Coastal Dhofārī Arabic: a sketch grammar

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout this study for the purposes of interlinear morpheme by morpheme glossing, as set out in the Leipzig Glossing Rules developed by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Evolutionary Anthropology, in conjunction with the Department of Linguisticsof the University of Leipzig. A full description of the conventions for these rules can be found at the MPI website: *http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php* (last accessed 31/03/2012). A complete list of the glossing terms used in this study are given below.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AGC	analytic genitive constructions
CDA	coastal Dhofārī Arabic
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous aspect
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DL	dual
DO	direct object
EXIST	existential
EXCL	exclamatory
F	feminine
FUT	future
INDF	indefinite
INT	interrogative
IPFV	imperfective
IMP	imperative
M	masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
MSAL	Modern South Arabian languages
NP	noun phrase
OA	Old Arabic
PART	participle
PL	plural
PFV	perfective

POSS	possessive linker
PRO	pronoun
PROX	proximal
PTCL	particle
REL	relativizer
S	singular
SGC	synthetic genitive construction
SUPL	superlative
TAM	tense, aspect, modality

Transcription and transliteration

The following symbols are used for transcription and transliteration throughout this study, including sample texts.

Consonants:

Symbol	Example	Gloss	Symbol	Example	Gloss
/b/	*bīb*	'door'	/z/	*zahra*	'flower'
/t/	*tēs*	'billy goat'	/š/	*šims*	'sun
/d/	*dilf*	'rock'	/x/	*xō*	'brother'
/ṭ/	*ṭīn*	'soil'	/ġ/	*ġarša*	'bottle'
/k/	*karfiya*	'bed'	/ḥ/	*ḥāfa*	'edge'
/g/	*gabha*	'forehead'	/ʕ/	*ʕawār*	'blind
/q/	*qālīd*	'keys'	/h/	*harān*	'car horn'
/'/	*'aḥsan*	'better'	/m/	*mariya*	'necklace'
/f/	*farx*	'chick'	/n/	*nūba*	'bee'
/θ/	*θūm*	'mouth'	/l/	*lamba*	'lamp'
/ð/	*ðēl*	'tail'	/r/	*rigl*	'leg'
/ð̣/	*ð̣āna*	'ewe'	/y/	*yamīn*	'right'
/s/	*sarb*	'spring'	/w/	*wārā*	'behind'
/ṣ/	*ṣūt*	'whip'			

Vowels:

Symbol	Example	Gloss
/i/	*min*	'from'
/ī/	*līt*	'light'
/ē/	*wēn*	'where'
/a/	*ḥad*	'person'
/ā/	*Dhofār*	'Dhofār'
/ō/	*qōt*	'food'
/u/	*ruzz*	'rice'
/ū/	*qūrī*	'pigeon'

Other symbols:

Symbol	Meaning
/	pause
>	becomes
∅	empty set
C	consonant
v	vowel
1234	consonantal root order

Abstract

This thesis provides an extensive overview of the main linguistic features of coastal Dhofārī Arabic, the southern-most governorate in the Sultanate of Oman, and in particular the historical Arabic-speaking communities found on its coastal plain. The study is subdivided into key sections on phonology, morphology, local and temporal relations, adverbs and particles, and syntax. It also examines some of the features identified by these sections in a separate chapter on grammaticalization theory, seeking to explain the diachronic development of function words, as well as their synchronic usage in coastal Dhofārī Arabic today. A brief lexicon is given, based on the *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte / Word Atlas of Arabic Dialects* (WAD) semantic lexical categories, and supplemented with further lexical data from questionnaire and free speech recordings.

The study finds that coastal Dhofārī Arabic shares common features with the Arabic dialects spoken in neighbouring Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and with the northern Arabic dialects of the Sultanate of Oman. It preserves the voiced and voiceless interdental phonemes /θ/, and /ð/, retains the voiceless uvular plosive /q/, and demonstrates variable levels of the vowel raising feature *Imāla,* which is found in other coastal communities within Arabia. Morphologically, it is typical of northern Omani Arabic dialects by its retention of more complex patterns of feminine plural agreement, both for human referents and for non-human referents. It exhibits feminine plural agreement for personal and demonstrative pronouns, and in the latter there are two separate forms of the pronoun which may indicate traces of a more complex, historical gender and number agreement system. These conservative agreement patterns are also found with verb inflection, where coastal Dhofāri still retains the plural feminine inflection morphology. Unlike the northern Arabic dialects of Oman, this dialect retains only vestiges of the *ablaut* passive voice, similar to that of its closest neighbouring dialect of Yemeni Arabic in Wadi Ḥaḍramawt, with which there are also strong historical relations.

In terms of grammaticalization, this dialect has prominent tense / aspect / and mood verbal prefixes such as the /bi-/ continuous aspect verb prefix, the /bā-/ future marker, and the particles /ʕād/ and /qad/, in common with southern Arabian dialects extending into the Saudi Arabian Nejd, and also with some of the Modern South Arabian Languages. Its use of the analytic genitive possessive linkers /ḥaqq/ and /māl/ are notably more prominent that was previously thought, and warrant further investigation into their functional, grammatical roles.

Despite the rich array of features found in this dialect, it faces strong pressure from MSA, and many of the original communities that spoke this dialect have been resettled as part of regional development since the 1970s. It is hoped therefore that this account of CDA will generate interest in its future study as well.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Copyright statement

Acknowledgements

In my attempt here to acknowledge all those who have supported, advised, enthused, and provided critiques of this thesis during its gestation, I have no doubt that I will omit some important, key individuals. To these individuals, I apologise unreservedly, but the following friends, family members, academic staff, and most importantly participants in this study, are the foundations upon which this thesis is written, and whom I must thank with all my heart.

First and foremost, this thesis would not have been possible without the generous funding of the ESRC, and my 1+3 studentship award administered by CASAW, allowing me to me to explore the intricacies of Dhofār's hitherto undocumented coastal Arabic dialect. However money, coupled with my own enthusiasm, would have long since stuttered and ground to a halt were it not for the experience, knowledge, inspiration, and no-nonsense advice of my main supervisor, Prof. Yaron Matras. Dr. Philip Sadgrove provided much needed cultural insight into Omani society, Dr. Ronald Buckley lit the undergraduate spark which drew me towards Arabic Linguistics, and Prof. John Healey encouraged my enthusiasm to study southern Arabia. I must also thank the staff at the University of Salford for the opportunity to discuss my research, teach Arabic, and glean new insights into the rich linguistic tapestry of Oman through their own research. Likewise, the Language Documentation and Research Seminar members at the University of Manchester, for their valuable insights, suggestions, and shared experiences from their own fieldwork experiences.

There are too many friends to thank individually, but a few must be mentioned. Dr. John Peate provided essential wit, proof-reading excellence, and companionship during the harrowing hours of writer's block we shared together at Bury's public library. Esther Meininghaus and Edgar Klüseiner translated and interpreted much of Rhodokanakis' work for me at very short notice, and were also accomplished coffee drinkers ready to listen to any problem, giving sound advice.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aim and scope of the study

This study is a comprehensive sketch grammar of a hitherto neglected Arabic dialect, that of coastal Dhofārī Arabic (CDA henceforth). The main aim in undertaking this study was to document the key phonological and morpho-syntactic features of CDA, its local and temporal relations, and a basic lexicon. Once this had been completed, further analysis of the data was then possible from the perspective of grammaticalization theory, to shed light on both the synchronic use of grammatical function words in CDA, and their diachronic development. The methodology employed in data collection, analysis, and presentation is intended to promote accessibility for other researchers, and it is hoped that this end result has been achieved.

There is however, another dimension to undertaking projects such as these, one which has become more focused in recent years as regional economies and communities have become subsumed into a more general mass by the march of globalization. The discussion of topics such as 'language death', and the moribund status of a significant number of languages spread around the world, are well beyond the scope of this preamble. However, in the case of the Arabian Peninsula, the effects of this rapid transformation from the old world of sedentary and nomadic communities to one of modernity, take place in the blink of an eye, and warrant passing comment here. That is not to say that change in itself is necessarily a negative force, indeed it is often the urgency for change which stipulates the pace at which it takes place, but in Dhofār, as in many other communities across Arabia, the pace of change has outrun the time required for communities to sustain their heritage. This break from tradition is nowhere more obvious than in the community's language, and the extent to which tradition and culture is encoded therein. The radical overhaul of lifestyle, family, and community over one or two decades, provides the speakers of these languages with little choice but to leave behind much of that which no longer has cultural value, and language in particular suffers at an alarming rate.

The documentation of language provides a linguistic 'snapshot' of the repertoire of forms and functions that are available to speakers at any given time, and native speaker intuition can be invaluable in providing authenticity to documentation. As a non-native speaker of Arabic, and an outsider, I have been acutely aware of the need to balance the comprehensive scope of this study against with that which is authentic in the eyes, ears, and minds of the informants I have had the good fortune to work with. Data, in itself, is functional. It serves our aims as linguists to analyse and theorise. Whilst my aims in completing this study were to provide such a data set for functional-typological comparison, both for Arabic and beyond, the responsibility of capturing the essence of CDA in this data has been equally as important, so that it might provide a record for CDA speakers which is relevant. It is my belief, that this is the true aim and scope of such studies.

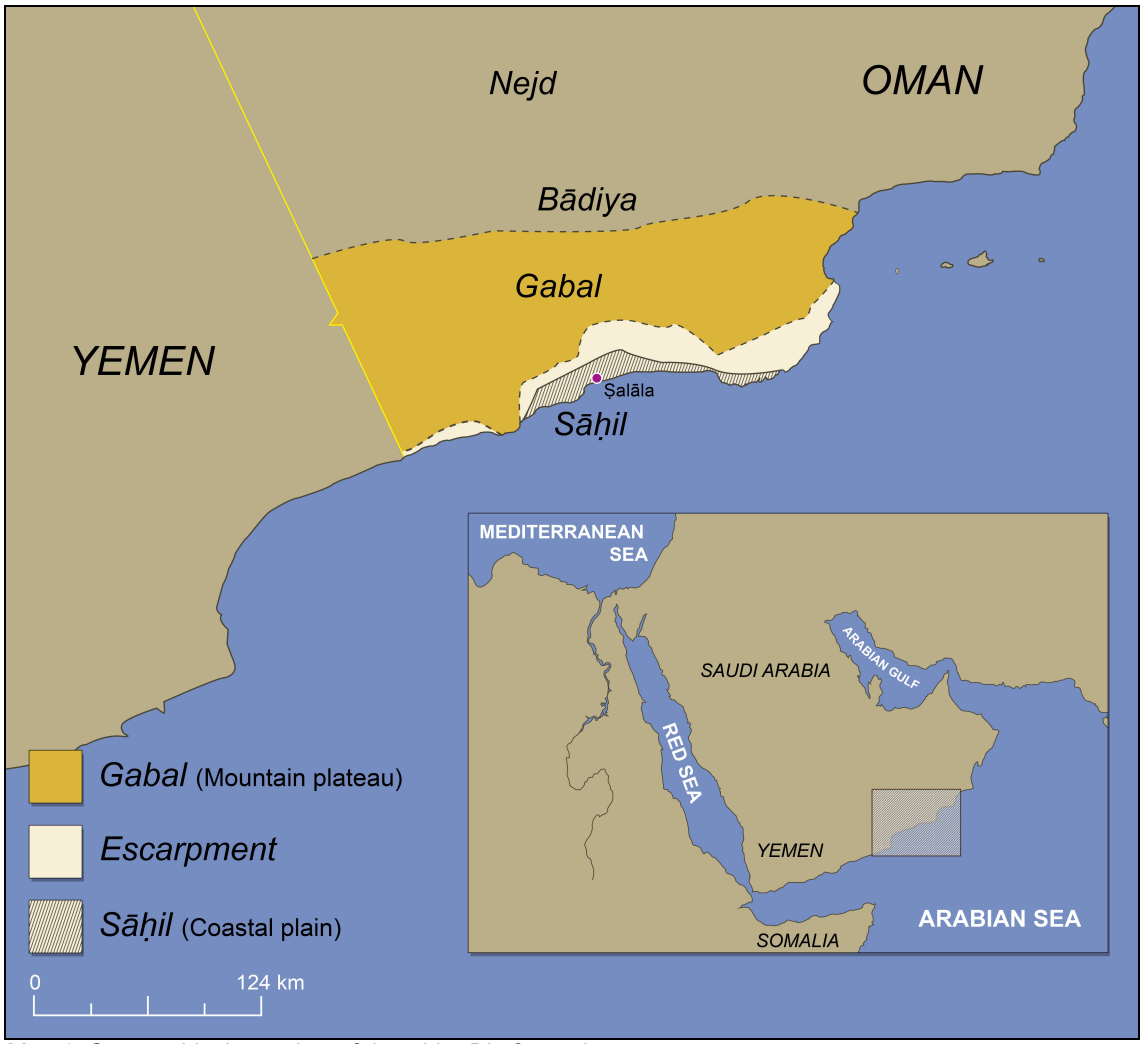
In the introductory sections of this chapter, I have included an overview of Dhofār's geographical situation, and explained the major seasonal variations which have supported communities there for millennia (1.2). I then proceed to give a brief overview of Dhofār's history, both to provide background information, and also to explain the socio-economic role that the Arabic-speaking tribes had at the heart of Dhofārī society (1.3). It has long been assumed that the study of Dhofārī Arabic provided by Rhodokanakis (1908, 1911) gave an account of the main Arabic dialect spoken in the region, but in identifying the key community who have inhabited the coastal plain, I can validate that the data in this study provides an account of a second dialect in the region. In relation to this historical account, I also mention briefly the linguistic diversity of Dhofār's other communities as speakers of Modern South Arabian Languages, and describe the close linguistic relationship between all of the region's inhabitants (1.4).

With this background established, I then turn my attention to the series of major studies carried out in southern Arabia at the end of the 19th century, those of the Süd-Arabische Expeditions of the Austrian Imperial Academy (1.5.1) Most notable of these was the study produced by Rhodokanakis, and the methodological means through which data collection was carried out for his study. I also broaden the scope of this literature review to include a brief analysis of the key works on Arabic dialects which have guided the format of this current study, examining their approaches to the collection and organisation of phonological, morphological, and syntactic data (1.5.2). As this study takes a functional-typological approach to data analysis and collection, I will save comment for any theoretical frameworks used to organise the data to the relevant chapters where appropriate. However, given the advances in our knowledge of south Arabian dialect features in recent history, it would have been somewhat foolhardy to have undertaken fieldwork without prior knowledge of the dialect features in the surrounding areas. The methodological approach to the study is explored in detail in section (1.6), where I also give an account of the research experience, and metadata for the range of informants who participated. In the final section, I give a summary of the dialect bundle features which I believe constitute the main features amongst the monolingual Arabic-speaking community of Dhofār's coast.

1.2 Geography

The modern day Governorate of Dhofār, the most southerly of the provinces that constitute the Sultanate of Oman, covers an area of approximately 99,300 sq.kilometres *http://www.omansultanate.com/governorates-Dhofār.htm* (last accessed 31/03/2013). Situated halfway along the southern Arabian coastline, its administrative borders stretch from current Yemeni-Omani border eastwards to the region of al-Jazir, and from the southern coast along the Arabian sea to its northern extreme in the Dunes of the Rub'a al-Khālī (map 1). The topography of the region can be divided into three major sub-regions: the coastal mountains, the mountain plateau, and the desert.

Along the southern coasts lie the mountain ranges of Jabal Qamar in the west, and Jabal Qara in the east, which rise at their highest point from sea level to 2100 M at the peak of Jabal Samhan, and with an average height of 800-900M along their 290km length from the Yemeni border to the eastern coastal village of Hasik (Miller & Morris 1988: xi). At sporadic intervals along this mountainous coastal region lie coastal plains, the largest being the 40km long Salalah plain, which extends to 6km at its widest point. Beyond the coastal mountains is the high plateau region, a flat, rolling landscape which gradually gives way to a series of north-facing cliffs, and which marks the most northerly extent of the rain shadow from the mountains. At this point, the plateau gradually gives way to arid scrubland, which extends northwards to the southern reaches of the Rub' al-Khālī and its inhospitable desert environment.



Map 1: Geographical overview of the wider Dhofār region

The importance of these geographical subdivisions becomes apparent during the monsoon period from early June-late August. Warm, moisture laden south-westerly winds emanating from the east African coast are drawn along a west-east trajectory towards India, and the friction they create on the surface of the sea pushes the warm surface water along the same trajectory. The net effect of this surface water movement is to draw colder water up from the deeper ocean to

the surface, particularly off the coasts of Dhofār and Somalia. As the cooler water then reacts with the warm, humid monsoon winds, the air is cooled and clouds begin to form at low levels. For Dhofār, these clouds become trapped against the coastal mountain ranges, and prevented from travelling further inland due to a mixture of local topography and the hot, dry desert air which halts their northern progress. As a result, for approximately three months of the year, coastal Dhofār receives between 200-500mm of condensing moisture and rainfall, along with milder temperatures, which helps to sustain rich vegetation and local springs for the rest of the year (ibid.).

1.3 History – political and socio-economic

Given the unique climactic factors which support vegetation and animal life in Dhofār's coastal area, it is natural that the region should have witnessed human inhabitation for the same reasons. The regular monsoon conditions have replenished deep, local springs and wells for millennia, allowing for both the cultivation of crops and pastoral farming with domesticated livestock. It was these same climatic conditions which has also favoured the growth of the *Boswellia Sacra* tree in the foothills of Dhofār's mountains, whose dried resin frankincense became one of the most sought after commodities of the ancient world, and was traded as far afield as Ancient Egypt and China (Groom 1981: 3-4). Its medicinal and herbal properties were particularly favoured by the Romans and, at the height of its popularity, an estimated 1300-1700 tons of dried resin were transported the Red Sea region annually by some 7000-10,000 camels, a trade which played a large part in sustaining the flourishing of the Old South Arabian Kingdoms, as well as those of the Nabataeans in the north of Arabia (Groom 1981: 160).

Dhofār's place at the heart of this trade is reflected in local archaeological sites, most notably the ancient port of Sumhuram at Khōr Rōrī, but there is little historical record of its inhabitants and their lifestyle during this period. Once the aromatics trade began to decline in the third century CE, due mainly to economic difficulties faced in the Roman Empire and the conversion to Christianity which deemed incense burning as a pagan ritual, areas such as Dhofār began to recede away from the historical record.[1]

The political control of Dhofār is difficult to trace in the centuries which followed, due to a lack of accurate local historical records. For example, Abu Eid al-Bakri (d 487 H/1094 CE) describes Dhofār as the 'home of exalted and mighty kings and chieftains and princes' whilst in *Kitab al-Jughrafia*, Ibn Said al-Maghrabi (d. 673 H/ 1274 CE) describes Dhofār some two hundred years later as a 'mighty city now laid waste' (Vine 1995: 23-6). Following the arrival of Islam and its spread across the Arabian Peninsula, various travellers and geographers began to document Dhofār in passing, but the precise date of the first Islamic settlements in Dhofār are an

1 Groom (1981:226-227) marks the collapse of the Mārib Dam in Yemen as a key point in this decline. Water collection and management was symbolic of the success of the Sabaean and Himyarite kingdoms in southern Arabia, with the control and maintenance of the Mārib Dam often mirroring the successes or failures of the regional rulers. The date of its final collapse came in approximately 575CE.

approximation at best. Archaeological finds at the al-Baleed settlement, close to the modern day city of Ṣalalah, revealed the existence of a large mosque which has been dated to 338H / 950AD, therefore one can assume that an Arabic-speaking community of some description was present in Dhofār around this date.[2] Perhaps more important than a precise date for the arrival of Arabic-speakers is the confirmation that a settled community existed on the coast at this point.

For long periods Dhofār remained a quiet corner of the Arabian Peninsula, either under its own direct rule, or as part of the Kathiri Sultanate which ruled from Seiyūn in neighbouring Wadi Hadramawt. It was not until the early 19th century that the region would come into the realm of wider regional politics when it was loosely annexed by Said bin Sultan of the al-Bu Sa'id rulers in Muscat, with a more formal incorporation into the Sultanate of Oman in 1879 following its successful capture (Peterson 2004: 257). In many respects, this external history was of little significance to the inhabitants of Dhofār, and daily life appears to have continued with little change. Yet it was a regional conflict from 1965-75 which was to thrust Dhofār into the international Cold War spotlight, and with it bring development and modern infrastructure which would transform the lives of its inhabitants. In terms of our knowledge of daily life in the coastal communities, it also marked a watershed.

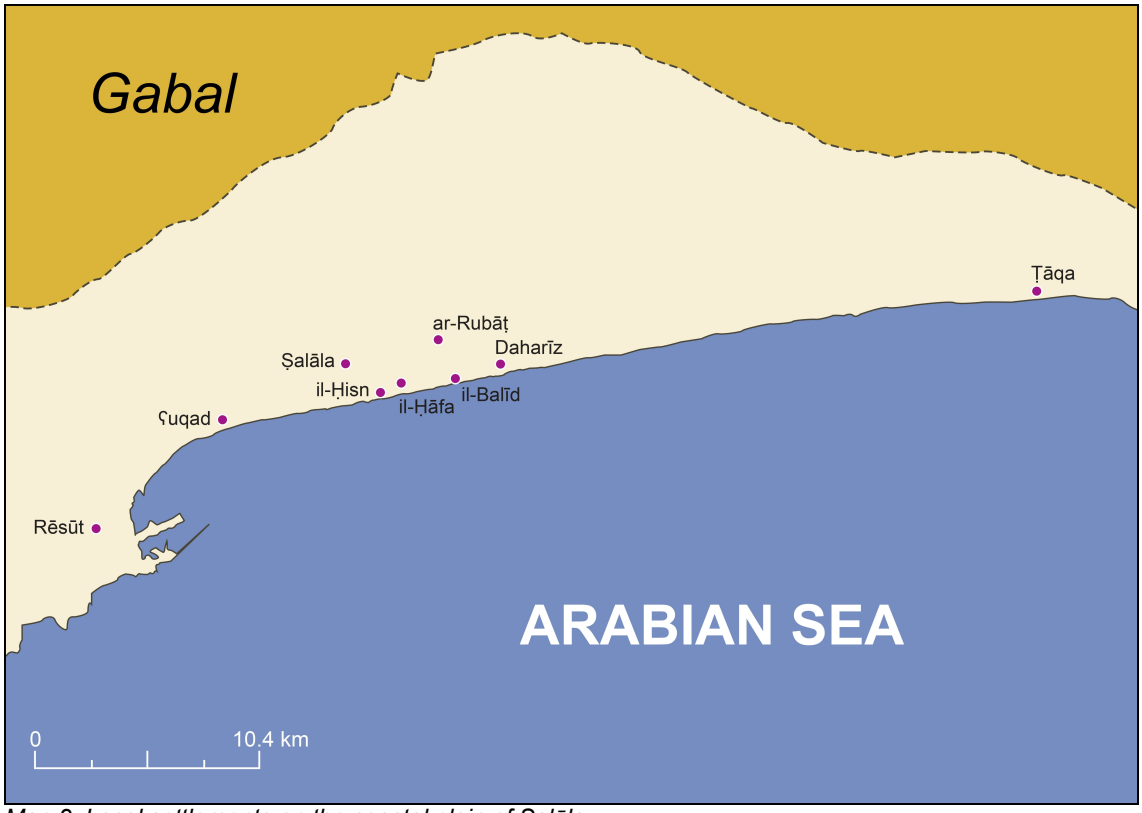
The Dhofār Conflict 1965-75 arose out of the dire circumstances which many local inhabitants found themselves in. The lack of basic resources, non-existent healthcare, and the harsh rule of Sultan bin Taimur directly from his palace in Ṣalalah, created tension between the local Mehri and Sheḥrī tribes and the Sultan's forces. What began initially as a local conflict aimed at liberating Dhofār from Taimur's perceived oppressive rule soon took on an international dimension when local forces were supported and assisted by fighters from a pro-Communist regime in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). The assistance of fighters whose regime had overt communist alignment, and a re-focussing of the conflict towards wider regional control of Oman as far as the Gulf, resulted in the proxy involvement of East and West Cold War powers in an attempt to either promote the pro-communist forces, or to shore up local defences and protect wider Western interests in the Gulf. A key moment in the protracted conflict came in 1972, with the succession of Sultan Qaboos to power, having overthrown his father Sultan bin Taimur in a bloodless coup. His subsequent policies, aimed at improving the lives of locals and the long term modernisation of the region, were quickly adopted, and within three years the conflict came to an end.

It was shortly after the end of the conflict that the researcher Jörg Janzen began fieldwork in Dhofār, part of a wider research project designed to explore the development potential for rural communities in Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman (Janzen (1986: xxi). As arguably the first modern academic to enter the region in 1976, Janzen's documentation of the social structure of Dhofāri life, its economy, its constituent tribes and their languages, and the early

2 Office of the Advisor to His Majesty The Sultan for Cultural Affairs (2007: 206)

implications of social change upon these communities is an invaluable source for the present study, and helped to identify the coastal communities which form the core group of coastal Dhofāri Arabic speakers.

To summarise Janzen's work, the communities he describes were spread out across the three main geographical regions of Dhofār, each of which had their own economic link with one another, and at the heart of which was a system of seasonally-based agriculture. The main activities along the coast were divided into two interconnected enterprises. Dairy farming in the mountains during the monsoon provided milk for both local consumption and also the raw ingredient for the valuable export of ghee (clarified butter). Along the coast, sardine fishing again provided for local consumption, providing such quantities during the pre-monsoon months of March and April that large areas of beach were given over to fish drying, and thus provided the main source of animal feed outside of the monsoon period. As both activities were heavily dependent on the monsoon, tribes would co-operate during the lean months, with fishing communities moving to the mountains during the monsoon period to benefit from increased dairy farming production, and mountain communities moving to the coasts outside of the monsoon period, when the main food source was fishing and the limited agriculture possible on the Ṣalalah plain.



Map 2: Local settlements on the coastal plain of Ṣalāla

One obvious omission from Janzen's study are specific details for the Arabic-speaking community who resided on the coastal strip, but our understanding of their role in this economic

system becomes clear through his data. As coastal community, they were in control of the few coastal inlets and harbours, and all trade passed through their control. They also owned and controlled the small farms that were supported by aquifers and springs on the coastal plain, along with the fishing boats. In the mountains, much of the land which contained the *Boswellia Sacra* trees was owned and maintained by the Arabic-speaking tribes of the coast. Essentially, their position at the hub of the local economy was to control both the production of local goods, and also to control their export along, with the import of goods from outside. The majority of the Arabic-speaking tribes on the coastal plain resided in the main settlement of Ṣalāla, with its nearby villages of ʕuqad, al-Ḥisn, al-Rabat, al-Ḥāfa, al-Balīd, Rēsūt, and Daharīz, with a further settlement some 40km further east at Ṭāqa, indicated in (Map.2).[3] As befitted their position at the top of the local economy, these tribes also occupied the higher social ranks of the caste-like system which had existed for centuries. In Ṣalāla, the main tribes were the al-Rawwās and al-Marhūn, who may have been the original settlers on the coast, whilst in il-Ḥāfa, the al-Shanfarī also constituted a key tribal group, although their arrival in the region appears to have been later than the al-Rawwās and al-Marhūn (Peterson (2004: 260). At the other of the social spectrum, there was a further Arab-speaking social group which resided on the immediate coast of the Ṣalāla plain, which consisted of fishing communities, the *Baḥḥāra*, and African slaves who had remained in Dhofār either in the service of the Sultan at his palace, or as a workforce used for cattle herding in the mountains (Peterson (2004: 266).

The snapshot provided by Janzen of Dhofārī society at the end of the Dhofār Conflict in 1976 encapsulates the socio-economic system of a remote society which had changed little during the previous centuries. As a consequence of the regional conflict, and the need to secure this remote corner of the newly founded Sultanate of Oman, considerable investment was made in the region, with a radical overhaul of the local infrastructure, alongside the introduction of healthcare, education, and housing. The opportunity to relocate to new properties along the coastal strip was attractive to many of the communities living in the mountains, a move which would quickly help to alleviate many of the social issues which had led to conflict in the first instance. Primary education became compulsory for all children, taught in Modern Standard Arabic, and the overall effect of Sultan Qaboos' reform program saw a large influx of new communities to the coast whose children were now acquiring Arabic for the first time.

The implications of this period for linguistic development are yet to be fully understood, but it is reasonable to say that both the Modern South Arabian language-speaking communities which moved to the coast, and the original Arabic-speaking coastal tribes, have all experienced increased pressure to conform to the MSA norm of official Omani society. Given the linguistic diversity which exists in the region, the economic benefits of using MSA are readily apparent, particularly for the younger community. I would argue however, that whilst the MSAL communities are able to maintain their linguistic heritage via contact with MSAL communities

3 Apart from Ṭāqa, these villages have been amalgamated into the modern city of Ṣalāla, although they still correspond approximately to the same tribal areas.

who still reside in the mountains, the same cannot be said for the Arabic-speaking communities of the coast. This is particularly noticeable in Ṣalāla, where rapid expansion has destroyed much of the physical infrastructure and housing which used to identify the territorial borders between the main Arabic tribes. These tribes have since relocated to the periphery of the modern city in new settlements, and it is only on the immediate coast, where the *Baḥḥāra* and the African former slave communities have remained in close quarters, that the coastal Dhofārī Arabic dialect is still maintained on a day-to-day basis.

