl angry'
   ilharr zahhag gali 'the heat made Ali tired'

V - Sub-class 5

The verbal form

1) appears in one of the patterns CaCaC and CaCCaC; e.g. gasam, gassim 'has divided',
2) occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
   mhammad gataq ilhabl 'Muhammad has severed the rope'
   mhammad gattas ijjallabiyya '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) Compare also with sub-class 6 below.
(2) For this term see pp. 189-193.
5) may also be followed by 'gawi', e.g.

\( \text{silwad garrat ilfar} \text{gawi} \) "the boy has cut the branch too short"

\( \text{ali garrat ilfigda gawi} \) "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. \( \text{waga} \), \( \text{wagga} \) 'has dropped, has made (it) drop';
- \( \text{qaq} \), \( \text{qaya} \) 'has lost, has let (it) get lost',

2) when in either of the patterns CaCaC or CaaC, occurs in intransitive sentences; e.g.

\( \text{silwad waga} \) 'the boy has fallen down'

\( \text{ilgalam qaq} \) 'the pen has been lost',

3) when of the pattern CaCCVC, occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.

\( \text{silwad wagga} \text{ilkitaab} \) 'the boy has dropped the book'

\( \text{hasan qaya} \text{ilgalam} \) '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.

\( \text{waga} \text{li fatna xaatim} \) 'a ring has been lost by Fatima'

\( \text{maat li saqda gayil} \) '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. harat 'has ploughed', waqqab 'has prepared', sahmid 'pulled down',
2) occurs in transitive sentences, and
3) may be followed by k1; e.g.
   hasan zarag ilguyn kuwayyis 'Hasan has planted the cotton well'
   zali zagallag ilbadla kuwayyis 'Ali has hung the suit well'
   mmmuud dahrag ilbarmill 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.
   filwad harub 'the boy has run away'
   fiddihn saah 'the fat has melted', and
3) when of the pattern CaCCVC, occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.
Filwad harrab ilkuwar 'the boy has hidden the balls'
Filbitt sayyahit issamma 'the girl has melted the butter'

IX - Sub-class 9

The verbal form

1) appears in the pattern fiICaCC; e.g. fiswadd, '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.

Filbalah fihmarr gawi 'the dates have become very red'
Fiddura fisfarr gawi 'the maize plants have become very yellow'
Filgumaaf fibyadq gawi 'the cloth has become very white'

X - Sub-class 10

The appearance of the verbal root in a form prefixed with fist- differentiates this verb from previous sub-classes. The total of the following features taken as a whole are characteristic-

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'verb of colour reference'.
istic of this sub-class. The verbal form

1) appears in the patterns i) SistVCCVC, CaCaC and CaCCVC; ii) in the first two of them or iii) in the first one only; e.g. Sistakbar, kabar, kabbar 'has been conceited, has grown big, has caused to grow big'; Sistagmil, gamal 'has used, has done'; Sistanna 'has waited for',

2) with certain exceptions, may be followed by 'gawi'; e.g.

cali Sistakbar gawi. 'Ali has been very conceited'
Silwad kabbar ilkoom gawi. 'the boy has made the heap very big'
Silwad kabar gawi. 'the boy has grown very big',

3) when of the pattern CaCCVC, it occurs in transitive sentences; e.g.

Sirraajil jawwil ilhabl 'the man has lengthened the rope'
Silwad xabba ilkoora 'the boy has hidden the ball', and

4) when of the pattern SistaCCVC, 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 SistVCCVC e.g. Sistalazz 'has found (it) sweet, Sistamarr 'has continued'.
The following table summarizes the characteristics of the above ten sub-classes of verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Doubly transitive</th>
<th>kuwayyis</th>
<th>gawi</th>
<th>Other features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>V occurs as an auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>k₁</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>V is colligated with Npr only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>followed by Nir only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>V is colligated with Nir only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,5(3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₁</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>may occupy initial position in the sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1/5/8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₁</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5/7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>IAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Fajna mafyuul</td>
<td>Fatima is busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Sixwaatu mafyuuliin</td>
<td>his brothers are busy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noun-Adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>IAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Fajna tawiila</td>
<td>Fatima is tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Sixwaatu tawaal</td>
<td>his brothers are tall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2ixwaatu ṭayyibiin  'his brothers are good'
2ixwaatu jadd  'his brothers are serious'
2 - Unlike adjective also, participle is associable with filli in sentences of the structure N - P - N.

Compare
2ilmudarris ili saafir ṣahbi  'the teacher who has gone away is my friend'
with
2ilmudarris ilitating ṣahbi  '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
fathna garfa ilmudarris  'Fatima knows the teacher'
with
fathna garibit 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-gum-gender are associated with the adjectival form. See pp.225,226 below.
Compare

hasan katab iljawaab  'Hasan has written the letter'
hasan rajjaq ilkitaab 'Hasan has returned the book'
hasan misaafir jayif axuuh 'Hasan has gone and seen his brother'

with

hasan katab iljawaab  'Hasan has written the book'
hasan rajjaq 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.

'Ali knows me'

'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, there are eleven patterns:

1 - CaaCiC
   e.g. kaatib 'he has written'

2 - miCaaCiC
   e.g. miJaarik '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, miṣṭirīy, miṣlaqab, 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, aawiz, migūrrab and mikassil.
(1)

5 - miCaCCVC
   e.g. mikassar 'he has broken'
   miğallim 'he has taught'

6 - i - maCCuuC
   e.g. maksuur 'it is broken'
   ii - minCaac
   e.g. mingaan 'it has been taken away'

7 - mitCaCCVC
   e.g. mitçallag 'it is hung up'
   mitçallim 'he has been taught'

8 - mitCaCCVC
   e.g. mitdahrəj 'it is thrown'

9 - CaCCaan
   e.g. zağlaan 'he is angry'

10 - mitCaacCiC
   e.g. mitʃaarihik 'he is taking part with...

11 - miCCiCC
   e.g. mihmirr 'it is reddish'

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.

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. 
Ìmammad zaglaan '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. 
Ìmammad 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. 
Ìmammad waaxid tiffaahah 'Muhammad has taken an apple'
Ìmammad 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.,

filqa'> mitkassara hitat 'the stick has been broken into pieces'

fiijzama mdqrumba warni:< 'the shoe is polished (with polish)'

hasan misaafir mugr 'Hasan is going to Cairo'

The difference between the two structures may be symbolized as follows:

**Transitive**

\[ N \rightarrow P \rightarrow \text{fil} \rightarrow N \]

**Intransitive**

\[ N \rightarrow P \rightarrow N \]

(\text{fil} = \text{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.

\textit{mhammad mikattib fatna 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.

\textit{mhammadmiddi gayyiil girf} 'Muhammad has given a boy a piastre'

\textit{ilmudarriSmiddi ittalamza kutub} 'the teacher has given the pupils books'

\textit{ilmudarriSmiddi fatna 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
'Ilbagara miwarriyya hasan ilmurr 'the cow is causing Hasan great trouble'
\(\text{gali qqarib ilheeta buhyih} \) 'Ali has painted the wall (with paint)'
\(\text{hasan gaatig ilhabl nusseeen} \) 'Hasan has cut the rope into two pieces'

The following two formulae summarize the difference between the two structures:

**Doubly transitive**

\[
N - P - \text{sil}\text{N}_3 - \text{sil}\text{N}_3
\]

**Transitive**

\[
N - P - \text{sil}\text{N}_3 - N \quad (1)
\]

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. 

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

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(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'
filbitt yaybijh 'the girl is absent'
filgiyaal mitqarbiin maqa hasan 'the boys have quarrelled with Hasan'

Binomial participles
fahmi jaay raakib 'Fahmi has come riding (a donkey)'
filbitt talga mitdaygah 'the girl has gone out annoyed'
filgiyaal maqrubiin mabtuhiin '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 talag jaab ilgullijh '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 maCCuuG, mitCaaCiC, mitCaCCVC and, in the case of miCaCCVC, variously to mitCaCCaC, CaaCiC or CaCCaan.

  e.g.

**Active sentences**

"Ali has written the letter"

"Ali is taking part with Fatima"

"Ali has caused the girl to fall down"

"Ali has mended the window"

"Ali has lost the piastre"

"Ali has made his sister angry"

**Passive sentences**

"The letter has been written"

"Ali is taking part with Fatima"

"Ali has fallen down"

"The window has been mended"

"The piastre has been lost"

"Ali is angry"

**Active participle**

The following characteristics mark off active participle from passive participle. The participial form

(1) Read miʃʃaarik and see p. 128 concerning passive quadriliteral verbal form with the prefix 'it'.
i) may be followed by a pronominal suffix; e.g.
\[ \text{gali kasirha} \] 'Ali has broken it'
\[ \text{gali miwaggagul} \] 'Ali has thrown it down'

ii) occurs as intransitive, transitive and doubly transitive; e.g.
\[ \text{gali raajiq} \] 'Ali is coming back'
\[ \text{gali waakil ittiiffaahu} \] 'Ali has eaten the apple'
\[ \text{gali miqarrar axuuh ilhikaayih} \] 'Ali has told his brother the story',

iii) may occupy the first or the second participial place in binomial participles in which cases the first participle is a participle of 'motion'; e.g.
\[ \text{gali Jaalig kaatib ijjawaab} \] 'Ali has gone up and has written the letter'
\[ \text{gali waagif maasikyaqsa} \] '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.

\[\text{ilgása maksuurdh} \quad \text{'the stick is broken'}\]

\[\text{hasan mitṣaamim mícā faṭndh} \quad \text{'Hasan has quarreled with Fatima'},\]

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;'

\[\text{ilbiqása mitrajjaça marbuuçdh} \quad \text{'the goods are sent back packed'}\]

\[\text{ilbiqása markuuna marbuuçdh} \quad \text{'the goods are put aside packed'},\]

iv) may, with certain exceptions, occur in the initial position in the sentence in which case it is of a constant grammatical number; e.g.

\[\text{maksuur liqali ɡaṣd} \quad \text{'one of Ali's sticks is broken'}\]

\[\text{mitṣaarik maça faṭna raajil min ilgizbih} \quad \text{'a man from the outskirts is taking part with Fatima, and'}\]

v) appears in one of the patterns 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (see 6pp.157-168 above).

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(1) The exception is in the case of participles appearing in the patterns CaCCan; e.g. zaqlaan 'angry'.

(2) With reference to pattern 1, see participle of subclass 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:

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-gum-gender with other elements in the sentence.

Compare

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hasan naažīl kuwayyis} & \quad \text{Hasan was well when he went down'} \\
\text{Fatima naažla kuwayyisib} & \quad \text{Fatima was well when she went down'} \\
\text{filgiyaaal nazliin kuwayysiin} & \quad \text{the boys were well when they went down'}
\end{align*}
\]

with

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hasan laabīs kuwayyis} & \quad \text{Hasan is well-dressed'} \\
\text{Fatima labsa kuwayyis} & \quad \text{Fatima is well-dressed'} \\
\text{filgiyaaal labsiin kuwayyiis} & \quad \text{the boys are well-dressed'}
\end{align*}
\]

(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'
- "Fatima naazla kuwayyis" 'Fatima has gone down well'
- "silgiyaal 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 'gala or wayyad - noun of place reference' and 'ma\(a\)-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:

I - Sub-class 1

The participial form
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 raajig masr 'Hasan is going back to Cairo'  
      hasan mirajjaal axuuh masr 'Hasan is sending his brother back to Cairo'  
      ilmiihraat mirajjaal masr 'the plough has been taken back to Cairo'  
   ii) a noun of 'place' preceded by 'gala'.  
      hasan raajig gala-masr 'Hasan has gone back to Cairo'  

(1) This sub-class may be designated 'participle of motion'.  
(2) Only misaasifir which is an example of this sub-class appears in the pattern miCaaCiC.
hasan mirajjaq axuuh gala-ddaar 'Hasan has sent his brother back to the house',
gilmihraat mitrajjaq gala-ddaar 'the plough has been sent back to the house',
3) may be followed by k3 e.g.
hasan raajig kuwayyis 'Hasan was well when he went back'
fata rajja kuwayyisa 'Fatima was well when she went back'
filgijaal rajjiin kuwayyisiin 'the boys were well when they went back'
qal mi rajjaq fata kuwayyisa 'Fatima was well when she was sent back by Ali'
filikutub mitrajjaqin kuwayyisiin 'the books were in good condition when they were sent back',
4) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs
i) in intransitive sentences e.g.
hasan raajig 'Hasan is going back'
hasan misaafir 'Hasan is going away'
ii) in binomial sentences where it occupies the first participial place e.g.
hasan raajig maajin 'Hasan in going back on foot'

(1) Defined as sentences where intransitive participle occurs.
(2) Defined as sentences where binominal participle occurs.
hasan misaafir mabṣuṭ  'Hasan was happy when he went away', and

5) when of the pattern miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences e.g.

  hasan mirajjaż 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.

  'Ali has written
  the letter well'

  'Fatima
made Ali write the letters well'

  'the letters
are written well',

3) when of the pattern CaaCiC, occurs in transitive sen-
tences, e.g.

  'Ali has written
the letter', and

4) when of the pattern miCaCCiC, occurs in doubly transitive sentences, e.g.

  'Ali made the boy
write the receipt'.
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 faṭnah  'Muhammad is taking part with Fatima'

3) when of the pattern mitCaaCiC, is followed by maqa or wayya and a noun of personal reference, e.g.

   mhammad mitjaarik maqa faṭnah  'Muhammad is taking part with Fatima'
   mhammad mitjaarik wayya faṭnah  'Muhammad has quarrelled with Fatima', and

4) is collocated 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 mхааasib raṭnah  'Muhammad balanced his account with Fatima'
   faṭna mithasba maqa mhammad  'Fatima has balanced her account with Muhammad'

   with

   mhammad ḥaaasib ilmablаy  'Muhammad has counted the money'
Silmablax mahsunub 'the money has been counted' (1)

Silmaglay and similar nouns which are not nouns of personal reference 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, nevertheless scatters of related forms are highly relevant to grammatical analysis.

IV - Sub-class 4

The participial form

1) appears in the patterns CaCCAa and miCaCCaC,
2) can be followed by 'gawi' e.g.

Silmudarris zağlaaŋ gawi 'the teacher is very angry'
Siltamiliz mizaggal ilmudarris gawi 'the pupil has made the teacher very angry',
3) when of the pattern CaCCAa, occurs in intransitive sentences. e.g.