1.4 Linguistic diversity in Dhofār

Dhofār is home to a subgroup of Semitic languages referred to as the MSAL. Their position within the Semitic language family is within the West Semitic branch, along with Ethiopic, and there is considerable debate as to whether MSAL and Ethiopic stemmed from the same single node Rubin (2010: 7).[4] Based on speaker numbers, this group consists of four major languages Mehri, Sheḥri (Jibbālī), Soqoṭrī, Ḥārsūsi, and a further two members, Baṭḥāri and Hobyot, whose status is less certain.[5] Accurate estimations of speaker numbers in Dhofār for these languages are difficult to make, as Omani census data does not record language data, and the majority of Mehri speakers are found in the Governorate of Mahra in Yemen. The figures for total speaker numbers provided by Simeone-Senelle (1990: 378-79) are approximate at best, with around 100,000 Mehri speakers, Soqotrī 50,000 speakers, Sheḥri 5,000 speakers, and perhaps as few as 600 Ḥārsūsi speakers. Speaker numbers for the remaining languages of Baṭḥāri and Hobyot range from the virtually moribund status of Baṭḥāri, to around 100 speakers of Hobyot on the Omani/Yemeni border.

In terms of the MSAL varieties spoken within Dhofār, the language with the greatest number of speakers would have been Sheḥri, the main language of the tribes who inhabited the mountains to the north of the coastal plain, but knowledge and use of this language were not limited to these communities. Petersen (2004: 260-262) documents three tribal groups who speak Sheḥri: the non-tribal al-Shahra peoples who were the original inhabitants of the mountains, the al-Qara tribes who arrived from Yemen some five to seven centuries ago, and certain tribes of the much larger al-Kaṯīrī group who live in the mountains. This final group are important, as they essentially formed the Sheḥri-speaking group of the Bēt al-Rawwās tribes who inhabit Ṣalāla, and with whom there are strong tribal links. The extent to which Mehri was spoken traditionally in Dhofār is harder to estimate, but the al-Mahra tribes to the north of Dhofār's mountains were the main speech community, with their own distinct dialect of Mehriyyet. Intermarriage with the Sheḥri-speaking tribes of the mountains may have led to bilingualism in certain families, and it is certainly the case today that speakers of Sheḥri or Mehriiyyet have some knowledge of both

4 The precise origins and position of the Modern South Arabian languages is beyond the scope of this study, but a more detailed discussion can be found in Rubin (2008: 61-84).

5 The term 'Jibbālī' is somewhat contentious, despite its frequent use in many publications, and by the majority of Dhofārī inhabitants who do not speak this language. My own preference is to use the term Sheḥri, based on the wishes of the speakers of this language whom I met during my time in Dhofār.

languages.

Historically, in light of the closely interwoven economic links that existed in Dhofār, it is unsurprising that bilingualism has existed to a certain degree, so as to facilitate trade and social interaction between tribes. The Sheḥri-speaking tribes linked to the al-Rawwās of Ṣalāla would have conversed in Sheḥri, and, based on information gathered through my own fieldwork, informants confirmed that speakers of CDA would have had a certain level of proficiency in both Sheḥri and Mehri, if not fluency. However, the same cannot be said for knowledge of Arabic, and speakers suggested that it was only since the introduction of formal education, and the awareness of MSA via the media, that Arabic became the second language for many of the MSAL speakers in Dhofār, and, in the case of younger speakers, often to the detriment of their proficiency in their MSAL variety.

All of the CDA-speaking informants who participated in this study had some knowledge of Sheḥri and Mehriyyet, and this was most prominent amongst the speakers from Ṭāqa, where there are strong historical links with the Sheḥri-speaking Bēt al-Maʕshani tribe (Peterson 2004: 261). In group situations when speakers of CDA, Sheḥri, and Mehri were present, the default language was best described as educated Arabic, and CDA was only recorded as a group language when the general consensus of the group appeared to be that all speakers had a certain proficiency .

1.5 Literature review

In this section, I outline the main studies which have been carried out on the Arabic dialects of southern Arabia, and the key features of these dialects as presented in these studies. Many of these features allow useful comparisons to be made in the discussion of CDA which occurs in this study, and, given the position of Dhofār as a centre point between these dialects, many of these features are also found in CDA. As Rhodokanakis' previous study (1908, 1911) requires greater analysis, it is discussed seperately and at greater length in section (1.5.1).

1.5.1 Rhodokanakis and the Süd-Arabische Expeditions of the Austrian Imperial Academy

The only previous study to date on Dhofārī Arabic is the Rhodokanakis' two-volumed descriptive study published in 1908 and 1911. In volume one (1908), Rhodokanakis presents a collection of poems and prose texts alongside his own German translation, whilst in the second volume, there is a brief lexicon and extensive descriptive grammar based on the data covered in the first volume. Rhodokanakis' analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Dhofārī Arabic is meticulous, with cross-referencing between the two volumes creating a very credible account. Although the credibility of Rhodokanakis' work is clear, closer examination of his informants for this data, and whether they accurately represented a widely-spoken dialect within the vague

geographical boundaries of Dhofār, casts his study in a new light.

The circumstances which led up to the publication of Rhodokanakis' work were both fortuitous and problematic. As a student of D.H. Müller, an eminent Austrian semiticist, Rhodokanakis' research was heavily connected to the success of Müller's research expeditions to south-western Arabia and East Africa towards the end of the 19th century, carried out along with the famous orientalist, Carlo Landberg, and other eminent academics of the time. These seven expeditions, often referred to as the *Süd-Arabische Expeditions* from the eponymous series of publications which arose out of them, were ambitious in their scope. Müller aimed to further document the Modern South Arabian languages which had recently come to light, as well as collecting data on the pre-Islamic inscriptions of south-western Arabia, but due to underlying tension between the members of his team, and considerable underestimation of the scope of their planned expeditions, the results of the Süd Arabische expeditions were often difficult to quantify (Macro 1993: 54-82).

It was out of the methodological difficulties faced by Müller et al. that the suggestion was made to pay informants for information on the dialects and languages that the expedition sought to document. Müller also suggested that an informant who was knowledgeable in both Arabic and Soqotri might be sent back to Vienna to assist the Austrian Imperial Academy with its language programme. In his examination of the correspondence between the members of the fifth expedition in 1899, Macro (1993: 66-67) provides a glimpse into this recruitment process for informants whilst the team were waiting in Aden for the monsoon seas to subside, and thus allow them to set sail. A chance encounter with two workers at Aden's Ma'alla wharf, both of whom claimed to speak Soqotri and Arabic fluently, presented such an opportunity, but although a price could be agreed for participating in the expedition's work, both workers were seemingly less enthusiastic to return to Vienna as part of this arrangement. The relevance of this background to Rhodokanakis' Dhofārī Arabic study is that it was two such figures whom the expedition member Willfried Hein brought back to Vienna in 1904 (Matthews 1969: 45), and from whom the data for the expedition's Sheḥrī and Soqotri studies was also collected. Although a direct connection between the two quayside figures and Rhodokanakis' informants cannot be made, it seems highly likely that they were indeed the same pair, and that Müller's change in methodological approach had been successful one. Indeed, out of the ten volumes published by the expedition, four of the volumes were based on regions which the expedition had not been able to visit, two on Somaliland, and Rhodokanakis' Dhofār study.

Rhodokanakis (1908: v-ix) provides some further information on his informants in the introduction to the first volume of his study. The main informant, *Mḥammed ben Sēlim al-Kṯīrī*, was a Bedouin frankincense worker from Dhofār, and further light is shed on his precise origins in the protocol metadata documents which Rhodokanakis recorded, citing this as *ʕabġet* or *ʕuget*.[6] This detail is important, as it validates the claim of the speaker to originate from Dhofār

6 I would like to thank Dr. Gerda Lechleitner, and the staff at the Phonogrammarchiv - Österreichische

and provides an exact reference, and the variation in the place name provided reveals details about the speaker which is not readily apparent in the rest of Rhodokanakis' study. The first place name, recorded as *ʕabġet*, is in fact the local Shehrī name for the settlement at *ʕuqad*, a small village which has now been subsumed within the greater urban sprawl of Ṣalalah, but which would have existed at the beginning of the 20th century as a separate community (see 1.2). The second name given *ʕuget,* which appears to be an Arabic variation of the *ʕuqad* form, is also intriguing due to the realisation of the voiced velar plosive stop /*g*/, which in the Arabic dialect recorded in this study would be realised as a voiceless uvular plosive stop /*q*/, hence the variation *ʕuqad* and *ʕuget.*

The variation in the realisation of this phoneme is well-documented in other Arabic dialects (Hetzron 1997: 270-71), both as a characterising phonemic variant between dialects, and also as a key factor in tracing the sedentary/bedouin lineage of a dialect's community. The voiced variant /*g*/ is representative of bedouin tribes, whilst its voiceless counterpart /*q*/ or /ʔ/ is typical of sedentary dialects, a distinction which is seen in modern day Dhofār where coastal, sedentary communities produce the voiceless variant /*q*/, and the voiced variant /*g*/ is found amongst the bedouin tribes north of the Dhofārī mountains. The realisation of this phoneme in the place name *ʕuget* cited by *Mḥammed ben Sēlim al-Kṯīrī* suggests that the speaker may have originated from, or at least acquired his Arabic from bedouin speakers to the north of Dhofār. However, in citing his place of residence as a coastal village, this creates the impression that his variety of Arabic was also spoken south of the mountains

As a standalone example, it is difficult to analyse this feature much further, but the realisation of this phoneme elsewhere in Rhodokanakis' data portrays a more confusing picture. In the lexicon of Rhodokanakis' (1911: 47-50) grammar, both variants of this phoneme are given for lexical items where a consistent realisation would be expected, and the inconsistency suggests that the speaker has aspects of both sedentary and bedouin dialects, for example *gūt* 'food', *gnādīl* 'candlesticks', and *guwī* 'strong, contrasting with the items such as *qaṣṣ* 'to cut', and *qaṣīr* 'short'. In the majority of the lexical entries, the speaker realises the voiced variant of the phoneme, and this would suggest that his Arabic was indeed acquired from a bedouin source. When the spoken Arabic of *Mḥammed ben Sēlim al-Kṯīrī* is coupled with his bilingualism as a fluent speaker of Shehrī, a complicated linguistic picture emerges, particularly when his place of residence/origin is given as a coastal village. In light of the socio-economic and trade relations between Dhofār's tribes outlined in (1.3), one possible explanation for the speaker's variation is that his Arabic had been acquired through seasonal north-south tribal migration, with his fluency in Shehrī perhaps indicative of his work as a frankincense trader amongst the Sheḥrī-speaking tribes who would have traditionally carried out such work.

Akademie der Wissenschaften for their assistance in providing me with digitised copies of the available recordings from Rhodokanakis' study, and the accompanying protocols that provide metadata for these recordings. Unfortunately, the quality of the original wax disc recordings was insufficient to enable further analysis.

Rhodokanakis' description of working with *Mḥammed ben Sēlim al-Kṯīrī* provides additional information to his study which may also be relevant to the authenticity of the dialect in question. He described their recording sessions as difficult, accusing *Mḥammed ben Sēlim al-Kṯīrī* of occasionally distorting and misrepresenting the meaning of his stories and poems, and often requiring the presence of a second speaker, *ʕalī ben ʕamer en-Nubhānī,* to both negotiate the meanings of original texts, but also to ensure the smooth running of their recording sessions. This second informant seems to have been critical in the success of the study of Dhofārī Arabic, but raises questions in terms of the validity of the original data, given the difficulties in both its collection and clarification. In his summary of the Süd Arabische expeditions, Matthews (1969: 45) also adds that Rhodokanakis overlooked the importance of seeking further clarification of his informant's tribal ancestry, in particular the reference to the *al-Kṯīrī* aspect of this. As he continues, given that the *Bēt al-Kaṯhīr* tribes cover a vast geographical area that straddles the modern day Yemeni-Omani border, this vague description of the speaker's lineage does little to identify his true origins.

To sum up on Rhodokanakis' study then, the production of these two volumes is testament to his own skills as descriptive linguist, and his ability to maximise his opportunity in Vienna to record two speakers from the region. By his own admission, the speakers themselves were difficult to work with, and the bias towards poetry in his own work rather than prose texts is mentioned as a potential obstacle to the deeper insight into the structure and vocabulary of the language they represent (Rhodokanakis 1980: v-ix). Despite these methodological difficulties, it is the lack of background information on the main informant which undermines the authenticity of the study as an accurate representation of Dhofārī Arabic. The obvious difficulties of carrying out fieldwork in the region, exemplified in the Süd Arabische expeditions of the late 19th century, lead to the conclusion that Rhodokanakis' study was at the forefront of linguistic research at that time, but at best it can only be described as documenting the dialect of its sole informant: a bedouin, bilingual Arabic-Shehrī speaker, who claimed to originate from the small coastal village of *ʕuqad*.

1.5.2 Arabic dialects

In trying to ascertain what kind of features to expect in CDA, a large number of different monographs, papers, and PhD theses were consulted in preparation for fieldwork in the region. To provide a complete overview of their conclusions and data here would be somewhat irrelevant to the preamble for this study. I provide more detail on how CDA relates to other south Arabian dialects of Arabic in chapter 8. A brief overview of their main approaches to documenting their sources is provided here though, along with a more general background to the dialects found in southern Arabia.

It is only since the early 1970s that the study of Arabic dialects in Arabia has started to flourish. Before that point, apart from occasional studies on specific communities, our knowledge was

restricted to such studies as those of the SüdArabische Expedition (section1.5.1), and other accounts contemporary with their time, such as Rossi (1939), and Landberg (1901, 1905 - 1913) in Yemen, or Reinhardt (1894) and Jayakar (1889) in northern Oman.

It was Johnstone who brought a fresh approach to the study of Arabia, notably in his volume (1967) on the Eastern Arabian dialects, in his quest to document the Gulf littoral koine which he believed to exist there. Johnstone' survey demonstrated that widespread data could be collected and analysed to reveal shared characteristics and linguistic traits amongst communities living in distinct regions of the peninsua. His study provided brief overviews of the littoral dialects of Qatar, the Trucial coast, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai, and explored aspects such as syllable structure, and the affrication of the voiceless velar and voiceless uvular plosives as shared features that were characteristic of larger groups of dialects. Johnstone hypothesised that the Peninsula could be divided up in four approximate areas, on the basis of phonological and morphological variation, and it is worth noting that, at that time, his own hypothesis was that Dhofār came under the same group of dialects as those in Yemen and the southwestern corner of the peninsula. He also cited the use of demonstratives which displayed grammatical agreement for feminine plural forms, for many of the dialects he encountered at that time. Through this sampling of specific dialectal features, what Johnstone demonstrated was that, with increasing accessibility to the peninsula becoming the norm, it was becoming possible to carry out a larger survey of what had been hitherto unknown.

In so far as it was Johnstone who initiated this approach to mapping Eastern Arabian shared features, it was Holes (1989) who approached the region of Oman as a whole with the same intention. Holes describes the need to ascertain information from fixed locations in order to be able to assess the 'dialect bundle' of the group as a whole. The definition of this dialect group is derived from those high-frequency features which all dialects in the group share. Based on his sample of forty speakers, it is Holes' analysis of what those high-frequency features are for northern Oman that is most relevant to this study. Neighbouring communities may share certain parts of this dialect bundle, perhaps two or three common features, but it only when all of these criteria have been met, that a homogenous group can said to exist. Given the considerable distance from Dhofār to the northern communities of Oman, it was unlikely that Dhofāri Arabic would share the same dialect bundle as those dialects in the North, but it provided a means of establishing feature boundaries with other dialects which could assist in defining my own area of study. The categorising features of northern Omani dialects are the 2FS possessive/object suffix (section 3.6.2), an /-in(n)/ infix between an active participle having verbal force and its object pronoun, absence of the *gahawa* reduction (2.7.1), regular occurrence of feminine plural verbs, adjectives, and pronoun forms (sections (4.3), (3.1.5.2), (3.6)), and finally, the presence of the *ablaut* passive voice in basic derived verbs. I have included references for the discussion of those same features which occurred in this study, and from which I could differentiate speakers in the early part of my study.

The final study which had a major impact on my approach to fieldwork was that of Watson (1993), and her comprehensive coverage of syntax in Ṣanʕānī Arabic. Although the notion of dialect bundle features assisted me greatly during my initial research period, helping to both identify speakers I wished to document as well as features which I could consider to be from elsewhere, it was quantity and quality of data which would be essential in documenting CDA. Watson's study is rich in data, with comprehensive coverage of all aspects of syntax, and provides an insight into the community she recorded. Given my own aspirations for this study, I hope to emulate this as far a possible.

1.6 Methodology

In section (1.5.1) on the previous studies carried out on the Arabic of Dhofār, and in section (1.3) on the socio-economic history of the region, the purpose of this overview has been to highlight both the existence of a historical, sedentary Arabic-speaking group on Dhofār's coastal strip, and to illustrate that existing studies have not recorded and described this dialect. Given the pressures exerted by rapid expansion, modern development, and the influx of non-Arabic speaking communities into the original, geographical speech environment of coastal Dhofārī Arabic (CDA), the principal aim of this study was to both identify and record this dialect in its current state. As relatively little was known about the speakers of this dialect before undertaking this study, one of the most important tasks was to map out the current communities which still use CDA before recruiting informants to record.

In terms of data collection, a functional-typological approach was taken to the data, in that the major functional categories and universals that were expected to exist in CDA (based on other Arabic dialect studies) or any other language, would form the core analytical structure of this current study. By focusing on function rather than form, this approach allows a broader analysis to be made, covering a wide array of different functions which can be analysed to reveal the forms that function within them. The main research tool chosen to elicit my initial data recordings was an adapted version of the linguistic questionnaire used for the Romani Project at the University of Manchester, which has, to date, documented over 110 different Romani dialects across a vast geographical area *http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk* (last accessed 03/03/2013). The questionnaire itself is designed to elicit functional categories of data which can then be analysed both for individual dialects, and also as a comparative tool across dialect groups. In terms of CDA, this approach was appealing as it allowed the structured collection of data which could then be compared between speakers to develop a detailed map of the main features of CDA.

As with the Romani Project questionnaire, the adapted version for this study consisted of three main data types: a basic lexicon consisting of around 300 items, a series of conjugated verb paradigms, and over 750 individual sample phrases. Each entry in the questionnaire was placed in a single spreadsheet, and given a specific linguistic tag for its corresponding function, which

would enable the retrieval of functional categories for analysis. Transcribed data could also be searched for specific forms, and speaker comparison could be easily facilitated as well.

The original questionnaire was adapted in two main respects. Firstly, a review of current studies on comparative Arabic dialectology and specific Arabic dialects was made, to ensure that the questionnaire would cover any anomalous categories which might not be present in Romani, or which the original questionnaire may not elicit. As the original questionnaire was also written in English, the revised list of items was translated into Modern Standard Arabic, and checked to ensure that the original functions of each phrase were still present in translation. The choice of converting the questionnaire into Modern Standard Arabic was made as there was no certainty that the questionnaire could be recorded in English once in Dhofār. This created difficulties itself as it also assumed that informants would fully understand the Modern Standard Arabic translated phrases, and that their own responses would not be influenced by the elicitation language used.

In order to test the potential problems with this data collection approach, a pilot study was carried out in Manchester and Liverpool to record different dialect speakers.[7] In light of the potential influence of Modern Standard Arabic in this process, speakers were recorded using English as the language of elicitation, as well as MSA, and early comparative analysis of the results did not raise any major difficulties with this approach. One positive aspect of using MSA was that it eliminated the influence of my own spoken Arabic, which was heavily influenced by Egyptian Arabic through studying there.

My first fieldwork visit was made to Dhofār in Jan-April 2010, where I was introduced by previously established contacts to several informants who were willing to participate in the study. The majority of questionnaires were recorded using MSA as the elicitation language, but, where informants were able to comfortably understand the English version of the questionnaire, this was used in preference so as to be able to assess the influence of MSA on the dialectal responses generated. I was also fortunate to be able to record the spoken Arabic responses of an educated Sheḥrī speaker, and a bilingual speaker whose mother's first language was English, but who had been schooled and was fluent in MSA. The benefit of recording these two additional participants was that it allowed me to construct a more refined profile of the speakers I was aiming to record, and collect data that was representative of a specific community.
My choice of informants was based on two main criteria: where the speaker lived, and their main spoken language. All the speakers included in this study were inhabitants of either Ṣalāla, il-Ḥāfa, ʕuqad, or Ṭāqa, and had lived in these areas as children. In their family homes, they had grown up speaking Arabic as their main language, and, except for one elderly speaker in ʕuqad, all had received a formal education to at least the secondary school level. A summary of

7 A total number of eight informants participated in this pilot study – two Egyptian Arabic speakers from Cairo, a Yemeni speaker from Marib, two Iraqi speakers from Baghdad and Basra respectively, a Saudi Arabian speaker from Riyadh, and a Jordanian speaker from Kerak.

the participants in this study appears below.

Speaker	Gender	Age	Origin	Education	Languages spoken
1	M	30-39	Ṣalāla	University	Arabic, English
2	M	30-39	Ṣalāla	University	Arabic, English
3	M	30-39	il-Ḥāfa	Secondary	Arabic
4	M	30-39	Ṣalāla	Secondary	Arabic
5	F	30-39	Ṣalāla	University	Arabic
6	M	30-39	Ṣalāla	Secondary	Arabic, Sheḥrī
7	F	20-29	Ṣalāla	University	Arabic, English
8	M	30-39	ʕuqad	Secondary	Arabic
9	M	50-59	ʕuqad	Secondary	Arabic
10	M	30-39	Ṭāqa	University	Arabic
11	M	30-39	Ṭāqa	Secondary	Arabic
12	M	50-59	Ṭāqa	Secondary	Arabic
13	M	40-49	Ṭāqa	Secondary	Arabic
14	F	60-69	ʕuqad	None	Arabic

Table 1: Participant metadata

Completed questionnaires were recorded with eleven out of fourteen speakers detailed above, with each questionnaire creating between 3.5 – 4.5 hours of audio material. In addition to the questionnaire material, free speech recordings were also made with these individuals, as well as for the three informants who were unwilling or unable to complete the questionnaire. These longer narratives covered a range of topics, such as changes in the local environment, wedding and festival preparations, local history, and stories concerning the supernatural, allowing for the analysis of connected speech and verification of the authenticity of the elicited questionnaire material.

Once the questionnaires had been completed, the corresponding dialect responses of the informants were transcribed and entered into a single spreadsheet for each informant. Speaker metadata was also added to the corresponding spreadsheet, along with any additional observations which may have arisen during recording sessions, for example lexical items. Speaker permission for the use of these recordings in the present study was also recorded, usually as part of the final recording session. Return fieldwork visits were then made to Ṣalāla in August 2010, and January 2011 to verify the transcription of the questionnaire data and obtain further free speech recordings. A final trip in January 2012 was also made for the purposes of transcribing some of the more difficult free speech recordings, with the assistance of several speakers who had taken part in the questionnaire recordings.

The majority of the recording sessions were carried out at my own residence, or at the

residences of the informant. Some of the free speech recordings were made at local venues, often with several speakers present. The digital recordings were made on a solid-state Marantz PMD 661 recorder, using an Audio Technica AT8033 unidirectional microphone. The recordings were made at a 16bit 44.100 khz sample rate, and saved in the WAV format. Archives of the recordings were then stored securely on the University of Manchester computer servers.

1.7 Concluding remarks, and recommendations for further study

I conclude this chapter with a summary of the main aspects of CDA which arise in the coming chapters, and suggestions for where further research could be carried out, both in Oman, and also with the collected data which already exists. The aim of this chapter was to provide background to the study, both in terms of the speech community it represents, and also the importance of language documentation. A short account of the geography, environment, and social history of Dhofār has accompanied this as well.

In chapter two I look at the phonology of CDA. It has features which are recognisable in other dialects spoken in Oman and Yemen, such the retention of the interdentals /*θ*/, /*ð*/, and /*ḍ*/, as well as the voiceless uvular plosive /*q*/, which is rare outside of the region (Holes 2004: 81). It also exhibits a phenomenon known as *imāla*, where the vowel quality in a word-final syllable is raised, which local speakers consider to be the most prominent feature of their language, along with their lexical variations.

Chapter three deals with nominal morphology and the noun phrase in CDA . Like those Omani dialects found in the north, CDA displays a regular use of feminine plural pronouns and adjectives, in addition to demonstratives which also inflect for masculine and feminine agreement. Demonstratives also exhibit two types of plural form, which may have had some additional function historically. CDA also displays 'kaškaša', where the 2FS pronoun suffix is realised as voiceless postalveolar fricative /*š*/.

Chapter four deals with verbal morphology, where again, feminine plural inflection is common. Verbal inflection usually retains the final /*n*/ its imperfective plural and feminine singular suffixes.

Chapters five and six are concerned with the expression of local and temporal relations, and the function of prepositions and adverbs in expressing these concepts.

Chapter seven looks at basic nominal and verbal clauses, their word orders, and the means by which complex clause combinations are formed.

Chapter eight looks at CDA from the perspective of grammaticalization theory, including possessive linkers, adverbs, and a variety of TAM marker

Chapters nine and ten provide a word list, and a narrative sample text.

In terms of further research, many of the items listed in the brief outline above warrant further investigation within the data that has already been recorded. One drawback to the study is that no acoustic analysis has yet been made of the recordings, and vowel sounds are an approximation. It would be beneficial to have accurate values for many of the vowel raising features that occur, as well as examining *CCC* consonant clusters where assimilation does not require the insertion of an epenthetic vowel.

This study would also benefit from further research into the functionality of demonstratives and possessive linkers, as there is some evidence to suggest that CDA may retain vestiges of more complex systems.

The final suggestion for further research would be to document the CDA lexicon in more detail, particularly in terms of traditional activities which are quickly disappearing, such as agricultural and farming terminology, and that of fishing communities.

2 Phonology

This chapter presents the main phonological features of Coastal Dhofāri Arabic. It begins with a detailed discussion of the segmental consonant inventory of CDA, including examples of each phoneme in initial, medial, and final word positions, as well as phoneme gemination and devoicing where applicable. This is followed by a description of the vowel system present in CDA. Where data is available, consonantal and vocalic phoneme variations from across the wider Dhofār region are noted, in addition to localised variations within the sample community residing on the coast. The chapter then discusses the suprasegmental phonology of CDA, detailing syllabification and consonant clusters, in addition to further basic prosodic and phonotactic features.

2.1 CDA consonant inventory

The consonant inventory of CDA consists of 27 major consonants, which can be divided into eight stops, 13 fricatives, two nasals, one lateral, one trill, and two glides. CDA retains certain features that existed in the Old Arabic consonant inventory, most notably the interdental phonemes /θ/, /ð/, the pharyngealised /ð̣/, and the voiceless uvular plosive stop /q/.[8] Although comparison with Old Arabic is made in the following remarks through indirect comparison via MSA, this is not in itself diachronic, and only serves indirectly as a diachronic argument, assuming that the conservatism of MSA is analogous to this former stage. In addition to the main consonant phonemes, there are two further marginal phonemes which will also be discussed. These appear as specific citation forms in certain religious set phrases, or as voiced variants of voiceless phonemes that are restricted to certain lexical items.

Gemination, or consonant doubling, is restricted for all consonants to word-medial and word-final positions, although gemination of word-initial consonants can occur following prefixation of the definite article, as a result of regressive assimilation for which specific rules apply (see 2.8).

In pre-pausal or utterance-final environments, word-final gemination generally undergoes final consonant neutralisation unless in formal speech, which can be summarised by the rule $C_3 \rightarrow \varnothing$ / $\_C_2\ C_3$ # where $C_2 = C_3$.[9] However, where gemination occurs in word-medial position as a result of a derivational process, or by the addition of a vowel-initial enclitic e.g possessive/object clitic to an underlying word-final position geminate consonant, it is retained. In such forms, the geminate consonant appears as the coda and onset of adjoining syllables, and maintains syllabification. In word-final geminate forms where consonant-initial clitics are added, word-

8 Holes (2004: 70-73) The preservation of these interdental phonemes is common amongst Bedouin-style dialects in the eastern Arab world, features which have merged with their corresponding dental forms in many other dialects.

9 Holes (2004: 62). One general exception to this are geminate stop forms, where the stop closure is noticeably lengthened.

medial CCC clusters may occur (section 2.7.2).[10]

Transcription	IPA	MSA	Description
/b/	[b]	ب	voiced bilabial plosive stop
/t/	[t]	ت	voiceless alveolar plosive stop
/d/	[d]	د	voiced alveolar plosive stop
/ṭ/	[tˤ]	ط	voiceless alveolar plosive pharyngeal stop
/k/	[k]	ك	voiceless velar plosive stop
/g/	[g]	ج	voiced velar plosive stop
/q/	[q]	ق	voiceless uvular plosive stop
/'/	[ʔ]	ء	voiceless glottal plosive stop
/f/	[f]	ف	voiceless labiodental fricative
/θ/	[θ]	ث	voiceless interdental fricative
/ð/	[ð]	ذ	voiced interdental fricative
/ḏ/	[ðˤ]	ظ / ض [11]	voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative
/s/	[s]	س	voiceless alveolar fricative
/z/	[z]	ز	voiced alveolar fricative
/ṣ/	[sˤ]	ص	voiceless alveolar pharyngeal fricative
/š/	[ʃ]	ش	voiceless postalveolar fricative
/x/	[χ]	خ	voiceless velar fricative
/ġ/	[ɣ]	غ	voiced velar fricative
/ḥ/	[ħ]	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/ʕ/	[ʕ]	ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/h/	[h]	ه	voiceless glottal fricative
/m/	[m]	م	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	[n]	ن	voiced alveolar nasal
/l/	[l]	ل	voiced alveolar lateral approximant
/r/	[ɾ]	ر	voiced alveolar flap
/y/	[j]	ي	voiced palatal approximant
/w/	[w]	و	voiced labial-velar approximant

Table 2.1: CDA main consonants

Transcription	IPA	MSA	Description
/ž/	[ʒ]	ﮊ[12]	voiced postalveolar fricative
/ḷ/	[lˤ]	ل	voiced alveolar pharyngeal lateral approximant

Table 2.2: CDA marginal consonants

10 All underlying geminate forms are given in the discussion, regardless of their realisation.

11 In MSA and many Arabic dialects, the voiced interdental fricative found in CDA is differentiated as two separate phonemes: a voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative [ðˤ] and a voiced pharyngeal alveolar plosive stop [dˤ]. The Arabic script for both MSA phonemes is included here to reflect this.

12 ﮊ is a modified Arabic letter, and is used occasionally to represent the phoneme [ʒ]. This phoneme can also be represented in written Persian and Kurdish as ژ .

	Plosive	Fricative	Nasal	Lateral	Flap	Approximant
Labial	b		m			
Labio-dental		f				
Inter-dental		θ ð				
Dental-alveolar	t d	s z	n	l	ɾ	
- pharyngealised	tˤ	sˤ ðˤ				
Palatal-alveolar		ʃ				j
Velar	k g	x ɣ				
Uvular	q					
Pharyngeal		ħ ʕ				
Glottal	ʻ	h				
Labial-velar						w

Table 2.3: CDA consonantal phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Stops

Voiced bilabial plosive stop /b/

The voiced bilabial plosive stop /b/, [b], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
b*axīl* 'stingy'	*ka****b****š* 'lamb' (M)	*ðabō****b*** 'flies' (n.)	*ṣa****bb*** 'he poured'
b*arūda* 'cold'	*kuz****b****ara* 'coriander'	*ġubū****b*** 'plough yoke'	*ða****bb****ūr* 'wasp'

Table 2.4: Voiced bilabial plosive stop /b/

In pre-pausal / utterance final environments, word-final position /b/ is usually devoiced, where [b] has an approximate realisation as [p], e.g. *qalb* 'heart', *kaʕb* 'heel'.

Voiceless alveolar plosive stop /t/

The voiceless alveolar plosive stop /t/, [t], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
t*innār* 'baking oven'	*ki****t****āb* 'book'	*xu****t*** 'sister'	*i****tt****iṣal* 'he rang'
t*ēs* 'billy-goat'	*bus****t****ān* 'garden'	*qō****t*** 'food, meal'	*bi****tt*** 'girl'

Table 2.5: Voiceless alveolar plosive stop /t/

Voiced alveolar plosive stop /d/

The voiced alveolar plosive stop /d/, [d], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
d*awīl* 'old (people)'	*maṣ****d****ara* 'shirt'	*mārū****d***[13] 'unwell, ill'	*qu****dd****ām* 'in front of'
d*ilf* 'rock'	*ga****d****īd* 'new'	*qālī****d*** 'key'	*xa****dd*** 'cheek'

Table 2.6: Voiced alveolar plosive stop /d/

In pre-pausal / utterance final environments, word-final position /d/, where [d] has an approximate realisation as [t], e.g. *ṣēd* 'fish', *gild* 'skin'.

Voiceless alveolar plosive pharyngeal stop /ṭ/

The voiceless alveolar plosive pharyngeal stop /ṭ/, [tˤ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
ṭ*īn* 'soil, earth'	*ḥa****ṭ****īṭ* 'thin'	*basī****ṭ*** 'easy'	*xa****ṭṭ*** 'letter'
ṭ*arbāl* 'mat'	*nu****ṭ****fa* 'drop'	*ṣara****ṭ*** 'he swallowed'	*qa****ṭṭ****ēṭ* 'perhaps'

Table 2.7: Voiced alveolar plosive stop /d/

Voiceless velar plosive stop /k/

The voiceless velar plosive stop /k/, [k], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
k*aḥḥ* 'he coughed'	*sit****k****āna* 'tea glass	*yimsa****k*** 'he catches'	*b-ašu****kk*** 'I doubt'
k*arfiya* 'bed'	*su****k****ūn* 'village'	*diyā****k*** 'cockerels'	*du****kk****ān* 'shop'

Table 2.8: Voiceless velar plosive stop /k/

Voiced velar plosive stop /g/

The voiced velar plosive stop /g/, [g], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

13 'mārūd' is derived from the triconsonantal root *w-r-d*, placed within the derivational template *mvCCvC*. This root in CDA carries the lexical content of 'to be rosy, red, flushed (cheek)', and refers to a general sense of ill-health. It is not to be confused with 'marīḍ', which is derived from the triconsonantal root *m-r-ḍ* and specifies a more serious state of illness.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
g*abha* 'forehead'	*li****g****ala* 'calf' (FS)	*zō****g*** 'husband'	*ri****gg****āl* 'man'
gī*b* 'pocket'	*ḥag****g****il* 'eyebrow'	*ʕara****g*** 'lame'	*tu****gg****ār* 'traders'

Table 2.9: Voiced velar plosive stop /g/

Voiceless uvular plosive stop /q/

The voiceless uvular plosive stop /q/, [q], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
q*aṭiyaʕ* 'cattle*′*'	*bu****q****aʕ* 'place'	*ḥal****q*** 'neck, gullet'	*ḥa****qq*** 'truth'
q*ālīd* 'keys'	*bar****q****ūq* 'plums'	*sanbū****q*** 'boat'	*atawa****qq****aʕ* 'I expect'

Table 2.10: Voiceless uvular plosive stop /q/

Voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʻ/

The voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʻ/, [ʔ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. This phoneme is more present in formal or careful speech (public speaking, local radio broadcasts, television, commerce etc.), that is speech where there is greater conformity to MSA. In such cases its occurrence is comparable with MSA. There were no recorded occurrences of gemination for /ʻ/ in the data collected.

Occurrences of the voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʻ/ in informal speech are restricted to certain circumstances similar to those found in MSA, otherwise the stop is either replaced with a compensatory long vowel or glide, and omitted.[14] The phoneme /ʻ/ can also be present in lexical borrowings, and, although only one example of this occurs in the data, *bḥō′* 'never', it is common amongst coastal speakers. The examples below represent an overview of the occurrence of /ʻ/, and, for ease of comparison, MSA equivalents are given alongside the CDA data to show the variations between formal and informal speech.

14 This is a common feature found in other spoken Arabic varieties. See Watson (2002: 18-19).

Word-initial position

Example	MSA	CDA	/ʿ/ status
'family'	*ʿahl*	*hal*	absent
'sister'	*ʿuxt*	*xut*	
'brother'	*ʿax*	*xō*	
'someone'	*ʿaḥad*	*ḥad*	

Table 2.11: Voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʿ/, word initial

In word-initial position, /ʿ/ is usually absent in CDA, examples of which are given above. Underlying $C_1aC_2C_3$ pattern forms are realised as $C_1aC_2aC_3$, in particular where C_2 is an uvular, laryngeal, or pharyngeal consonant. Subsequently in the resulting pattern, where /ʿ/ occurs in C_1 position, it is omitted.[15] In the data sample, word-initial /ʿ/ forms were more common in speech collected from Ṣalāla speakers, and this may be indicative of greater influence from MSA in their speech.

Word-medial position

Example	MSA	CDA	/ʿ/ status
'he asked'	*saʿal*	*saʿal*	present
'angry'	*mustaʿamī*	*mustaʿamī*	
'question'	*suʿāl*	*suwāl*	absent
'president'	*raʿīs*	*rayīs*	
'head'	*raʿs*	*rās*	absent
'tail'	*ðiʿb*	*ðīb*	

Table 2.12: Voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʿ/, word-medial

In word medial position, /ʿ/ is present where it occurs between two identical short vowels, as shown in *saʿal* and *mustaʿamī*. In the remaining examples, where /ʿ/ occurs between vowels that differ in quality and length, it is omitted and replaced with a glide, as with *suwāl* and *rayīs*. For *rās* and *ðīb*, /ʿ/ occurs in a pre-consonant position, and is replaced with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

15 This is also an irregular feature occurring in some northern Omani dialects, in particular the dialects of Buraymi and 'Ibrī. See Holes (2008: 481).

Word-final position

Example	MSA	CDA	/ʿ/ status
'light'	*ḍawʿ*	*ḍōʿ*	present
'shadow '	*fayʿ*	*fēʿ*	
'never'	---	*bḥoʿ*	

Table 2.13: Voiceless glottal plosive stop /ʿ/, word-final

Word-final /ʿ/ is irregular, and is usually restricted to pre-pausal environments. The first two examples given above occur after the monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ (see 2.2.3), whilst the final example is an eastern coastal MSAL loanword.[16]

2.1.2 Fricatives

Voiceless labiodental fricative /f/

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, [f], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
f*aʕur* 'bull'	*yid****f****aʕ* 'he pays'	*yišū****f*** 'he sees'	*na****ff*** 'rain shower'
f*arx* 'chick'	*ṣa****f****riya* 'cooking pot'	*xalā****f*** 'windows'	*ka****ff*** 'hand'

Table 2.14: Voiceless labiodental fricative /f/

Voiceless interdental fricative /θ/

The voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, [θ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
θ*ūm* 'mouth'	*ʿak****θ****ar* 'more'	*θalā****θ****a* 'three'	*mama****θθ****al* 'actor'
θ*iyāb* 'clothes'	*mi****θ****l* 'like'	*miḥrā****θ*** 'plough'	*wa****θθ****aq* 'believe!' (2MS)

Table 2.15: Voiceless interdental fricative /θ/

16 MSAL loanwords occur frequently in CDA, in particular amongst speakers who originate from communities that reside on the immediate coast. This is particularly noticeable in the CDA spoken in Ṭaqa, where historically close ties were maintained with MSAL-speaking tribes.

Voiced interdental fricative /ð/

The voiced interdental fricative /ð/, [ð], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
ðēl 'tail'	*gi**ð**aʕ* 'trunk (of palm tree)'	*gara**ð*** 'mouse, rat'	*ḥa**ðð**arūn-ū* 'they warned him'
***ð**abbūr* 'wasp'	*hā**ð**ik* 'that' (FS)	*raðā**ð*** 'drizzle (rain)'	*tḥa**ðð**ar* 'be careful!' (2MS)

Table 2.16: Voiced interdental fricative /ð/

Voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative /ð̣/

The voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative /ð̣/, [ðˤ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant. This consonantal phoneme represents the merging of two OA phonemes, a voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative [ðˤ], and a voiced alveolar pharyngeal plosive stop [dˤ]. This phonemic differentiation is usually found in the recital of religious texts and formal speech, but is reduced to a voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative in both informal and formal CDA.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***ð̣**āna* 'ewe'	*ʕa**ð̣**īm* 'bones'	*qē**ð̣*** 'hot season, summer'	*ḥa**ð̣ð̣*** 'luck'
***ð̣**ēf* 'guest'	*nið̣ḥak* 'we laugh'	*ġalī**ð̣*** 'fat'	*fið̣**ð̣**a* 'silver'

Table 2.17: Voiced interdental pharyngeal fricative /ð̣/

Voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, [s], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***s**āqiya* 'brook'	*ʕa**s**ar* 'left-handed'	*xāyi**s*** 'bad'	*xa**ss*** 'worse'
***s**arb* 'spring, harvest time'	*bi**s**bās* 'pepper'	*hawāgi**s*** 'ideas'	*ka**ss**ar* 'he smashed'

Table 2.18: Voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

Voiced alveolar fricative /z/

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/, [z], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***z**ūliya* 'carpet (wall-to-wall)'	*maʕ**z**aqa* 'hoe'	*ʕagū**z*** 'old woman'	*ma**zz*** 'he smoked'
***z**aʕtar* 'thyme '	*mag**z**ara* 'butcher's knife'	*ru**z*** 'rice'	*ḥa**zz**ān* 'cistern'

Table 2.19: Voiced alveolar fricative /z/

Voiceless alveolar pharyngeal fricative /ṣ/

The voiceless alveolar pharyngeal fricative /ṣ/, [sˤ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***ṣ**ūṭ* 'driver's whip'	*qumṣān* 'clothes'	*yirqa**ṣ*** 'he dances'	*mara**ṣṣ*** 'plough yoke'
***ṣ**aǵīra* 'girl'	*qa**ṣ**ar* 'house (three-storey)'	*raxī**ṣ*** 'cheap'	*nu**ṣṣ*** 'half'

Table 2.20: Voiceless alveolar pharyngeal fricative /ṣ/

Voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/

The voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/, [ʃ] can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***š**ims*[17] 'sun'	*batar**š**āx* 'heavy rain'	*gaha**š*** 'foal'	*tma**šš**a* 'he roamed'
***š**axaṭ* 'matches'	*ha**š**kīk* 'wooded area'	*ǵarā**š*** 'water bottles'	*ḥa**šš*** 'habitual liar'

Table 2.21: Voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/

Voiceless velar fricative /x/

The voiceless velar fricative /x/, [x], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

17 The variation *šimš* can also appear, although many speakers consider this to be an incorrect form.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
x*ō* 'brother'	*yiš****x****ar* 'he snores'	*xū****x*** 'peach'	*du****xx****ān* 'smoke'
x*ušum* 'nose'	*ra****x****la* 'lamb' (FS)	*far****x*** 'chick'	*muta'a****xx****ar* 'late'

Table 2.22: Voiceless velar fricative /x/

Voiced velar fricative /ġ/

The voiced velar fricative /ġ/, [ɣ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
ġ*uyūm* 'clouds'	*ṣa****ġ****īr* 'small'	*maṣbū****ġ*** 'painted'	*muša****ġġ****al* 'employee'
ġ*arša* 'bottle '	*b-ašta****ġ****al* 'I am working'	*šar****ġ****a* 'desire'	*ša****ġġ****āb* 'troublemaker'

Table 2.23: Voiced velar fricative /ġ/

Voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/

The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/, [ħ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
ḥ*āfa* 'town quarter, edge'	*taḥt* 'under, south'	*gū****ḥ*** 'water melons'	*ðaḥḥ****ī****n* 'now'
ḥ*igra* 'room'	*šaḥbal* 'chameleon'	*milḥ* 'salt'	*šaḥḥ****ā****m* 'ear lobes'

Table 2.24: Voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ḥ/

Voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/

The voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, [ʕ] can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It does not appear as a geminate consonant in the collected data.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
ʕ*uyūn* 'eyes'	*wa****ʕ****iya* 'stuff'	*za****ʕ*** 'vomit'	----
ʕ*awār* 'blind'	*sa****ʕ****āmīr* 'bats'	*raga****ʕ*** 'he returned'	----

Table 2.25: Voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/

Voiceless glottal fricative /h/

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/, [h], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can

appear as a geminate consonant in word-medial position, but there are no recorded instances of gemination in word-final position.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***h**arān* 'car horn'	*maṭ**h**ar* 'toilet'	*wigī**h*** 'faces'	*gu**hh**āl* 'children'
***h**owīn* 'easy'	*ði**h**n* 'mind'	*mra**h*** 'woman'	*fa**hh**am-nī* 'he made me understand'

Table 2.26: Voiceless glottal fricative /h/

In word-final, pre-pausal position, either as an integral lexical phoneme or pronoun suffix, /h/ is lightly aspirated. However in uninterrupted free speech, /h/ is usually absent in these positions.

2.1.3 Nasals

Voiced bilabial nasal /m/

The voiced bilabial nasal /m/, [m], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***m**ahar* 'dowry'	*gi**m**al* 'camel'	*zara**m*** 'angry'	*da**mm*** 'blood'
***m**ariya* 'necklace'	*ar**m**ala* 'widow'	*yō**m*** 'day'	*ḥa**mm**āla* 'sling'

Table 2.27: Voiced bilabial nasal /m/

In pre-pausal and word-final positions, /m/ can be considerably devoiced.

Voiced alveolar nasal /n/

The voiced alveolar nasal /n/, [n], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***n**ūba* 'bee'	*ar**n**ab* 'rabbit'	*matī**n*** 'thick'	*si**nn**āra* 'cat' (FS)
***n**awā* 'date stone'	*mi**n**āra* 'minaret'	*ḥaṣā**n*** 'horses'	*magi**nn**e* 'cemetery'

Table 2.28: Voiced alveolar nasal /n/

In pre-pausal and word-final positions, /n/ can be considerably devoiced.

2.1.4 Laterals

Voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/

The voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/, [l], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
l*abān* 'milk'	*da****l****aġ* 'sock'	*hagū****l*** 'bracelets'	*ġa****ll****ēt* 'fog'
l*amba* 'lamp'	*magl**i**s* 'living room'	*sāḥi****l*** 'beach'	*ši****ll****ēt* 'I took'

Table 2.29: Voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/

/l/ is occasionally substituted with the voiced alveolar flap /r/, but this appears to be fixed to a small number of lexical items, such as */*sbītal*/ > /*sbītar*/ 'hospital, */*dahalīz*/ > /*daharīz*/ 'narrow ground-floor building, local place-name', and */*yā lēt*/ > /*yā rēt*/ 'If only, I wish'.

2.1.5 Flaps

Voiced alveolar flap /r/

The voiced alveolar flap /r/, [ɾ], can appear in initial, medial, and final positions. It can also appear as a geminate consonant.

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
r*igl* 'leg'	*ḥu****r****ma* 'woman'	*saʕma****r*** 'bat (mammal)'	*bu****rr*** 'wheat'
r*ubbāraḥ* 'yesterday'	*ðu****r****ūs* 'teeth'	*bī****r*** 'well (place)'	*ḥa****rr*** 'heat'

Table 2.30: Voiced alveolar flap /r/

2.1.6 Glides

Voiced palatal approximant /y/

The voiced palatal approximant /y/, [j], can appear in initial and medial positions, and also as a medial geminate. The phoneme occurs rarely in word-final position, with two of the most common examples given below, and this infrequency can be attributed to the MSA/OA short diphthong /ay/ beings monophthongised in CDA.[18]

18 The examples cited here occur mainly during instances of more formal speech, in particular *ey*, for which the CDA variant /ē/ is far more prevalent (see section 2.5).

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***y**amīn* 'right (direction)'	*bā**y**in* 'clear'	*ḥa**yy*** 'alive'	*muxa**yy**im-anā* 'our camp, our place'
***y**ābis* 'dry'	*ru**y**uq* 'breakfast'	***ey*** 'any'	*ḍi**yy**aq* 'narrow'

Table 2.31: Voiced palatal approximant /y/

Voiced labial-velar approximant /w/

As with the voiced palatal approximant /y/, the voiced labial-velar approximant /w/, [w], also appears in initial and medial positions, and as a medial geminate. The phoneme occurs rarely in word-final position, with two of the most common examples given below, and this can be attributed to the MSA/OA short diphthong /aw/ beings monophthongised in CDA.[19]

Initial	Medial	Final	Geminate
***w**alīd* 'boy'	*qa**w**ī* 'strong'	*la**w*** 'if'	*mufa**ww**ar* 'cooked'
***w**amiyan* 'thirsty'	*hē**w**ān* 'animal'	*a**w*** 'or'	*do**ww**ar* 'look (for something)!' (2FS)

Table 2.32: Voiced labial-velar approximant /w/

2.1.7 Marginal phonemes

Voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/

There are few recorded occurrences of the voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/ [ʒ], in the collected data, and it does not appear to be part of the original phoneme inventory of CDA. Due to its rare occurrence, it is difficult to determine whether this phoneme is restricted to any specific word position, although the instances detailed below suggest that this is not the case. The rare usage of /ž/ also suggests that its presence in CDA may have resulted from contact with other Arabic / non-Arabic speaking groups, possibly via loanwords although the etymology of the following examples remains unclear. /ž/ does not appear as a regular voiced allophone of the postalveolar fricative /š/, [ʃ].

***ž**aġbūl* / ***ž**aġābīl* 'lip(s)'	*mž**ē**mžī* 'fish soup (specific)'
***ž**a'iya'iya* / ***ž**u'aya'* 'crow(s)'	*bin **ž**amiya'a* 'tribal name'
*tfarra**ž**ax* 'to sit (legs apart, feet together)'	***ž**a'būb* 'tribal name'
*fu**ž**k* 'rude, rogue-like person'	*ba**ž**rān* 'tribal name'

Table 2.33: Voiced postalveolar fricative /ž/

19 The corresponding forms for *law* and *aw*, respectively *lō* and *wala*, occur more frequently in CDA (see section 2.5).

Voiced alveolar pharyngeal lateral approximant /ɭ/

The voiced alveolar pharyngeal lateral approximant /ɭ/, [lˤ], only appears as a geminate phoneme in the word ***aḷḷah*** 'God', or phrases containing the word as shown below. In rapid informal speech, the pharyngeal quality of this phoneme is reduced, whereas in formal speech it is more prominent.

ḥayyāk ***aḷḷah*** 'God sustains you'
subḥān ***aḷḷah*** 'Glorious is God'

2.1.8 Geographical variations of voiced velar plosive /g/, and voiced uvular plosive /q/ within Dhofār

In light of the recent socio-economic development of Dhofār mentioned in the introduction (1.3), and the greater freedom of movement that is now possible within Dhofār and beyond, phonemic variations can be found amongst Arabic speakers in Ṣalāla that reflect the presence of a variety of speakers who have migrated to the coast from across the wider region. The most common example of this can be found in the realisation of the phonemes /g/ and /q/.
Amongst the coastal communities, three distinct groups can be distinguished based on these two phonemes, and a summary of these can be found in Table 1.3 below.

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3[20]
Region	Coast	Coast / Mountains	Nejd
Language spoken	Arabic	Arabic / MSAL	Arabic
ج (Arabic script)	[g]	[dʒ]	[dʒ] or [j]
- example	*gimal* 'camel'	*dʒamal* 'camel'	*dʒamal* 'camel'
ق (Arabic script)	[q]	[q]	[g]
- example	*qaːl* 'he said'	*qaːl* 'he said'	*gaːl* 'he said'

Table 2.34: Regional variations of /g/ and /q/

Speakers from group 1, the main focus of this study, are mainly monolingual Arabic speakers, although some speakers have limited vocabulary in one MSAL, usually Sheḥri or Mehri. These speakers reside in one of the major conurbations on the coastal plain, and originate from older communities within this area.

Speakers from group 2 represent communities that would have traditionally resided in mountain

20 In Rhodokanakis (1911: 1-66), the realisation of these phonemes as predominantly [dʒ] and [g], suggests that the informant for Rhodokanakis' study spoke a dialect closely related to the Nejdi (group 3), although there are elements of Coastal (group 1) realisations for these phonemes recorded as well. Traditionally, seasonal longitudinal migration patterns based around the monsoon would have brought tribes from this northern region into contact with coastal speakers, and this may account for the variation in Rhodokanakis' informant.

communities to the north of the coastal plain. Since the end of the rebellion, many of these communities have moved to the coastal plain and Ṣalāla in particular, and as such they form a large part of the Arabic-speaking coastal community. Most speakers from this groups are bilingual, speaking either Sheḥri or Mehri as a first language, and Arabic as a language acquired through primary/secondary education in MSA, and/or employment in the state sector. As a result, their realisation of the phonemes /g/ and /q/, as [dʒ] and [q] respectively, mirrors the articulation of these phonemes in Modern Standard Arabic, and can easily be used as a distinguishing factor to distinguish between 1 and group 2 speakers. The geographical range of group 2 speakers extends beyond the coastal plain into the northern mountains, where speakers have often retained their farms, property, and extended family links.

Speakers from group 3 constitute the smallest group found in the coastal region, and are usually present due to employment. These speakers originate from the northern highlands of Dhofār between the edge of the mountain region and the beginning of the sands that lead up to the border of Oman. The majority of these speakers are from the settlements of Shisr and Thumrait. The articulation of these two phonemes as [dʒ] and [g] is attested to in Ḥaḍrāmi Arabic, and there is tentative evidence to suggest that there was a historical connection between these two regions.[21] As with group 1, group 3 speakers have some MSAL vocabulary MSAL. The palatoalveolar affricate [dʒ] is articulated amongst some group 3 speakers on the edge of the northern sands as a palatal glide [j], although this data was collected from secondary sources.

2.2 Vowel inventory

The vowel inventory of CDA consists of three short vowels, five long vowels, and two diphthongs. There are short and long vowels in CDA, and their corresponding allophones, can be found in tables 1.4 and 1.5 respectively, followed by a chart of CDA diphthongs and their allophones in table 1.5. The approximate articulations of individual short vowels and their allophones are discussed in sections (2.3.1 - 2.3.3), long vowels in sections (2.4.1 - 2.4.5), and finally diphthongs in sections (2.5).

Vowel	Allophones
/i/	[i], [ɪ]
/u/	[u], [ʊ]
/a/	[æ], [ɑ]

Table 2.35: CDA short vowel inventory

21 In al-Saqqaf (1999: 7), he cites al-Ḥafīẓ (1989: 5), and his definition of the Kathīri Arabic in northern Dhofār as being an extension of Ḥaḍrāmi Bedouin Arabic, although without specific examples. Al-Saqqāf adds (p.c.) that the intermediate desert scrub, or 'bādiya', that lies between the Dhofāri highlands and the Empty Quarter is often viewed as an extension of the same scrub region lying to the north of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. Despite the small amount of data from this region in this study, the articulation of these phonemes by speakers from group 3 reinforces this geographical link in light of al-Saqqāf's data.

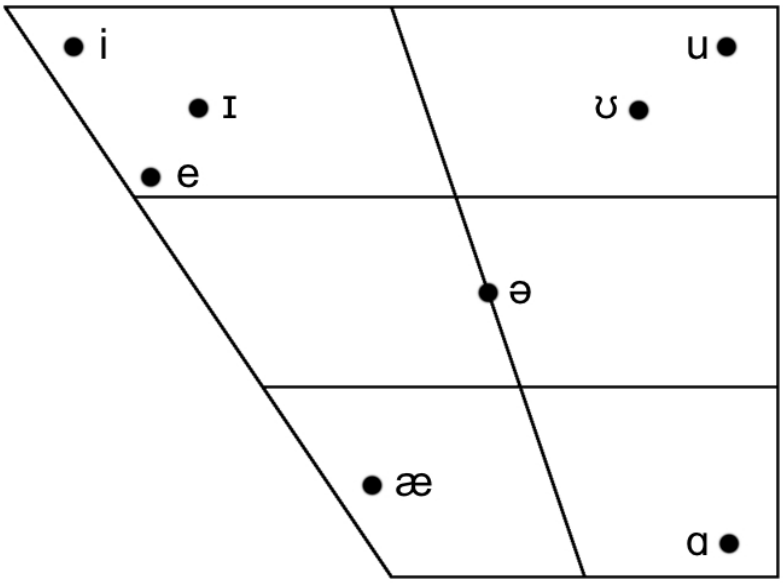


Figure 1: CDA short vowel trapezoid: realisations of /a/, /i/, and /u/

Vowel	Allophones
/ī/	[iː]
/ū/	[uː]
/ē/	[eː]
/ō/	[oː]
/ā/	[æː], [ɑː]

Table 2.36: CDA long vowel inventory

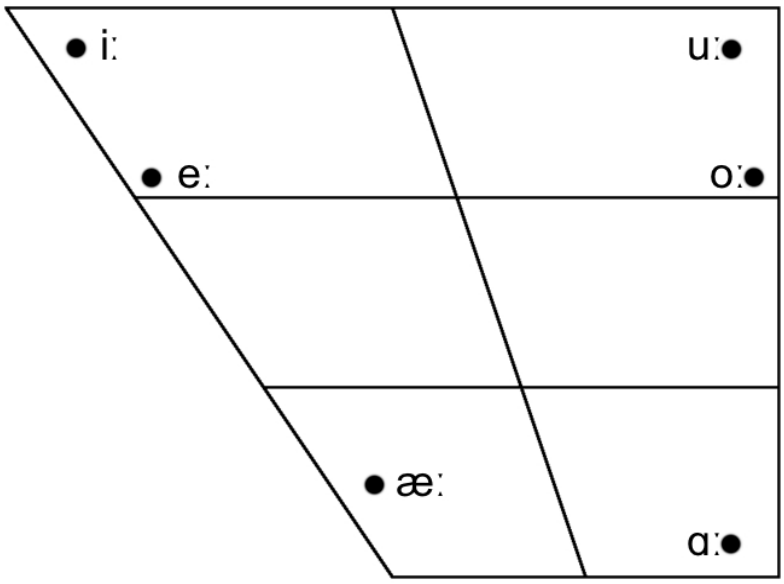


Figure 2: CDA long vowel trapezoid: realisations of /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, and /ō/

As stated previously concerning the variations of voiced velar plosive /g/, and voiced uvular plosive /q/, there is also geographical variation in the distribution of these vowels and their allophones amongst CDA speakers. This variation centres on a specific area of the coastal Dhofāri plain, namely its immediate coastline, amongst specific speaker groups who have remained their original community settlements despite the socio-economic changes that the area has witnessed during the past thirty years (see 1.3). However, the extent of this vowel differentiation between communities on the immediate coast and those further inland does not produce a clearly defining 'type A vs. type B' isogloss distinctions. It is more accurate to view these two geographical areas as containing speakers more likely to use one form of a long or short vowel over another. In the examples presented below, data from Ṭāqa and il-Ḥāfa represents the speech of communities living immediately on or near the beach (within 150 metres), whereas data from Ṣalāla represents the speech of communities living in the main urban settlements further inland (approx. 1-1.5 km). In all cases, vowel changes are in free variation and do not affect meaning, although their greater variability amongst some speakers is seen as one of the main characteristics that identifies a speaker as coastal rather than urban, and as a genuine speaker of CDA within the larger speech community.