ţali zağlaaŋ 'Ali is angry'
faţna furhaanaa '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, x/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 miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences. e.g.

\[ \text{fiṣāal mifarrīḥ fāṭna} \] 'the shawl has made Fatima happy'

V – Sub-class 5

The participial form

1) appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCaC, maCuuC and mitCaCCaC,

2) when occurring in transitive sentences, is followed only by a noun of imaginable reference. e.g.

\[ \text{ḥasān gaṭṭī alḥabl} \] 'Hasan has cut the rope'
\[ \text{ṣīlkāl b kāsar ilgūlāl} \] 'the dog has broken the jars'

3) may be followed by \( k_1 \). e.g.

\[ \text{ṣālī gaṭṭī ilgūd kuwayyis} \] 'Ali has cut the stick well'
\[ \text{fāṭna gaṭṭa ilwarāga kuwayyis} \] 'Fatima has cut the paper well'
\[ \text{ṣiḷgīyāl gaṭṭiin ilgīdān kuwayyis} \] 'the boys have cut the sticks well',

4) may also be followed by 'gawi' e.g.

\[ \text{ṣālī gaṭṭī iṭṭagīyya gawi} \] 'Ali has made a big gash in the cap'
\[ \text{iṭṭagīyya mitgaṭṭaqa gawi} \] '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.

\[ \text{\c{c}ali gaasim ilbur\textsuperscript{t}ug\textsuperscript{q}an\textsuperscript{v}} \text{ 'Ali has divided the oranges'} \]

\[ \text{\c{c}ali migassim ilbur\textsuperscript{t}ug\textsuperscript{q}aan} \text{ 'Ali has divided the oranges'} \]

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

\[ \text{\c{c}ali mikassar ilkursi} \text{ 'Ali has broken the chair'} \]

\[ \text{\c{\text{"ilikanaba mikassarah} \text{ 'the sofa is broken'}}} \]

\[ \text{\c{\text{"ilkaraasi mitkassariin} \text{ 'the chairs have been broken'}}} \]

\[ \text{\c{\text{"il\text{"idaan mikassariin} \text{ 'the sticks are broken'}}} \]

\[ \text{\c{\text{"iddura mikassar} \text{ 'the maize (plants) are broken'}}} \]
Examples of b) are

'Ali has pulled out the nails'

'the nails are pulled out'

'the nails have been pulled out'

'the bread is burnt'

'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

'the piece of wood has been divided into pieces'

with

'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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{	extbar{c}ali ga\textbar{t}a\textbar{i}}} ijjallabiyy\textbar{y}\textbar{i}}h} 'Ali has torn the gown'
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{	extbar{c}ali mi\textbar{g}\textbar{a\textbar{t}a\textbar{a}}} ijjallabiyy\textbar{y}\textbar{i}}h} 'Ali has torn the gown'
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ali ijjallabiyy\textbar{a} m\textbar{a\textbar{t}u\textbar{u}}}y\textbar{a}}} 'the gown is torn'
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ali ijjallabiyy\textbar{a} mi\textbar{g}\textbar{a\textbar{t}a\textbar{a}}}y\textbar{a}}} 'the gown has been torn'
\end{itemize}

with

Examples of sub-class 2

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ali laab\textbar{i}ijjallabiyy\textbar{y}}}h} 'Ali has put on the gown'
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ali mi\textbar{la\textbar{a\textbar{b}}}b\textbar{is} hasan ijjallabiyy\textbar{y}}}h} 'Ali has helped Hasan to put on the gown'
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ali ijjallabiyy\textbar{a} m\textbar{a\textbar{l\textbar{b}}}\textbar{u}u\textbar{s}y\textbar{a}}}} 'the gown is worn'
\end{itemize}

VI - Sub-class 6

The participial form

1) appears in the patterns CaaC1C and miCaCCaC;
2) when of the pattern CaaC1C, occurs in intransitive sentences, e.g.
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}ilk\textbar{a\textbar{a\textbar{b}}} q\textbar{a\textbar{y}i\textbar{y}}}y\textbar{a}}} 'the book has been lost',
\end{itemize}
3) when of the pattern miCaCCaC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\textbf{\textipa{\textbar{c}i hasan mi\textbar{q}\textbar{a\textbar{y}y}y\textbar{a}zik\textbar{a\textbar{a\textbar{b}}} il\textbar{k\textbar{a\textbar{a}}}}}b\textbar{a}}} 'Hasan has lost the book', and
4) Unlike other sub-classes of participle, occurs in initial position when of the pattern CaaCiC, e.g. ḍaayiğ līgāli kitaab 'Ali has lost a book of his'.

Yaayīb līzeenāb kitaabīna 'two of Zainab's books are missing'.

VII - Sub-class 7

The participial form

1) Appears in the patterns CaaCVC and maCCuuC, miCaCCaC and miCaCCaC, and miCaCCaC and miCaCCaC,

2) Occurs in transitive sentences when it appears in the patterns CaaCiC, miCaCCaC and miCaCCaC, and

3) With certain exceptions, may be followed by kā, e.g. ǧāli zaarīg ilgūn kuwayyi 'Ali has planted the cotton well'.

Iṣilgūn mazruvīg kuwayyi 'the cotton is planted well'.

Fatīmā maṣallayal ibadla kuwayyi 'Fatima is hanging the suit well'.

Iṣilgīyaal midahrajān ḫiʁwār kuwayyi '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.
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.
   "Silmakl jaahiz 'the food is ready'
3) when of the pattern miCaCCiC, occurs in transitive sentences. e.g.
   "Hasan mijaahihz ilmakl 'Hasan has prepared the food'.

IX - Sub-class 9

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 minimite reference only.
   e.g.
   "dilmuduaff mihmirr gawi 'the cloth is too red'
   "diddura mifhfr gawi 'the maize plants are two yellow'.

(1) Read middahrajjiin and see p.12e concerning passive quadrilateral verbal forms with the prefix 'it'.
(2) This sub-class may be designated 'participle of colour reference'.
'ilwar og mibiyd ḏ '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, miCaCCVC and mitCaCCVC, mistaCCVC and miCaCCVC or only in the pattern mistaCCVC,

2) with certain exceptions, may be followed by 'gawi', e.g.

ṣali mistagall ittaman gawi 'Ali thinks the price is too low'

fahmi mistaqjil gawi 'Fahmi is in a great hurry'

ṣirrāqjil mitkabbar gawi 'the man is conceited,'

3) when of the pattern miCaCCVC, occurs in transitive sentences, e.g.

mhammad mixaffif ilhīml '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 mistaGaCC e.g. mistajadd = is new; mistaqadd = is ready.
4) When of the pattern mistaCCVC, may occur in intransitive or transitive sentences, e.g.

gali mistalazz ikhakl: '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Doubly transitive</th>
<th>kuwayyis</th>
<th>gawi</th>
<th>Other features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1, 7(1)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₃</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>P. occurs as a member of binomial participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>k₄</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>P. is colligated with Npr only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
<td>1, 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₃</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td>P. is followed by Nkr only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>6/7/8</td>
<td>1/5/3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k₄</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>4, 7</td>
<td>4, 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 "il 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. faţna gariibit mhammad 'Fatima is a relative of Muhammad'

faţna 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. 115 ff.
in the feminine form, for example, a noun can be masculine, feminine and plural,
e.g. karraasit mudarris  'a teacher's book'
karraasit mudarrisa  'a teacher's book'
karreraasit mudarrisiiin  'teachers' book'

In the comparable place of the Noun-Adjective colligation, adjectives can only be of the feminine form.

e.g. karraasa kibiira  'a big book'

Unlike other grammatical categories, noun
i) can be immediately preceded by particle,
e.g. Silkitaab maça mhammad  'the book is with Muhammad'
Silkalb fi ijjineena  'the dog is in the garden'
Silgalam çala ilmaktab  'the pen is on the desk'

ii) may be suffixed with -een and -aat,
e.g. Silkitaabeen kuwayyiisiin  'the two books are good'
Silbalahaat hilwiin  'the dates are sweet'

Determined noun and Undetermined noun.

Before proceeding with the analysis, a twofold division
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 fil, (1)
2) a proper noun or a noun of place,
3) colligated with a pronominal suffix, or
4) colligated with a following determined noun in what is termed construct (3).

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.

| filkitaab fi iddaar       'the book is in the house' |
| gali fi iddaar             'Ali is in the house' |
| liyoon fi furansa          '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
(2) See p. 206 below
(3) See p. 185 below.
e.g. fi iddaar kitaab 'a book is in the house'
fi faransa jibaaal 'there are mountains in France'

One other place in which the determined noun alone occurs is before a determined adjective,
e.g. sirraajil ilkibiiir 'the big/old man'
Qaxuuya ilkibiiir 'my elder brother'

Construct

The colligation N-N, where the two nouns do not agree in respect of number-cum-gender and the first noun, when of the feminine form, ends in -it, is designated construct. Extended colligations of successions of nouns conform also to the above characteristics. The terms monomial construct, binomial construct and polynomial construct respectively are used to designate N-N, N-N-N and N-N-N-N colligations,
e.g. waragit karraasa 'a paper of an exercise book'
waragit karraasit tilmiiza 'a paper of a pupil's exercise book'
waragit karraasit tilmiizit faña 'a paper of Fatima's pupil's exercise book'

The classification of noun is undertaken in accordance with:

A - colligability with other grammatical categories, and
B - the total possible inflections with which the theme of the noun is associable.

The second criterion is applied only in II where further subclasses 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 collocations containing the category noun.

Noun of personal reference (Npr)

Comparison between N-A collocations makes it feasible to establish this sub-class of noun.

1) First, within the framework Noun-Variable Adjective compare

\[\text{Sišgiyaal kubaar} \quad \text{'the boys are big'}\]
\[\text{Sištalamaža ṣuyāyyariiin} \quad \text{'the students are young'}\]
\[\text{Sišmuladarrisiiin ūuwaal} \quad \text{'the teachers are tall'}\]

with

\[\text{Sišdiyiuyuk kubaar (kibiira)} \quad \text{(2) 'the cocks are big'}\]

(1) See Chapter \textit{IV p.223}
(2) The form in brackets is freely variant with the preceding form.
The fact that two adjectival forms are freely variant in association with the plural noun of the second group of examples, 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

Filmudarris Samrikaani
's the teacher is an American'

Filmudarrisa Samrikaniyya
'the teacher is an American'

Filmudarrisliin Samrikaan
'the teachers are American'

with

Filgalam Samrikaani
'the pen is American'

Filfan'ta Samrikaani
'the case is American'

Filfan'ta Samrikaani
'the cases are American'

The occurrence of an adjective of variable form and an adjective

(1) An exception to this is Nat ending with -aat, which, although not a noun of personal reference, is colligable only with the plural form of the adjective. See 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

Filraajil bitaag ilgulal (isamak) 'the man who sells jars (fish)'

with

Fisasa bitaag isamak (isamaka, isamakaat) 'the bones of the fish'
Filhumaar bitaag irraajil (ilmara, irrijaala) 'the donkey of the man (woman, men)'

4) Compare also

Mhammad uxtu itzattalit 'Muhammad's sister has been delayed'

with

Mhammad fuylitu itzattalit 'Muhammad's job has been delayed'

which is freely variant with

Mhammad itzattalit fuylitu
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

gifl injiliizi 'an English lock'
jazma injiliizi 'an English shoe'
sigfaal injiliizi 'English locks'

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,

silfarx fi ilwooqa biyindaba (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

ṣilgīfī fl icipants bīyitsalluh '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 Nlr. Thus, in the two series,

(1) ṣiffabb rajaṣ kuwayyis 'the ox has come back all right'

ṣīlbagara rajaṣit kuwayyis 'the cow has come back all right'

ṣīlbahaaayim rajaṣu kuwayyis 'the animals have come back all right',

and (2)

ṣīlgamiṣ rajaṣ kuwayyis 'the shirt was all right when it came back'

ṣīlbadla rajaṣit kuwayyisa 'the suit was all right when it came back'

ṣīlibidal rajaṣu 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

\[ \text{filjamal talaq yithammil (yithammil)} \quad \text{'the camel has gone out to be loaded'} \]

with

\[ \text{filhathab talaq yithammil} \quad \text{'the straw was taken out to be loaded'} \]

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

\[ \text{gali idda ilkalb ilkoora (li fahmi)} \quad \text{'Ali has given the dog the ball (to Fahmi)'} \]

\[ \text{gali warra ijjamal ilkizaan (li fahmi)} \quad \text{'Ali has shown the camel the corn cobs (to Fahmi)'} \]
with

'Ali has given the ball to the dog (to 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) _sell a bag of yalya  'an expensive calf'

and

(2)  sell a jild yalya (yaali)    'an expensive leather case'

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 bayyaiga 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:

\[
\text{Npr} - \text{A} - \text{A} \\
\text{Nar} - \text{A} - \text{A} \\
\text{Nir} - \text{A} - \text{A}
\]

II

Having established the three sub-classes of noun, the analysis will now proceed with further possible sub-divisions under each.

\underline{\text{Npr}}

It is feasible to divide nouns belonging to this sub-class into five further sub-classes.

1. \underline{\text{Proper noun}}

The theme of proper noun

1) 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 faatár 'Muhammad is clever'

fatna faatra 'Fatima is clever'

The presence of the ending -a in fatna and its absence in mhammad cannot be abstracted as exponents of feminine and masculine since it is not a regular difference; fatn kibiirand mhammadada 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

jimga iitawiil raja? 'the tall Gom§a has come back'

hamza ilkibiir talag 'Big Hamza has gone out'

feminine

zeenab ittawiila raja?it 'the tall Zainab has come back'

sawsan ilkibiira talagit 'Big Susan has gone out'

ii) cannot be associated with the definite article fil. Like the final -a in examples above, initial fil which appears in the form of some proper nouns cannot be abstracted in the same way as the definite article elsewhere.
Compare

\( \text{\'Al-}\text{\-'Adli is in the field} \)

and \( \text{\'Adli is in the field} \)

where the proper noun, with or without \( \text{\'Al} \), occupies the place of determined noun, with

\( \text{\'Almudarris fi ilyet} \quad \text{the teacher is in the field} \)

and \( fi ilyet \text{mudarris} \quad \text{there is a teacher in the field} \)

where the noun of profession cannot occur in the place of determined noun unless associated with \( \text{\'Al} \),

iii) cannot be associated with pronominal suffixes,

iv) contrasts with all other sub-classes of noun in that it is colligable with titles;

\( \text{\'Alhajj Muhammad} \quad \text{\'Hadji Muhammad} \)

\( \text{Hasan beek} \quad \text{\'Hasan Bey', and} \)

v) comes last when associated with other nouns in construct;

\( \text{\'Alis teacher} \)

\( \text{the teacher of Ali's brother} \)

\( \text{the teacher of Ali's friend's brother} \)

\( \text{\'Al's friend's brother} \)

(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 mudarristik '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.

\[\text{gilhajj mhammad} \quad \text{'Hadji Muhammad'}\]
\[\text{gilhajja faţna} \quad \text{'Hadji Fatima'}\]
\[\text{zabuuya mhammad} \quad \text{'Uncle Muhammad'}\]
\[\text{zummi faţna} \quad \text{'Aunt Fatima'}\]

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';

\[\text{e.g. jimça afandi} \quad \text{'Gom'a Effendi'}\]
iii) It contrasts with noun of relationship and noun of profession in that it is colligable with pronominal suffixes of 1st and 2nd person only.

Compare

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\$axuuya} & \quad \text{'my brother'} & \text{\$axuuk} & \quad \text{'your brother'} \\
\text{\$axuuki} & \quad \text{'your brother'} & \text{\$axuu\#} & \quad \text{'his brother'} \\
\text{\$axuu\#} & \quad \text{'her brother'} & \text{\$mu\darriska} & \quad \text{'her teacher'} \\
\end{align*}\]

...etc.

with the following total possibilities with title

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{\$ali} & \quad \text{'uncle Ali'} \\
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{\$ali} & \quad \text{'uncle Ali'} \\
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{\$ali} & \quad \text{\$ali} \\
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{\$ali} & \quad \text{\$ali} \\
\end{align*}\]

iv) Title may be identical in form with noun of relationship;

Compare

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{\$ali} & \quad \text{'Uncle Ali'} \\
\end{align*}\]

with

\[\begin{align*}
\text{\$abuu\#} & \quad \text{fi il\kay\#} & \quad \text{'my father is in the field'} \\
\end{align*}\]

(1) See sub-class 3 below.

(2) See sub-class 4 below.
3 - Noun of relationship.

Characteristic of this class is that (l)

1) 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.  xaal ṭayyib  'a good uncle'
         xaala ṭayyiba  'a good aunt'
         xaleen ṭayyibiin  'two good uncles'
         xalteen ṭayyibiin  'two good aunts'
         xalaat ṭayyibiin  'good aunts'

   It also appears in 'broken plural' forms; e.g.

   Ṣixwaal ṭayyibiin  '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

   xaal mhammad  'Muhammad's uncle'
   xaalit ilxaddaam  'the servant's aunt'

   with

   mudarris ilfaql  'the class teacher'
   mudarrisit ittalix  '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 -nil and -a respectively in masculine and feminine pieces; e.g.: 
   - mudarris laṭiif 'a nice teacher'
   - mudarrisa laṭiifā 'a nice teacher'
   - taṣajir kuwayyiis 'a good merchant'
   - tajra kuwayyiisa 'a good merchant'

Unlike other sub-classes, the nominal form is either suffixed with -iiin and -aat or appear in 'broken plural' forms in plural pieces; e.g.:
   - mudarrisiin tayyibiin 'good teachers'
   - mudarrisaat tayyibiin 'good teachers'
   - tujjjaar tayyibiin 'good merchants'
   - yufara tayyibiin '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).

Compare:
   - fitneen xaddamiin 'two servants'
   - fitneen sammakiin 'two fishermen'
   - fitneen tujjjaar 'two merchants'

(1) See 1) under each of these sub-classes p.198 above and p.201 below respectively.
with

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{xaxxeen \it\it sitneen}} & \quad \text{'two brothers'} \\
\text{\textit{twuxteen \it\it sitneen}} & \quad \text{'two sisters'} \\
\text{\textit{gayyileen \it\it situeen}} & \quad \text{'two boys'}
\end{align*}
\]

The occurrence of the ending \text{\textit{-iin}} and the 'broken plural' form as opposed to \text{\textit{-een}} and \text{\textit{-teen}} respectively in the first and second series of examples together with the successive order of the numeral \text{\textit{sitneen}} 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. \[\text{\textit{\underline{silwad ilxaddaam} sa\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it\it f\text{\textit{\it t\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textit{\it r}}}}}}}}}}}} \quad \text{'the servant-boy is clever'}\]
\[\text{\textit{\underline{silbitt ilxaddaama} sa\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it r}}}}}} \quad \text{'the servant-maid is clever'}\]
\[\text{\textit{\underline{sil\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it g\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it y\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it i\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it l}}}}}}}}}}}}}} ilxaddamiin} su\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it t\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it r}}}}}}}}}}}} \quad \text{'the servant-boys are clever'}\]
\[\text{\textit{\underline{silbanaat ilxaddamaat} su\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it t\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it r}}}}}}}}}} \quad \text{'the servant-maids are clever'}\]

iv) When occurring in a construct, this noun may be followed by noun of personal, animate or inanimate reference;

e.g. \[\text{\textit{xaddaam} \underline{\text{\textit{\it g\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it li}}}}}}}}}} \quad \text{'the servant of Ali'}\]
\[\text{\textit{bayyaa\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it q\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it i\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it s\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it s\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it a\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it m\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{\it k}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}} \quad \text{'the fishmonger'}\]

(1) Compare with v) and iii) under sub-classes 1 and 3 above.
Characteristic of this noun is that:

1) With one exception, the nominal theme appears in three forms, namely masculine or feminine, dual and plural; e.g.
   - kirraajil kibiir 'the man is big'
   - kirraajleen kubaar 'the two men are big'
   - kirrijaala kubaar 'the men are big'
   - filbitt kibiira 'the girl is big'
   - filbitteen kubaar 'the two girls are big'
   - filbanaat kubaar 'the girls are big'

2) The appearance of one dual form of this noun marks it off from noun of relationship which appears in two dual forms;
   Compare
   - rajleen kubaar 'the two big men'
   - marateen kubaar 'the two women'
   with
   - gammeen kubaar 'two big uncles'
   - gammiteen kubaar 'two big aunts'

3) The fact that there is one plural form only of this noun differentiates between it and both noun of relationship

(1) gayyil 'boy' which appears in six forms: gayyil, gayyila, gayyileen, gayyiltteen, giyaal, gayyilaat.
(2) See ii) p.198 above.
and noun of profession which appear in two plural forms; Compare

silwilaad ifjuttaar 'the clever boys'
sirrijjaala ilkubaar 'the big men'

with

sigaam fayniyya 'rich uncles'
Gammaatayniyya 'rich aunts'
Filmudarrisin aybiin 'the teachers are good'
Filmudarrisavat aybiabat 'the teachers are good'

iv) When occurring in a construct, it may be followed by either Npr or Nir i.e. not by Nar; e.g. rijjaalit ilgumda 'the men who work for the chief'

giyaal ilhitta 'the boys of the district'

v) It is associative 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 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamaam kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of pigeons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagar kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of cows'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batț kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of ducks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himiir kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of donkeys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutaț kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of cats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firax kitiir</td>
<td>'a lot of hens'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reveals a first difference between the collective nouns hamaam, bagar and batț on the one hand and the non-collective nouns himiir, gutaț and firax 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamaam yaali</td>
<td>'expensive pigeons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himiir yalyiin</td>
<td>'expensive donkeys'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Non-collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagar yaali 'expensive cows'</td>
<td>humaar yaali 'an expensive donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagara yalya 'an expensive cow'</td>
<td>humaara yalya 'an expensive donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagarteen yalyiin 'two expensive cows'</td>
<td>humareen yalyiin 'two expensive donkeys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagaraat yalyiin 'expensive cows'</td>
<td>humarteen yalyiin 'two expensive donkeys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>himiir yalyiin 'expensive donkeys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>humaraat yalyiin 'expensive donkeys'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

\[ \text{diiik kibiirk} \quad \text{'a big cock'} \]
\[ \text{dikeen kubaar} \quad \text{'two big cocks'} \]
\[ \text{diyuuk kubaar} \quad \text{'big cocks'} \]

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;

\[ \text{e.g. samnit ilbagar} \quad \text{'cow's butter'} \]

and

\[ \text{gilgidla ilbagar} \quad \text{'the calf'} \]

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

\[ \text{hidaaʃjoʃidl bagar} \quad \text{'eleven calves'} \]

with

\[ \text{hidaaʃjar humaar} \quad \text{'eleven donkeys'} \]

v) Unlike other sub-classes of noun, collective can be immediately preceded by a dual form;

Compare

\[ \text{gilgidleen ilbagar} \quad \text{'the two calves'} \]
Siddakareeni ilwizz 'the two male geese'
Sijjozeen ilhamaam 'the two pairs of pigeons'

with
Silxarufeeni wilaad innasja 'the two lambs'
Silxarjiteen bituug ilhimir 'the two stables of the donkeys'

Sub-classes of Niv

It is feasible to establish the following sub-classes of noun of inanimate reference.

1 - Noun of place.

i) The nominal form of this sub-class is invariable and appears in feminine pieces only;

   e.g. tanta wasga 'Tanta is big'
   masr ijjidiida bigiida 'Heliopolis is far from here'
   kafr ittarayna suwayyara 'Kafr Ittarayna is (a) small (village)'

ii) Another characteristic of noun of place is that it is determined and therefore it is neither associable with the definite article nor with pronominal suffixes.

2 - Collective noun.

Collective nouns of inanimate reference exhibit similar
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;

\[\text{e.g.} \quad \text{mijmij kuwayyis \ 'nice apricots'}\]
\[\text{mijmija kuwayyisa \ 'a nice apricot'}\]
\[\text{mijmijaaya kuwayyisa \ 'a nice apricot'}\]
\[\text{mijmijteen kuwayysiin \ 'two nice apricots'}\]
\[\text{mijmjat kuwayysiin \ 'nice apricots'}\]

Another point of difference is that collective Nir is regularly colligable with noun of measurement;

\[\text{e.g.} \quad \text{SilStiggit ilmijmj \ 'the oke of apricot'}\]
\[\text{Silardabb ilgamh \ 'the ardab of wheat'}\]
\[\text{Silhabbaayit iddura \ 'the grain of maize'}\]

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:

\[\text{collective}\]

(1) \[\text{Silmijmjat suyayyariin \ 'the apricots are small'}\]
\[\text{Silbeqaat kuwayysiin \ 'the eggs are good'}\]

(2) \[\text{Silgarabiyyaat suyayyariin (suuyaryay) \ 'the cars are small'}\]

(1) See pp. 203 ff. above. (2) See sub-class §ip. 213 below. (3) See footnote (2) p. 186 above.
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;<br> e.g.  {	extit{f}ilbagar}aat kubaar  'the cows are big'<br>    
    {	extit{f}ilhumaraat kubaar  'the donkeys are big'\}<br>This adds also to the definition of Nar and Nir.<br>Examples of collective Nir conforming to the characteristics given under collective Nar are:<br> i)  {	extit{b}aq}a}a alles \k}i}iir  'a lot of potatoes'<br>   gu\}a\}n yaama  'a lot of cotton'<br> ii) used adjectively;<br>    {	extit{f}ilhizaam ilgu\}a\}n  'the cotton belt'<br> iii) colligated with numeral;<br>    hidaa}sar gintaar gu\}a\}n  'eleven cantars of cotton'<br> iv) immediately preceded by a dual form;<br>    {	extit{f}ilcil}bit}een ilkabriit  'the two boxes of matches'<br> 3 - Non-collective<br> This sub-class is established also in a similar way to the non-collective Nar. Unlike the latter, however, the theme of the noun under consideration appears always in three <br><br>(1) For further explanation of the significance of these examples see respectively i), iii), iv) and v) pp.203-206 above.<br> (2) See pp.203 ff. above.
forms:

  e.g. galam kibiir 'a big pen'
  galameen kubaar 'two big pens'
  figlaam kubaar 'big pens'
  rīja kibiira 'a big quill'
  rījteen kubaar 'two big quills'
  riyaf kubaar 'big quills'

Compare the following examples with those under i), ii), iii) and iv) p.208 respectively.

i) figlaam kitii 'a lot of pens'
   riyaf kitii 'a lot of quills'

ii) Non-collective contrasts with collective in that it cannot be used adjectively; e.g.

   hizaam ifsan'a '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 Nır exhibits the following characteristics.

i) It is similar to collective noun in that it is associable with kitii, dinya and yaama, and is there in the masculine form, e.g.

   qakl kitii 'much food'

(1) See i) p.203 above.
ii) But the verbal noun differs from the collective noun in that it cannot be preceded by a noun of measurement.

iii) The following examples provide yet another difference between verbal noun and other sub-classes of noun. Compare (2) kutr ilmasy 'a great deal of walking'

with

kutr ittoom 'a great deal of garlic'
kutr yakl 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verbal noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal 'he ate'</td>
<td>yakl 'eating/food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataab 'he wrote'</td>
<td>kitaaba 'writing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarraf 'he dealt with'</td>
<td>tagrafiif 'dealing with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fistayfar 'he asked pardon'</td>
<td>fistiyyfaar 'asking pardon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) See pp. 212 ff. above.
(2) Similar to kutr are gadam 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

fittaglimaat kitirâh 'there are many regulations'

with

silkarrasaat kutaar (kitira) (1) 'the exercise books are many'

silbasalaat kutaar 'there are many onions'

silbayyaâaat 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'

xamâa taçariïifa 'five half-piastres'

(1) See opposite p.207 above.
The two forms of numeral colligated with noun under (1) and (2) are also different. They are in the free and bound form respectively.

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.

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 or 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.

6 - Noun of measurement

This noun is characterized by

1) 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 above.
article or with -it only.

Compare

ṣilyardit ʾissuuf  'the yard of the woollen material'

with

ṣijjallabiyya ʾissuuf  'the woollen gown'
jallabit hasan  'Hasan's gown'

ii) Nouns of measurement can precede collective nouns only.

In examples like

yardit ʾittuqjur  '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, harīr in

noun

harīr ʾisfāal kuwayyis  'the silk of the shawl is good'

adjective

ʾisfāal ilharīr 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

Silmitreen iṣṣuuf 'the two metres of woollen material'
Sillugmiteen ilğeej 'the two pieces of bread'
Silraseen ittoom 'the two garlic plants'
Silhittiteen issukkar 'the two lumps of sugar'

with

Silmusmareen bituug ilfaas 'the two nails of the axe'
Silmuftaheen bituug ilbaab 'the two keys of the door'
Siljjibakeen bituug ilfooqa 'the two windows of the room'

7 - bitaág

The theme of this noun appears in the patterns bitaág,bitaág (bitaágit) and bituug. It exhibits certain similarities to noun of relationship. The most common position occupied by bitaág is between two determined nouns, cf.

hasan bitaág ijjaaż 'Hasan who sells paraffin oil'
Silbagara bitaágit gali 'the cow of Ali'
Silfurūrug bituug 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'
- _Silbitt gariibit _ğali_ 'the girl is a relative of Ali'
- _Sittujjaar garaaayib saq'd_ 'the merchants are relatives of Sa'd'

Three-place structures with _bitaaq_ or noun of relationship in the second place differ from examples like

- _Hasan mudarris tariix_ 'Hasan is a teacher of history'
- _Faq'na bayyaaqit balah_ 'Fatima is a seller of dates'
- _Sirrijjaala tuujjaar gu'tn_ '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.

Structures containing noun of relationship and those containing _bitaaq_ differ, however, in that

1) _that_ noun of relationship can only be colligated with _Npr_, while _bitaaq_ can be colligated with _Npr, Nar_ or _Nir_.

---

(1) See, however, (7) P. 217.

An exception to this is _şāhīb_ which can be followed by _Npr, Nar_ or _Nir_, e.g.