2.2.1 Imāla - vowel fronting and raising

The main vowel variations that are present amongst CDA speakers can be accurately described as following the rules of *imāla*, that is, the fronting and raising of the short vowel /a/ and its corresponding long form /ā/.[22] This phenomenon in CDA exists in many other Arabic dialects both within the Arabian Peninsula, and beyond, where the resulting forms of the short vowel /a/ has qualities that range from [ie] to either [e] or [i], depending on the dialect in question. Similar values also occur for the long vowel /ā/. Within Oman, *imāla* is also present in some of the northern dialects of the Bātina and Šarqiyya, and its distribution across the region appears to be limited to communities living on the seaward side of mountain ranges[23]. The existence of *imāla* in CDA is consistent with this pattern.

Using the approach of Owen's (2006), *imāla* in CDA will be described here as the default quality of the vowel, unless inhibiting phonemes and/or conditions are present.[24] A summary of the inhibiting factors in CDA will be provided for each variation in *imāla,* but Owen's general overview of these factors in the Arabic dialects of eastern Libya, Malta, and the Mesopotamian *qeltu* dialects are given below.[25]

During data collection, CDA speakers recognised *imāla* as being one of the main identifying features of CDA, in particular amongst speakers from il-Ḥāfa and Ṭāqa. Whilst the free speech

22 *Imāla* (lit. 'bending, inclining'), is a phenomenon first detailed by the eighth-century Arabic grammarian Sibawayh, and outlined in his work *al-Kitāb*. For a detailed discussion of *imāla* in Sibawayh and modern Arabic dialects, see Owens (2006: 197-229).
23 Holes (2008: 481).
24 Owens (2006: 226).
25 Owens (2006: 212).

recordings made with Ṣalāla speakers reflected this feature only rarely, during elicited questionnaire-based sessions speakers would often produce single lexical items that reflect long vowel raising and fronting from [æː] to [iː], usually as variations or alternatives that speakers consider to be 'older' or 'more original'. These lexical *CV̄C* raised forms were not reproduced when the same items were elicited within sample phrases, suggesting that *imāla* is no longer a prominent characteristic feature amongst speakers in Ṣalāla's Arabic-speaking urban communities. The presence of *imāla* amongst CDA speakers from Ṭāqa and il-Ḥāfa is more consistent, and instances of *imāla* were produced more frequently in their first response to lexical item elicitation, with the same 'raised' forms also occurring in sample phrases. However, despite the prominence of *imāla* in the speech of those communities living directly on the coast, the shifts [æː] to [iː], [æ] to [i], and [æ] to [e] within these communities is not predictable in the recorded data, and can fluctuate between *imāla* and non-*imāla* forms for the same lexical item. During the numerous informal conversations I observed between speakers from both areas, usually as part of regular social gatherings in the evening, no documented instances of *imāla* between mixed-speaker groups occurred (either as majority of Ṣalāla speakers, or as an approximately balanced group of Ṣalāla and Ṭāqa speakers), unless during discussion of *imāla* itself.

The following rules summarise the inhibiting factors which prevent *imāla* occurring. The discussion of the vowel variation in CDA due to *imāla* then follows where applicable in the description of each short and long vowel.

1. /ā/ is realised as [ie], although variations such as [eː] and [iː] are found in modern dialects.
2. *Imāla* is conditioned by an /i/ in a neighbouring syllable.
3. *Imāla* is inhibited in the context of pharyngeal consonants, velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/, the uvular stop /q/, and sometimes /r/. These inhibitors may differ from dialect to dialect.
4. The phenomenon is not completely regular: many lexical and morphological pattern exceptions occur.

2.3 Short vowels

CDA has three short vowels, namely /i/, /u/, and /a/.

2.3.1 Short vowel /i/

The short vowel /i/ has two allophonic variants: a close front unrounded [i], and a near-close near-front unrounded [ɪ].

[i] - The articulation of this allophone is the most common form realised for /i/ in CDA, and is illustrated in the following examples.

gidd 'grandfather'	*bizbūz* 'tap / faucet'	*hāgis* 'idea'	*hinna* 'here

Table 2.37: Short vowel /i/ allophone [i]

[ɪ] - This allophonic variant occurs when /i/ immediately precedes or follows one of the pharyngealised consonants /ṣ/, /ṭ/, or /ḍ/, with the vowel shifting to a more central position. This is illustrated in the following examples.

bāṭɪl 'bad'	*nɪḍāf* 'clean'	*il-ʕāṣɪma* 'the capital'	*qɪṣṣa* 'story'

Table 2.38: Short vowel /i/ allophone [ɪ]

2.3.2 Short vowel /u/

The short vowel /u/ has two allophonic variants: a close back rounded [u], and a near-close near-back rounded [ʊ].

[u] - The articulation of the /u/ phoneme occurs in non-pharyngealised and non-uvular environments, and is illustrated in the following examples.

kull 'all'	*gubun* 'cheese'	*xubz* 'bread'	*lubbān* 'frankincense'

Table 2.39: Short vowel /u/ allophone [u]

[ʊ] - In pharyngealised and uvular environments, /u/ is slightly raised and fronted, as shown in the following examples.

ʕʊyūn 'eyes'	*ṭʊrʊq* 'roads'	*ḍʊfār* 'Dhofār'	*bi-ṣ-ṣʊdfa* 'suddenly'

Table 2.40: Short vowel /u/ allophone [ʊ]

2.3.3 Short vowel /a/

The short vowel /a/ has two allophonic variants. These are the near-open front unrounded [æ], and an open back unrounded [ɑ]. Illustrations for each allophone are given below. The geographical variation of /a/, and its fronting and raising [æ] > [e] or [i] in word-final position, is then discussed following this.

[æ] - This allophonic variant occurs for most instances of /a/.

zæhæræ 'flower'	*hæbu* 'wind'	*šæræbt* 'I drank'	*dæmm* 'blood'

Table 2.41: Short vowel /a/ allophone [æ]

[ɑ] - This allophone of /a/ occurs either immediately before or following one of the

pharyngealised phonemes /ṣ/, /ṭ/, or /ð̣/, and shifts towards a more backed position, as shown below.

baṭaḥ 'sand'	*fṭant* 'I remembered'	*baðaʕ* 'a few'	*il-maṭar* 'the rain'

Table 2.42: Short vowel /a/ allophone [ɑ]

In all the examples shown above, the pharyngeal environment results in the backed articulation of /a/ in all instances.

Short vowel /a/ raised from [æ] to [i]

This variation in short vowels, from a near-open front unrounded [æ] to a close-mid front unrounded [i], is extremely rare in comparison to the corresponding long vowel /ā/ which can be raised from [æː] to [iː]. It is restricted to the following independent pronoun in the recorded data, with the geographical locations at the top of each column corresponding approximately to the communities where this occurs

The lack of data for this form of *imāla* prevents the formulation of rules for any inhibiting phonemes or conditions that might prevent its occurrence. Its contrast to the [æ] to [e] variation in CDA, for which there is much more data (see 2.3.4.1.3), indicates that the [æ] to [i] form may have a functional use in differentiating masculine inflection on this specific independent pronoun in CDA historically.

Example	Ṣalāla	Ṭāqa & il-Ḥāfa
'you' (2MS)	*intæ*	*inti*[26]

Table 2.43: Short vowel /a/ raised from [æ] to [i]

Short vowel /a/ raised from [æ] to [e]

The raising and fronting of the near-open front unrounded [æ] to a close-mid front unrounded [e] is common in CDA. It occurs frequently for final position /a/ in the unstressed open syllable *-Cv*, which is consistent in most cases with the morpheme for feminine singular nominal and adjectival inflection. However, the final example given below for the demonstrative pronoun *hāðūne* (MPL), indicates that this feature is not entirely restricted to such inflection, and may merely be coincidental. It is restricted by the same inhibiting phonemes as those for any other aspect of *imāla* (/ṭ/, /ṣ/, /ð̣/, /ʕ/, /q/ and /r/), when they occur within the same syllable.

26 The independent pronoun *inti* (2MS) in Ṭāqa is formally the same to the independent pronoun 'inti' (2FS) found in Ṣalāla and MSA, and can lead to confusion amongst speakers who are unaware of this CDA variation. The unmarked form of the 2FS pronoun in Ṭāqa is *inte*, which is consistent with the assumption that the [æ] to [e] form of *imāla* indicates feminine inflection. However in both cases, this assumption relies on both forms being based on an underlying form *inta*.

Example	Ṣalāla	Ṭāqa & il-Ḥāfa
'Ṣalāla' place name	*ṣalālæ*	*ṣalāle*
'il-Ḥāfa' place name	*il-ḥāfæ*	*il-ḥāfe*
'you' (2FS)	*inti*	*inte*
'tomorrow'	*ġudwæ*	*ġudwe*
'oil lamp'	*masragæ*	*masrage*
'wife'	*zōgæ*	*zōge*
'courgette/zucchini'	*kūsæ*	*kūse*
'three'	*θalāθæ*	*θalāθe*
'electric light'	*lambæ*	*lambe*
'these' (MPL)	*hāðūnæ*	*hāðūne*

Table 2.44: Short vowel /a/ raised from [æ] to [e]

2.4 Long vowels

CDA has five long vowels, which are /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/, and /ā/. In the case of /ī/ and /ū/, their realisation is more closed than their corresponding short vowel equivalents, and similar in this respect to most other dialects of Arabic.[27] In word-final open syllables, long vowels are shortened until they are approximate in quality to their corresponding short vowels, in particular for long vowels /ū/, /ī/, and /ā/.[28] As above, discussion of long vowel variation in CDA due to *imāla* follows where applicable in the description of each vowel.

2.4.1 Long vowel /ī/

The long vowel /*ī*/ has one articulation, a close front unrounded [iː], and there is no discernible difference in quality for this vowel in pharyngealised environments. The geographical variation of /ā/, and its fronting and raising as [iː] in word-final position, is discussed in section (2.4.5).

[iː] - The articulation /ī/ is common in all examples, as shown below.

qaṣiːr 'short'	*ʕaṣiːr* 'juice'	*ṭaḥiːn* 'flour'	*siːda* 'straight, direct'

Table 2.45: Long vowel [iː]

2.4.2 Long vowel /ū/

The long vowel /*ū*/ has one articulation, a close back rounded [uː], and there is no discernible variation in pharyngeal environments. Examples are shown below.

27 Watson (2002: 22).

28 Shortening of long vowels in word-final open syllables can also be found in neighbouring Gulf Arabic dialects: Holes (1989: 269)

xall-u: 'they left' (3MPL)	*ru:ḥ* 'soul, spirit'	*maʕru:f* 'known'	*qu:rī* 'pigeon' (MS)

Table 2.46: Long vowel [u:]

Long vowel /ū/ transformation from [u:] to [o:]

The occurrences of the transformation of long vowel /ū/ from [u:] to [o:] are again infrequent in CDA, but a similar change can be found in many spoken Arabic varieties found in the Gulf.[29] For *hō* and *xō*, the vowel length is usually shortened in the open long syllable *Cv̄*, and for both items there is an underlying long vowel /ū/ in OA/MSA.[30] The following forms are found amongst all speakers of CDA.

Example	Ṣalāla	Ṭāqa & il-Ḥāfa
'belonging to' (PL)	*ḥaqqu:t / mālu:t*	*ḥaqqo:t / mālo:t*
'food'	*qu:t*	*qo:t*
'cup'	*ku:b*	*ko:b*
'mouth'	*θu:m*	*θo:m*
'he'	*ho:*	*ho:*
'brother'	*xo:*	*xo:*
'and'	*u:*	*o:*

Table 2.47: Long vowel /ū/ transformation from [u:] to [o:]

2.4.3 Long vowel /ē/

The long vowel /ē/ has one articulation, a close-mid front unrounded [e:], and there is no discernible variation in pharyngeal environments. Historically, this long vowel transformed from the OA palatal diphthong /ay/ into the monophthong /ē/, and a similar process occurred in other modern Arabic dialects.[31] Examples of /ē/ are shown below for comparison along with their corresponding forms in MSA.

Example	MSA	CDA
'house'	*bayt*	*be:t*
'animals'	*ḥayawānāt*	*ḥe:wānāt*
'how?'	*kayf*	*ke:f - ke:*

Table 2.48: Long vowel [e:]

/ē/ also appears in CDA as a recurrent feature of feminine inflection, for verbs, bound pronouns, independent pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns. A representative sample is given below.

29 For Gulf Arabic, see Holes (1991: 63).
30 For *xō*, the underlying /ū/ is a remnant OA/MSA nominative case marker.
31 For example, Cairene Arabic displays the same monophthongs /*ē*/ and /*ō*/, corresponding to the historical diphthongs /*ay*/ and /*aw*/ respectively.

Instance	Example
Verb inflection	*yi-ktub-ēn* 'they write' (3FPL)
Independent pronoun	*intēn* 'you' (2FPL) *hēn* 'they' (3FPL)
Bound pronoun	*b-arsal-kēn risāla kull usbūʕ* 'I send you (2FPL) a letter every week' *b-arsal-hēn risāla kull usbūʕ* 'I send them (3FPL) a letter every week'
Demonstratives	*hāðēna* 'these' (FPL) *hāðēnak* 'those' (FPL)

Table 2.49: Long vowel /ē/ feminine inflection

2.4.4 Long vowel /ō/

The long vowel /ō/ has one articulation, a close-mid front unrounded [oː], and there is no discernible variation in pharyngeal environments. As with the long vowel /ē/, /ō/ is the monophthongised realisation of a OA diphthong, here the labiovelar /aw/, and is a phenomenon which occurs in other Arabic dialects. Comparative examples in MSA and CDA are given below for clarity.

Example	MSA	CDA
'colour'	*lawn*	*loːn*
'husband'	*zawdʒ*	*zoːg*
'if'	*law*	*loː*

Table 2.50: Long vowel [oː]

The geographical variation of /ā/, from [aː] to [oː] in certain environments, is discussed in section (2.4.5).

2.4.5 Long vowel /ā/

The long vowel /ā/ has two allophones, a near-open front rounded [æː] which occurs in non-pharyngealised instances, and an open back rounded [ɑː] when pharyngeal phonemes are also present. As mentioned previously, [æː] is fronted and raised to [iː] in some circumstances, and may also be realised as [eː] or [oː] in certain phoneme environments. Before these are discussed, standard allophones of /ā/ are given below.

[æː] - this allophone of /ā/ is found in non-pharyngealised environments, as shown below.

šæːh 'sheep' (MS)	*hilæːl* 'crescent moon'	*xawæːt* 'sisters'	*zæːm* 'time'

Table 2.51: Long vowel /a/ allophone [æː]

[ɑː] - occurs when /ā/ either precedes or follows an uvular or pharyngeal phoneme, or the voiced alveolar trill /r/.

ṣɑːḥib 'friend'	*rɑːʕī* 'landlord'	*bɑːṭil* 'bad'	*ḥarɑːmiya* 'thief'

Table 2.52: Long vowel /a/ allophone [ɑː]

Long vowel /ā/ raising from [æː] to [iː]

This variation in long vowels, from a near-open front unrounded [æː] to a close-mid front unrounded [iː], occurs in certain nouns and the feminine plural morpheme /-āt/. This variation is restricted by the presence of the phonemes /ṭ/, /ṣ/, /ð/, /ʕ/, /q/ and /r/ within the same syllable as the stressed long vowel *CvvC*. Examples are detailed below, along with geographical variation, where it exists.

Long vowel raising and fronting is restricted to the final stressed long vowel position within a word, and the change is reverted following the addition of a possessive pronoun clitic that renders the final syllable open, such as *binīt* 'girls', which when suffixed becomes *bināt-ī* 'my girls'. The example of *yi-nām* becoming *yi-nīm* 'he sleeps', was the only occurrence of [æː] to [iː] *imāla* to be found occurring in a verb.

The existence of certain items exhibiting this long vowel variation in both geographical areas (coastal and urban), such as *gabalīt*, *gimalīt*, and *blīd*, implies that this feature is found amongst all speakers, although amongst urban speakers it was usually far more limited. The frequency, and the range of examples exhibiting *imāla* is greater amongst coastal speakers.

Example	Ṣalāla	Ṭāqa & il-Ḥāfa
'door'	*bæːb*	*biːb*
'man'	*riggæːl*	*riggiːl*
'camels'	*gimaliːt*	*gimaliːt*
'mountains'	*gabaliːt*	*gabaliːt*
'people'	*næːs*	*niːs*
'smoke'	*duxxæːn*	*duxxiːn*[32]
'brothers'	*xowæːn*	*xowiːn*
'winter'	*šittæː*	*šittiː*
'in front of'	*quddæːm*	*quddiːm*
'dogs'	*klæːb*	*kliːb*
'girls'	*binæːt*	*biniːt*
'town'	*bliːd*	*bliːd*
'he sleeps'	*yi-næːm*	*yi-niːm*
'here'	*hinnæː*	*hinniː*

Table 2.53: Long vowel /ā/ raising from [æː] to [iː]

Tafxīm - long vowel /ā/ transformation from [æː] to [oː]

In addition to variations in vowel quality described by *imāla*, another pattern which emerged from the data, and which exhibited a similar geographical variation, was the shift in long vowel /ā/ from a near-open front unrounded vowel [æː] to a close-mid back rounded [oː]. This feature, referred to as *tafxīm* in Arabic, is best described as the, 'secondary articulation in which the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate (velum)' (Matthews 1997: 395). Instances of this are rare in CDA, and are restricted to the the stressed long syllables *Cv̄* and *Cv̄C*, in particular the nominal pattern *Cv-Cv̄-Cv*.[33] This vowel variation may be determined by the presence of either a /b/, /g/, /q/, and /x/ phonemes at the onset or coda position of the *Cv̄C* syllable, but a lack of data for such forms prevents the further development of this rule. In the table below, the final verbal example is included here as it displays a similar feature.

32 This is the only example of imāla taking place within the same syllable as a voiced velar fricative /x/, but is permissible within Owens' description as a dialectal variation.

33 *Tafxīm*, or velarization, is a far less common feature of Arabic dialects, although similar forms exist elsewhere within other Semitic languages. Lipinski (1997:170), notes that this feature is usually restricted to pharyngeal environments, although instances can occur elsewhere as shown in CDA. The occurrence of /ā/ being transformed to /ō/ may also be a remnant of Old Arabic and date back to pre-Islamic times, c.f. Rabin (1951: 105-110). See also Moscati et al. (1980: 51-53) for further discussion.

Example	Ṣalāla	Ṭāqa & il-Ḥāfa
'frankincense'	*lubbæːn*	*lubboːn*
'incense'	*duxxæːn*	*duxxoːn*
'chicken'	*dagæːga*	*dagoːga*
'grandmother'	*haboːba*[34]	*ḥaboːba*
'prayer rug'	*sagæːda*	*sagoːda*
'glass bottle'	*zagæːga*	*zagoːga*
'fly'	*ðabæːba*	*ðaboːba*
'father'	*ʿoːb*	*ʿoːb*

Table 2.54: Long vowel /ā/ transformation from [æː] to [oː]

2.5 Diphthongs

As referred to in (2.1.6), the OA diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ have become historically the monophthongs /ō/ and /ē/ respectively in CDA, and there are few examples of either diphthong now my free speech data. However, in very formal speech situations, these diphthongs can reappear. The rare examples of such diphthongs that exist in the recorded data can be attributed to participants' reactions to the recording process and environment (see 1.6). The environments in which CDA diphthongs still exist are restricted to specific lexical items, and parallel forms often exist in CDA where the diphthong is replaced with a corresponding monophthongised long vowel. Examples are as follows.

Example	diphthong	monophthong	Comment
water	*may*	*mī*	Word-final position, geographical variation exists as monophthong
alive	*ḥayy*	*ḥē*	Word-final position, geographical variation exists as monophthong

Table 2.55: Diphthongs

2.6 Imāla in loanwords, and MSA influence on CDA

Finally, in the analysis of data collected from Ṣalāla and Ṭāqa, it is noted *imāla* does not appear to take place in loanwords or recently acquired MSA items, suggesting that vowel raising may now be limited to a closed group of lexical items. This absence of vowel raising is particularly noticeable with lexical terms that refer to items which have become available in Dhofār during its relatively recent socio-economic expansion. Consider the following:

34 Although the form 'ḥabāba' was not recorded as a variant amongst CDA speakers, it exists in the Nejd dialect spoken to the north of the Dhofāri highlands.

Examples	CDA	*Imāla* form
'clutches'	*klatšāt*	x
'exhausts'	*gazūzāt*	x
'telephones'	*tilfūnāt*	x
'mobile phones'	*giyasamāt*	x
'cupboard / cupboards'	*kubāt / kubātāt*	x
'brooms'	*brūšāt*	x
'jackets'	*kūtāt*	*kūtīt*
'electric lights'	*lambāt*	*lambīt*

Table 2.56: Imāla in loanwords

When participants were asked to identify *imāla* forms for such examples, either in their own speech or as a form that they were accustomed to hearing, all cited each form as incorrect, despite there being the potential for [æː] to [iː] final vowel raising due to the lack of inhibiting phonemes in the same syllable. *Imāla* is also absent in recent MSA additions to the lexicon, and there appears to be a tendency to reverse vowel variations produced by *imāla* back to their original articulations. For loanwords that refer to non-technical items, and which may have been introduced to Dhofār far earlier, *imāla* may exist, as shown in the loanwords *kūtāt* 'coats', and *lambāt* 'electric lights', where the variations *kūtīt* and *lambīt* were also recorded amongst some speakers.[35]

2.7 Syllabification and consonant clusters

The inventory of CDA syllables is limited to a fixed set of three forms that can occur freely in all word positions *(Cv, Cv̄, CvC)*, and two further forms which appear in words as word-final position only (*Cv̄C*, *CvCC*), all of which are common throughout all Arabic dialects.[36] Four additional word-initial forms, *(CCv, CCvC, CCv̄, CCv̄C)*, occur either as a result of unstressed vowel deletion or via loanwords, as detailed below.

Syllable structure here is represented as *C* (consonant), *v* (vowel), and *v̄* (long vowel). Syllable weight is divided into three categories, namely *light* (short nucleus vowel, no coda), *heavy* (long nucleus vowel, no coda) or (short nucleus vowel, coda), and *superheavy* (long nucleus vowel, coda) or (canonical syllable, degenerate syllable) (Watson (2002: 58).

35 Such loanwords may have appeared in Dhofār as far back as the early 20th century via direct British contact, or possibly earlier indirect contact via trade with merchants from India, Pakistan, and the Gulf. Similar loanwords can be observed in Haǧramawt, c.f. al-Saqqāf (1999: 238-241).

36 The existence of a sixth common syllabic pattern type, the word-final Cv̄CC, is also present in spoken Arabic varieties, but instances of this are rare in CDA. See Maher (2007: 387-389).

Syllable	Weight	Monosyllabic	Polysyllabic	
Cv	light	*fa* 'so' *bi* 'in, with'	*xaḍar* 'wet, green' *qaḍab* 'clover'	*(Cv-CvC)* *(Cv-CvC)*
Cv̄	heavy	*gō* 'they came' (3MPL) *mī* 'water'	*yābis* 'dry' *yāwān* 'yes, indeed!'	*(Cv̄-CvC)* *(Cv̄-Cv̄C)*
CvC	heavy	*xut* 'sister' *ðin* 'ear'	*rikba* 'knee' *xumse* 'five'	*(CvC-Cv)* *(CvC-Cv)*
Cv̄C	superheavy	*zēn* 'good, fine' *tēs* 'billy-goat'	*hawāl* 'one-eyed' *tinnār* 'baking oven'	*(Cv-Cv̄C)* *(CvC-Cv̄C)*
CvCC	superheavy	*halq* 'gullet' *ʕabd* 'slave'	*sāfart* 'I travelled' *ʕallimt* 'I taught'	*(Cv̄-CvCC)* *(CvC-CvCC)*
CCv	light	***	*štarēt* 'I bought' *štaġalt* 'I worked'	*(CCv-Cv̄C)* *(CCv-CvCC)*
CCvC	heavy	*qmar* 'moon' *truq* 'roads'	*tkallamti* 'you spoke' (2FS)	*(CCvC-CvC-Cv)*
CCv̄	heavy	***	*drīfar* 'screwdriver' *sbītar* 'hospital'	*(CCv̄-CvC)* *(CCv̄-CvC)*
CCv̄C	superheavy	*klīb* 'dogs' *brūš* 'brush'	***	***

Table 2.57: Syllabification

The syncope of unstressed vowels in the word-initial syllables, resulting in *CCv, CCvC, CCv̄, Ccv̄C,* is particularly noticeable in rapid speech. The forms /*štarēt*/ and /*štaġalt*/ both reflect the underlying form $iC_1taC_2áC_3$, but the tendency in CDA is to delete the initial glottal vowel in such forms. Similarly, vowel deletion is also common in the forms *CvCv̄C*, such as *kilāb* realised as *klīb*, and *CvCv́C*, with *qamar* realised as *qmar*, where the first vowel is unstressed.[37]

2.7.1 CvCC forms

The word-final superheavy syllable *CvCC* is a stable form in most instances in CDA, such as *halq*, *ʕabd*, and elsewhere in *qalb* 'heart', *gild* 'skin', and *xubz* 'bread'. However some forms are resyllabified via the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel to give *wasṭ* > *wasaṭ* 'middle', *gubn* > *gubun* 'cheese', and *ṣubḥ* > *ṣubuḥ* - 'morning', although this process is rare, and restricted to forms where C_2 is non-guttural.

Where C_2 is guttural, CDA exhibits a common trait amongst Bedouin-type (i.e. conservative) dialects known as the *gahawa syndrome*, and the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel occurs frequently. This can summarised as follows:

37 *klīb* also exhibits final stressed long vowel raising and fronting.

∅ > a / (C)aX_C(V)

X = *h, ḥ, r, x, ġ* (i.e. pharyngeal, laryngeal, uvular/velar fricatives)

C = any consonant

V = any short or long vowel[38]

Guttural presence in C_2 position produces predictable forms in CDA, such as *laḥm* > *laḥam* 'meat', *baḥr* > *baḥar* 'sea', and *naxl* > *naxal* 'palm tree'.

2.7.2 CCC clusters

In CDA, *CCC* clusters are only permissible in word medial position, and occur as a result of suffixation of bound pronouns to *CvCC* forms. The potential for *CCC* to occur depends on the quality of the pronoun clitic, and whether it is a voiceless consonant-initial, or voiced consonant-initial form. In voiceless consonant-initial cases, pronoun clitics are suffixed to *CvCC* forms that result in the following *CvCC-CvC* examples *bint-kum* 'your daughter' (2MPL), *šuft-hum* 'I/you saw them' (2MS), and *šuft-hē* 'I/you (2MS) saw her'.[39]

In contrast to this, the voiced consonant-initial bound form /*-nā*/ - 'us, our (1CPL)' requires the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel to the right of *CvCC* forms before suffixation, and the potential *CCC* cluster is prohibited and resolved as *CvC-Cv-Cv*, such as in *bin-ta-nā* - 'our daughter', and *wil-da-nā* - 'our son'.[40] Where the pronoun clitic is vowel-initial, the resulting form is resyllabified as either *CvC-Cv̄* or *CvC-CvC,* producing *bin-tī* 'my daughter', and *bint-iš* 'your (2FS) daughter' respectively.

2.8 Assimilation

The presence of assimilation in all forms of Arabic is well-documented, in particular the progressive assimilation of the definite article /*il-*/ when it is prefixed to a following coronal phoneme. In CDA the same phonemes trigger such assimilation, namely /d/, /t/, /ṭ/, /ð/, /θ/, /r/, /n/, /l/, /s/, /š/, /ṣ/, /z/, and /ð̣/, as shown below. When preceded by a short or long vowel-final word in rapid speech, the initial vowel in the definite article is deleted and elision with the preceding vowel takes place.[41]

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38 See de Jong (2007: 151-153)

39 In terms of *CCC* clusters, Arabic dialects can be divided into three categories. CDA falls into category 'C' in Kiparsky's proposed scheme, as *CCC* is allowed. This is in contrast to other dialects that render *CCC* either as *CCvC* ('CV' category) or *CvCC* ('VC' category) by anaptyxis. See Kiparksy (2003: 147-182) and Watson (2007: 335-356).

40 According to Ingham (1994: 17-18), a similar situation exists in Najdi Arabic to the north of Dhofār. Ingham notes that the quality of anaptyctic vowel induced by the presence of a voiced consonant-initial suffix is difficult to determine in rapid speech, although in CDA there are are no recorded instances of such a vowel being omitted. This tendency is more aligned to 'CV' category dialects.