- _şāli şāhīb innauzar_ 'Ali is a friend of the headmaster'
- _şāli şāhīb ilbagara_ 'Ali is the owner of the cow'
- _şāli şāhīb 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 bitaâ¢ are:

(1) Npr - b - Nar
    NIR \{ m collective
    \{ pl non-collective
    \{ noun of place

(2) Nar - b - Npr

(3) Nir - b - (Npr
    \{ Nar
    \{ Nir

Examples are:

(1) Siîtaajîr bitaâ¢ ilbagar 'the merchant who
deals in cattle'
Siîrraajîl bitaâ¢ ilfiraax 'the man who deals
in poultry'
Siîlwîliyya bitaâ¢it ilburîgâan 'the woman
who sells oranges'
Siîssâcîya da bituùg ilbalâh 'the Sa'id who
sell dates'
Siîlmuhandisiin bituùg ma'îr 'the engineers of
Cairo'

(2) Siîlbaqará bitaâ¢it jiranna 'our neighbour's cow'

(1) The occurrence of Npr before bitaâ¢, with the exception of
examples containing noun of place after bitaâ¢, correlates
with a situation of dealing and selling, hence the use of
the English verbs 'deal' and 'sell' in the translation.
(3) Sissanduug bitaag fatna 'the box of Fatima'
    Sirritga bitaagit ijjamal 'the tether of the camel'
    Filmafatiir bituug ilbaab 'the keys of the door'
i) the respective possibility and impossibility of a pause after their plural forms
    Compare the following examples under (1) and (2).
    (1) Filgiyaal garayib 'the boys are relatives'
        Sittujjjaar ixwaat 'the merchants are brothers'
    (2) Filgiyaan bituug ilguumda 'the fields of the village chief'
        Sittujjjaar bituug ilguun 'the merchants who deal in cotton'
iii) the possibility of adverbs after noun of relationship, but not after bitaag
    Filwad bitaag ilbaarah 'the boy of yesterday'
    Filbalah bitaag gammawwil 'last year's dates'; and
iv) the bitaag only may be associated with the definite article;
    e.g.
        Filbitaag maksiur 'it(m) is broken'
        Filbitaaga hatigas 'it(f) is going to fall down'
        Filbituug tuwaal 'they are long'
Chapter V

Adjective

Before embarking on the analysis it is useful to point out the following characteristics of the category (adjective), which, when taken as a whole, distinguish adjective from other grammatical categories. These characteristics are:

1 - Unlike verb, participle and noun, adjective does not occur in initial position. Compare

\[ \text{gahbi } \text{tawil} \] 'my friend is tall'

with

\[ \text{Sindahak } \text{gala } \text{gahbi} \] 'my friend has been fooled'
\[ \text{maqhuuk } \text{gala } \text{gahbi} \] 'my friend has been fooled'
\[ \text{gali } \text{gahbi} \] 'Ali is my friend'

2 - The manner of association with the definite article \( \text{fil} \) differentiates adjective and noun. The total possibilities of \( (N - A) \) and \( (N - N) \) colligations in

(1) See also Chapter I pp. 115 ff. above.
(2) See also Chapter IV pp. 182-183 above.
this respect are:

£îlN - £îlA
£îlN - A
N - A
N - £îlN
N - N

Compare

(N - A):
£îlbaab ilkibiir  'the big door'
£îlbaab 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 may be invariable.

Compare

(N - A):
čali sukkarah  'Ali is very nice'
zeenab sukkarah  'Zainab is very nice'
£îlciyaal sukkarah  'the boys are very nice'

(1) See A, p.225. below.
with

(N - V):

\( \text{\c{c}ali t\u{a}la\u{c}\j{a}} \) 'Ali has gone out'

\( \text{zeenab t\u{a}la\u{c}\j{a}\j{i}\j{t}} \) 'Zainab has gone out'

\( \text{\c{f}il\u{c}\u{c}i\u{y}\u{a}\u{a}l t\u{a}l\u{a}\u{g}\u{u}} \) 'the boys have gone out'

(N - P):

\( \text{\c{c}ali t\u{a}\u{a}\u{c}i\u{\u{j}\j{z}} \) 'Ali is going out'

\( \text{zeenab t\u{a}\u{c}\u{\u{a}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\j{a} \) 'Zainab is going out'

\( \text{\c{f}il\u{c}\u{c}i\u{y}\u{a}\u{a}l t\u{a}\u{c}\u{\u{a}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\j{a} \) 'the boys are going out',

and

(N - N):

\( \text{\c{c}ali gar\u{i}\u{\i}\i{\i}b\i{\i}i} \) 'Ali is my relative'

\( \text{zeenab gar\u{i}\i{\i}b\i{\i}ti} \) 'Zainab is my relative'

\( \text{\c{f}il\u{c}\u{c}i\u{y}\u{a}\u{a}l gar\u{i}\i{\i}b\i{\i}i\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\u{\j{\j}}\j{a} \) 'the boys are my relatives'

\( \) - 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: SaCCaC, CVCiIC and CiCiC. e.g. Sa\u{t}\u{w}al 'taller', Sa\u{r}\u{a}raj 'lame', kibiir '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. 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.*

ファラシジルフィティキイン イルクサッヤーファランスアウィ 'the stout short man is a Frenchman'

アッファンタ イルキビイラ イサムラ サファブ 'the big black case is made of wood'

D - The occurrence or non-occurrence of the sub-class of adjective in ギィン- and タミン-sentences. In ギィン-sentences, the adjectival form which is followed by ギィン can be of various patterns and may agree in respect of number-cum-gender with the preceding noun.

*e.g.*

ガリ キビル ギィン ファトナフ 'Ali is bigger than Fatima' 

シルバラ サムラ ギィン イルバリュ 'the suit is darker than the coat'

シルガガガ ハリル ギィン イルマッガッド 'the lower room is warmer than the upper room'

In タミン-sentences, the adjectival form which is followed by タミン can only be of the pattern サッカッカオン and does not agree in number-cum-gender with the preceding noun;
e.g.

\[\text{\'Ali\ is\ bigger\ than\ Fatima'}\]

\[\text{\'the\ suit\ is\ cleaner\ than\ the\ coat'}\]

A feature in common between gan-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;

\[1\] Example:

- filmudarris \textit{aqyab min innaazar} 'the teacher(m) is better than the headmaster'
- filmudarrisa \textit{aqyab min innaazar} 'the teacher(f) is better than the headmaster'
- filmudarris \textit{iin aqyab min innaazar} 'the teachers are better than the headmaster'
- \textit{qiddik injiliizi} 'the cock is English'
- \textit{silfarxa injiliizi} 'the hen is English'
- \textit{silfiraax injiliizi} 'the hens are English'
- \textit{silgalam samrikaani} 'the pen is American (made in America)'
- \textit{simahfaza samrikaani} 'the wallet is American (made in America)'
- \textit{ silliglaam samrikaani} '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:

- 

- 

- 

- 

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The adjective in the cases mentioned under 1) and 2) is considered a sub-class of the variable category and is termed 'constant', as opposed to 'invariable'.

Further examples of the variable adjective are:

- 

- 

- 

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:

филягчад ёалма 'the upper room is dark'
филягаса ёалма 'the lower room is dark'
филямагаъид ёалма 'the upper rooms are dark'

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, e.g.

филибидал жидида 'the suits are new'
филибидал жудаад
филямаватин висха 'the pots are dirty'
филямаватин висхин

(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.

 adultos ijtiwiil ijjiidiid bitaaçi 'the new long pencil is mine'.

 sirraajil tawiil asmar 'the man is tall and brown'.

3) The adjectival form occurs in çan-sentences; e.g.

 adultos tawiil çan irrija 'the pen is taller than the quill'.

 tilbidal sumr çan 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 ajwal min çali 'Hasan is taller than Ali'.

 firlmarq akram min irraajil 'the woman is more generous than the man', and also in sentences of the structure (noun - undetermined adjective - undetermined noun);
Sub-class (ii) does not occur in either of the above structures. Examples of this sub-class in different structures are:

- Siddaar ẓalya jabal 'the house is as high as a mountain'
- Sillummayya suxna naar 'the water is as hot as fire'

Sub-class b) 'Adjective of origin':

1) This sub-class of adjective, mostly characterized by a final -i in the masculine form, exhibits the threefold alternation of variable adjective in respect of number-cum-gender only when accompanying a noun of personal reference,

- Siddaktuur 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, Syntagmatic relations in linguistic analysis pp.113-116, TPS 1958.
(3) See examples of variable adjective p.225 above.
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\[\text{fiddaktuura injiliziyya } \quad \text{'the doctor is an Englishwoman'}\]

\[\text{fiddakatra injiliiz } \quad \text{'the doctors are Englishmen'}\]

2) When the adjective accompanies a noun of non-personal reference the adjective is 'constant'.

\[\text{e.g. fiddawa injiliizi } \quad \text{'the medicine is made in England'}\]

\[\text{issijjaada injiliizi } \quad \text{'the carpet is made in England'}\]

\[\text{ilfadwiya injiliizi } \quad \text{'the drugs are made in England'}\]

3) With regard to successive order, adjective of origin is the first unless it is accompanied by 'adjective of material';

\[\text{e.g. fiddaktuur iljinjiliizi ittiawiil schbi } \quad \text{'the tall English doctor is my friend'}\]

\[\text{gilgalam ilfamrikaani ijjiidiid lasmar qaaq } \quad \text{'the new brown American pen has been lost'}\]

An example containing an adjective of material is:

\[\text{gilgalam ilfabanoos ilfamrikaani ijjiidiid qaaq } \quad \text{'the new American fountain pen has been lost'}\]

\[\text{(1) See also p. 225 above.}\]

\[\text{(2) See p. 233 below.}\]
4) Adjective of origin neither occurs in ġan-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. ūnnajjaar qəraj 'the carpenter is lame'
   ūilhumara qarja 'the donkey is lame'
   ūilkilaab qurj 'the dogs are lame'

2) The adjectival form does not occur in any particular position with regard to other accompanying adjective;
   e.g. ūirraajil illağraj ilkibiir jih 'the big lame man has come'
   is freely variant with
   ūirraajil ilkibiir illağraj jih 'the big lame man has come'

3) Examples of this sub-category do not occur in min- or ġan-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. ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'the upper room is large'
мمـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ '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:

- ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'The big room is empty';
- ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'The upper room is empty';

3) is preceded by nouns of inanimate reference only, and

4) regularly has the ending -ni, niyya, niyyiin, which are abstractable as exponents of masculine, feminine and plural respectively; e.g.

- ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'the lower book is new';
- ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'the lower exercise book is new';
- ﮨيماٌد ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ ﻦأرـ 'the lower books are new';

5) when following a plural noun, is variously of the
feminine or the plural form;
e.g. *filmagaaqid ilfoguniyya niqiifa* 'the upper rooms are clean'
does not occur in min- or cun-sentences.

II - Invariable Adjective

Besides being invariable, this sub-class contrasts yet again with variable adjective in that almost all its examples are identical in form with examples of noun.

Compare:

**Examples of invariable adjective**

*gilgumiiš ilhariir yaali* 'the silk shirt is expensive'

*Sirraajil ijjadd maḥbuub* 'the straightforward man is well-loved'

*gagađna fi ilgaağa innuur* 'we sat in the well-lit room'

with

**Examples of noun**

*ilhariir yaali* 'silk is expensive'

*ijjjadd maḥbuub* 'straightforwardness is well-loved'

*gagađna fi innuur* 'we sat in the light'
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. Šifjanja iijiži ilkibiira bitačti
        'the big leather suitcase is mine/my big leather suitcase'
        Šifjanja iijiš nilinjiliizi ilkibiira bitačti 'the big English leather suitcase is mine/my big English leather suitcase',

and 3) occurs neither in ġan-sentences nor in 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 gaṭiifa xaqra
is in free variation with
hinaak fustaan gaṭiifa axqar
'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 ışsiğiidi ilkibiir nimra 'the big Sa'idi boy is very cunning'

filqiyaal ışşağyda ilkubah nimra 'the big Sa'idi boys are very cunning'

hinaak bitt ʂuyayya[n]a nimra 'there is a very cunning little girl there'
with the following examples of other adjectives
Filgalam ijjdiid yaali 'the new pen is expensive'
Filgalam il'amrikaani il'yaali kuwayjis 'the new expensive American pen is good'
Fiddaar ibarraniyya suyyaara 'the house in the outskirts is small'

3) they appear in neither minor nor gan-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.
   Filmaggad ilkibiir qalma 'the big upper room is dark'
   Filmanqara ilbarraniyya harr 'the front drawing room is hot'

2) It occurs in gan-sentences, e.g.
   Filfooda ilbarraniyya nuur gan 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 - 'Labu-phrases' and
2 - 'construct adjectival phrases'

Examples of Labu-phrases are:

Silwad abu ras giyana gariibi 'the bare-headed boy is my relative'
Silhumaara ummu bardaga bitagita 'the donkey with a saddle is ours'
Silkutub ummahaat jild ahmar bituugi 'the books with the red cover are mine'

Compare these examples with

Silwad ilkibiiir gariibi 'the big boy is my relative'
Silhumaara issamra bitagita 'the brown donkey is our'
Silkutub ilkubaar bituugi 'the big books are mine'

The comparison between the two sets of examples above reveals the following two points:

1) 'Labu-phrase' occurs in the same place as a determined adjective
ii) żabu, żummu and żummahad 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.

filmara galiilit izzoog 'the woman is impolite'
filbitt tawiilit illisaan '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.
### Variable adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class</th>
<th>Preceding Noun</th>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Can-sentence</th>
<th>Min-sentence</th>
<th>Other features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) i)</td>
<td>Npr, Nar, Nir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see (i) (I) (\text{p. 227})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii)</td>
<td>Npr, Nar, Nir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Npr, Nar, Nir</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see 1) (\text{p. 228})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>Npr, Nar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>Nir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Invariable adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class</th>
<th>Preceding Noun</th>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Can-sentence</th>
<th>Min-sentence</th>
<th>Other features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>Nir</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see 4) (\text{p. 233})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Npr, Nar</td>
<td>last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see 1) (\text{p. 234})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>Nir</td>
<td>last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter VI

Personal Pronoun

The category of personal pronoun is in the first place distinguished from other categories by the following two characteristics:

1) 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) huwwa sahbi kitaabuh
   'he is my friend'
   'his book'

(2) hasan sahbi kitaab hasan
   'Hasan is my friend'
   '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:

- šani xallaqst  'I have finished'
- šihna xallaqna  'we have finished'
- šinta xallaqst  'you(m) have finished'
- šinti xallaqti  'you(f) have finished'
- šintu xallaqstu  'you(pl) have finished'
- huwwa xallaq  'he has finished'
- hiyya xallaqit  'she has finished'
- humma xallaqsu  'they have finished'

The following exponents of person and number-cum-gender are abstractable with reference to this pronominal sub-class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
<th>Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>s(m/f) pl</td>
<td>šani šihna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>s(m) s(f) pl</td>
<td>šinta šinti šintu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>s(m) s(f) pl</td>
<td>huwwa hiyya humma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

*šani haniṭlag*  'I shall go out'
*šihna haniṭlagu*  'we shall go out'
*šinta haniṭlag*  'you(m) will go out'
*šinti haniṭlagi*  'you(f) will go out'
*šintu haniṭlagu*  'you(pl) will go out'
*huwwa hayiṭlag*  'he will go out'
*hiyya haniṭlag*  'she will go out'
*humma hayiṭlagu*  'they will go out'

Affixal exponents of person and number-cum-gender with reference to both perfect and imperfect verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
<th>Exponents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>s(m/f)</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>s(m)</td>
<td>-ıt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(f)</td>
<td>-tı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>s(m)</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(f)</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 - ʕani ʕaarif  'I(m) know'
2 - ʕani ʕarfa  'I(f) know'
3 - ʕinta ʕarfin  'we know'
4 - ʕinta ʕaarif  'you(m) know'
5 - ʕinta ʕarfa  'you(f) know'
6 - ʕinta ʕarfin  'you(pl) know'
7 - huwwa ʕaarif  'he knows'
8 - huwwa ʕarfa  'she knows'
9 - humma ʕarfin  'they know'

The participial form in the above examples is describable in
terms of number-cum-gender only, i.e. person is excluded. 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 7 and 8 in the above examples. Compare also the following
examples of the colligation Pr-A under (1) and (2)

(1) ʕani kibiir  'I(m) am old'
    ʕani kibiira  'I(f) am old'

(1) See p. 240 above.
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 *illi*; e.g.

silgalam huwwa illi qaqt 'it is the pen that has been lost'
sissaaga hiyya illi wagfudh 'it is the watch that has stopped'
siyaal hasan humma illi barradh 'it is Hasan's children 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:

silgalam ittawiil qaqt 'the long pen has been lost'
sissaaga ilmaksuura illi wagfudh 'it is the broken watch which has stopped'
siyaal hasan ilkubhaar illi barradh 'it is Hasan's older children who are outside'
The two structures in which the determined noun is followed by the independent pronoun, on the one hand, or by adjective or participle, on the other, are similar in that the noun and the following element agree in respect of number-cum-gender with a verb and participle occurring in the last place of the structure. The following formulae symbolize the two structures:

\[ N - Pr - \text{illi} - V/P \]

\[ N - A/P - (\text{illi})^{(1)} - V/P \]

The manner of agreement between nouns in plural form and the pronoun is also similar to their agreement with a following adjective or participle. If the noun in the plural form belongs to one of the sub-classes Nar or Nir and is not a collective noun, it may be followed by the plural or the feminine form of the pronoun, the adjective or the participle. Verbs and participles occurring in the last place of the above structures agree with the pronoun, adjective or the participle in second place;

\[ \text{e.g.} \quad \text{fillfasatiin humma illi maysuliin} \quad \text{'it is the dresses which have been cleaned'} \]
\[ \text{fillgarabiyyaat humma illi yaabu} \quad \text{'it is the cars which are late'} \]

(1) \text{illi} may or may not occur.

(2) See p.207 above.
These examples are in free variation respectively with:

- ظيلفساتين الحية سالا ماسوولا
- ظيلفاربيياة الحية سالا ياابي
- ظيلفساتين الزيادة ماسوولا
- ظيلفاربيياة الزيادة سالا ياابي

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,

- ظيسيرىجاالا الحممه سالا ٌتالاغ
  'it is the man who went out'
- ظبسيرارگا حممه سالا ٌساراغ
  'it is the cows which have gone to pasture'
- ظیتیفاغااكا حممه سالا مازجاب
  '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 collocation.

سَنِيَ الكِتَابِ الحِينَا 'my book is here'
سَيْحَةَ الكِتَابِ الحِينَا 'our book is here'
سَيْنَتَيَ الكِتَابَكِ الحِينَا 'your(m) book is here'
سَيْنَتَيَ الكِتَابَكِ الحِينَا 'your(f) book is here'
سَيْنَتَيَ الكِتَابَكِ الحِينَا 'your(pl) book is here'
حُوَّنَةَ الكِتَابِ الحِينَا 'his book is here'
حَيْيَةَ الكِتَابِ الحِينَا 'her book is here'
حمْمَةَ الكِتَابِ الحِينَا '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number-cum-gender</th>
<th>Exponent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>s(m/f)</td>
<td>ni, i or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XVI
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 hayṣidni 'Rajab will help me'
rajab misaṣidni 'Rajab has helped me'

with

rajab garibi 'Rajab is my relative'
mḥammad guddaami 'Muhammad is in front of me'
ṣilalām ǧandi '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. ṭaxuuya 'my brother'

(1) The symbol appears only in pre-pausal position.
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,

'\(\text{Fani galami qaq}\) my pencil has been lost'

'\(\text{Hasan galamu maksuur}\) Hasan's pencil has been broken'

'\(\text{Finta galamak tawiil}\) your pencil is a long one'

'\(\text{Fihna galamna foog}\) our pencil is upstairs'

'\(\text{Fatna galamha kuwayyis}\) 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.

\(\text{Fani kallimitni fatna}\) Fatima talked to me'

(1) See also examples p. 246.
The headmaster has met Ali.

The boys have helped you.

Hasan has seen us.

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:

\[
\text{Pr/N} - \text{N - Prs - V/P/A}
\]

\[
\text{Pr/N} - \text{V - Prs - N/Pr}
\]

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,
\[\text{i}y\text{giyaaal} \text{fiideehum} \text{niiqiifa} \quad \text{'the boys' hands are clean'}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{hamamaat} \text{rijhum} \text{\textdagger} \text{awil} \quad \text{'the pigeons' feathers are long'}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{burjuganaat} \text{\textdagger} \text{akluhum} \text{kuwayyi} \quad \text{'the oranges look nice'}\]

But with other sub-classes of noun, i.e. Nar and Nir (excluding
collective), either the plural or the feminine form of the
pronoun may occur. The following examples
\[\text{i}l\text{liwad} \text{hitunhum} \text{galiiin} \quad \text{'the room\'s walls are high'}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{firaax} \text{rijhum\textdagger} \text{awil} \quad \text{'the hen's feathers are long'}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{mawziin} \text{\textdagger} \text{akluhum} \text{kuwayyi} \quad \text{'the balances look good'}\]
are freely variant respectively with
\[\text{i}l\text{liwad} \text{hitunha} \text{galiiin}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{firaax} \text{\textdagger} \text{awil}\]
\[\text{i}l\text{mawziin} \text{\textdagger} \text{kuwayyi}\]
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. 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) \( \text{saxuuya ani saafir} \) 'my brother has gone away'
\( \text{saxuuma ihna saafir} \) 'our brother has gone away'
\( \text{suuxtak inta safr} \) 'your(m) sister has gone away'
\( \text{xiwaaatik inti safr} \) 'your(f) brothers have gone away'
\( \text{saxuuha hiyya saafir} \) 'her brother has gone away'
\( \text{suuxtuhum humma safr} \) 'their sister has gone away'

(2) \( \text{saxuuya hasan saafir} \) 'my brother Hasan has gone away'
\( \text{suuxtak faftna safr} \) 'your sister Fatima has gone away'
\( \text{saxuuha ilmijjawiz saafir} \) 'her married brother has gone away'
\( \text{suuxtuh ilmijjawiza safr} \) 'his married sister has gone away'

(1) The independent pronoun agrees also with the pronominal suffix in respect of person. See p.257 below.
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 2 may be occupied by a noun without pronominal suffix; cf.: for example,

- "Ilwad hasan saafir" *(the boy) Hasan has gone away*
- "Ilbitt ilmijjawiza saafir" *(the married girl has gone away)*
- "Ilgiyaaal ilkubaar saafir" *(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) \[ N \rightarrow \text{Prs} - \text{Pr} - V \]

(2) \[ N \rightarrow \text{Prs} - \text{P}/\text{N/A} - V \]

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) saxuuya ani illi rajaq  'it is my brother who has
come back'

saxuuya huwwa illi rajaq  'it is my brother who has
come back'

uxtak inta illi rajaqit  'it is your sister who has
come back'

uxtak hiyya illi rajaqit  'it is your sister who
has come back'

ixwaatak inta illi rajagu  'it is your brothers who
have come back'

ixwaatak humma illi rajagu  'it is your brothers
who have come back'

(2) saxuuya ilmijjawwiz illi rajaq  'it is my married
brother who has come back'

uxti ilmijjawwiza illi rajaqit  'it is my married
sister who has come back'

saxuuk ilkibiir illi rajaq  'it is your elder
brother who has come back'

(1) See also p.255 with regard to participle in place 2.
'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) Ꙣ鲋؊utors into huwwa illi rajas

'it was your brother who has come back'

'it is my sister who has come back'

'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 Ꙣiplina)

or N Prs - Prs - RV
(2) \[ \text{N Prs} - \frac{P/N/A}{-} - \text{RV} \]

(3) \[ \text{N Prs} - \text{Pr Pr} - \text{RV} \]

III - The difference between this structure and that under II is that place 2 here is occupied by a verb, a participle or an independent pronoun. When the structure contains an independent pronoun in place 2 it exhibits similar characteristics to those summarized by formulae (1) and (3) under II above. But when place 2 is occupied by a verb or a participle the structure is different in that the verb in place 3 does not agree with the noun in place 1 in regard to number-cum-gender. Compare the following examples with those under II(ii)(2).

saxuuya garaf illi rajag 'my brother knew (the person) who has come back'

Suxti garafit illi rajaq 'my sister knew (the person) who has come back'

Sixwaati garafu illi rajaqit 'my brothers knew (the girl) who has come back'

It should be noted that the verb in place 2 is a transitive verb. A transitive participle can also occur in place 2 in the same structure, in which case it cannot be associated with the definite article in the manner of the participle in place 2 of structure II. Examples are

Saxuuya gaarif illi rajaq 'my brother knows (the person) who has come back'
Suxti garfa illi raja' 'my sister knows (the person) who has come back'
Sixwaati garfiin illi raja'git '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. 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) sa'gd gabilni ani 'Sa'd met me'
   Sijoamaa ga bлюу a ihna 'they met us'
   fa'tna jafithum humma 'Fatima has seen them'
   fa'tna jafitak inta 'Fatima has spoken to you'

(2) (a) sa'gd gabilna taalig 'Sa'd met us going out'
     Sijoamaa ga bлюу uha talgiin 'they met her going out'
(b) fa'tna jafithum wagfiin 'Fatima saw them standing'
     fa'tna jafitak waagif. 'Fatima saw you standing'

(1) They also agree in regard to person. See p. 257 below.
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) \[ N - V \text{ Prs} - \text{ Pr} \]

or \[ N - V \text{ Prs} - \text{ P} \]

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. 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 - Pr₈ - V₃

  e.g. 乏力 kitaabi 丹麦  'my book has been lost'

(2) Pr₈ - V₃ - Pr₈ - N₃

  e.g. hiyya biybibbuha ilgiyaal  'the boys like her'

(3) N₃ - V₈ - Pr₃ - Pr₈

  e.g. hasan kallimtu ani  'I have spoken to Hasan'

(4) N₃ - Pr₈ - Pr₈ - V₃

  e.g. ivauku intu -talk  'your(pl.) brother has gone out'

(5) N₃ - Pr₈ - Pr₃ - RV₃

  e.g. ivauku huwwa illi -talk  'it is your(pl.) who
  brother who has gone out'

(6) N₃ - V₃ - Pr₈ - Pr₈

  e.g. iva iva iva 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 - Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dahu(h)</td>
<td>dah(i)h</td>
<td>dahum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dok(h)</td>
<td>dak(h)</td>
<td>dokhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>dool</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

II - Deictics

Sahu(h) Sahi(h) Sahum

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. Thus the following examples

(2) silkubbayaat dahum kubaar 'these glasses are big'

illiglaam dokhum mabriyyiin 'those pencils are sharpened'

ilmawaziin dool judaad 'these balances are new'

ilgarubiyyaat sahum jum 'here come the cars'

are freely variant with

silkubbayaat dahi kibiira
illiglamm dakhii mabriyya
ilmawaziin di jidiiida
ilgarubiyyaat 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 "daku...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 raajiğ 'this(m) is going to be returned'
dahi rajğa '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 talağ 'this(m)'ll be going out'
da talağ 'this(f)'ll be going out'
dool talgiin 'those'll be going out'
*ahu jaay 'he'll be coming soon'
*ahui jaaya 'she'll be coming soon'
*ahum 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)
filwad    dahu hayrawwah    'this boy will go home'

---

(1) In pre-pausal position the form walāh is used instead of wad. e.g. filbitt ḍarabbit ilwalāh 'the girl has beaten the boy'. In certain contexts, where the landfalls is implied or understood, the pronoun and the noun with the personal form may be joined. In addition, this form of the personal form may be used in conjunction with the personal form of the landfall. See also p. 54.
that girl will go home'
these boys will go home'
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 jadaq 'this is a good boy'
di bagara kuwayisih 'this is a good cow'
dokhum qidaan 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. sahu ilwad jih 'here comes the boy'
sahi ilbitt talaqit '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: determined adjective, undetermined adjective, verb, participle, a noun of relationship, bitaaq 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:

 filament dahu i'jawiil 'this is the long stick'
 filament dahu jawnil 'this is a long stick'
 bullmajjar dokha jih 'that carpenter has come'
 filamentudarrisa dakhi jaayih 'that teacher is coming'

(1) The da-series cannot be followed by a determined adjective. See p. 271.
Silmuudarris dahu gariibi 'this teacher is my relative'
Silgalamda bitaaści 'this is my pen' (1)
Silkarraasa di bitaaści 'this is my exercise book'
Silgalam dokha galam hasan 'that pen belongs to Hasan'
Silkarraasa dakhi karraasit ĝali 'that exercise book belongs to Ali'

Examples containing deictics are:
Silguud ahu ġawiil 'the stick is long enough'
Sinnajjaar ahu jih 'the carpenter has already come'
Silmuudarris ahi jaaya 'look! here comes the teacher'
Tittalamza ahum mağa ilmuudarris '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 ğttiwaśli in
Silguud huwwa ğttiwaśli 'it is the stick which is long'

(1) For the transcription of the noun (Silgalam) and the demonstrative (da) together as one form see pp.270-271 below.
\(\text{fi}\text{ssajara hiyya ittawiilih 'it is the tree which is high'}\)
\(\text{filfiri\text{\'}a humma ittuw\text{\'}aal 'it is the branches which are high'}\)
but there is no possibility of pause after the independent personal pronoun in
\(\text{filgu\text{\'}u ittawiil huwwa ilm\text{\'}aksu\text{\'}ur 'it is the long stick which is broken'}\)
\(\text{fi}\text{ssajara ittawiila hiyya ilma\text{\'}tuw\text{\'}ah 'it is the high tree which is cut'}\)
\(\text{filfiri\text{\'}a ittuw\text{\'}aal humma ilkuwayyisiin 'it is the high branches which are good'}\)
Similarly, there is no possibility of pause after the demonstrative pronoun in
\(\text{filgu\text{\'}u ittawiil dakh\text{\'}a maksu\text{\'}ur 'it is that long stick which is broken'}\)
\(\text{fi}\text{ssajara ittawiila dakh\text{\'}i ma\text{\'}tuw\text{\'}a 'it is that high tree which is cut'}\)
\(\text{filfiri\text{\'}a ittuw\text{\'}aal dokhum kuwayyisiin 'it is those branches which are good'}\)
However, personal pronouns differ from demonstratives in that they cannot be followed by an undetermined adjective or participle in such a structure.