41 The term *ðaḥḥīn* 'now' also exists as the variant *ðalḥīn* in free speech, as a contracted form of the phrase *ðā il-ḥīn* 'this time'. The form that exhibits assimilation is considered to be more archaic by CDA speakers, and is covered in more detail in section (8.6.2)

**il-šims* > *iš-šims* 'the sun'	**il-diftar* > *id-diftar* 'the book'
**il-sūq* > *is-sūq* 'the market'	**il-natāl* > *in-natāl* 'the hedgehog'
**il-θānī* > *iθ-θānī* 'the second, next (one)'	**il-riggīl* > *ir-riggīl* 'the man'

Table 2.58: Assimilation

Progressive assimilation of C_2 phonemes is also found before either of the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ in C_3 final-position, specifically in the monosyllabic superheavy syllable template *CvCC.* These forms exist alongside their corresponding non-assimilated forms in everyday CDA, although the distribution of assimilated forms tends to be more concentrated amongst coastal speakers. Assimilation remains stable in *CCC* clusters where they occur (see 2.7.2), and there is no insertion of an epenthetic vowel, although de-gemination may occur.

Example	Non-assimilated	Assimilated	Pronoun suffixed form
'girl, daughter'	*bint*	*bitt*	*bitt-ha*
'boy, son'	*wild*	*widd*	*widd-ana*
'I / you saw' (2MS)	*šuft/šift*	*šitt*	*šitt-kum*
'I / you said' (2MS)	*qult*	*qutt*	*qutt l-iš*[42]

Table 2.59: Assimilation CCC clusters

2.9 Stress

Word stress is predictable in CDA, and follows a number of rules that are common amongst other conservative Arabic dialects, as in MSA.[43] These can be summarised as follows in descending order.

a. The final superheavy syllables *CvCC* and *Cv̄C* are stressed if present, e.g., *mā**ṣūr*** 'guts', *halū**māt*** 'dreams', and *ġal**lēt*** 'fog, mist'.
b. If superheavy syllables are absent, stress the rightmost non-final heavy syllable *Cv̄* or *CvC.* In trisyllabic or greater forms, stress lands on the ante-penultimate syllable, e.g., ***xā**tim* 'ring', *mu**ban**nad* 'closed', and ***mur**tafaʕ* 'high'.
c. In all other circumstances, stress falls on the leftmost light syllable *Cv,* e.g., ***wā**rā* 'behind', ***wa**raqa* 'paper', and ***ša**rika* 'a company'.
d. Basic verb stems demonstrate iambic stress patterns, with stress falling on the second heavy syllable *CvC*, e.g., *k**tub*** 'he wrote', ***fṭan*** 'he remembered', and *wa**ṣal*** 'he arrived'.`

42 The verb *qult*, 'I said', requires a preposition in order to take an indirect object, in this case the preposition *li-*. In this instance no anatyptic vowel is inserted between the verb and the preposition, and the resulting *CCC* cluster is maintained regardless of the quality of the pronoun clitic that is attached directly to the preposition.

43 C.f. Watson (2002: 81-84).

2.10 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is defined here as the agreement among vowels in successive syllables in respect of one or more features (Matthews 1997: 400). In CDA this occurs regularly with imperfective verb subject prefixes where the internal vowel quality of the perfective verb is *u* – *u*, or $C_1uC_2uC_3$ (see 4.3.1 and 4.3.2) . In these instances, the vowel quality of the the subject prefix is realised as /*u*/ rather than /*i*/, as in the verbs *xudum* 'he did, he worked' > *yu-xdum* 'he does, he works', and *kutub* 'he wrote' > *yu-ktub* 'he writes'.

2.11 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have examined the major phonological features of CDA in terms of its consonant inventory, vowel inventory, diphthongs, syllable structure, assimilation processes, stress, and vowel harmony. I have described the geographical variations of voiced velar plosive /g/, and voiced uvular plosive /q/ in CDA, and made extension coverage of the vowel raising *imāla* features of CDA.

3 Nominal morphology and noun phrases

In this chapter, I discuss the main aspects of nominal morphology and the noun phrase in CDA. I adopt a broadly similar structure and approach to that outlined in other studies on specific Arabic dialects in southern Arabia, such as Watson (1993) on SanʕānīArabic, Ingham (1994) on Najdī Arabic, and al-Saqqāf (1999) on the Arabic of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, as well as contemporary studies on major dialect groups such as Matras (2005) on Romani, and Shabibi (1999) on Khuzestanī Arabic. The discussion will also be guided by key works on descriptive morphosyntax, notably Payne (1997).

As a major divisional category of CDA speech, and in common with all other Arabic dialects, the discussion of nominal morphology and noun phrases can be divided into three broad subcategories. Firstly the noun itself, its derivation, and the properties of gender and number in relation to nouns, including agreement. Secondly, the group which acts as noun modifiers, such as adjectives, demonstratives, comparatives and elatives, possessives, and numerals. Finally, there is the third closed group of pronominal forms, indefinites, interrogatives, and reflexives. The chapter deals with each of the subcategories in turn. In terms of discussion of the noun phrase, the definition I adopt here is that of Watson (1993: 15), as any major noun plus any modifiers that word may take in any particular instance, but which lacks the predicand-predicate structure of a complete clause. In this chapter, I also detail the formation of noun phrases from these constituent nominal forms within each section.

In dealing with nominal morphology, and the subsequent discussion of verbal morphology in chapter 6, a brief discussion of the *root* system in Arabic and the general processes of morpheme combining within pattern templates is necessary. Payne defines root as, 'an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word' (Payne (1997: 24). In CDA, as with all Arabic dialects, the root consists of a combination of usually three consonants that are arranged within a derived pattern or template of vowels, and with the possible addition of further consonants. The combination of basic underlying lexical content of the root, and pattern-specific meaning, result in the production of forms that consist of two morphemes in the majority of cases, although single morpheme varieties also exist that have no identifiable underlying consonantal root (Watson (1993: 11-12).

Roots in CDA vary in their combination of consonants, ranging from a minimum of two through to four separate consonants, as will be shown in the following sections.

3.1 Nouns and noun derivation

The noun in CDA can be divided into several subclasses, all sometimes showing inherent qualities of gender and animacy. Grammatical gender is either manifested as masculine or

feminine, which has implications for nominal (see 3.3) and verbal inflection (see 6.3). Lexical items may possess integral gender due to their meaning content, such as the masculine *riggīl* 'man', and the feminine *bint* 'girl'. Otherwise, the grammatical gender of most nouns in CDA is arbitrary and can only be deduced either from the morphological feminine suffix /*a*/, or by grammatical agreement patterns which the noun triggers on modifiers and verbs, e.g. *maktab* 'office'(m) and *qubra* 'grave'(f). Human nouns display the full range of masculine and feminine inflectional possibilities, whilst non-human plural nouns usually carry the grammatical gender of feminine plural, regardless of the grammatical gender of the corresponding singular form. Apart from the inherent number associated with mass nouns, number is overtly marked on CDA nominal forms. The inflectional marking of nominal forms for both gender and number is covered in sections (3.2) and (3.3) respectively.

3.1.1 Basic derived forms

Basic derived nominal forms in CDA can be divided into a series of common *Cv* templates, some of which may function as either substantives or adjectives depending on their contextual use.[44] The template categories given below are organised using the same categories found in McCarthy's discussion of nominal morphology for MSA, and the CDA examples given are based on their underlying historical forms, as opposed to their surface forms which may reflect certain phonological features of CDA, such as omitted unstressed vowels.[45] Within each template the internal vocalisation may also vary, as shown in the following examples.

$C_1vC_2C_3$	Examples
$C_1aC_2C_3$	*ḥabs* 'jail, prison', *rigl* 'leg', *sars* 'cockroach', *fās* 'sickle', *šāh* 'sheep'
$C_1iC_2C_3$	*milḥ* 'salt', *gild* 'skin', *ḥilm* 'dream', *bīr* 'spring,well', *dīk* 'cockerel'
$C_1uC_2C_3$	*xubz* 'bread', *ṣubḥ* 'morning, dawn', *xūx* 'peach', *ḥūš* 'hen-house'

Table 3.1: $C_1vC_2C_3$ noun forms

$C_1vC_2vC_3$	Examples[46]
$C_1aC_2aC_3$	*laban* 'milk', *laḥam* 'meat', *baṭan* 'belly'
$C_1aC_2iC_3$	*malik* 'king
$C_1aC_2uC_3$	*baʕuḍ* 'mosquito'
$C_1iC_2aC_3$	*giðar* 'root', *miθal* 'shape, example', *šiʕr* 'poetry'
$C_1uC_2uC_3$	*gubun* 'cheese'

Table 3.2: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ noun forms

44 The definition of basic derived nominal forms here is made along the criteria set out by McCarthy's framework between canonical and non-canonical nouns. Canonical forms cover the majority of basic nouns and borrowed forms, do not exceed two syllables, and begin with a Cv sequence. Non-canonical forms are those whose syllable structure does not conform to the bi-syllabic rule, or which are derived deverbally. See McCarthy (2008: 303) 'Morphology'.

45 Ibid. (297-307).

46 Some CDA substantives have the underlying form $C_1vC_2vC_3$, but exhibit the pattern $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$, such as *blīd* 'town' which has the underlying form *balad*.

$C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$	Examples[47]
$C_1aC_2āC_3$	*ðarāʕ* 'arm', *ḥaṣād* 'harvest', *nahār* 'river'
$C_1aC_2īC_3$	*ṭaḥīn* 'flour', *qaðīf* 'vomit', *ṭarīq* 'road'
$C_1aC_2ūC_3$	*faʕūr* 'bull'
$C_1iC_2āC_3$	*lisān* 'tongue'
$C_1iC_2ūC_3$	*riyūq* 'breakfast', *qurūš* 'money', *filūs* 'money'
$C_1uC_2ūC_3$	*duxūn* 'incense'
$C_1uC_2āC_3$	*lubbān* 'frankincense', *ġubār* 'dust', *ḍubāb* 'fog', *ʕumān* 'Oman'

Table 3.3: $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$ noun forms

$C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$	Example
$C_1āC_2iC_3$	*ḍābiṭ* 'officer', *xātim* 'ring', *ṣāḥib* 'friend', *tāgir* 'trader', *ḥākim* 'leader, ruler'

Table 3.4: $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$ noun forms

$C_1\bar{v}C_2\bar{v}C_3$	Example
$C_1āC_2ūC_3$	*ḍāfūr* 'fingernail', *māṣūr* 'gut, intestine', *qānūn* 'law, system'

Table 3.5: $C_1\bar{v}C_2\bar{v}C_3$ noun forms

$C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$ / $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$	Example
$C_1aC_2C_3aC$	*θaʕlab* 'fox', *banšar* 'puncture'
$C_1iC_2C_3aC$	*diftar* 'book'

Table 3.6: $C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$ / $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ noun forms

$C_1vC_2C_2\bar{v}C_3$ / $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4$	Example[48]
$C_1aC_2C_2āC_3$	*riggīl* 'man'
$C_1aC_2CūC$	*sanbūq* 'boat'
$C_1uC_2C_2āC_3$	*duxxān* 'smoke'
$C_1uC_2C_3ūC$	*duktūr* 'doctor', *turmūs* 'teapot'

Table 3.7: $C_1vC_2C_2\bar{v}C_3$ / $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_4$ noun forms

In addition to the forms outlined above, there also exists a group of basic nouns formed from biconsonantal roots such as *ōb* 'father', *xō* 'brother, *umm* 'mother', and *xut* 'sister', amongst others.

47 The initial unstressed vowel in the template $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$ is often deleted or weakened considerably, resulting in the form $C_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$. See 2.3.

48 Nouns which reflect this template structure are often occupational nouns.

3.1.2 Further derived forms

In addition to the basic derived forms outlined above, further derived forms also exist in CDA where the prefixed morpheme /*mv-*/ forms part of the derived template. In the first examples below, nominal forms that share the pattern *maCCvC* are formed by the prefixed morpheme *ma-* and a variable internal vowel, based around a core triconsonantal root. The resulting form is mainly substantive, and usually carries the lexical function of nouns of place, as shown below.

$maC_1C_2vC_3$	Examples
$maC_1C_2iC_3$	*misgid* 'mosque', *maglis* 'sitting room', *maṣlib* 'threshing place'
$maC_1C_2aC_3$	*maṭʕam* 'restaurant', *maṭhar* 'bathroom', *maṭbax* 'kitchen'

Table 3.8: $maC_1C_2vC_3$ noun forms

In the second set of examples given below, nominal forms of the pattern *miCCv̄C* are formed with the prefixed morpheme *mi-* and an invariable long internal vowel /ā/, again based around a core triconsonantal root. The resulting CDA forms can carry the lexical function of nouns of instrument, although not exclusively.

$miC_1C_2āC_3$	Example
$miC_1C_2āC_3$	*miftāḥ* 'key', *mismār* 'nail', *mīzān* 'scales', *miḥrāθ* 'plough', *mīrāθ* 'inheritence'

Table 3.9: $miC_1C_2āC_3$ noun forms

A third major set of derived templates also exists: those of active and passive participles, which may also act as noun templates, usually when they are modified by the definite article. Generally they act as adjectives and are discussed in section (3.5.1).

3.1.3 Verbal nouns

For each verb in CDA, whether in simple or derived form, there is a corresponding verbal noun derived from the root. Verbal nouns of derived verb forms are predictable insofar as they have a fixed corresponding *Cv* template, but as will be shown below, those which correspond to simple verb forms are unpredictable. Within the collected data, there is also variation in the verbal nouns of simple verbs between speakers from different areas (such as Ṣalalah and Ṭaqa), and also from within the same area. These verbal nouns follow many of the simple noun template patterns outlined in section (3.1), and are irregular in their relationship to the underlying simple verbs to which they relate. Although the simple verbs may share the same vowel templates, this has no bearing on the associated template of the verbal nouns. A selection of these are as follows, alongside the 3MS perfective forms of their related verbs: *nafx* 'blowing' (*nafax* 'he

blew'), *ḥafr* 'digging' (*ḥafar* 'he dug'), *gulūs* 'sitting' (*gilis* 'he sat'), *fiṭr* 'fast breaking' (*faṭar* 'he broke fast'), *sirqa* 'stealing' (*saraq* 'he stole'), *šilla* 'taking' (*šill* 'he took'), *mūz* 'smoking' (*mazz* 'he smoked'), *xidma* 'service' (*xudum* 'he served').

Derived verb forms follow standard, predictable templates, and are a productive category within CA, although there are very few corresponding examples for each form in the CDA data. As is the case with northern Omani dialects, there is little evidence that derived verbal nouns exist within contemporary CDA except for educated speech, although there is some historical evidence that they may have existed previously. As a result of this, these forms are not included in the discussion of verbal nouns here.

3.2 Gender

As discussed in the introduction to section (3.1), gender can be integral qualities of a noun in some circumstances, and overt marking is unnecessary. The lexical pair *ōb* 'father' and *umm* 'mother' exemplify this, whereby the lexical content of the noun indicates the inherent gender distinction between the two items. Grammatical gender inflection in CDA carries a similar structure to MSA and other spoken Arabic dialects, in that there is a bipartite differentiation between masculine and feminine. For those nouns which have no human referent, that is their referent is non-animate, then gender is random, and nouns can either be masculine or feminine. CDA distinguishes feminine gender morphologically using the morpheme suffix /*-a*/, and grammatical gender can also be observed in the agreement patterns triggered by nouns.[49] Human gender inflection reflects biological gender, and the /*-a*/ suffix is also used to differentiate between masculine and feminine forms of the same noun, such as *ṣāḥib* 'friend' (MS) and *ṣāḥib-a* 'friend' (FS).

Non-human singular nominal forms in CDA may have inherent gender determined by their biological form, such as *ʕurrī* 'cat, tomcat' (MS) versus *sinnāra* 'cat' (FS), *qūrī* 'pigeon' (MS) versus *ḥamāma* 'pigeon' (FS), whereas in the case of generic nouns such as *ġanam* 'cattle', its grammatical gender as feminine is understood from the resulting agreement patterns it triggers. Non-human plural nominal forms in CDA, along with most body parts that occur in pairs, are also considered to be underlying feminine forms, regardless of their lexical referents, although there are some exceptions to the latter of these.[50] Hence *naxīl* 'palm trees', *kuʕla* 'testicles', *šanaṭ* 'bags', and *ʕuyūn* 'eyes', are all treated grammatically as feminine plurals in CDA. The same principle of non-human plurals being assigned feminine grammatical gender also extends to loanwords in CDA.

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49 Occasionally in certain phonological environments, this short vowel is realised as /*-e*/, and is mainly restricted to speakers who originate from settlements such as il-Ḥāfa and Ṭāqa on the immediate coast (see 2.3.3).

50 Exceptions to this grammatical gender agreement for body parts include *zunūd* 'forearms' and *θawīdāt* 'breasts'.

3.3 Number

CDA has two morphological processes marking number agreement on nominal forms. The first of these processes is the formation of plural forms, either through the masculine and feminine plural morpheme suffixes /*-īn*/ (MPL) and /*-āt*/ (FPL), or via a system of derivational templates which involve internal vowel lengthening, an additional infixed glide morpheme, or both internal vowel and morpheme changes.[51] The second process is the production of dual forms of the noun, through the masculine and feminine dual morpheme suffix /*-ēn*/.

The masculine plural morpheme /*-īn*/, and its feminine counterpart /*-āt*/, can be suffixed to a variety of unmarked nominal forms to reflect number and gender agreement. For example, the simple *CvCvC* form *kātib* 'writer' (MS) can become *kātib-īn* 'writers' (MPL), or *kātib-āt* 'writers' (FPL), depending on the grammatical gender of the referent in each case.

The majority of loanwords in CDA form plurals using the feminine plural morpheme /*-āt*/, in particular for those nouns whose morphology is analogous to triconsonantal root nouns in CDA, many of which have appeared in the coastal region since the 1970s, such as *lambāt* 'light bulbs' (singular *lamba*), *līṭāt* 'electric lights' (singular *līṭ*), *harānāt* 'car horns' (singular *harān)*, and *gazūzāt* 'car exhausts' (singular *gazūz*).[52]

CDA also retains elements of the MSA dual nominal inflection, which is shown by the morpheme suffix /*-ēn*/, and is occasionally shown in the human referent nouns *walad-ēn* 'two boys' and *bint-ēn* 'two girls'. Some body parts that exist as pairs may also reflect this dual suffix, as in *īd-ēn* 'hands, two hands' and *ðin-ēn* 'ears, two ears', forms which tend to only be used for a single human referent. Alternative plural forms may also exist in other circumstances for multiple referents, for example *īd-āt* 'hands' and *āðan* 'ears', or as generic terms.[53]

The alternative process for marking number on nouns is by the alteration of singular noun forms according to specific *Cv* templates, whereby internal vowel lengthening and glide morpheme infixing may take place.[54] There is a certain regularity to this process, insofar as a specific singular noun form may be restricted to at most two or three different plural forms. In the following table common plural forms based on derivational templates are given, and grouped together based on their underlying template. The singular forms of each noun are also given, along with their corresponding singular derivational template, for comparison.[55]

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51 The suffix /*-āt*/ may also be realised by some speakers as /*-īṭ*/ in certain phonological environments. See section (2.4.5)

52 There are exceptions to these loanwords, such as *mawātir* 'cars' (singular *mūtar*), and *tawāyir* 'tyres' (singular *tāyir*)

53 The dual morpheme /*-ēn*/ may also be realised by some speakers as /*-īn*/ in certain phonological environments.

54 Historically these plural forms are referred to as broken plurals.

55 The examples given are based on their underlying template forms, some of which may reflect further morphophonological features specific to CDA.

Singular template	Plural Template	Singular	Plural
$C_1vC_2C_3$	$aC_1C_2āC_3$	*šē* 'thing' *ism* 'name'	*ašiyā* 'things' *asmā* 'names'
$C_1vC_2vC_3(a)$ $C_1v̄C_2$ $C_1vC_2v̄C_3$	$aC_1C_2āC_3$	*wazan* 'weight' *našara* 'animal' *waraqa* 'paper, note (money)' *walīd* 'boy' *bīb* 'door' *miθal* 'example'	*awzān* 'weights *anšar* 'animals' *awrāq* 'papers, notes *awlād* 'boys' *abwāb* 'doors' *amθāl* 'examples'
$C_1vC_2v̄C_3$	$C_1aC_2aC_3$	*ġanām* 'cattle' *qmār* 'moon' *ġubār* 'dust'	*ġanam* 'cattle' *qamar* 'moons' *ġubar* 'dust storm'
$C_1v̄C_2$ $C_1vC_2vC_3$ $C_1vC_2C_3$	$C_1aC_2āC_3$	*θōm* 'mouth' *maṭar* 'rain' *laban* 'milk' *damm* 'ointment' *sūq* 'market'	*θawām* 'mouths' *maṭār* 'rains' *labān* 'milk products' *damām* 'ointments' *sawāq* 'markets'
$C_1vC_2C_3ī$	$C_1aC_2āC_3ī$	*kursī* 'chair' *qūrī* 'pigeon' (MS) *ʕurrī* 'cat' (MS)	*karāsī* 'chairs' *qawārī* 'pigeons' *ʕarārī* 'cats'
$C_1vC_2v̄C_3(a)$	$C_1aC_2āyiC_4$	*daqīqa* 'minute' *ḥagūla* 'bracelet'	*daqāyiq* 'minutes' *ḥagāyil* 'bracelets'
$C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$	$C_1aC_2āC_3iC_4$	*θaʕlab* 'fox' *arnab* 'rabbit' *bandar* 'port' *diftar* 'book'	*θaʕālib* 'foxes' *arānib* 'rabbits' *banādir* 'ports' *difātir* 'books'
$C_1vC_2vC_3(a)$ $C_1vC_2C_2v̄C_3$ $C_1vC_2v̄C_3(a)$ $C_1vC_2C_3(a)$	$C_1aC_2īC_3$	*naxala* 'palm tree' *raggīl* 'man' *hagīra* 'midday' *ḥurma* 'woman, wife' *wigha* 'face'	*naxīl* 'palm trees' *ragīl* 'men' *hagīr* 'middays' *ḥarīm* 'women, wives' *wagīh* 'faces'
$C_1vC_2v̄C_3$	$C_1āC_2īC_3$	*ḥamār* 'donkey' *faʕūr* 'bull'	*ḥāmīr* 'donkeys' *fāʕīr* 'bulls'
$C_1vC_2vC_3$ $C_1vC_2C_3$	$C_1aC_2ūC_3$	*ramal* 'sand' *laḥam* 'meat' *ḥabs* 'prison' *šams* 'sun' *baʕuḍ* 'mosquito'	*ramūl* 'sands' *laḥūm* 'meats' *ḥabūs* 'prisons' *šamūs* 'suns' *baʕūḍ* 'mosquitoes'
$C_1vC_2v̄C_3(a)$	$C_1aC_2wāC_3$	*ḥagāra* 'rock'	*ḥagwār* 'rocks'
$C_1v̄C_2vC_3(a)$	$C_1awāC_2aC_3$	*xātim* 'ring'	*xawātim* 'rings'

		ʕāyila 'family'	*ʕawāyil* 'families'
$C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$	$C_1aC_2awaC_3$	*ṭarīq* 'road, street, way'	*ṭarawaq* 'roads'
$C_1\bar{v}C_2\bar{v}C_3$	$C_1awāC_2\bar{\imath}C_3$	*ḍāfūr* 'fingernail' *māṣūr* 'gut' *qānūn* 'law, rule'	*ḍawāfīr* 'fingernails' *mawāṣīr* 'guts' *qawānīn* 'laws, rules'
$C_1C_2C_3$ $C_1vC_2vC_3(a)$	$C_1C_2āC_3$	*zahara* 'flower' *lūḥ* 'plank of wood' *bīr* 'well, spring' *zōg* 'husband'	*zhār* 'flowers' *lwāḥ* 'planks of wood' *bwār* 'wells, springs' *zwāg* 'husbands'
$C_1vC_2C_2\bar{v}C_3$ $C_1vC_2C_3\bar{v}C_3$	$C_1aC_2āC_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ $C_1aC_2āC_3\bar{\imath}C_3$	duxxān 'smoke' haškīk 'wood, copse' (place)	*duxāxīn* 'smokes' *hašākīk* 'woods, copses'
$C_1vC_2C_3$ $C_1\bar{v}C_2$ $C_1vC_2vC_3$	$C_1iC_2āC_3$	*kabš* 'sheep' *ðīb* 'wolf' *rīf* 'countryside, rural area' *θōb* 'garment' *rūḥ* 'spirit, soul' *silaʕ* 'cheek'	*kibāš* 'sheep' *ðiyāb* 'wolves' *riyāf* 'rural areas' *θiyāb* 'clothes *riyāh* 'spirits, souls' *silāʕ* 'cheeks'
$C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$	$C_1iC_2āC_3\bar{\imath}n$	*lisīn* 'tongue'	*lisānīn* 'tongues'
$C_1vC_2C_3$ $C_1vC_2vC_3(a)$	$C_1iC_2ūC_3$	*biðara* 'seed' *ðēl* 'tail' *gīb* 'pocket' *bēt* 'house, tribe' *qišara* 'tree bark, outer skin'	*biðūr* 'seeds' *ðiyūl* 'tails' *giyūb* 'pockets' *biyūt* 'houses' *qišūr* 'barks'
$C_1vC_2C_3(a)$	$C_1uC_2aC_3$	*ġurfa* 'room' (place)	*ġuraf* 'rooms'
$C_1vC_2vC_3$	$C_1uC_2āC_3$	*šiʕar* 'poet'	*šuʕār* 'poets'
$C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$	$C_1uC_2C_2āC_3$	*tāgir* 'trader, rich man'	*tuggār* 'traders'
$C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3(a)$	$C_1uC_2uC_3$	*madīna* 'city'	*mudun* 'cities'
$C_1vC_2vC_3$ $C_1vC_2C_3(a)$	$C_1uC_2ūC_3$	*ðaras* 'tooth' *nafs* 'self' *tamar* 'date' *qalb* 'heart' *xaṭṭ* 'line, letter' *giðar* 'root' *nigma* 'star'	*ðurūs* 'teeth' *nufūs* 'selves' *tumūr* 'dates' *qulūb* 'hearts' *xuṭūṭ* 'lines, letters' *guðūr* 'roots' *nugūm* 'stars'
$mvC_1C_2vC_3(a)$	$maC_1āC_2iC_3$	*madarsa* 'school' *misgid* 'mosque' *maglis* 'reception room, council'	*madāris* 'schools' *masāgid* 'mosques' *magālis* 'reception rooms'

Table 3.10: Plural noun templates

Whether there is any clear derivational structured process linking particular singular and plural forms together is difficult to determine. Radcliffe (2008: 445) notes that the multiplicity of plural forms is somewhat paradoxical, given the single function which this process of plural forming carries out. However, he argues that the plural forms are not plurals of abstract roots but of specific singular forms, of which many can exist for a single root. Such a system thus allows for a number of different corresponding plural forms to be derived.

In comparison to triconsonantal forms, some CDA loanwords that are analogous to quadriconsonantal nominal forms may demonstrate plural agreement based on the $C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_3iC_4$ / $C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_2\bar{\imath}C_3$ / $C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_3\bar{\imath}C_3$ templates outlined above, as in the examples *tarāmis* 'thermos flask for hot drinks' (singular *turmūs*), *sbītār* 'hospitals' (singular *sbītar*), and *banādir* 'harbours, ports' (singular *bandar*).[56]

Number neutralisation occurs in CDA where the noun is modified with a numerical expression. If the accompanying number or numerical expression indicates plurality above a value of ten, the noun it modifies occurs in its singular form For values from three to ten number neutralisation does not occur, and the noun exhibits plural agreement with the expression. Where the noun is modified by a number or expression which implies two, then the noun it modifies agrees in the plural. This is dealt with in more detail in section (3.5.6).

3.4 Definiteness and indefiniteness

3.4.1 Definiteness

Definiteness of nominal forms in CDA may be expressed through the definite article, a pronoun suffix, as a synthetic genitive relationship (SGC) between a head noun and a modifier, and as an unmarked proper noun that is inherently definite.

The first of these, the definite article prefix *il-* 'the', can attach potentially to any noun. In continuous speech, the initial short vowel /i/ is omitted if preceded by another vowel, and progressive assimilation occurs if the definite article is immediately followed by a coronal consonant, resulting in gemination (see 2.4). The effect of the definite article is to add a general, specific quality of definiteness to the affixed noun e.g., *iš-šubka* 'the cream', *iṭ-ṭaḥīn* 'the flour', and *il-ʕāyila* 'the family'. Adjectives that modify definite nouns also take the definite article prefix. A more specific definite quality can be marked on nouns by means of personal pronoun suffixes

56 Analogous quadriconsonantal forms which do not demonstrate demonstrate plural inflection in CDA also exist, such as *tilfūnāt* 'telephones, mobile telephones' (singular *tilfūn*), *sitkānāt* 'tea glasses' (singular *sitkāna*), and *klatšāt* 'car/vehicle clutches' (singular *klatš*). The form *banšar* 'puncture' demonstrates plural inflection using the morpheme suffix /*-īn*/ as *banšar-īn* 'punctures', which falls outside of both regular and template plural inflection. In order to establish any regular morphological inflection processes in CDA, further data needs to be collected.

(see 3.6), which, for example, would render the the above forms as *šubka-nā* 'our cream' (1PL) , *ṭaḥīn-kum* 'your flour' (2MPL), and *ʕāyilat-ī* 'my family' (1S).