Tahu 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,

Silgūud ahu tawîil 'the stick is long enough'
Silbagara ahi kuwayyisih 'the cow is good enough'
Silfiriqa ahum tawâal 'the branches are high'
Silgūud itâwîil ahu 'here is the long stick'
Silbagara ilkuwayyisa ahi 'here is the good cow'
Silfiriqa itâwâal 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 subdivision:

(a) Demonstrative pronouns
(b) Demonstrative adjectives.

(a) Examples of demonstrative pronouns are:

(i) dahu ilcíyaal șallâhuu  'the boys have mended this(m)'
    di șasa kasarha  'Hasan has broken this(f)'
    dokhum fațna rajjaqithum  '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.

silifl ilcíyaal șallâhuu  'the boys have mended the lock'
silgulla șasa kasarha  'Hasan has broken the jar'
silfuus fațna rajjaqithum  'Fatima has returned the axés'

(ii) Another position where nouns and demonstrative pronouns freely occur is exemplified by:

(1) dahu (silgalam) bitaṣ fahmi  'this(f) (the pen) belongs to Fahmi'

(1) The form between the brackets is freely variant with the preceding one.
dahi irrija bitaṣīt faḥmi 'this(f) (the quill)
belong to Fahmi'
dool (ilṣanfaar) ixwaat ismaḍiin '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 bitaṣī or a noun of relationship. Unlike demonstratives,
deics are impossible before the latter elements. (i)
(iii) Demonstrative pronouns are also similar to noun in
that they occur after prepositions; cf., for example
sil kitaab maṣa dahu (ittilmiiz) 'the book is with
this (the pupil)'
sil gasal fī dakhī (işṣafiiha) 'the honey is in that
(the tin)'
(iv) Similarly, demonstrative pronouns follow transitive
verbs; a place which is typical of noun.
e.g.
silmudarris ṭalab dahu (ilgalam) 'the teacher has
asked for this (the pen)'
silmudarris ṭalab dakhī (ilmastara) '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)'

juyl 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 idaar rijjaala kitiir 'there are many men in the house'

jild kitaab saqd '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:

filwad dahu (ilkibiir) faqar 'this (the big) boy is clever'

filbitt di (ilkibirra) tayyiba 'this (the big) girl is good'
tilgiyaal dokhum (ilkubaar) našhiin 'those (the big) boys are clever'

Members of the two categories are also freely variant in the last position in:

mhammad xad ilkooda dahi (ilwasqa) 'Muhammad has taken this (the big) room'

darwij kal issamakaat dokhum (iššuyuyyariin)
'Darwish has eaten those (the small) fish'

Participle is also possible in the last position of the above examples:

darwij kal issamakaat ilmašwiyyiin '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:

darwij kal issamakaat illi mašwiyyiin

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

Silgalam da kuwayyis 'this is a good pen'
Silbadła di Yakalya 'this is an expensive suit'

are freely variant with

Silgalámda kuwayyis
Silbadláádi 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 pro-
nominal 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

Silgalam da yaali 'this(m) pen is expensive'
Silmahfaza di jidiidíh 'this(f) wallet is new'

with

Silgalam dahu yaalí (ilyaali) 'this(m) pen is
expensive (the expensive)'
Silmahfaza 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 mawquz ṭawiil  'it is a long story'
da hikaaya yariiba  'it is a strange episode'
da ḥiyaal ḫuṭṭar.  'they are clever boys'

It occupies also a similar position to deictics. e.g.
da ilwad naqas  'look! the boy has slept!'
da ilbitt naqasit  'look! the girl has slept!'
da ijjamaaga 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) ṭilbawwaab ahu jaay  'here comes the door-keeper'
    ṭilbayyaaga ahi rajga  'here comes the (woman) seller'
    ṭilbayyaqiiin ahum rajagu  'here come the sellers'
(2) Sahu ilbawwaab jaay
Sahi ilbayyaaga rajga
Xahum ilbayyaqiiin rajgiiu
(3) Silbawwaab jaay ahuh
Silbayyaaga rajga ahih
Silbayyaqiiin 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.
Sahu ilwad zaqal ahuh 'look! the boy has become angry!'
Silbitt ahi gaamit ahih 'look! the girl has got up!'
zaqal and gaamit are both intransitive verbs i.e. are not as sociable with a following noun. Similarly, the fact that ahi after silbitt 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.
Sahum ilgiyaal salalahunuh 'look! the boys have mended it!'  
Sahu Hasan kasarha 'look! Hasan has mended it!'  
Sahi Fatna rajjahithum '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

yetna ahuh 'here is our field'
talfihat akhi 'here is your scarf'
kutubak ahum 'here are your books'

Demonstratives

yetna dahu (dahu yetna) 'this is our field'
talfihat dakh (dakh talfihat) '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 ʕahuh; cf., for example,

ʕani raajiʕ ahuh  'I(m) am going back soon'
ʕani rajʕa ahuh  'I(f) am going back soon'
ʕihna raʃʃiʔ ahuh  'we are going back soon'
ʕinta raajiʕ ahuh  'you(m) are going back soon'
ʕinti rajʕa ahuh  'you(f) are going back soon'
ʕintu raʃʃiʔ 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.

huwuwa raajiʕ ahuh  'he is going back soon'
hiyya rajʕa ahih  'she is going back soon'
humma raʃʃiʔ ahum  '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:

ʕahu innajjaaʕ jih ahuh  'here comes the carpenter'
ʕahi xaqaʕ xallasit ahih  'look! Khadra has finished!'

However, the above examples containing 1st and 2nd person pronouns may be extended by the invariable
form ḡadi 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:

- ḡadiini ṭuqalığı ahuh 'I(m)'ll soon go out'
- ḡadiini ṭalğa ahuh 'I(f)'ll soon go out'
- ḡadi in na (ḡadiina) ṭalğiin ahun 'we'll soon go out'
- ḡadi inta (ḡadiik) ṭuqalığı ahuh 'you(m)'ll soon go out'
- ḡadi inti (ḡadiiki) ṭalğa ahuh 'you(f)'ll soon go out'
- ḡadi intu (ḡadiiku) ṭalğiin ahuh 'you(pl)'ll soon go out'

ḡadi can neither accompany noun nor the 3rd person of personal pronoun.

(1) The combination of ḡadi 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:

\[ \text{\$1\$} N_3 - \text{\$1\$} N_3 \]

and \( \text{\$1\$ N - \$1\$ A} \) \( (1) \)

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

\( (1) \) \text{\$1\$ and \$1\$ = respectively potential occurrence and non-}
\text{occurrence of the definite article.}
\text{3 = the three grammatical concordial relations termed mas-}
\text{culine, feminine and plural. For further clarification of}
\text{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;

\[ \text{tilmiiz wadhid} '\text{one pupil}' \]
\[ \text{filgijriin tilmiiz} '\text{the twenty pupils}' \]

And only the plural form of noun can be used in the following examples:

\[ \text{talat talamzih} '\text{three pupils}' \]
\[ \text{ittalamza ittalaatih} '\text{the three pupils}' \]

Compare the above examples with:

\[ \text{tilmiiz kibiir} '\text{a big pupil}' \]
\[ \text{ittilmiiz kibiir} '\text{the pupil is big}' \]
\[ \text{ittalamza kubaar} '\text{the pupils are big}' \]

and

\[ \text{koorit tilmiiz} '\text{a pupil's ball}' \]
\[ \text{kutub ittilmiiz} '\text{the pupil's books}' \]
\[ \text{libs ittalamza} '\text{the pupils' clothes}' \]

Examples like

\[ \text{fidduur ilkibiira} '\text{the big houses}' \]
\[ \text{fidduur ittalaata} '\text{the three houses}' \]

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)
Other possibilities with kibiira are:

*fidduur kibiira* 'the houses are big'
*duur kibiira* 'big houses' and
*daar kibiira* 'a big house'

The only other possibility with talaata is:

*fidduur 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) *filudarrisim tayyibiin* 'the teachers are good'
*filmodarrisim ittayyibiin* 'the good teachers'

and

(2) *filudarrisin talatiin* 'the teachers are thirty'
*filmodarrisin ittalatiin* '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.,

\[
\text{mudarrisu} \, \text{tayyibiin} \quad \text{'good teachers'}
\]

Another important difference between tayyibiin and talatiin is that the latter, but not the former, may be accompanied by a noun of singular form.

\[
\text{e.g. talatiin mudarris} \quad \text{'thirty teachers'}
\]

\[
\text{ilmudarris ittalatiin} \quad \text{'the thirtieth teacher'}
\]

In the last example the two forms must be associated with \text{fil}.

The fact that there are two successive orders, although they are not in free variation, can also be taken as a mark of difference between tayyibiin and talatiin. The form mudarris cannot be associated with tayyibiin but with the related form tayyib.

\[
\text{e.g. ilmu} \, \text{mudarris} \, \text{tayyib} \quad \text{'the teacher is good'}
\]

The sum of the above differences between tayyibiin 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.

\[
\text{e.g. talatiin mudarris} \, \text{tuwall} \quad \text{'thirty tall teachers'}
\]

But when the successive order is N-Nu-A the adjective must be of the singular form.

\[
\text{e.g. ilmu} \, \text{mudarris ittalatiin} \, \text{tuwall} \quad \text{'the thirtieth teacher is tall'}
\]
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 ṭayyib, ṭayyiba and ṭayyibiin. Similarly, fitneen is not describable as a dual form in the manner of noun since there is no comparable singular form. *fitn qaali is not used, but both jaamaq qaali 'a high mosque' and jamagaen qaalyiin '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.
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 waqhid 'one book'
    ʃantə wahda 'one suitcase'
    ʃantiteen itteen 'two suitcases'
₇iłkitaab ilwaqhid 'the (single) book'
₇ißʃantiteen illitteen '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'
    ʃantə hamra 'a red suitcase'
₇iłkitaab ilmaftuuh 'the opened book'
₇ißʃantə ilhamra 'the red suitcase'

But the fact that the preceding noun can be with ʃil 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 ʃitteen precedes certain nouns.
examples containing numerals with:

filkitaab maftuuh 'the book is opened'
fiṣṣanṭa 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) waḥḥid (wahda)

The only member of this sub-class is waḥḥid '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.

saḥṣ waḥda 'one hour'
galam waḥḥid '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. waḥḥid ṭawil 'a tall one'

wahda mudarrīsa 'one (woman) teacher'

The agreement between waḥḥid 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.
Examples like

gilwaahid batlaan 'I am (one is) tired'
gilwaahid majyuul '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, gilwaahid 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) gitneen

Gitneen, 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

colligated with the definite article.

Examples with dual noun are:

waragteen itneen 'two papers'
filgalameen illitneen 'the two pens'

And examples with plural noun are:
filliglaam illitneen 'the two pencils'
filbagaraat illitneen 'the two cows'

litneen also exhibits different characteristics from
waahid when colligated with an adjective. It accompanies
adjectives of plural form only and the colligation Nu-A,
where litneen occupies the numeral place, is similar to
(1) N-A colligation in respect of the definite article;

litneen gufr 'two yellow (ones)'
fillitneen gufr 'the two are yellow'
fillitneen igsufr 'the two yellow ones'

Unlike waahid also, litneen 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. litneen jineeh 'two pounds'
fillitneen jineeh 'the two pounds'

litneen is similar in this last characteristic to sub-class
'3-10' below.

(1) See p. 219 above.
(2) See p. 289 below.
N.B.

Examples like

\[\textit{qissaağa wahda } '\text{(it is) one o'clock}'\]
\[\textit{qissaağa itneen } '\text{(it is) two o'clock}'\]
\[\textit{qissaağa talaata } '\text{(it is) three o'clock}'\]

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. \(\text{(1)}\)  

\[\textit{qissaağa }\] 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:

\[\textit{qissaağa xamsa wi nugga } '\text{it is half past five}'\]
\[\textit{qissaağa sabga illa rubgé } '\text{it is quarter to seven}'\]
\[\textit{qissaağa tisqa wi xamsa wi qisriin } '\text{it is twenty five past nine}'\]

(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 ūwaal 'three tall (men)'
talat kutub 'three books'

with

gayyila ṭawiila 'a tall girl'
gayyil ṭawiil 'a tall boy'

talaata, but not gayyila, is followed by a plural adjective. It may be argued that ṭawiila also can be colligated with plural noun in examples like ḍidaan ṭawiila 'long sticks' but, apart from the fact that such a form is not colligable with all subclasses of noun, it is also the occurrence of gayyil ṭawiil 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 tawiil shows yet another difference between the two cases. While talat and similar numerals are always colligated with plural nouns, tawiil 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 tawiil - tawiila, çayyil - çayyila, 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.

Numerals of this sub-class are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free form</th>
<th>Bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talaata</td>
<td>talat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕarbaqə</td>
<td>ʕarbaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsa</td>
<td>xamas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'three'
'four'
'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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free form</th>
<th>Bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sitta</td>
<td>sitt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabça</td>
<td>sabça</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamanya</td>
<td>taman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisça</td>
<td>tisça</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƙafara</td>
<td>ƙafar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'
tittalat kutub  'the three books'
sabça saay  'seven piastres'
sissabça 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'
gajar-t-lishur '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.

galam ibnak 'your son's pen'

juyl iyyaam iṣṣeef '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

xāmas-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.

Sirrijjaala talaata 'the men are three'

Sirrijjaala 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 əli and may be masculine, feminine or plural; cf., for example,

- gutt asmar 'a brown cat (m)'
- əlgutta samra 'the cat (f) is brown'
- əlgutat 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 but the adjective in association with the numeral is always plural in form; e.g.

- talaata kubdar 'three big (ones)'
- əltalaata kubdar 'the three are big'
- əltalaata 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.

(1) See p. 219 above.

(2) The exception is sabga taman where the first and the second forms are free and bound respectively; cf., sabga taman waragat '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.

fittalat arbağ 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 sitta jineeh 'five pounds or so'

xamas sitt giyaal '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

fiissabğa tamanya ilkubaar 'the five or so bigg ones'

with the dual possibility of

either fiissabğa ilkubaar 'the big seven'

or fiissabğa kubaar 'the seven are big'

**Binomial numerals of this sub-class are:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free forms</th>
<th>Bound forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talaата arbağa</td>
<td>talat arbağ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌarbağa xamsa</td>
<td>ꞌarbağ xamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamsa sitta</td>
<td>xamas sitt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Free forms
sitta sabga
sabga tamanya

Bound forms
sitt sabaq (1)
sabga 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'
  filhidaajar kitaab 'the eleven books'
  miit gaamil 'hundred workmen'
  filxumsumiit gaamil '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. filkitaab ilhidaajar 'the eleventh book'
  filkitaab ilmiyya 'the hundredth book'

(1) It might have been expected to find more examples of binomial numerals containing tamanya, tisga and qafara, but in fact they are not used.
But in the case of a plural noun, the numeral may or may not be accompanied with fil; e.g.

țil kutub hidaaflar 'the books are eleven'
yțanhum ilçiřiin 'their twenty fields'
yiglaam hasan giřiin 'Hasan has twenty pens'
yilṣummaal miyyih 'the workmen are hundred'.