Nouns that form the head noun in an SGC are rendered definite themselves by a modifier noun, if the modifier noun has been made definite itself through either a definite article prefix, pronoun suffix, or by a proper noun that has inherent, unmarked definiteness. For example *ōb ṣāḥib-ī* 'my friend's father' (literally 'the father of my friend'), where the head noun is unmarked and forms a construct state with the following definite noun *ṣāḥib-ī* 'my friend' (see 3.5.5). The final group of nouns that are grammatically definite in CDA are proper nouns, which may or may not exhibit a definite article, but which have an inherent definite quality.

3.4.2 Indefiniteness

Whilst there is no overt grammatical marking of indefiniteness in CDA. Indeed, though all common nouns which are not marked through one of the means outlined in section (3.4.1) are inherently indefinite, there are nevertheless degrees of indefiniteness between these two extremes. The quality of indefiniteness in CDA nominal forms can be best represented as a continuum along which varying degrees of indefiniteness can be perceived, where the degree of indefiniteness can be assigned to forms based on the information they carry in context. For example, Watson notes (1993: 19) some indefinite nouns may have greater specificity than others, such as in an indefinite SGC *bēt riggīl* 'a man's house', where the relationship between the head noun *riggīl* 'man' and the modifier noun *bēt* 'house' has a greater specificity than the simple phrase *bēt* 'a house' has on its own. Whilst the syntactic marking of definiteness and indefiniteness presents a clearly differentiated system, the definite / indefinite continuum can be envisaged as more nuanced. Outlined by Brustad (2000: 18-25) as a feature in Arabic dialects, CDA also exhibits a series of indefinite forms which allow for greater specificity, which are dealt with in section (3.7).

3.5 Noun modifiers

3.5.1 Adjectives

3.5.1.1 Adjective derivation

As well as the common basic derived *Cv* templates for nouns, there are also numerous adjectival basic derived templates that are common in CDA, some of which are identical to those associated with noun forms. Adjectives may behave as attributes or predicates to the head noun they modify. Theoretically, the adjectival nominal may act as a noun, most readily

when it is rendered definite with the definite article, but as a nominal class of forms, they can be set apart from nouns due to their ability to behave as attributes. Adjectives inflect for number and gender, in agreement with the head noun they are modifying, although they do not share the dual inflection system as found with nouns. Common examples, based on their underlying *CV* template*,* are given below.

$C_1vC_2C_3$	Examples
$C_1aC_2C_3$	*raṭb* 'wet', *sahl* 'easy', *xass* 'worse', *xēr* 'better', *zēn* 'good'
$C_1uC_2C_3$	*murr* 'bitter'

Table 3.11: $C_1vC_2C_3$ adjectives

$C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$	Examples
$C_1\bar{a}C_2iC_3$	*wāsiʕ* 'wide', *bāṭil* 'bad', *bārid* 'cold'

Table 3.12: $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$ adjectives

$C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$	Examples
$C_1aC_2\bar{i}C_3$	*xafīf* 'light', *θaxīn* 'thick', *dawīl* 'old, ancient', *ʕarīḍ* 'wide', *ġalīḍ* 'fat'
$C_1iC_2\bar{i}C_3$	*kiθīr* 'many'

Table 3.13: $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$ adjectives

$C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$	Examples
$C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$	*ḍiyyaq* 'narrow', *ṭayyib* 'good'

Table 3.14: $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ adjectives

As well as these basic derived forms, several other adjectival derivation templates exist in CDA, which modify the basic template. For example, the template $mvC_1C_2\bar{v}C_3$ produces forms such as *mi-skīn* 'poor' via means of a *mv-* prefix, and the template *CvCCān* is also adjectival in meaning, by the addition of the suffixed morpheme *-ān* to an underlying canonical noun form, as in *xarb-ān* 'broken, destroyed', *zarm-ān* 'angry', *zaʕl-ān* 'sad, angry', *taʕb-ān* 'tired', *ʕaṭš-ān / ḍamy-ān* 'thirsty'.[57] Adjectives of relationship or belonging are formed by adding the */-ī/* suffix to nouns, such as *šaḥr-ī* 'Modern South Arabian language/local tribe', *mahr-ī* 'Modern South Arabian language/local tribe', and *ʕumān-ī* 'Omani'.[58]

A further major category of adjectives are those based on *Cv* templates which are often referred to as active and passive participles in traditional Arabic grammars.[59] This terminology for these forms is somewhat inadequate, as they may also function as nouns or verbs, in addition to their

57 The *CvCCān* form is a common feature also found in Northern Omani dialects. See Holes (2008: 486)

58 As noted in the Arabic dialect of Ṣanʕā‘ by Watson (1993: 430 - 431), the use of relative adjectives in CDA is also particularly noticeable for non-primary colours and nationalities.

59 These terms are taken from the Arabic *fāʕil* (active participle) and *mafʕūl bihi* (passive participle). As participles, whilst their morphological relation to derived verb forms is clear, their function extends beyond those reflected in these descriptive terms.

potential adjectival use. They are based around derived templates which share similar morphological features to derived verb templates (see 4.2), in that the resulting derived form may contain a series of additional morphemes (prefixed, suffixed, or infixed), in addition to the gemination of core root consonants and fixed vowelling patterns. A summary of the templates for these forms is given below.

The multi-functional nature of forms based on these templates is best exemplified using the template $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$, which is traditionally referred to as the active participle of the basic derived verb form. Previously, in Table 3.12, this $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$ template is shown to have an adjectival function e.g. *wāsiʕ* 'wide', and *bārid* 'cold, and Table 3.4 presents identical template forms which function as nouns e.g. *tāgir* 'trader, and *ḍābiṭ* 'officer'. The $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC_3$ derived form can also demonstrate a verbal quality as well, for example *kātib*, which may be translated as 'writing' (derived from the verb form *ktab* 'he wrote'), as well as the noun 'writer'. When used in a clause such as *hō kātib*, this may be translated as either 'he is a writer', or 'he is writing', depending on the context of the utterance. For the purpose of describing the adjectival function of these forms, the examples in the table below are referred to as derived participles, with their translation reflecting their function in this instance.

Root √	Template	Example
s-k-r	*muC₁aC₂C₂vC₃*	*musakkar* 'closed'
k-m-l		*mukimmal* 'finished'
f-t-ḥ		*mufittaḥ* 'open, wide open'
s-w-y	*muC₁āC₂vC₃*	*musāwī* 'done'
q-t-l		*muqātil* 'killed'
r-q-b		*murāqib* 'watched, anticipated'
ʿ-k-d	*mitaC₁aC₂C₂vC₃*	*mitaʿakkad* 'certain, sure'
w-ḥ-š		*mitawaḥhaš* 'enraged'
g-n-n		*mitagannan* 'obsessed with'
ʕ-r-b		*mitaʕarrab* 'forced (speech)'
ʕ-w-d		*mitaʕawwad* 'used to'
b-d-l	*mutaC₁āC₂vC₃*	*mutabādil* 'exchanged, shared'
q-t-l		*mutaqātil* 'fought over'
ʕ-q-r		*mutaʕāqar* 'wounded'
k-t-b	*minC₁aC₂vC₃*	*minkitab* 'written'
ḍ-ġ-ṭ		*minḍaġaṭ* 'under pressure, pressured'
k-s-r		*minkasar* 'broken'
s-ʕ-m	*mvC₁tvC₂vC₃*	*mistaʿam* 'angry'
n-ḍ-r		*mintaḍir* 'waiting'
q-l-b		*maqtilib* 'tumbled, fallen'
f-r-q		*miftiraq* 'dislocated'
q-w-m	*mistaC₁C₂vC₃*	*mustaqīm* 'straight'
ʿ-g-l		*mustaʿagal* 'late'
ʕ-g-l		*mistaʕgal* 'stolen'
f-l-ʕ		*mistiflaʕ* 'despicable'
q-r-ḍ		*mistaqraḍ* 'loaned'

Table 3.15: Derived participle forms: adjectival function

3.5.1.2 Adjectives – gender and number agreement

Adjectival agreement with the head noun or predicand displays the same morphological features as found with nouns. Gender is either masculine or feminine, and number is distinguished between singular or plural, in agreement with the gender and number of the noun which the adjective is modifying. As an unmarked form, the adjective is inherently masculine singular, such as the *C₁aC₂īC₃* form *ṣaġīr* 'small' (MS), and this can be modified with an /*-a*/ suffix as *ṣaġīr-a* 'small' (FS) for feminine singular inflection. Like nouns, morphological gender agreement for plurals can be shown with the suffix morphemes /*-īn*/ and /*-āt*/, as *ṣaġīr-īn* 'small' (MPL) and *ṣaġīr-āt* 'small' (FPL) respectively.

Where an adjective acts as an attributive modifier, then it also agrees with the noun it modifies in definiteness. Where the noun is definite, then its attributive adjective takes the definite article, such as *il-walīd iṣ-ṣaġīr* 'the young boy', *il-bint iṣ-ṣaġīr-a* 'the young girl', and *il-ḥarīm il-ʕaḍīm-āt* 'the great women'. Where the noun is indefinite, then its attributive adjective modifier is also indefinite, as in *il-rigīl il-ʕaḍīm-īn* 'the great men'.

If the adjective acts as a predicate, then the same gender and number inflection patterns are demonstrated between the adjective and its predicand. However, as a predicate, the adjective contrasts in definiteness with the predicand and is indefinite, for example *il-bint ṣaġīr-a* 'the girl is young', or *il-rigīl ʕaḍīm-īn* 'the men are great.'

Adjectives of relation (see 3.5.1) also inflect for gender and number using morpheme suffixes, as in *ʕumān-iyya* 'Omāni' (FS), *ʕumān-iyyīn* 'Omanis' (MPL), *ʕumān-iyyāt* (FPL) 'Omanis', *il-luġa iš-šaḥr-īyya* 'the Sheḥri language', and *il-rigīl ʕumān-iyyīn* 'The men are Omanis'.

A number of adjectives can also inflect for number based on the alteration and lengthening of their internal vowels. In CDA these forms are not restricted to human referents, and are often also used attributively or predicatively for non-human referents. By far the most common template used for such adjectival plural forms in CDA is $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$, such as *kubār* 'old, large', *ṣuġār* 'young, small', *qudām* 'old, ancient', *gudōd* 'new', *zuyōn* 'good, beautiful', and *ṭuwāl* 'long'. There is often no differentiation in adjectival inflection for such forms in either masculine or feminine referents, whether human or non-human, as the following examples (1 – 5) demonstrate.

(1) *il-rigīl* *il-kubār*
DEF-men DEF-old.PL
'The old men'

(2) *il-ḥarīm* *kubār*
DEF-women DEF-old.PL
'The women are old'

(3) *il-buyūt* *ṣugār*
DEF-houses small.PL
'The houses are small'

(4) *hāðēna* *hēn* *il-gimalīt* *il-kubār*
these.FPL they.FPL DEF-camels DEF-old.PL
'These are the old camels'

(5) *hāðēnak* *il-buyūt* *kubār*
those.FPL DEF-houses big.PL
'Those houses are big'

Whilst the existence of $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$ template plural adjectives is not uncommon in Arabic in general, their use here as plural modifiers for non-human plural head nouns or predicands is unusual. Belnap and Shabaneh (1992), and Belnap (1994), examined a corpus of pre-Islamic and early Islamic texts based on agreement patterns between modifiers and their non-human head nouns, noting that the categorical shift from strict plural agreement to deflected agreement for non-human plural forms was well established by the tenth century CE. CDA still retains this strict plural agreement for many adjectives, either with $C_1vC_2\bar{v}C_3$ template forms or with /*-āt*/ feminine plural suffixed forms, and the shift towards deflected feminine singular agreement patterns for non-human forms is absent in non-educated speech. This plural / feminine plural agreement feature of CDA is not limited to adjectival agreement, and can be seen elsewhere in demonstrative, pronoun, and verbal agreement patterns for non-human plurals. However, deflected feminine singular agreement patterns are more common in these other nominal and verbal forms.

3.5.2 Demonstratives

The system of demonstrative pronoun forms in CDA is based on similar forms to those found in other southern Arabian dialects, although most notably it has complex plural forms which appear to be somewhat unstable both in their distribution and usage amongst speakers. Their function can either be as modifiers of definite nouns or as substantives in their own right. Each pronominal form consists of two basic morphological elements: an initial static declarative morpheme /*hā*/, combined with a deictic morpheme which exhibits inflection, and which has the basic form /*ð*+inflection/.[60] Deictic distance is contrasted through the suffixation of an additional morpheme /*-(a)k*/, which marks a distal focus that compares with the unmarked proximal form. CDA demonstrative pronouns inflect for number and gender as shown in the table below, where the gender and number of human referents stipulates the use of the corresponding demonstrative form. As with non-human adjectival agreement outlined in section (3.5.1.2), the grammatical number and gender of non-human referents is treated as feminine plural in CDA on

60 The declarative function of the morpheme /*hā*/ is more apparent when it is combined with a pronoun clitic (see 6.5).

the whole, although the more standard deflected inflection as feminine singular found in MSA is also present.

	Proximal		Distal	
MS	*hāðī*		*hāðāk / hāðak*	
FS	*hāðī*		*hāðīk / hāðik*	
MPL	*hāðūn(a/e)*[61]	*hāðūl(a/e)*	*hāðūnak*	*hāðūlak*
FPL	*hāðēn(a/e)*	*hāðēl(a/e)*	*hāðēnak*	*hāðēlak*

Table 3.16: Demonstratives

The simplest forms in CDA are the MS and FS proximal forms, which do not differentiate between masculine and feminine referents.[62] As will be shown below, given the relative complexity of CDA plural demonstratives, this lack of gender inflection appears somewhat unusual, but given the tendency for final vowel raising in CDA (see section 2.2.4), one possible explanation for this uniformity could be that the underlying MS proximal form is /*hāðā*/, where the final /*ā*/ has been raised to /*ī*/.[63] Although there were no recorded instances of the form /*hāðā*/ in the collected data, by analogy the corresponding distal MS /*hāðāk*/ and FS /*hāðīk*/ pronouns suggest that this may be the case. Examples (6 - 13) are given below.

(6) *hāði* *l-kitāb*
DEM.PROX.MS DEF-book
'This book'

(7) *hāði* *l-madīna*
DEM.PROX.FS DEF-city
'This city'

(8) *hāðēla* *ṣ-ṣaġīrāt*
DEM.PROX.FPL DEF-girls
'These girls'

(9) *hāðula* *l-awlād*
DEM.PROX.MPL DEF-boys
'These boys'

(10) *hāðāk* *il-kitāb*
DEM.DIST.MS DEF-book
'That book'

(11) *hāðīk* *il-madīna*
DEM.DIST.FS DEF-city
'That city'

61 Bracketed final vowels on plural forms can vary depending amongst speakers, with /*a*/ contrasting with its raised allophone /*e*/. The vowels are bracketed here as they usually elide in free speech. See (2.2.3).

62 A shortened proximal form /*ðā*/ (MS/FS) was also noted, without the declarative morpheme /*hā*/, although its use is infrequent. A corresponding shortened distal form /*hāk*/ was also noted, particularly in longer narrative speech.

63 In many Arabic dialects, gender inflection for demonstrative MS and FS proximal forms is shown by the vowel variation of /*a*/ in MS forms, and /*i*/ in FS forms.

(12)	*hāðēlak*	*il-difātīr*	(13)	*hāðūlak*	*il-ʻawlād*
	DEM.DIST.FPL	DEF-books		DEM.DIST.MPL	DEF-boys
	'Those books'			'Those boys'	

Plural demonstrative CDA pronouns are notable for the existence of plural feminine forms, a feature which also exists in some northern Omani and southern Gulf dialects.[64] However, where CDA differs from these dialects is in the existence of two sets of morphologically differing forms, specifically in the inflectional element of the /*ð-*/ morpheme, which can feature either /*l*/ or /*n*/ as part of the inflectional element. The inflectional element which indicates the gender of the demonstrative referent manifests as a variation in the long vowel, with /*ū*/ indicating masculine gender, and /*ē*/ indicating feminine gender. When combined with either of the variable consonants /*l*/ or /*n*/, this generates four potential demonstrative pronoun forms, which can be further expanded to eight forms with the distal morpheme suffix /*k*/. A summary of this is given in the table above. Within the collected data, there is no demonstrable differentiation in the usage of either the /*l*/ or /*n*/ variants of the plural demonstrative forms but possible trends did emerge during observed conversation that are worthy of note.

As noted by Holes (1990: 156, 174), those Omani and southern Gulf dialects which exhibit both masculine and feminine plural demonstratives appear to be demonstrating new patterns of usage that are more akin to those in MSA. The tendency in CDA regarding plural demonstrative usage appears to be one of simplification, whereby speakers no longer differentiate between masculine or feminine grammatical gender for either human or non-human referents.[65] Instead, one of the four possible proximal forms has a tendency to be used as a common plural form for all referents, along with its corresponding distal form. Whilst this parallels the common plural form in MSA, the majority of CDA speakers observed in this study retained the use of masculine and feminine forms.

An additional observation would suggest that the /*n*/ and /*l*/ may have had some functional difference historically, although this has diminished to the extent that such functionality has been all but lost. Some speakers displayed a preference in open conversation to use /*n*/ demonstrative forms for those objects within the immediate frame of reference, for both proximal and distal referents. The same speakers substituted /*n*/ demonstrative forms for their corresponding /*l*/ forms when the referent was outside of the immediate frame of reference, or when recalling a previously topicalised referent in discourse.[66]

64 See Holes (1991: 176)

65 As with the short singular proximal form /ðā/, a proximal plural form /ðēlā/ also exists, which does not inflect for gender.

66 Further research may reveal such functionality in CDA demonstratives pronouns, but the difficulties encountered recording free speech amongst groups of older, uneducated CDA speakers prevented this within the scope of the present study. Johnstone notes the possibility of differentiation in deictic

3.5.3 Comparatives and elatives

The *aC*$_1$*C*$_2$*aC*$_3$ derived nominal form in CDA, as is common in all Arabic dialects, can carry an elative meaning, and is used attibutively and predicatively for both comparative and superlative phrases. In comparative phrases, the *aC*$_1$*C*$_2$*aC*$_3$ form is followed by the partitive preposition *min* 'from, than, among', such as (14) below where it is glossed as COMP.

(14)	*hē*	*tiðikkar-at*	*il-qiṣṣa*	*aḥsan*	*min*
	she	remembered-3FS	DEF-story	better-COMP	than
	ē	*ḥad*	*θān-ī*		
	any	person	other-ADJ		
	'She remembered the story better than anyone else'				

For superlative constructions, the *aC*$_1$*C*$_2$*aC*$_3$ form usually modifies a following unmarked indefinite noun, such as (15) below, with two superlative forms SUPL joined here by the conjunction *ū* 'and':

(15)	*kān-at*	*agdad*	*ū*	*akbar*	*ʕamār-a*
	was-3FS	modern.SUPL	and	largest.SUPL	building-FS
	fi	*l-madīna*			
	in	DEF-city			
	'It was the most modern and largest building in the city'				

A substantive form of the superlative can also be formed with the definite article *il-* prefixed to the *aC*$_1$*C*$_2$*aC*$_3$ form, such as *il-aṣġar* 'the smallest'. Some common examples of the *aC*$_1$*C*$_2$*aC*$_3$ form in CDA are *'aṣġar* 'smaller, smallest', *'aṭwal* 'longer, longest', *'akθar* 'more, most', *'aqṣar* 'short, shortest, and *'arxas* 'cheaper, cheapest'.

A parallel form *C*$_1$*aC*$_2$*C*$_3$ also exists in CDA as a means of expressing comparative and superlative meaning. Examples of this within the data sample are rare, and are restricted to two forms, *xēr* 'better, best', and *xass* 'worse, worst', both of which occur in identical constructions to

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distance for Sheḥri demonstratives pronouns. Given the close contact and exogamous marriage between Sheḥri-speaking groups and the CDA communities on the group, this phenomenon in CDA demonstratives may have emerged as a contact feature. However, local speakers consulted about Sheḥri demonstrative forms did not recognise this function as one which existed in their speech today. See Johnstone (1981: 44)

their $aC_1C_2aC_3$ forms *axēr* and *axass,* such as (16) below, in an comparative example for (14) above.[67]

(16) *faṭan-at* *il-qiṣṣa* *xēr* *min* *ē*

remembered-3FS DEF-story better-COMP than any

ḥad *θān-ī*

one else-ADJ

'She remembered the story better than anyone else'

3.5.4 Colours

Primary colours in CDA are formed around the base template $C_1aC_2C_3$, as opposed to the more common $aC_1C_2aC_3$ template found in other dialects. Primary colours in CDA can inflect for gender and number as shown in the table below, and follow the same agreement patterns as other adjectival modifiers whether they are used attributively with a head noun, or as predicates with a noun predicand. They may also be nouns themselves, in which case they carry the definite article.

Term	MS	FS	PL
Black	*swād*	*sōda(h) / sōde(h)*	*sūd*
White	*byāḍ*	*bēḍa(h)*	*būḍ*
Red	*ḥmār*	*ḥamra(h)*	*ḥumur / ḥumr*
Green	*xḍār*	*xaḍra(h)*	*xḍur*
Blue	*zrāq*	*zirqa(h) / zarqa(h)*	*zurq*
Yellow	*ṣfār*	*ṣifra(h)*	*ṣufur*

Table 3.17: Colours

In the examples given above, the final voiceless glottal fricative /h/ may be heard in citation forms, although in rapid speech it is usually not present. The colours given above can also be expressed as nouns of quality based around the template $C_1C_2uC_3C_3a(h)$, where the final radical in the underlying root is geminate, such as *swudda(h)* 'blackness', *bwuḍḍa(h)* 'whiteness, *ḥmurra(h)* 'redness', *xḍurra(h)* 'greenness, dampness', *zruqqa(h)* 'blueness', and *ṣfurra(h)* 'yellowness'.[68]

67 The form $C_1aC_2C_3$ is considered an historical feature of CDA by many speakers, and one which is gradually being superceded by the $aC_1C_2aC_3$ form. The $aC_1C_2aC_3$ form is paralleled in MSA, and its preferential use in CDA can be seen as being influenced by the promotion of MSA in schools, and its use in the media. The form *xēr* represents an underlying diphthong form *xayr*.

68 The root *x-ḍ-r* carries a variety of related semantic concepts in CDA. In addition to its concept as a colour, its adjectival meaning of *xḍar* 'wet' and *xḍurra(h)* 'greenness, dampness' can probably be attributed to local environmental conditions during the annual monsoon period, when the coastal strip

The remaining non-primary colours in CDA are formed as adjectives of relation (see 3.5.1.1), and inflect for gender and number accordingly (see 3.5.1.2). Some examples of non-primary colours in CDA are *bunn-ī* 'brown', *ḥusn-ī* 'orange', *banafsag-ī* 'purple', *xumr-ī* 'deep red', *ḥanṭ-ī* 'yellow, golden brown', *warad-ī* 'pink', *lēl-ī* 'dark blue/purple', *blūl-ī* 'light blue', *nīl-ī* 'indigo', and *subġabāġ-ī* 'royal blue'.

3.5.5 Possessives

Possessive relationships in CDA can be expressed in three ways: either as the modification of one noun by another noun or pronominal form in a synthetic genitive construction (SGC), as a locative/comitative/dative preposition + pronoun suffix construction (section 6.1.5), or as an analytic genitive construction with a possessive linker (AGC) (section 8.1).[69] These latter means of expressing possessive relations are discussed in more detail in their respective sections.

The simplest expression of possession in CDA is a noun rendered definite by a pronoun suffix (3.6.2), such *rās-ī* 'my head', or *wallāʕ-ū* 'his lighter', both of which represent the simplest form of the genitive construction between a possessed item and its possessor. In terms of the synthetic genitive construction between two independent nouns, it is formed by the modification of the head noun (the possession) by a nominal modifier (the possessor), where their possessive relationship is inferred from their immediate adjacent positions (Watson 1993: 173). Theoretically any two nouns can be joined together in a genitive construction, such as in examples (17-20) below.

(17) *rās* *ir-riggīl*
head DEF-man
'the man's head' (lit. 'the head of the man')

(18) *qubb-at* *il-misgid*
dome-F DEF-mosque
'the dome of the mosque'

(19) *sir-t* *maʕ* *xō* *ṣāḥib-ak*
walked-1S with brother friend-2MS
'I walked with your friend's brother'

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and surrounding mountains are transformed, and are covered in lush green vegetation. A further conceptual colour contained within this root is as an expression of human beauty, although the associated colour with this specific concept is described as dark brown. This may be again be linked to seasonal rainfall as the colour of wet soil, although this is unclear. A similar feature concerning the colour green can also be found in some Yemeni dialects (Watson 2004: 253-264).

69 The term synthetic is used here to describe the juxtapositional relationship between the head noun and the 'modifier' noun, although there is no genitive modifier inflectional ending for such constructions in CDA, as is the case in MSA. See Versteegh (1997: 49)

(20) *kitāb* *xut-īš* *ġāl-ī* *wāgid*
book sister.FS expensive very
'Your sister's book is very expensive'

In examples (17 – 20), the possessive relationship is clear. For all these examples, the modifier noun which immediately follows the head noun to its left is definite, either through the presence of the definite article /*il*-/ or by a pronominal suffix. Where this is the case, then the overall phrase is rendered definite, despite the lack of definite marking on the head noun in the SGC, indeed one of the key morphological features of this construction is that the head noun always remains indefinite. In (18), where the head noun in the genitive construction has the feminine morpheme suffix /-*a*/, then it is realised as /-*at*/. In (19) and (20), the head nouns in each phrase are modified by nouns rendered definite by pronoun suffixes.

One of the most common uses of the SGC in CDA is for the expression of genealogical or human relationships, as well as the expression of integral relationships (18), and both inalienable (17) and alienable (20) possession. In contrast to the SGC, the analytic genitive construction (AGC), which links nominal elements together in a possessive construction using the overt possessive linker *ḥaqq* or *māl,* occurs most often in the expression of alienable possession. The topic of alienable vs. inalienable possession in CDA manifested in SGCs and AGCs is discussed more detail in section (8.1).

Where the head noun is modified by an indefinite noun, then the SGC as a whole is indefinite, as in (21) and (22).

(21) *kōb* *qahawa*
cup coffee
'A cup of coffee'

(22) *maṣdarat* *wilīd*
shirt boy
'A boy's shirt'

Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of nouns which can be joined together in an SGC. In CDA, long SGC constructions are relatively uncommon, but do occur, and follow the same principles as SGCs which consist of two nouns.[70] In these longer construct phrases, the head noun is followed by a series of modifying nouns to the right, with the final noun in the construct phrase rendered definite by either the definite article, pronoun suffix, or as an inherently definite proper noun. The definite marking of the final noun in the SGC thus renders the entire SGC definite. In (23) below, this occurs as the definite article, whilst in (24) and (25), the final noun is definite through the addition of a pronoun suffix, or as a proper noun, respectively.

70 Longer construct phrases can also be expressed using the AGC (8.1).

(23) *wēn* *qālīd* *bāb* *il-bēt*
where keys door DEF-house
'Where are the keys to the door of the house?'

(24) *ʕaṭā* *raqm* *tilfūn* *ax-ū* *li* *ṣāḥab-ū*
gave.3MS number telephone brother-3MS to friend-3MS
'He gave his brother's telephone number to his friend'

(25) *kān* *ʕīd* *mīlād* *bint* *aḥmad*
was.3MS celebration birth daughter aḥmad
'It was Aḥmad's daughter's birthday'

Adjectival modification of the SGC may occur for either the head noun or the modifying noun. Where an adjective modifies either the head or modifying noun in an SGC, the adjective immediately follows the final noun in the SGC, and exhibits grammatical agreement with the noun it is modifying. In (26) below, despite the lack of definite marking on the noun *xātim* 'ring', the modifying adjective *il-fiḍḍī* 'silver' is definite, as the entire construct phrase is rendered definite by the final term in the SGC, *ḥabōbt-ī* 'my grandmother'. In (27), the modifying adjective *il-qudām* 'old' could potentially modify either the head noun or the modifying noun, as both are plural nouns. In such construct phrases, disambiguation is usually provided through context.

(26) *mā* *ḥaṣṣal-nā* *xātim* *ḥabōbt-ī* *il-fiḍḍī*
NEG find-1PL ring grandmother-1S DEF-silver
'We did not find my grandmother's silver ring'

(27) *šanaṭ* *il-kutub* *il-qudām*
bags DEF-books DEF-old.PL
'The bags of old books' or 'The old bags of books'

3.5.6 Numerals

As numerals in CDA demonstrate similar forms and concord patterns to those found in MSA, a brief overview will be given here. In addition to numeral forms listed below, singular indefinite nouns also carry numerical value, in so far as they represent one count of the noun to which they refer e.g. *kitāb,* meaning both 'a book' and 'one book'. The dual morpheme /*ēn*/ (see 3.3) is also productive in CDA, where it is suffixed to the singular, indefinite noun to indicate two counts of its referent e.g. *šahr-ēn* 'two months', *marrat-ēn* 'twice, two times', and *risālat-ēn* 'two letters'.

3.5.6.1 Cardinal numbers

A summary of the cardinal number forms from 1-10 in CDA is given below, where unmarked forms denote masculine grammatical gender, and feminine forms are suffixed with the /*-a*/ morpheme. If there is no pharyngeal phoneme preventing vowel raising in the suffixed syllable, then the feminine morpheme may be realised as /*-e*/, although this is not always the case. All cardinal numbers may take the definite article /*il-*/, and the standard forms used in counting are usually masculine forms for 1-2, and feminine forms for 3-10.