The fact that the series
miyya (miit), miteen, miyyaat
țalf, țalfeen, țalaaf
milyoon, țitneen milyoon, malaaf
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, țitneen 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'
țalf (milyoon) kubaar 'big thousand (million)'

(2) hadiyya kibîïr 'big present'
kitaab kibîr 'big book'
hadiyyiteen (kitabeen) kubaar 'two big presents (books)'
jinahaat judaad 'new pounds'
The associability of miyya, ʿalfa 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, ʿalaaf and malayiin are not usually accompanied by adjectives and are used in limited grammatical structures such as

\[\text{Sanduhum miyyaat (ʿalaaf, malayiin)}\]

'they have hundreds (thousands, millions) (of pounds)'

\[\text{Ṣabuuhum faat luhum ʿalaaf} \quad \text{'their father left thousands (of pounds) for them'}\]

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 tilmiiiz  'hundred pupils'
\[\text{Ṣilmiiit tilmiiiz} \quad \text{'the hundred pupils'}\]
\[\text{Ṣilmiteen tilmiiiz} \quad \text{'the two hundred pupils'}\]

(2) hadiyyit tilmiiiz  'a pupil's present'
\[\text{ḥadiyyit ittilmiiz} \quad \text{'the pupil's present'}\]
\[\text{ḥadiyyit ittilmizeen} \quad \text{'the present of the two pupils'}\]
In examples under (1) the form in the first place is either singular or dual and is associable with the definite article and that occupying the second place is constant in the singular form of noun. On the other hand the noun in the first place in (2) is either singular or plural and not associable with the definite article and noun in the second place is singular, dual or plural and may take the article.

It follows from the above discussion that miyya, .SQL and milyoon function syntactically in a different way from nouns. However, the terms singular, dual and plural are used to designate the series of these numeral forms given on p. 294 above.

Monomial, Binomial and Polynomial numerals.

The numeral in examples exhibiting the above characteristics may contain one form only, or comprise a complex of two forms or more, in which cases they are designated monomial, binomial and polynomial respectively.

The examples given above chosen to illustrate the monomial numeral.

Binomial and polynomial numerals are different from monominal numerals in that the noun preceding the numeral must be
plural in form. Thus, compare

**gilgummad ilgasar-talaaf** 'the ten thousand workmen'

**gilgummad ilmiyya sabga wi gisriiin** 'the hundred and seventy one workmen'

with

**gilgaamil ittalatiin** 'the 30th workman'

**gilgummad ittalatiin** 'the thirty workmen'.

**Binominal numeral**

This sub-class is further sub-divided into two:

a) The only members of this sub-class are *gajara hidaajar* and *hidaajar itnaajjar* which are in free variation; e.g.

*gajara hidaajar kuuz* 'the ten or so corncobs'

*gajara itnaajjar 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 *talaaf* and a bound 'j-10' form or the singular form *milyoon* with a free form of the same numeral or with the numeral *fitneen*, cf., for example,

*gajar-t-alaaf gaamil* 'ten thousand workmen'

*xamsa milyoon kitaab* 'five million pounds'

*fitneen milyoon husaan* '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 ġalaaf like

ġanduhum ġalaaf  'they have thousands'

Unlike ġalf, 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 ġalaaf and milyoon from other nouns which cannot be followed by a singular noun in the same manner.

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.

ъilliglaam ġafar-t-alaaf  'the pens are ten thousands'

ъumnaaľ issirka 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 waahid, sitneen or one of the free forms of sub-class '3-10'. The second form is characterized by the ending -in i.e. giifriin, talatiin, farbigiin, etc; cf., for example,

waahid wi giifriin jamal 'twenty-one camels'

Silxamsa wi tiisgiin 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.

waahid wi giifriin naxla 'twenty-one palm-trees'

b) '100-1,000,000'

Examples of this polynomial sub-class are:

(1) miyya wi talaata jineeh '£103'

Salf wi xamsa daar '1,005 houses'

Silmilyoon wi sabga gaamil 'the million and seven workmen'

These examples are freely variant respectively with:

mit jineeh wi talaata
Salf daar wi xamsa
Silmilyoon gaamil wi sabga

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 ġayyil**  '(the) third boy'

**ğiṣfir ġayyila**  '(the tenth girl'  with

**sittalat ġiyaal**  'the three boys'

**silğiṣfir ġiyaal**  '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 ilhidaajar 'the books are eleven'
   Sijjanja 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) \( \text{taalit kitaab} \)
\( \text{ências kitaab ittaalit} \)

(2) \( \text{ências kitaab ilwaahid} \)
\( \text{kitaab waahid} \)
Chapter IX

The Relative َيُلي

The only member of this category is the invariable form َيُلي. 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 َيُلي, it cannot follow a preposition; e.g.

\[\text{hasan َيُلي ِهُوُيَلُيُلَّاَذُ 'it is Hasan who will go out'}\]

again, while pronomial suffixes can follow the prepositions, they cannot follow َيُلي; e.g.

\[\text{211111111 Silgalam َوَنَٰداَكُ 'you have the pen'}\]

\[\text{Silwarda َلَٰيِكِ 'the rose is for you'}\]

The relative َيُلي is also characterized by its occurrence in exclusive places.

(1) One of such places is third in the structure

\[\text{dN-Pr-R-V/F/Ad/Prep} \]

in which the determined noun in the head-position agrees in number-cum-gender with the following 3rd person independent pronoun; e.g.

\[\text{Silgalam huwwa َيُلي ِاَنَكِِاِسَارِ 'it is the pen which has been broken'}\]
Sillkarraasa hiyya illi magtuousah 'it is the exercise book which is torn'
Sillgiyaaal humma illi foog 'it is the boys who are upstairs'
Hasan huwwa illi fi ilyeet 'it is Hasan who is in the field'

(2) Another place where only the relative Silli 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,

Sillfaakl illi ihna talabmaah yaab 'the food which we have asked for is late'
Sillfaas illi huwwa jayibha inkasariit 'the axe which he brought has been broken'
Kizaan iddura illi inta bagattuhum wasalu 'the corncobs which you sent have arrived'

The different possible elements after the relative Silli are:

i) verb

ii) participle

iii) noun (independent pronoun, demonstrative pronoun)
iv) adverb

v) prepositional piece

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) filxajab illi jibtu xallasnah 'we have finished the wood you brought'
filidaar illi istaranaaha qalyih 'the house which we bought is expensive'
filkutub illi axuuk rajjaphum 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) ſilxajab ilgadiim xallasnach 'we have finished the old wood'
 ſiddaar ilgurayyiba yalyih 'the nearer house is expensive'
 ſilkutub ijjudaad sulaam 'the new books are in good condition'

Characteristics of the adjectival piece

(1) 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:

mahmad illi talar 'it is Muhammad who has gone out'
faṯna illi ramaḥit 'it is Fatima who has run away'
Širrijjaala illi gaamu 'it is the men who have left'

Examples containing participles are:

hasan illi yaṣayib ſiḥṣ Hasam who is absent'
Ṣuṣtak illi ṭalqa 'it is your sister who is going out'
Ṣinnaxlaṭ illi mitgallimi ṣi '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'
- _gilbaab illi sallahtuun_ 'the door you have mended'
- _gilbitt illi jufnaahah_ 'the girl whom we have seen'
- _gilwiliyya illi iddat mhammad izzibda_ 'the woman who gave Muhammad the butter'
- _gilbanaat illi gabluunih_ 'the girls who met us'
- _gilbanaat illi warreenahum ijjineenih_ 'the girls to whom we showed the garden'

Examples containing transitive and doubly transitive participles are:

- _gilgalam illi qaajib hasan_ 'the pen which Hasan likes'
- _gilxaddaam illi talbah issitt_ 'the servant whom the woman asked for'
- _gilwiliyya illi miballaya fahmi ilhikaayih_ 'the woman who related the episode to Fahmi'
- _gilbitt illi qaṭvinha ilgulal_ 'the girl to whom they give the jars'
- _giljamaara illi miṣammiliin mhammad_ 'those who saw Muhammad off'
(ii) When a noun immediately follows *illi*, the relative piece must contain a pronominal suffix agreeing in number-cum-gender with the noun in head-position, cf., for example,

*filgalam illi sinnu inkasar* 'the pen whose nib has been broken'

*filmudarrisii in illi gali qazimhum* 'the teachers whom Ali has invited'

*filmaara illi ibnaha fi ilmustaffa* 'the woman whose son is in hospital'

*filkursi illi ilkarrasa faoguh* 'the chair with the exercise book on it'

*filkooda illi ilgiyaal fiiha* 'the room which the boys are in'

Similarly, when an independent pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun occurs immediately after *illi*, the determined noun in head-position agrees with a pronominal suffix in the relative piece, cf.,

*filraajil illi ihna gabilnaah* 'the man whom we met'

*filkanaba illi huwwa jabha* 'the sofa which he brought'

*filkitaab illi dakhi xadituh* 'the book which that person (f) has taken'

*fitiffaaha illi dahu kalha* 'the apple which this person (m) has eaten'
(iii) When adverb or prepositional pieces follow fili there is no agreement between the determined noun preceding fili and elements in the relative piece; e.g.

Fissajara illi fi ijjineena 'the tree which is in the garden'
Filkursi illi fi ilfooqa 'the chair which is in the room'
Filgarabiyyaat illi barra 'the cars which are outside'

Fili in the above examples under I - (i), (ii) and (iii) is comparable with the definite article fil. The presence and absence of fili correlates respectively with the possibility and impossibility of the element in the final position in, say,

Filwad illi fi masr rajag 'the boy who lives in Cairo has come back'
Filririja illi maksuurra bitagti 'the broken quill is mine'
Filmu'darrisiin illi haqaru ilhafla zumalaati 'the teachers who attended the party are my colleagues'
and
Filwad fi masr 'the boy is in Cairo'
Filririja maksuurda 'the quill is broken'
Filmu'darrisiin haqara ilhaflihan 'the teachers have attended the party'
Similarly, the presence and absence of γιι respectively correlates with the occurrence and non-occurrence of comparable elements in the final position in examples such as:

- γιιλωδ илкғиір  раја the big boy has come back'
- γιириша илмаксурра битагти the broken quill is mine'
- γиимударріїн іїїїудаад гарыбі the new teachers are my relatives'

and

- γиилвад киіір the boy is big'
- γиириша максуурра the quill is broken'
- γиимударріїн жудаад 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.

- галем мин иллі фі іяндур 'a pencil from those (which are) in the drawer'
- галі маға иллі бійіжтаялу 'Ali is with those who are working'
- быңылгын гала иллі айыр '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'
\(\text{faxu illi ijjawizit} \) 'the brother of the person (f) who got married'
\(\text{filuus illi fi ilmustajfa} \) 'the money which belongs to the person who is in hospital'

The relative piece in the above examples occupies the \(1\) place of the second noun in a construct. 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'
\(\text{faxu fa'na} \) 'Fatima's brother'
\(\text{filuus hasan} \) 'Hasan's money'

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\(^{(1)}\) See p. 185 above.
Chapter X

Particles

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
- Fatna fi ilyeet

II - Adverbial particles, e.g.

- gilwad foog 'the boy is upstairs'
- gilbitt foog issan 'the girl is upstairs'

III - Adverbs, e.g.

- Silmudarris saafir ilbaarah 'the teacher(m) went away yesterday'
- Silmudarrisa safrit 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.

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 filli 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 filli. 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 - fil kitaab fi iddurj 'the book is in the drawer'
2 - fil hagg qaleek 'you are wrong'
3 - mhammad maça dokhum 'Muhammad is with those people'
4 - filhibaal wayya illi barra 'those outside have the ropes (lit. the ropes are with those who are outside)'
5 - filbanaat jalaagu jala foog 'the girls have gone upstairs'
6 - Finnajjaar hayxallas jala bukra 'the carpenter will finish by tomorrow'

(1) Compare with examples containing fillipp.307-308 above.
7. - filginab 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'

silbit 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, e.g.

silgasa maqa gali 'Ali has the stick (lit. the stick with Ali)'
A noun following the prepositional piece must, however, be invariably undetermined, e.g.

maṣa ẓali ẓaṣa 'Ali has a stick (lit. with Ali a stick)'

fi ẓlīqoqā ẓayyil 'there is a boy in the room (lit. in the room a boy)'

ii) In the structure

N-Pre-Pre-N

the pronominal suffix agrees in number-gum-gender with a determined noun in the head position and a determined or undetermined noun occupies the final position, cf.,

zaṣa ẓandu katabīn 'Ali has two books'

faṣna ṣmīqāhā ilkitabīn 'Fatima has the two books'

ṣittalamza wayyaahum kitabīn '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:

zaṣa mahfaṣṭu ṣaqāt 'Ali's wallet has been lost'

faṣna axuuha raṭaj 'Fatima's brother has returned'

ṣittalamza kutubhum inbaṭat 'the pupils' books have been sent'
N.B.

The form fiīh, 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

fiīh kitaab ʨala ilmaktab 'there is a book on the desk'
fiīh warda fī ilkubbaqiyih 'there is a rose in the glass'
fiīh ʃantiteen juwwa 'there are two cases inside'

with

kitaab hasan fiīh guwar 'Hasan's book is illustrated (lit. Hasan's book it pictures)'
ʃooqit hasan fiīha kanaba 'there is a sofa in Hasan's room'
ʃiʃunq fiīhum 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.

'Ali  had lunch in the
restaurant'

'Fatima is playing with
Muhammad'

'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.

'Ali  having lunch in
the restaurant'

'Fatima is playing with
Muhammad (lit. Fatima with Muhammad playing)'

'the boys are
working with their sister'

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, baḍ and min occur only after the verb, cf., for example,

\[\text{gali nadah li axuu} \quad \text{\'Ali has called his brother}\]
\[\text{filbitt bitaakul bi ilmaqlag} \quad \text{\'the girl is eating with the spoon}\]

In sentences containing verbs of motion also, prepositional pieces can only follow the verb, cf.

\[\text{mhammad saaafir gala maqr} \quad \text{\'Muhammad has travelled to Cairo}\]
\[\text{fatna hatilag maqa qahbitha} \quad \text{\'Fatima will go out with her friend}\]
\[\text{silqiyyal biyirjaqu fi ilgarabiyya} \quad \text{\'the boys (always) return by car}\]

**Notes**

1 - **li**

Doubly transitive verbs are followed by two nouns in the successive order

\[\text{Npr-Nar/Nir}\]

or \[\text{Nar-Nir}\].

If this order is reversed li must precede the noun in final position, cf.

\[\text{gali sallim mhammad ilbagara} \quad \text{\'Ali has given Muhammad the cow}\]
\[\text{gali jarrub ilbitt iddawa} \quad \text{\'Ali has made the girl drink the medicine}\]
"Ali has loaded the donkey with the plough".

But

"Ali has given the cow to Muhammad".

"Ali has made the girl drink the medicine".

"Ali has loaded the plough on the donkey".

2 - min and gala

When these prepositional particles precede the definite article, they are freely variant with mi and ga respectively, cf.

"the mire comes from the rain".

"the cars are on the (river) bank!"

Compare these examples with the following where mi and ga are impossible.

"the mire comes (is left) from the rainy days!"

"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.

ṣilṣanfa'ar barra biyiʃṭayalu ‘the workmen are working outside'
ṣiqquyuuf juwwa biyityadda ‘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.

ṣilṣanfa'ar bukra yiʃṭayalu ‘the workmen will find jobs after sometime'
ṣiqquyuuf 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 - Silhuđuum juwwa dokha  'the clothes are inside that (one)'
4 - Siljamal guđdaam illi faatu  'the camel is in front of those who have passed'
5 - Silwad barra fi ijjineenîh  '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.

zijjamal barralob 'the camel is outside'
\( \text{gayyila foog ilgijs} \) '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)'
\( \text{foog ilgijsa gayyila} \) 'there is a girl on top of the hut (lit. over the hut a girl)'

(ii) In the structure

\( N-\text{Ad/Adp-Prs-N} \)

the determined noun in head position agrees in number-cum-gender with the pronominal suffix; e.g.

\( \text{fiddulaab tahtu xajaba} \) 'there is a piece of wood under the cupboard'
\( \text{xarjita hasan juwwadha ilmihrait} \) 'the plough is inside Hasan's stable'
\( \text{gilgiyaal guddamhum ilfakl} \) '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 ُ makaَ ir fiَ og  'Hasan has studied upstairs'
gali ُ biyifhat waَ ra ilheêta  'Ali is digging behind the wall'
Samiin ُ hayitlaَ og  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 ُ taَ laَ og fiَ og  'Hasan has gone upstairs'
fahmi hayigged 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,

filkitaab hinaak  'the book is there'
hinaak kitaab  'there is a book there'
hasan hayitgaَ ja hina  'Hasan will have dinner here'
gali imtahaَ nan hina  'Ali sat for his examination here'
hasan hina biyitgaَ ja  '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.

-ammad kal idquhr 'Muhammad has eaten at noon'
-ammad biyaakul idquhr 'Muhammad (always) eats at noon'
-ammad hayaakul idquhr 'Muhammad will eat at noon'

2 - Adverbs colligated with perfect verbs only; e.g.

cali wasal ilbaarah 'Ali has arrived yesterday'
hasan ijjawiz ilbeela illi faait 'Hasan was married yesterday'

3 - Adverbs colligated only with imperfect future verbs; cf.

mahmud hayimtahan bukräh 'Mahmud will sit for his exams tomorrow'
issajara hatitrah 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

Adverbs of this sub-class a) consist either of one form or more and b) with certain exceptions can be preceded by min, gala, gabl and bagd, cf.

mahmud rajağ ilmayrib 'Mahmud returned at sunset'

mahmud rajağ min ilmayrib 'Mahmud has returned and has been here since sunset'

mahmud biyirjağ gala ilmayrib 'Mahmud returns at about sunset'

mahmud hayirjağ gabl ilmayrib 'Mahmud will return before sunset'

mahmud rajağ bagd 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:** fiqdqühr, fiqasr, fiqigsa, 'at noon, at mid-afternoon, fiqiga at dusk'

**Adverbs of more than one form:** yoom ijimga, yoom issabt, yoom ilhad...etc 'Friday, Saturday, Sunday...etc' fi:ssaça itneen, fi:ssaça talataa...etc 'two o'clock, three o'clock...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, duyri, badri (min badri), gala ṭuul 'soon, quickly, early (since early), immediately'.

**Sub-class 2**

With the exception of Filbaarah, the adverb consists of a complex of forms a part of which is ḍillī faat/faatit; e.g. ḍījjarh ḍillī faat, ḍissaana ḍillī faatit. The prepositional particles interpolable between the verb and the adverb are: min, gabl, baqd and zayy, cf., for example,

- ḍali ijjawwiz issana illī faatit 'Ali married last year'
- ḍali ijjawwiz min issana illī faatit 'Ali married since last year'
- ḍali ijjawwiz gabl issana illī faatit 'Ali married before last year'
- ḍali ijjawwiz baqd ilṣiid illī faat 'Ali married after the last feast'
- ḍali ijjawwiz zayy illeela illī 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 illi occurs twice, e.g.

\[
\text{fissana illi gabl illi faatit 'the year before last'}
\]
\[
\text{fissabt illi gabl illi faat 'the Saturday before the last'}
\]

Aawwil baarah and Aawwil Aawwil baarah occur in the same position of other adverbs of this sub-class, cf., for example,

\[
\text{mahmud rajag awwil baarah 'Mahmud came the day before yesterday'}
\]
\[
\text{mahmud rajag min awwil awwil baarah 'Mahmud came two days ago'}
\]

**Sub-class 3**

With the exception of bukra, the adverb consists of a complex of forms a part of which is \(i\)jaay/\(i\)jjaaya or \(i\)lli-jayya/\(i\)lli-jaaya and can be preceded by the prepositional particles min, zayy, gala and li, cf., for example,

\[
\text{hasan hayijtayal issabt iijjaay 'Hasan will work next Saturday'}
\]
\[
\text{hasan hayijtayal min issabt iijjaay 'Hasan will start working as from (next) Saturday'}
\]
\[
\text{hasan hayijtayal zayy issabt iijjaay 'Hasan will start working as from (next) Saturday week'}
\]
hasan hayištayal qala is sabt ijjaa'y 'Hasan will start working (next) Saturday'

hasan hayištayal li ḣiṣṣahr ijjaa'y 'Hasan will work till next month'

In contrast with the occurrence of gabl in the complex of adverbs belonging to sub-class 2, bagd occurs in the complex of adverbs in the sub-class under discussion; e.g.

fiṣṣana illi baḡd ijjaa'y
or
fiṣṣana illi baḡd illi jaaya

fiṣṣahr illi baḡd ijjaa'y
or
fiṣṣahr illi baḡd illi jaaya

baḡd bukrę and baḡd baḡd bukrę which belong to this class can be contrasted with ḡawwil baarah and ḡawwil awwil baarah of sub-class 2, cf.

mahmud hayirjaḡ baḡd bukrę 'Mahmud will come the day after tomorrow'

mahmud hayistanna li baḡd baḡd bukrę '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'a (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 - ظلгуن

H - ظهِر فَخْباَر ظلْغَن يا ظامم -’ilhaji ظابد الْباَغِي؟
B - لماشْعَل ظلْغَن كُوَّاَيِّسِ عَسَانَا دَيْ خَالَق. H - رَمَا غادَرَ ظهِر؟ B - ظَلْفَادَان بَيْرُمِ مَيْ سَيْتُ غَانُّيْرَ وَيْ سَابِغْ غَانُّيْرَ وَيْ تَامَ غَانُّيْرَ. H - وَيْ رَمَا غَانِدُعْکُو كَأَم؟ B - رَمَا غَانِدُنْا یْبْنَا تَامَانْيِّيْحَ. H - بيْضَةَعْ وَالْلَا لِسِيْه؟ B - لا حِيْلَةَ.
H - بيْعَشْ ظاَحِيْعَ كُوَّاَيِّسَ كَيْدَيْح. B - ظُنَّ جَآاَتْ اَلۡلَّهِ اَنِىْبِیِّعْ. H - وَيْ ظَامَلْتَ ظهِرَ فِي جَمَٰعِ ظلْغَن؟ B - كِارِئْنَا ظیِّعَايْل وَيْ تَامْغَناَه. H - ظَلْفَادَان بَيْنِيْلٰو كَأَم ظاَیْيِل؟ B - ظَلْفَادَان بَيْنِيْلٰو خَامْسٌن ظاَیْيِل. H - يَجَِنْ تِيْعُلٰ یْنِنِحَأَر؟ B - تِيْعُلٰ یْنِنِحَأَر، يِتِلُّقُّي يِتِيْقَّدُو بَأَسَسَبِق. حَجَّرَیثْيَمَا مَيْتِيْقَّدُو وَيْ يِـرْعُبَيُّبَيِّسَ يِتِيْقَّدُو تَانِيْيَمْ يَجَِنْ تِيْعُلٰ لِيْهَدِدِل يِمِـلاَيْرِب. H - وَيْ يِسُيْوُل دَيْ بَيْکَوْمْ فَيْيْسَيْف؟ B - يِیَوْدَا، ظاجُنْ دَيْنِيْتُد جَآَاَن يَنِيْيِلْغَن.
H - لَازِمِمْ يِدَيْنَیا بِتِكُوْنُ حَّرَرُ گَوْی وَيْ يِسُيْوُل بَيْکَوْمْ مُتَظَقَب. B - دَيْ ظِهِّیْوِهْ، لَاَکِّین عِلْفَالِهِّيْنْ ظَرْوِیْیِن زا اَسَرَّر.

(1) یَا ظامم اِنْ قَایِئِنْع اَسَاغ. Co*espond*ینگ تَدْ هو اَبَا.
English Translation

1 - Cotton

H - What about the cotton, Uncle Hadji Abd El-Baaqi?
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.
2 - ۳۳۶ هـ

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text

H - ۳۳۶

Arabic Text
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


B - waahid biyigaf qala ilhadiida wi yifrag wi waahid bi yigaf qala ilhadiida ittanyi wi ittaalit yigaf fi ilwiṣτ. wi illi biyifrag yitallit lamma yistaqdıil innafareen ittanyiin gubaal baqqa kafinuhum naʃar waahid wi yihuṭtiddindaana qala ilhadd gubaal iddindaana lamma tizyur li iddindaan tilaqii kullu qala xeет waahid.

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يلسارد ما يغافع؟ ب - لا يغافع ما فيما ماين. 
 שאهب يلارد يغاف ويجارو ولما واهيد تاليت بابن والة 
يرداجيل ليل بيجيتايال ميما. ه - طيلفاللهين 
بيعيتانغو قالا يلهدود في بلالدا؟ ب - لا بلالدا ناس 
تاليبيين سايغت ما إيمار يغرف يلهداد جارو يردا قالا 
الد. ك - يمرار أبوعك يلهدود ألى تاغالا يغاف 
لينا قالا يلهداد. ه - وي باجدين؟ ك - رخت واغفت يلي 
أنيعس في كان أبوعا يلهدود واغيف قالا يلهدديدا دي، 
واهيد قالا يلهدديدا ليل يلي يلمامدما يلتنيا في كانيت 
طنابإا يلي إيماس. في أبوعك يلهدود زابد ألباجي غاد 
يغقول تاغالا يلماما لإي سواييا راوه يلمامدما يلتنيا 
سواييا. ه - طيل كلامام دا كان واغت - ناه. ك - يس اشف 
ليل ناهت باغد ما گتاغو إودور. باغد كيدا كول ما 
نيفوفم بيجغراغ يلهداد نيسيفم في نيري. ه - كوت 
ييلماك تاغييما مايامام كان فيم إيماس. ك - كوت لايبس 
تاغييما لاكين ما فين يفدا. غاجلم لامما بيجيجود 
يغرف يلهداد بيغييبد كيتيير. لازيم يللم يفسيل 
mazbuعت ميما في إليميجي. بنععغ يلحتا كول ما ييج 
يجغراغ يلهداد يغولو حاتو أبوعك يلهدود زابد ألباجي. 
حوما بيجغراغ سواييا.
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.
4 - تليوهدة العلماء

ه - يرى رأيك في تليوهدة العلماء يا باسم

(1)"ً cette utilisation n'est pas typique. Il est introduit par

(2) "voir note p. 335.

(3) المسجد، دكتور، مقيم وعالم تاني يظهر فقط في

الكلام من الأشخاص المتعلمين. الكلمات التالية

المؤردية تليوهدة العلماء المالح بسيط القالة

(1) Cette utilisation n'est pas typique. Il est introduit par

(2) Voir note p. 335.

(3) Les mots_typiques TD sont respectivement جامع، دكتور،

دائم و علي.
tažkarit idduxuul. S - filmustajfa fiiha daxliy?
A - Ṣiywa fiih daxli wi fiih xarjiy. H - Ṣazunn ma fiiš bilaad janbina ġandiha wiḫdaat mujammiga?

A - Ṣiywa fiiha burj hamaam wi ġawziin yihuttu fiih hamaam baladi ġalaʃaan yi♩liｂ ilhamaam ijjabali.

(1) tagriiban is an educated usage corresponding to the typical TD tagriiban.
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(\text{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 - 笺Jaay wi iidduxaan

(1)

H - gulli ya gam ilhajj qabd ilbaagi. bitisrjab jaay?
B - faay. H - kuwayyis issjaay yaqni? bitisrjab kitir?
B - fituq baladna kulluham biyisrjabu jaay? B - biyisrjabu.
H - wi hatta illi mas laagi girf fi jeebu biyisrjab.
bithibb issjaay tigiil walla xafiif? B - binhibbu hilw.
humm biyhallu li kubbayti maxsuus. jarfiin ittabq bitaagi. humma biyisrjabu keef wa ani laf. H - feeh radak inta baga fi issjaay mudiirr walla maqmuuirr?
B - issjaay illi biyisrjabuuh humma mudiirr innama issjaay illi ani binisrjabu mas muquirr. M - tayyib asmigna intih?

(1) See note p. 333.

(1) ḋaḡaazana allahu minh is a rather educated usage.
(2) ilfuqaraaj is an educated usage. The corresponding typical TD is ilfuqara.
5 - Tea and Tobacco

H - Tell me, Uncle 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. who haven'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.
6 - اillummayya

H - اillummayya، ژاملا ژئه ژاندکو یلییامدی؟
D - اillummayya ژووییسا وی یلھامدی لی یلیاھ. دیلواگت ژاندینا کابابیس مچادج ژانابییر یولالاش. ناخود یلکاراکیب وی نیروه میگاللاغ وی یلواھیید ییخالی ایننافر یللا ژاندی یینزیل گووادام اillummayya وی ییسیوو یو یلکاببااس وی یولالاش. ولا ژیاد ژانابییر ولا یہااات مین دی، دیلواگت کول ییسیت بغا ژیاله کاببااس. وی یلہیتا یلمیااہفا یینیییبیو یییاہا ماناا. ژین ژیید، ژیید وی یم یاااژ ییددرو نیدیوارو یلماااینیفیلیااھا بیتیراگگا ژیووییا بی ژیووییا.
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.
7 - مَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~

(1) حَـََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََََ*
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.
8 - ٌـاكلا ـى ـىـيـيـئـت

(1)

(1) All of this text is given by the writer.
kaan waahid min ilgiyaal hadda barood ijaay gala innaar. lamma xallasna faaki gaqaaq yiigmil ijaay.

Tilfallahiin biyiisraibu jaay tigiil gawi wi biyiigmiluuuh bitariiga mustaliifa gan tarigitnih. biyihiittu ijaay fi illummayya wi yisibuuha tiyli wi bagdeen yiisubbu ijaay fi ilbarrood wi yihiittu galeen suukar galiil wi biysamu da sawwil door. bagkda biyihiittu ummayya jidda wi biyiilyu ijaay illi fi iylallaay taani min yeer ma yihiittu jaay jiddiid wi da iddoor ittaani wi bagdeen iddoor ittaalit. xinnaa iddoor ilgawwalaani bitaghun murr gawi. la ani wala galid gadaarna nisrabaanuuh.
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.