	M/F		M / F
1	*wāḥad* / *wāḥada*	6	*sitt* / *sitta*
2	*θnēn* / *θantēn*	7	*sabaʕ* / *sabaʕa*
3	*θalāθ* / *θalāθa*	8	*θamān* / *θamāniya*
4	*arbaʕ* / *arbaʕa*	9	*tisaʕ* / *tisaʕa*
5	*xums* / *xumsa*	10	*ʕašar* / *ʕašara*

Table 3.18: Cardinal numbers 1 - 10

The form *wāḥad* / *wāḥada* 'one' can be used as an indefinite head noun modified by a count noun modifier in an SGC, or can be used after a count noun e.g. *wāḥad faṣal* / *faṣal wāḥad* 'one chapter', and there appears to be no difference in meaning between its position following an indefinite noun, or its SGC preceding head noun position.[71] The forms *θnēn* / *θantēn* 'two' modify plural forms of count nouns, and either immediately precede a indefinite count noun in a SGC, or follow a definite modified count noun in as an attribute. Gender agreement is strict for both *wāḥad* / *wāḥada* and *θnēn* / *θantēn*, and reflects the grammatical gender of the singular form of the modified noun. Where *θnēn* / *θantēn* follow a definite count noun in attribution, then they are also definite and carry the definite article. These concord agreement and positional features are shown in the following examples (28-30).

(28) *qarē-t* *faṣal* *wāḥad* *min* *hāði*

read-1S chapter one from this

l-kitāb *bass*

DEF-book only

'I have only read one chapter of this book'

71 The term SGC is used here to reflect the syntactic similarity between the head noun and its modifier, although this is not a strict possessive relationship. Holes (2004: 213) describes such syntactic relationships for numbers as a subvariety of the construct phrase.

(29)	*banāt-hē*	*iθ-θantēn*	*muwaḍḍaf-āt*	*fi*
	daughters-her	DEF-two	employee-FPL	in
	maktab il-barīd			
	office DEF-post			
	'Her two daughters are employees at the post office'			

(30)	*maʔ-ī*	*θantēn*	*axaw-āt*
	with-me	two	sisters-FPL
	'I have two sisters'		

For the cardinal numbers 3-10, CDA displays identical concord agreement with those found in MSA. Indefinite count nouns are plural, and are preceded by a numeral head noun in a SGC whose gender is the reverse of the singular form of the count noun, referred to as gender polarity (Ryding 2005: 334) The same concord agreement is followed for definite count nouns, although in this instance the numeral form follows the definite noun it is modifying in attribution, and is rendered definite with the definite article.

In the next example (31), the feminine form of the numeral *θalāθa(t)* 'three', has the reverse gender of the the masculine singular count noun *yōm* 'day'. The phrase is also an SGC, as indicated by the realisation of the feminine suffix morpheme as /-*at*/.

(31)	*inta*	*bā-ti-glis*	*hinna*	*θalāθ-at*	*ēyām*
	you	FUT-2MS-sit	here	three-F	days
	'You will stay here for three days'				

In example (32), the feminine form of the numeral *θalāθ-a* 'three' occurs again, in this instance due to the masculine gender of the singular count noun *riggāl* 'man'. As the count noun is definite, and the following numeral is in attribution to the definite noun, then no SGC exists and the feminine suffix on the numeral is realised as /-*a*/.

(32)	*baġē-t*	*a-sāfar*	*il-madīna*	*maʕ*	*hāðūlak*
	want-1S	1S-travel	DEF-city	with	those
	ir-rigāl	*iθ-θalāθ-a*			
	DEF-men	DEF-three-FEM			
	'I wanted to travel to town with those three men'				

In (33), the feminine form of the numeral *arbaʕ-at* 'four' has reverse agreement with the masculine singular noun count noun *yōm* 'day'. Again, the numeral is in an SGC with the modifying noun, and the feminine suffix morpheme is realised as /-*at*/.

(33)	*mā*	*ṭalaʕ-t*	*il-bēt*	*arbaʕ-t*	*ēyām*	*kullu*
	NEG	get up-1S	DEF-house	four-F	days	all-ADV
	bisibbit	*il-maṭar*				
	because	DEF-rain				
	'I did not leave the house for four days because of the rain'					

In the final example, (34), the definite cardinal numeral does not immediately follow the definite plural noun which it modifies, and is separated by the possessive linker + pronoun suffix *ḥaqqūt-kum*, lit. 'belonging to you'. Although *ḥaqqūt-kum* displays plural agreement with the non-human definite head noun *(i)l-gimalīt* 'camels', concord agreement in the modifying numeral form is maintained as feminine, and exhibits gender polarity with the grammatically masculine singular form of the head noun, *gimal* 'camel'.

(34)	*ʕaṭē-t*	*šwiya*	*min*	*il-māy*	*li*	*l-gimalīt*
	gave-1S	little	from	DEF-water	to	DEF-camels
	ḥaqqūt-kum		*il-arbaʕa*			
	POSS.PL-your.2MPL		DEF-four-FEM			
	'I gave some water to your four camels'					

Number	Term	Number	Term
11	*ḥadʕašar*	31	*wāḥad wa θalāθīn*
12	*θanʕašar*	32	*θinīn wa θalāθīn*
13	*θilatʕašar*	40	*arbaʕīn*
14	*arbaʕtʕašar*	50	*xamsīn*
15	*xamastʕašar*	60	*sittīn*
16	*sittʕašar*	70	*sabaʕīn*
17	*sabaʕtʕašar*	80	*θamānīn*
18	*θamantʕašar*	90	*tisaʕīn*
19	*tisaʕtʕašar*	100	*miya*
20	*ʕušarīn*	1000	*alf*
21	*wāḥad wa ʕušarīn*	0	*ṣfur*
22	*θinīn wa ʕušarīn*	half	*nuṣṣ*
23	*θalāθ wa ʕušarīn*	third	*θulθ*
30	*θalāθīn*	quarter	*rubuʕ*

Table 3.19: Cardinal numbers 11-1000, fractions

The cardinal numbers 11-19 are historically compound numbers which have merged in CDA to become fixed forms. Concord agreement for these numerals does not occur with their count noun, which is always singular. In this numerical range indefinite numerals precede their modifying indefinite noun in a syntactic structure similar to an SGC, with definite numerals following modified definite nouns.[72] The same rules are applicable for numerals of tens (20, 30, 40 etc.). Plural forms of count numerals in tens are formed with the feminine plural suffix /*-āt*/, such as *sittīn-āt* 'sixties', *sabaʕīn-āt* 'seventies', and *θamānīn-āt* 'eighties', with definite forms used to represent decades e.g. *it-tisaʕīn-āt* 'the nineties'.

Cardinal numbers which fall within two count numerals of ten, i.e. 20-30, are compound numbers, combining an initial numeral from 1-9 with any count ten form by means of the conjunction *wa* / *ū* / *ō* 'and'. Gender polarity is maintained in these numerals, and the count noun is always singular, with the position of the modifying numeral again either preposed in a pseudo SGC or postposed for indefinite and definite head nouns respectively, such as in example (35).

72 Holes (2004: 216) explains the syntactic similarity between these constructions and SGCs as having arisen from the loss of case inflection on the count noun in Arabic dialects, which would be marked as accusative in MSA to reflect its adverbial specification.

(35)	*fī*	*l-yōm*	*bass*	*arbaʕ*	*wa*	*ʕašrīn*
	EXIST	DEF-day	only	four-M	and	twenty
	sāʕ-a					
	hour-F					
	'There are only twenty-four hours in the day'					

3.5.6.2 Ordinal numbers

CDA ordinal numbers display similar final vowel properties as cardinal numerals, with vowel raising often present in non-pharyngeal environments. Apart from *awwal* / *ūla* 'first', forms follow the common *CāCiC* substantive/adjectival template (see 3.2.7), and take strict gender agreement with any noun they modify as adjectives. The forms *awwal* / *ūla*, as in MSA, are structured on the elative template *aCCaC* / *CuCCa* (see 3.5.1.1), and take identical gender agreement as other ordinal forms. All forms may take the definite article, and may behave either as independent indefinite nouns in SGCs, or as attributive adjectives for both definite and indefinite substantives. In the case of *awwal* / *ūla*, these may also behave as elative substantives (see 3.5.3).

	M / F		M / F
First	*awwal* / *ūla*	Sixth	*sādis* / *sādisa*
Second	*θāni* / *θāniya*	Seventh	*sābiʕ* / *sābiʕa*
Third	*θāliθ* / *θāliθa*	Eighth	*θāmin* / *θāmina*
Fourth	*rābiʕ* / *rābiʕa*	Ninth	*tāsiʕ* / *tāsiʕa*
Fifth	*xāmis* / *xāmisa*	Tenth	*ʕāšir* / *ʕāšira*

Table 3.20: Ordinal numbers

3.5.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in CDA are a closed group of nominal forms, some of which can also be used as indefinites, to describe varying degrees of quantity. These are nouns such as *kull* 'each, all', *baʕḍ* 'some', *šwiyya* 'a little', *qalīl* 'a little', *wāgid* 'many, much', *ḥad* 'one', and *kum* / *kam* 'a few, several'. The majority of these forms occur in SGCs. For *kull* 'each, all', it is used to express quantities that reflect a whole, or part of a whole entity, depending on the definiteness of construct structure in which it is used. Where *kull* is modified by an indefinite singular noun in a SGC, then its meaning is that of 'each, every', as in examples (36-38).

(36) *kull* *yōm*
each day
'Each day / every day'

(37) *kull* *ʕāšiya*
each evening
'Every evening'

(38) *ṣōṭ-hā* *mašhūr* *fi* *kull* *makān*
voice-her famous in each place
'Her voice is well known everywhere'

Where *kull* is modified by a definite noun in a SGC, then its meaning reflects totality, and can best be translated as 'all, every', as in (39) and (40).

(39) *min* *bēn* *kull* *axwān-ū* *walīd*
from between all brothers-his walīd
yi-ḥibb *ir-riyāḍa* *akθar*
3MS-loves DEF-sport more
'Out of all his brothers, Walīd loves sport the most'

(40) *kull* *id-dakākīn* *bā-ti-tsakkar* *bukra*
all DEF-shops FUT-3FS-close tomorrow
'All of the shops will be closed tomorrow'

The quantifier *baʕḍ* 'some' also occurs in an SGC, but it is usually accompanied by a definite noun modifier, as in (41). In the same example, it also takes a pronoun suffix. *baʕḍ* 'some' may also be used with a reciprocal meaning (see 3.9).

(41) *fi* *l-misgid* *baʕḍ* *il-nās* *rākaʕ-īn*
in DEF-mosque some DEF-people kneeling-MPL
wa *baʕḍ-hum* *wāqaf-in*
and some-them standing-MPL
'In the mosque, some of the people are kneeling,
and some of them are standing'

The quantifiers *šwiyya* 'a little', and *kum* / *kam* 'a few, several' appear in SGCs such as (42-44), with *kam* / *kum* taking a definite noun modifer. *šwiyya* may also be reduplicated as *šwiyya šwiyya* 'just a little'.

(42) *sār* *quddām-ī* *kam* *iš-šiqaḥ*
went.3MS in front of-me few DEF-steps
'He walked a few steps in front of me'

(43) *mā* *yū-zin* *akθar* *min* *kam* *ig-gram-āt*
NEG 3MS-weigh more than few DEF-gram-FPL
'It weighs no more than a few grams'

(44) *ʕāṭē-nā* *t-tāgir* *šwiyyat filūs*
gave-1PL DEF-trader little money
'We gave the trader a little money'

3.6 Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Arabic can be divided into two sets, independent forms and suffixed forms. The main characterising features of CDA personal pronouns are that their morphological form remains fixed, that is they do not display inflectional affixes to base forms as a means of demonstrating gender (either masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural), or person (first, second, or third person). This inflectional information is contained inherently within each form. CDA does not have a third person gender neutral form, and the corresponding masculine or feminine third person pronouns (independent or suffixed) are used, in agreement with the gender of their substantive co-referents.

The first group of personal pronouns in CDA are those which stand alone within a phrase as independent forms, and whose behaviour is generally akin to that of other substantives in CDA. However, independent pronouns are inherently definite, and do not affix to the definite article /*il-*/.

The second group of personal pronoun forms in CDA are suffixes, which perform a variety of grammatical functions. These suffixed forms can express possession when suffixed to nouns, and act as object pronouns that affix either directly to verbs or prepositions. In most circumstances, identical suffixed forms are used for both functions, the only exception being the 1S possessive suffix /*-ī*/, as in *bēt-ī* 'my house', *ōb-ī* 'my father', which contrasts with the object pronoun form /*-nī*/, such as *ḍarab-nī* 'he hit me' and *ʕaṭat-nī* 'she gave (to) me'. The 1S form /*-nī*/ affixes to verbs in the vast majority of circumstances, with the corresponding /*-ī*/ affix occurring with nouns and prepositions. However, occasionally the 1S form /*nī*/ can be attached to prepositions, as in (45) below and the suffixed preposition *fī-nī* 'in me'.

3.6.1 Personal pronouns

	Pronoun		Pronoun
1S[73]	*ānā, ānī*	1PL	*naḥana / naḥani / naḥane*
2MS	*inta / inti*	2MPL	*intū / intum*
2FS	*inti / inte*	2FPL	*intēn*
3MS	*hō*	3MPL	*hum*
3FS	*hē*	3FPL	*hēn*

Table 3.21: Personal pronouns

(45)

šuft-ū	*ʕan*	*ṭaraf*	*ʕēn-ī*	*lākin*
saw-1S-him.3MS	from	corner	eye-my.1S	but
fī-nī	*il-fazaʕ*			
in-PREP-me-PN.1S	DEF-fear			

'I saw it from the corner of my eye but I was scared'.

3.6.2 Object / possessive pronoun suffixes

Pronoun suffix forms in CDA are as follows below, with the two examples in the subsequent table demonstrating their suffixation with the locative preposition *ʕalā* 'on', and the comitative preposition *maʕ* 'with.

	Pronoun		Pronoun
1S	*-ī / -nī*	1PL	*-nā / -nē*
2MS	*-ak*	2MPL	*-kum*
2FS	*-iš / -ik*[74]	2FPL	*-kēn*
3MS	*-u(h)*[75]	3MPL	*-hum*
3FS	*-hē / -hā*	3FPL	*-hēn*

Table 3.22: Object / possessive pronoun suffixes

73 The variant 1S forms do not reflect differentiation in gender, as is the case with some Yemeni dialects including Ḥaḍramitic Arabic, the nearest major Arabic dialect to CDA. Along with the 2MS, 2FS, and 1PL pronouns, these variant forms exhibit *imāla* (see section 2.2.4). The 2MPL variant *intū* is considered a recent addition to CDA, perhaps as a result of borrowing from other Arabic dialects which appear in broadcast media.

74 The 2FS affricated variant /*-iš*/ is found in many dialects spoken in southern Arabia, and is often referred to as *kaškaša*. The form /*-ik*/ is more consistent with MSA, and is particularly common in CSA amongst younger, educated speakers. For further discussion see al-Azraqi (2007: 555-557)

75 The final /h/ is occasionally lightly aspirated and audible, particularly in pre-pausal position.

1S	*ʕal-ī* 'on me'	*maʕ-ī* 'with me'
2MS	*ʕalē-k* 'on you'	*maʕ-ak* 'with you'
2FS	*ʕalē-š* 'on you'	*maʕ-iš* / *maʕ-ik* 'with you'
3MS	*ʕalē-h* 'on him'	*maʕ-uh* 'with him'
3FS	*ʕalē-hē* 'on her'	*maʕ-hē* 'with her'
1PL	*ʕalē-nā* 'on us'	*maʕ-nā* 'with us'
2MPL	*ʕalē-kum* 'on you'	*maʕ-kum* 'with you'
2FPL	*ʕalē-kēn* 'on you'	*maʕ-kēn* 'with you'
3MPL	*ʕalē-hum* 'on them'	*maʕ-hum* 'with them'
3FPL	*ʕalē-hēn* 'on them'	*maʕ-hēn* 'with them'

Table 3.23: Object / possessive pronoun suffixes examples

3.7 Indefinites

Using the approach outlined by Haspelmath (1997), and Matras & Reeshemius (2003: 26-28), I characterise the pronouns and phrases below as expressing a range of indefinite values within the definiteness continuum, according to the information status being provided in the phrase, and semantic domain to which it belongs (Person, Object, Location, and Time).[76] These forms fill a gap in the referential spectrum, providing an indefinite non-verbal form for the speaker to refer to each semantic domain. Although there are a variety of different possibilities which can result from the combination of information status and semantic domain type, not all produce specific indefinite pronouns or phrases. A summary of the main CDA indefinites is given below.

	Indefinite		Indefinite
nobody	*mā ḥad*	anyone	*ē ḥad*
nothing, anything	*mā šē*	sometime	*baʕð il-marrāt* / *wāḥad zamān* / *marra*
anywhere	*ē buqʕa* / *ē makān*	something, anything	*šē*
someone	*ḥad*	somewhere	*makān*

Table 3.24: Indefinites

Where a specific indefinite semantic domain is intended, then the forms *baʕð il-marrāt* 'sometime', *ḥad* 'someone', *makān* 'somewhere', and *šē* 'something' are used, such as in (46) and (47) below.

76 For further discussion, also see Shabibi (1999: 66-68)

(46) *šē* *xēr* *min* *lā* *šē*
thing better than NEG thing
'Something is better than nothing'

(47) *bā-yi-qābal* *ḥad* *hinnī*
FUT-3MS-meet person here
'He will meet someone here'

Where a negative semantic domain is intended, then the forms *mā ḥad* 'nobody' and *mā šē* 'nothing' are used, as shown in (48) and (49).

(48) *ēš* *ʕaṭā-k* *mā* *šē*
what gave.3MS-you.2MS NEG thing
'What did he give you? Nothing!'

(49) *fōq* *hāði* *mā* *ḥad* *yi-skun* *fī* *hāðak* *il-bēt*
above this NEG person 3MS-lives in that DEF-house
'However, nobody lives in that house'

Where there is free choice in the semantic domain, then the same forms as specific indefinites are used along with the modifier *ē* 'any', such as *ē buqʕa* 'anywhere', and *ē ḥad* 'anyone'. The form *šē* 'anything' may or may not be modified by *ē*.

(50) *mumkin* *yi-kūn* *fi* *ē* *buqʕa*
possible 3MS.be in any place
'He could be anywhere!'

(51) *wallah* *mā* *a-ʕtaqad* *ē* *ḥad* *ya-ʕraf-hā* *il-ḥaqīqa*
swear NEG 1S-believe any person 3MS-know-it DEF-truth
'I don't believe anyone knows the truth'

If the indefinite referent is universal, then the quantifier *kull* 'all' is used, such as *kull wāḥid* 'everyone' and *kull makān* 'everywhere' are used (see 3.5.8).

3.8 Interrogatives

The closed class of interrogative pronouns in CDA are similar to those found in many other Arabic dialects. The variety of forms that exist for certain pronouns reflects new forms which have been adopted by CDA speakers through contact with speakers of Gulf dialects and the modern media. Both *ēš* 'what?' and *lēš* 'why?', historically grammaticalized forms of the phrases *ʻay šayʻ* 'which thing' and *li ʻay šayʻ* 'for which thing' respectively, are common amongst Gulf

speakers. Similarly, the 'where' forms *wēn* and *fēn* can be found in Gulf and North African/Levantine dialects. The form *hēn* 'where' is seen by many speakers as the original interrogative pronoun out of the three given in the table below, which is possibly a grammaticalized form of the interrogative phrase *hā ēna* 'oh where?', given the continued use of the declarative particle /*hā*/ in CDA (see 6.5). A summary of CDA interrogative pronouns is given in the table below:

	Interrogative		Interrogative
What?	*ēš*	When?	*mta / mata*
Why?	*lēš*	Which?	*min (+ noun)*
How many?	*kum / kam*		*ēš min (+ noun)*
How?	*kē / kēf*	Who?	*mīn / man*
Where?	*fēn / wēn / hēn*	Whose?	*li-man*

Table 3.25: Interrogatives

3.9 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexives and reciprocals in CDA are based around the nouns *nafs* 'self' and *baʕḍ* 'some'. Reflexives occur with corresponding pronominal suffixed singular and plural form of *nafs* (s) / *nufūs* (pl), depending on the number of the referent or referents, such as *nafs-ī* 'myself', *nafs-ū* 'himself', or *nufūs-anā* 'ourselves'. As a reciprocal, *baʕḍ* 'some' occurs as pronoun-suffixed form followed by the same form with the definite article, for example *baʕḍ-anā il-baʕḍ* 'together, each other', co-referent with the head noun or subject of a clause, such as (52).

(52) *sār-ū* *ṭ-ṭarīq* *kull-ū* *bidūn* *yi-tkillam-ū*
went-3MPL DEF-road all-it without 3-speak-MPL
maʕ *baʕḍ-hum* *il-baʕḍ*
with some-them.3MPL DEF-some
'They went all the way without without speaking to each other'

3.10 Diminutives

Nominal forms based on an underlying triconsonantal $C_1uC_2ēC_3(a)$ template carry a diminutive sense in CDA, which usually implies an affectionate quality for either animate or inanimate referents, as well as the smallness of its referent. Such forms are relatively frequent in the CDA data sample, such as the noun based forms *buwēb* 'small door' (c.f. *bāb/bīb* 'door'), *kulēb* 'dog, small puppy' (c.f. *kelb* 'dog'), *kuwēb* 'small cup' (c.f. *kūb* 'cup'), *buqēra* 'small cow, calf' (c.f. *baqara* 'cow'), *qumēra* 'small moon' (c.f. *qmār* 'moon'), *ṣuḥēn* 'small plate, dish' (c.f. *ṣaḥan* 'plate'), *kubēda* 'little one' (c.f. *kibda* 'liver), a term of endearment used for children who are

scared or shy, and *mureya* 'new bride, recently married woman, young sister' (c.f. *mara* 'woman'). Adjectival forms may also have diminutive forms, such as *ḥuṭeyyit* 'a little thin' (c.f. *ḥaṭīṭ* 'thin'), and *ʕureyyiḍ* 'a little wide' (c.f. *ʕarīḍ* 'wide'). For quadriconsonantal nominal forms, and triconsonantal forms that have a geminate middle radical, the corresponding diminutive template is $C_1uC_2ēC_3īC_4(a)$, as in *funēgīn* 'small coffee cup' (c.f. *fingān* 'coffee cup), *sukēkīn* 'a small knife' (c.f. *sikkīn* 'knife'), and *sunēnīra* 'a small cat, kitten' (c.f. *sinnāra* 'cat').

3.11 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have detailed the main features of CDA nominal morphology and noun phrases. I have provided an overview of noun derivation, as well as that for adjectives, and I have examined other modifiers such as demonstratives, comparatives and elatives, colours, numerals, and quantifiers. Possessive relations between nouns have also been explored, especially in terms of the SGC, and the main aspects of grammatical gender and number agreement between nouns and their modifiers. In terms of those features which are particularly prominent in CDA, the demonstratives warrant further examination in a larger corpus of data, so as to ascertain whether they carry any additional functions. Finally, I have provided a brief account of the closed classes of pronouns, indefinites, interrogatives, reflexives & reciprocals, and diminutives.

4 Verbal morphology

As outlined in chapter 3, both nominal and verbal forms are derived from a core root of three or four consonants, which when analysed in their abstract, base forms express a basic underlying lexical meaning. Each of these roots can be combined with differing vowels, and structured within specific derivational templates to produce a variety of nominals and verbs which extend the meaning of the core root. In the case of verbs, these templates often change the semantic meaning of the underlying root in predictable ways, such as creating transitive forms of a verb, or altering the valency of the verb.

Along with the derived forms of the CDA verb, the inflection of finite verbs in CDA will also be detailed. Finite verbs in CDA inflect for number, person, and gender, using a combination of prefixes and suffixes to create a binary inflectional system. The function of these two systems becomes apparent in the discussion of Tense, Aspect, and Mood (TAM) of CDA verbs, where the differentiation between the suffixed-only verbal system, and the prefix/suffix verbal system, is used to convey the completed vs. incomplete status of the action expressed by the verb. This differentiation is extended to incorporate the basic expression of the past and present tenses in CDA, and as will be shown, can be extended further via additional auxiliary verbs and verbal prefixes into a more complex system that expresses other TAM features, such as the present continuous aspect, future tense, and the past habitual. The imperative mood of the verb will also be discussed here.

Finally, this chapter will outline the specific functions of certain derived verb forms in terms of valency and the creation of the passive voice in CDA.

4.1 The basic derived verb

The basic derived verb in CDA is defined here as a triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal root which is structured within a minimal template of vowels to produce a base verbal form. The combination of consonants from which a basic verb can be formed is extremely varied, but in the case of the basic verb, the simplest combination results in a morphological form which contains three or four consonants whose phonological realisation remains constant despite any further inflectional or derivational processes.[77] As a template, the basic verb can be represented as $C_1vC_2vC_3$, or for quadriconsonantal forms as $C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$, whereby each consonantal slot is

77 Holes (2004: 99) says there are certain rules which apply to the position and combination of consonants in triconsonantal roots. The consonants /*l*/, /*n*/, /*r*/, /*w*/, and /*y*/ may occur in any consonant position, and preceded or followed by any other consonant. However, C_1 and C_2 may not be homorganic. C_2 and C_3 may be identical consonants, but if they are not then homorganic combinations are prohibited. Identical or homorganic consonants in C_1 and C_3 positions are rare.

combined with a short vowel to produce a bisyllabic verb stem. As noted in section (2.7), unstressed vowels in open syllables are often omitted in rapid speech, which results in the triconsonantal basic verb template being realised as $C_1C_2vC_3$. Quadriconsonantal basic verbs will be covered in more detail in section (4.1.5). In the examples given below a variety of CDA basic verb stems are given, along with their core root consonants. These bare stems also correspond to the 3MS perfective form of the inflected verb.

Verb	Root	Template	Meaning
ktub	*k-t-b*	$C_1C_2oC_3$	'to write'
šrab	*š-r-b*	$C_1C_2aC_3$	'to drink'
fizaʕ	*f-z-ʕ*	$C_1iC_2aC_3$	'to fear'
bðar	*b-ð-r*	$C_1C_2aC_3$	'to sow'
fṭan	*f-ṭ-n*	$C_1C_2aC_3$	'to remember'
ḥafar	*ḥ-f-r*	$C_1aC_2aC_3$	'to dig'
xudum	*x-d-m*	$C_1uC_2uC_3$	'to work'
ḥaraθ	*ḥ-r-θ*	$C_1aC_2aC_3$	'to plough'
gilis	*g-l-s*	$C_1iC_2iC_3$	'to sit'
xrug	*x-r-g*	$C_1C_2uC_3$	'to leave'

Table 4.1: Basic derived verbs

4.1.1 Geminate verbs

A subdivision of the basic verb forms outlined above are those triconsonantal verbs where C_2 and C_3 positions in the root are filled by the same consonant. The presence of a geminate root alters the template of the basic verb to become $C_1vC_2C_3$, thus rendering the verb as a superheavy syllable. In such cases, the accompanying vowel is always retained. In CDA, geminate basic verbs are reasonably common, and a sample of these verbs are given below.

Verb	Root	Template	Meaning
šill	*š-l-l*	$C_1iC_2C_3$	'to carry'
mazz	*m-z-z*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to smoke'
šamm	*š-m-m*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to smell'
šakk	*š-k-k*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to doubt'
ḥabb	*ḥ-b-b*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to love'
zarr	*z-r-r*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to put under pressure'
kabb	*k-b-b*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to ejaculate'
liff	*l-f-f*	$C_1iC_2C_3$	'to turn'
marr	*m-r-r*	$C_1aC_2C_3$	'to cross, pass by'

Table 4.2: Geminate verbs

4.1.2 Basic verbs containing glide - /w/ and /y/

Basic verbs in CDA that contain the one of the glides /w/ or /y/, constitute a further subdivision of the overall basic verb group, as with all Arabic dialects[78]. The phonological realisation of the glide in a basic verb can vary between its consonantal form and its corresponding long or short vowel. The factors which decide the realisation of the glide are the inflection of the verb as a perfective or imperfective form, and the position of the glide within the root itself. As /w/ and /y/ may appear in either C_1, C_2, or C_3 positions, this presents numerous possibilities for their realisation, although the occurrence of /*y*/ in C_1 position is extremely rare. In the following examples, /w/ and /y/ appear in the C_1 position of the root.

Glide initial - C_1	Root	Meaning
waṣal	*w-ṣ-l*	'to arrive'
waqaf	*w-q-f*	'to stand'
yabas	*y-b-s*	'to dry up'

Table 4.3: /w/ and /y/ initial verbs

When /w/ and /y/ appear in the C_2 position, their realisation in the bare verbal stem is as the long vowel /ā/[79]. It is only when these verbs are inflected that their underlying glide can be identified, and the change in their phonological realisation observed (see 4.3.4).

78 Historically, the terminology used to refer to this subdivision of basic verbs in Classical Arabic and MSA is somewhat unnecessary and misleading. As a class of basic verbs, those which contain the glides /*w*/ and /*y*/ are often described as 'assimilated verbs', with those where the glide appears in the C_2 position as 'hollow verbs', and in C_3 position as 'weak verbs'. In verbs where a glide occurs in the root along with the glottal stop /ʻ/, the verb can also be described as 'doubly weak'. Rather than use these historical terms in this study, a preference has been made for more descriptive terminology as used in this chapter. However, for clarity, the historical terms are given in the description as cross-reference.

79 This type of verbal root with a glide in the C_2 position is often referred to as a 'hollow verb'.

glide medial - C_2	root	Meaning
qām	*q-w-m*	'to get up'
māt	*m-w-t*	'to die'
bāʕ	*b-y-ʕ*	'to sell'
šāf	*š-w-f*	'to see, look'
θār	*θ-w-r*	'to get up, awaken'
zād	*z-y-d*	'to add, increase'
nām	*n-w-m*	'to sleep'

Table 4.4: /w/ and /y/ medial verbs

With /y/ in the final C_3 position, it is again realised either as the long vowel /ā/, or occasionally as the shortened /a/. Despite the theoretical possibility of /w/ appearing in the C_3 position, there was only one example of its occurrence in the current data as a cited form, suggesting that it is either extremely rare. Verbs with final /y/ only exhibit variation once they are inflected.

Glide final - C_3	Root	Meaning
banā	*b-n-y*	'to build'
ʕaṭā	*ʕ-ṭ-y*	'to give'
ramā	*r-m-y*	'to throw'
ʕadā	*ʕ-d-y*	'to run'
naʕā	*n-ʕ-w*	'to inform s/o of death'

Table 4.5: /w/ and /y/ final verbs

4.1.3 Basic verbs containing the glottal plosive /'/

As with the occurrence of the glides outlined in 4.1.2, the glottal plosive /'/ can theoretically appear in all root positions of the verb[80]. However, given the tendency in CDA for the reduction of glottal initial forms (see 2.3), there are no examples in the data of any verbs with the glottal plosive /'/ in the C_1 position. For example, the glottal initial MSA verb *'akal* 'to eat' occurs in CDA in its reduced form as *kil* 'to eat', where the initial glottal /'/ has been lost, and its internal vowel also altered. Similarly, verbs with the glottal plosive /'/ occurring in the final C_3 position also exhibit deletion of the glottal plosive in CDA, such as the verb *bada'* 'to begin' which CDA speakers realise as *bada*. However, verbs which contain the glottal plosive /'/ in $C_1$and C_3 display similar morphological patterns when they are inflected, as will be shown in 4.3.5.

The only verb in the data in which the glottal plosive is found in the medial C_2 position is the verb *sa'al* 'to ask'. As the glottal plosive is preceded and followed by the same short vowel, the glottal plosive is realised in this instance, but the use of the verb itself is relatively uncommon as

80 Verbs containing a glottal plosive /'/ in any consonantal position may be referred to as 'hamzated verbs', after the Classical Arabic term given to this phoneme/epigraphical symbol.

it is usually substituted with the alternative derived verb form *txabbar* 'to ask'.

4.1.4 Basic verbs containing both a glide and a glottal plosive

Despite the scarcity of verbs in CDA whose roots contain both a glide and a glottal plosive, one exception is the common verb *gā* 'to come'. The etymological root of this verb is *g-y-ʼ*, but this has been reduced in CDA to the root *g-y* with the deletion of the final glottal plosive. The resulting form behaves morphologically as a glide final verb, with the glide /y/ realised as the long vowel /ā/ unless it has been inflected.

4.1.5 *Quadriconsonantal basic derived verbs*

These basic verbs are formed from four constituent consonants as opposed to three, and form a relatively small but frequently used set of CDA verbs. As mentioned in the introduction to basic verbs (4.1), these verbs follow the set template of $C_1vC_2C_3vC_4$, but the majority of quadriconsonantal verbs in CDA are based around the duplication of two radicals in the template $C_1vC_2C_1vC_2$, and are often onomatopoeic in nature. The template $C_1vC_2C_3vC_3$ is also found. A summary of the examples and their corresponding verb templates are given below.

Verb	root	Template	Meaning
karkar	*k-r-k-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to laugh out loud'
barbar	*b-r-b-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to talk loudly, quickly'
baqbaq	*b-q-b-q*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to bubble, boil, pop'
qarqar	*q-r-q-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to gossip '
qalqal	*q-l-q-l*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to shake something'
gargar	*g-r-g-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to gulp whilst drinking'
qarfaḥ	*q-r-f-ḥ*	$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$	'to make a din'
qabqab	*q-b-q-b*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to sound like a horse'
farfar	*f-r-f-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to hurry'
barṭam	*b-r-ṭ-m*	$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$	'to speak gibberish'
šaġšaġ	*š-ġ-š-ġ*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to choke'
xašxaš	*x-š-x-š*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to wheeze'
qašqaš	*q-š-q-š*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to rummage, rustle'
gaʕgaʕ	*g-ʕ-g-ʕ*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to gulp'
ġarġar	*ġ-r-ġ-r*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to gargle'
ragrag	*r-g-r-g*	$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$	'to have headlice'

Table 4.6: Quadriconsonantal basic derived verbs

4.2 Further derived forms

In addition to the basic derived verb forms outlined in 4.1, there are a further seven verb templates for triconsonantal roots, and one template for quadriconsonantal roots in CDA. These templates differ from the basic verb templates in that they can involve either the prefixing of additional consonants, the gemination of existing consonants, or the infixing of consonants or vowels within the existing order of the core root consonants. As with the basic derived form of the verb, these remaining forms combine the core root consonants with a series of vowels into syllabic templates, and their formation is predictable.

Historically these additional verb templates have been referred to in a variety of different ways, such as through the use of Roman numerals I-X, the corresponding template in Arabic script ف-ع-ل or latin *f-ʕ-l to* represent the theoretical consonants. However in the following discussion of these derived templates, as with the discussion of Nominal Morphology (2.1), the *Cv-* system will be used and the actual values for any additional vowels or consonants given within each template.

4.2.1 $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / $C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ / template[81]

This template is formed by the gemination of the medial consonant C_2. As the resulting form consists of two closed syllables, there is no vowel deletion, and this template is constant in continuous speech. The realisation of the vowel in the first syllable may either be /a/ or /i/, and this variation does not appear to be governed by any phonological process. Verbs derived from this template are usually transitive (possibly telic), may convey intensity or completion in relation to the corresponding *CvCvC* verb derived from the same root, or convey the transfer from one state to another. Many of these verbs are also equivalent to MSA verbs from the transitive derived template *'*$aC_1C_2aC_3$, but this template is not found in CDA.[82] Some examples are given below.

81 This derived form is often referred to as Form II, or فعّل
82 The $aC_1C_2aC_3$ template in MSA also referred to as Form IV or أفعل

Verb	Meaning	Root
kissar	'to smash'	*k-s-r*
waqqaf	'to stop s/one'	*w-q-f*
ġassal	'to scrub'	*ġ-s-l*
naḍḍaf	'to clean s/thing'	*n-ḍ-f*
šarraʕ	'to do something carelessly'	*š-r-ʕ*
sawwa[83]	'to do'	*s-w-y*
kimmal	'to complete'	*k-m-l*
fittaḥ	'to reveal'	*f-t-ḥ*

Table 4.7: $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / $C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ verbs

4.2.2 $C_1āC_2aC_3$ / $C_1āC_2iC_3$ template[84]

This template is formed by inserting the fixed vowel /ā/ between the initial and medial consonants. The quality of the second vowel is usually /a/, although it may also be realised as /i/ in CDA when preceded by non-backed plosive consonant. Verbs based on this template are similar in function and meaning to their MSA counterparts from the same template, in that they may express an effort to achieve the action of the verb, or imply the involvement of two participants in the action. They are usually transitive.

Verb	Meaning	root
sāwa[85]	'to do'	*s-w-y*
qātil	'to fight s/one'	*q-t-l*
rāqab	'to observe, watch carefully'	*r-q-b*
qābil	'to meet s/one'	*q-b-l*
sāfar	'to travel'	*s-f-r*
ḥāwal	'to attempt, try to'	*ḥ-w-l*
sāʕad	'to help s/one'	*s-ʕ-d*

Table 4.8: $C_1āC_2aC_3$ / $C_1āC_2iC_3$ verbs

83 The verb *sawwa* 'to do' is common amongst younger CDA speakers, and also in northern Oman (see 4.2.2).
84 This derived form is often referred to as Form III, or فاعل
85 The verb *sāwa* is common amongst older speakers, and considered to the original form of this verb in CDA (see 4.2.1).

4.2.3 t(i)$C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ template[86]

This template is formed by the addition of the *t(i)-* prefix to the root $C_1iC_2aC_3$, $C_1aC_2aC_3$, or $C_1aC_2iC_3$, and by gemination of the C_2 root consonant. As with the $C_1vC_2C_2vC$ template outlined in 4.2.1, the quality of the second vowel in this template varies between /a/ and /i/, and this template can be viewed as a *t(i)-* prefixed form of the $C_1vC_2C_2vC$ form. The quality of the first vowel in this template may also vary between /a/ and /i/. Many of the verbs in this group are reflexive forms of their corresponding $C_1vC_2C_2vC$ verbs, and express the medio-passive voice (see 4.5). In rapid continuous speech, /i/ is often deleted from the prefix, particularly when the verb is inflected in the imperfective aspect, and/or has an additional continuous aspect marker prefix (see 4.4.8).The examples given below occur most frequently with the prefix *t-*, whilst the *ti-* form only usually occurs in carefully enunciated speech.

Verb	Meaning	root
tkimmal	'to be completed'	*k-m-l*
tfittaḥ	'to be revealed, blossom'	*f-t-ḥ*
tsawwa	'to do s/thing oneself'	*s-w-a*
tʕarrab	'to fight, throw stones'	*ʕ-r-b*
txayyil	'to imagine'	*x-y-l*
tmašša	'to wander around'	*m-š-y*
twaqqaf	'to come to a stop'	*k-m-l*
tʕallim	'to learn'	*f-t-ḥ*

Table 4.9: t(i)$C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ verbs

4.2.4 t(i)$C_1āC_2iC_3$ / t(i)$C_1āC_2aC_3$ template[87]

This template is formed with the prefix *t(i)-*, and the remainder of the template is identical to its counterpart form $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC$ (see 4.2.2). Again, the quality of the final vowel varies between /a/ and /i/. The /i/ prefix vowel is also usually deleted, unless in careful speech. Many of the verbs in this group express the reflexive or reciprocal action of the $C_1\bar{v}C_2vC$ template from the same root. As above, the *t-* prefixed forms are given below as the most common example.

86 This derived form is often referred to as Form V, or تفعل.
87 This derived form is often referred to as Form VI, or تفاعل.

Verb	Meaning	root
tbādil	'to exchange'	*b-d-l*
tqātil	'to fight'	*q-t-l*
tʕāqar	'to stun, make s/one fall over'	*ʕ-q-r*
tʕāmil	'to do business with'	*ʕ-m-l*

Table 4.10: t(i)C_1āC_2iC_3 / t(i)C_1āC_2aC_3 verbs

4.2.5 (i)nC_1aC_2aC_3 / (i)nC_1iC_2aC_3 template[88]

This template is formed with the prefix *(i)n-* added to the basic derived form of the verb *C_1vC_2vC_3*. The quality of the vowel between the initial and medial root consonants varies from /a/ to /i/, and this is usually consistent with the vowel that appears in the corresponding basic derived verb from the same root. The main function of this derived form in CDA is to express the passive voice (see 4.8). As with other vowel-initial forms in CDA, the initial /i/ vowel may be absent, particularly in free speech, but it occurs regularly in cited data. It is bracketed in the examples below to reflect this.

Verb	Meaning	root
(i)nkitab	'to be written'	*k-t-b*
(i)nḍaġaṭ	'to be pressured, stressed'	*ḍ-ġ-ṭ*
(i)nkisar	'to be broken'	*k-s-r*
(i)nqaṭaʕ	'to be cut off'	*q-ṭ-ʕ*
(i)nḍimm	'to join, be included in'	*ḍ-m-m*
(i)nwalad	'to be born'	*w-l-d*

Table 4.11: (i)nC_1aC_2aC_3 / (i)nC_1iC_2aC_3 verbs

4.2.6 (i)C_1tiC_2aC_3 / (i)C_1tiC_2iC_3 template[89]

This template is formed by adding the prefix vowel /i/- to the basic derived stem of the verb, along with an infixed /t/- between the initial and medial root consonants. The most common meaning of verbs formed around this template is reflexive. Whilst the quality of the vowel between the /t/- infix and the medial root consonant remains constant as /i/, the vowel between the medial and final consonant may be either /i/ or /a/. If the final root consonant is a glide, then as with the basic derived form, the final vowel and root consonant are realised as /ā/. The initial prefix /i/- may occasionally be omitted, particularly if it precedes the voiceless postalveolar fricative /š/. Again, this is bracketed below. In the final example, *ittiṣal* 'to call', CDA

88 This derived form is often referred to as Form VII, or انفعل.
89 This derived form is often referred to as Form VIII, or افتعل.

demonstrates the same morphological feature as MSA, in that glide initial roots formed around this template result in the substitution of the glide for /t/, resulting in gemination with the following /t/ infix, in this case the root √*w-ṣ-l*.

Verb	Meaning	Root
iktilab	'to fall off something'	*k-l-b*
(i)štirā	'to buy, be impressionable'	*š-r-y*
iftirak	'to dislocate'	*f-r-k*
istimal	'to receive'	*s-m-l*
ibtisim	'to smile'	*b-s-m*
iqtirab	'to approach, draw near'	*q-r-b*
ihtimm	'to be interested, pay attention'	*h-m-m*
ittiṣal	'to call'	*w-ṣ-l*

Table 4.12: (i)C_1tiC_2aC_3 / (i)C_1tiC_2iC_3 verbs

4.2.7 *(i)staC_1C_2aC_3* / *(i)stiC_1C_2aC_3* / *(i)staC_1C_2iC_3* template[90]

The main feature of this derived template is the initial prefix *(i)st-*, which is present regardless of the realisation of the following vowels in the templates. It is associated with reflexive meaning of its corresponding basic derived form, often as a personalised expression or feeling of the semantic quality. As with all the vowel initial templates outlined so far, the /i/ prefix may be omitted, and this is usually the case. Whilst the *st-* part of the prefix remains constant, the vowel between the prefix and the initial consonant may vary as either /a/ or /i/. The same is also true for the vowel which occurs between the medial and final consonants. One governing phonological factor for the variation of either vowel is the presence of a backed phoneme immediately following it. In the following examples, the initial prefix vowel /i/ is bracketed to reflect its inconsistent occurrence.

Verb	Meaning	Root
(i)staqraḍ	'to loan money	*q-r-ḍ*
(i)tiflaʕ	'to despise'	*f-l-ʕ*
(i)staʕgil	'to hurry'	*ʕ-g-l*
(i)staʕmil	'to use'	*ʕ-m-l*
((i)staxdam	'to use'	*x-d-m*
(i)staʕamā	'to get cross'	*ʕ-m-y*
(i)staʕsar	'to love'	*ʕ-s-r*

Table 4.13: (i)staC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)stiC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)staC_1C_2iC_3 verbs

90 This derived form is often referred to as Form X, or استفعل.

4.2.8 t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / t(i)$C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ template[91]

This derived template is based on the basic derived quadriconsonantal form $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$, with the addition prefix *t(i)-*. As noted by Holes (2004: 106), this augmented quadriconsonantal form demonstrates a similar relationship as the triconsonantal *t(i)*$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ does to the derived form $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$.[92] That is to say, the quadriconsonantal form *t(i)*$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ is the reflexive counterpart to the $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ template. The vowel quality in this template remains constant, although the unstressed /i/ vowel in the prefix may be omitted, but is included below in parentheses.

Verb	Meaning	Root
t(i)qašfar	'to purse one's lips'	*q-š-f-r*
t(i)qarṭaṭ	'to feel desolate'	*q-r-ṭ-ṭ*
t(i)falqaḥ	'to sit with legs wide apart'	*f-l-q-ḥ*
t(i)qarfaz	'to be wide-eyed'	*q-r-f-z*
t(i)gaʕrar	'to become circular, rounded'	*g-ʕ-r-r*
t(i)warwar[93]	'to vibrate'	*w-r-w-r*
t(i)rabrab	'to wobble'	*r-b-r-b*
t(i)qarfaḥ	'to slam, make a loud noise'	*q-r-f-ḥ*
t(i)ʕarkam	'to be jumbled, disfigured, uneven'	*ʕ-r-k-m*
t(i)šaʕbak	'to climb, ascend'	*š-ʕ-b-k*
t(i)qalqal	'to be shaken'	*q-l-q-l*
t(i)ḥanqal	'to choose'	*ḥ-n-q-l*
t(i)barġaš	'to be scattered, dispersed'	*b-r-ġ-š*

Table 4.14: t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / t(i)$C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ verbs

4.3 Verb Inflection

As mentioned in (4.1), verbal inflection in CDA consists of a binary morphological system, through which the verb stems can be inflected for gender, number, and person to display relations between sentence constituents. The two parts of this system can be easily separated into the modification of the verb template by suffix only – the *perfective* paradigm - or the modification of the verb template by both prefix and suffix – the *imperfective* paradigm.[94] As the names of these two paradigms suggest, the function of this binary system is central to the

91 This derived form occurs infrequently in MSA, but is best described as a derived quadriconsonantal form. In Arabic, this would appear as تفعلل.
92 See sections (4.2.1) and (4.2.3).
93 This is derived from the noun *warwar* 'pneumatic drill'.
94 The terms *perfective* and *imperfective* are frequently used in traditional Arabic literature to refer to the binary system of verb inflection, in particular to describe the encoding of Tense, Aspect, and Mood in verbs (see 4.4).

expression of aspect in CDA, and by implication in the expression of tense and mood, as it is with all other forms of spoken and written Arabic. However, before dealing with the expression of TAM features in 4.4, I begin with an overview of the suffixes and prefixes which constitute the perfective and imperfective systems. Fully inflected examples for both perfective and imperfective paradigms will then be given for each of the derived verb templates provided in (4.1) and (4.2).

One of the main features of verbal inflection in CDA is the retention of the 2FPL and 3FPL agreement affixes in both perfective and imperfective verb paradigms. In section (1.5.2), it was noted that this feature is common to other Omani and Yemeni Arabic dialects along with others further afield, and in common with these dialects, CDA also retains the final /n/ element of the inflectional suffix for 2FS, 2FPL, 2MPL, 3FPL, and 3MPL conjugations in the imperfective paradigm. This /*n*/ retention is absent amongst some younger speakers, but is considered to be a recent development through the influence of the media and the internet, and not an original feature of CDA.[95]

4.3.1 Perfective inflection

In the discussion of the derived verb templates above, each template represents the simplest form of the perfective verb inflection, that is 3MS perfective. Modification of this basic stem with each suffix inflects the verb to mark its corresponding grammatical number, gender, and person of its referent. The following table summarises the perfective suffixes in CDA, with raised vowel allophones given where applicable. For the 2MPL suffix, the final /m/ is sometimes omitted in the data, resulting in a lengthening of the suffix vowel to become *-tū* as opposed to *-tum*. There is no morphological differentiation between 1MS and 2MS suffixes.

	Number	
Person/Gender	*S*	*PL*
1	*-t*	*-nā / -nī*
2M	*-t*	*-tū / -tum*
2F	*-ti / -te*	*-tēn*
3M	∅	*-ū*
3F	*-at*	*-ēn*

Table 4.15: Perfective inflection suffixes

Using the the basic derived form of the root √*k-t-b* as an example, the verb *ktab* 'to write' would be inflected in the perfective paradigm as follows. Raised vowel suffixes are again given.

95 Anecdotal evidence from some speakers suggested that a /*n*/ suffix was also present in the perfective paradigm of the verb amongst speakers living on the immediate coast, notably for the 3MPL perfective inflection. Given the strong migrant mix of the community that traditionally inhabited the immediate coast, this may have been an inflectional 'mistake' acquired during language acquisition, but no speakers produced this suffix with any regularity in the data. Where it does occur it is noted.

	Number	
Person/Gender	S	PL
1	*ktub-t*	*ktub-nā / ktub-nī*
2M	*ktub-t*	*ktub-tū* / *ktub-tum*
2F	*ktub-ti / ktub-te*	*ktub-tēn*
3M	*ktub.∅*	*ktub-ū*
3F	*ktub-at*	*ktub-ēn*

Table 4.16: Perfective inflection paradigm

4.3.2 Imperfective inflection

For the imperfective paradigm of CDA verb inflection, the morphological prefixes and suffixes encode number, gender, and person in a more elaborate way. There is no gender distinction required for 1S and 1PL concord, with both conjugations inflected by single prefixes. In the case of 2MS, 3FS and 3MS, there is no number/gender suffix. For the remaining conjugations, a prefix + stem + suffix combination is required, with the prefix conveying person and gender, whilst the suffix conveys number and gender. In the table below, the imperfective paradigm prefixes and suffixes are given, with any bracketed suffix elements representing consonants which are occasionally omitted. In utterance initial positions, verbs inflected with the 1S prefix /*'a*/ may realise this glottal feature, but it is elided in continuous speech. The derived verb stem *gilis* 'to write' is used in the second table as an example.[96]

	Number	
Person/Gender	S	PL
1	*ʻa-...*	*ni-...*
2M	*ti-...*	*ti-...-ū(n)*
2F	*ti-...-īn*	*ti-...-ēn*
3M	*yi-...*	*yi-...ū(n)*
3F	*ti-...*	*yi-...ēn*

Table 4.17: Imperfective prefixes and suffixes

96 Where the basic derived template is $C_1uC_2uC_3$, vowel harmony exists in the imperfective prefix, and the associated prefix vowel is /*u*/ rather than /*i*/ (see section 2.10).

	Number	
Person/Gender	S	PL
1	*ʻa-glis*	*ni-glis*
2M	*ti-glis*	*ti-glis-ū(n)*
2F	*ti-glis-īn*	*ti-glis-ēn*
3M	*yi-glis*	*yi-glis-ū(n)*
3F	*ti-glis*	*yi-glis-ēn*

Table 4.18: Imperfective inflection paradigm

4.3.3 $C_1C_2vC_3$ template

√f-ṭ-n *fṭan* 'to remember'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*fṭan-t*	*ʻa-fṭan*
2MS	*fṭan-t*	*ti-fṭan*
2FS	*fṭan-ti / fṭan-te*	*ti-fṭan-īn*
3MS	*fṭan*	*yi-fṭan*
3FS	*fṭan-at*	*ti-fṭan*
1PL	*fṭan-nā / faṭan-nī*	*ni-fṭan*
2MPL	*fṭan-tū* / *fṭan-tum*	*ti-fṭan-ū(n)*
2FPL	*fṭan-tēn*	*ti-fṭan-ēn*
3MPL	*fṭan-ū*	*yi-fṭan-ū(n)*
3FPL	*fṭan-ēn*	*yi-fṭan-ēn*

Table 4.19: $C_1C_2vC_3$ paradigms

4.3.4 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, initial glide /w/

Where C_1 is /w/ its realisation in the imperfective paradigm is variable, either as a glide or as its corresponding long vowel /ū/. In the perfective paradigm, C_1 is always realised as a glide. As described by Holes (2004: 111), this imperfective paradigm variation appears to be based on verb meaning and somewhat predictable, whereby C_1 is realised as a glide in action verbs, but for other verb types (e.g. stative verbs) it is realised as the long vowel /ū/. CDA glide-initial verbs are consistent with this trend, as seen in the following example of an action verb.

√w-ṣ-l *waṣal* 'to arrive'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*waṣal-t*	*ʻa-waṣal*
2MS	*waṣal-t*	*ti-waṣal*
2FS	*waṣal-ti* / *waṣal-te*	*ti-waṣal-īn*
3MS	*waṣal*	*yi-waṣal*
3FS	*waṣal-at*	*ti-waṣal*
1PL	*waṣal-nā* / *waṣal-nī*	*ni-waṣal*
2MPL	*waṣal-tū* / *waṣal-tum*	*ti-waṣal-ū(n)*
2FPL	*waṣal-tēn*	*ti-waṣal-ēn*
3MPL	*waṣal-ū*	*yi-waṣal-ū(n)*
3FPL	*waṣal-ēn*	*yi-waṣal-ēn*

Table 4.20: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, initial glide /w/ paradigms type 1

For a non-action verb, such as the following example *wazan* 'to weigh', C_1 is realised as /*ū*/ and the short vowel /*i*/ of the prefix is omitted.

√w-z-n *wazan* 'to weigh'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*wazan-t*	*ʻ-ūzan*
2MS	*wazan-t*	*t-ūzan*
2FS	*wazan-ti* / *wazan-te*	*t-ūzan-īn*
3MS	*wazan*	*y-ūzan*
3FS	*wazan-at*	*t-ūzan*
1PL	*wazan-nā* / *wazan-nī*	*n-ūzan*
2MPL	*wazan-tū* / *wazan-tum*	*t-ūzan-ū(n)*
2FPL	*wazan-tēn*	*t-ūzan-ēn*
3MPL	*wazan-ū*	*y-ūzan-ū(n)*
3FPL	*wazan-ēn*	*y-ūzan-ēn*

Table 4.21: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, initial glide /w/ paradigms type 2

4.3.5 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, initial glottal plosive /ʻ/

Where C_1 is the glottal plosive /ʻ/, it is omitted in the perfective paradigm. In addition, the long vowel /ē/ is inserted between C_3 and the perfective suffix for first and second person inflection. In the imperfective paradigm, the short /i/ vowel of the prefix is replaced with the long vowel /ā/,

or for the 1S prefix, the vowel is lengthened.

√ʿ-x-ð *'axad* 'to take, buy'[97]

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*xaðē-t*	*ʿā-xuð*
2MS	*xaðē-t*	*tā-xuð*
2FS	*xaðē-ti* / *xaðē-te*	*tā-xuð-īn*
3MS	*xað*	*yā-xuð*
3FS	*xað-at*	*tā-xuð*
1PL	*xaðē-nā* / *xaðē-nī*	*nā-xuð*
2MPL	*xaðē-tū* / *xaðē-tum*	*tā-xuð-ū(n)*
2FPL	*xaðē-tēn*	*tā-xuð-ēn*
3MPL	*xað-ū*	*yā-xuð-ū(n)*
3FPL	*xað-ēn*	*yā-xuð-ēn*

Table 4.22: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, initial glottal plosive paradigms /ʿ/

4.3.6 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glide /w/

Where C_2 is the glide /w/, its realisation is predictable, although there is variation in some specific verbs. In the perfective paradigm, it is realised as the short vowel /u/ between C_1 and C_3 for the first and second person inflections, whilst for third person inflections it appears as the long vowel /ā/. In the imperfective, /w/ is realised as its corresponding long vowel /ū/ in the C_2 position for all inflections.

97 The meaning of the verb *'axað* 'to buy' is only found amongst older CDA speakers.

√š-w-f *šāf* 'to see'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*šuf-t*	*ʻa-šūf*
2MS	*šuf-t*	*ti-šūf*
2FS	*šuf-ti* / *šuf-te*	*ti-šūf-īn*
3MS	*šāf*	*yi-šūf*
3FS	*šāf-at*	*ti-šūf*
1PL	*šuf-nā* / *šuf-nī*	*ni-šūf*
2MPL	*šuf-tū* / *šuf-tum*	*ti-šūf-ū(n)*
2FPL	*šuf-tēn*	*ti-šūf-ēn*
3MPL	*šāf-ū*	*yi-šūf-ū(n)*
3FPL	*šāfēn*	*yi-šūf-ēn*

Table 4.23: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glide paradigms /w/

The verb *šāf* 'to see' outlined above also demonstrates some variability, noticeably in its perfective form where the first and second person short vowel is often /i/ rather than /u/, for example *šift* 'I saw' 1S. This variation occurs regularly with the assimilated form of this verb *šitt* (see section 2.8). In the verb *nām* 'to sleep', root √n-w-m, /i/ is also inserted rather than /u/, although this is identical to the inflection of this verb in MSA. The imperfective inflection of *nām* occurs with the long vowel /ā/ rather than /ū/, e.g. *yinām* 3MS, which is again consistent with MSA, but often realised as *yinīm* 3MS in *CDA* as a consequence of vowel raising (see section 2.4.4).[98]

4.3.7 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glide /y/

Where C_2 is the glide /y/, in the perfective paradigm it is realised as /i/ between C_1 and C_3 for first and second person inflections, and as /ā/ for third person inflections. In the imperfective paradigm, it is realised as /ī/ consistently.

98 This behaviour of glide medial verbs is indicative of the more general variation of glides historically (Holes 2004: 111)

√b-y-ʕ *bāʕ* 'to sell'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*biʕ-t*	*ʻa-bīʕ*
2MS	*biʕ-t*	*ti-bīʕ*
2FS	*biʕ-ti* / *biʕ-te*	*ti-bīʕ-īn*
3MS	*bāʕ*	*yi-bīʕ*
3FS	*bāʕ-at*	*ti-bīʕ*
1PL	*biʕ-nā* / *biʕ-nī*	*ni-bīʕ*
2MPL	*biʕ-tū* / *biʕ-tum*	*ti-bīʕ-ū(n)*
2FPL	*biʕ-tēn*	*ti-bīʕ-ēn*
3MPL	*bāʕ-ū*	*yi-bīʕ-ū(n)*
3FPL	*bāʕ-ēn*	*yi-bīʕ-ēn*

Table 4.24: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glide /y/ paradigms

4.3.8 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glottal plosive /ʻ/

Although somewhat rare in CDA, where C_2 is the glottal plosive /ʻ/ it is retained in both the perfective and imperfective paradigms (see 2.1.8).

√s-ʻ-l *saʻal* 'to ask'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*saʻal-t*	*ʻa-saʻal*
2MS	*saʻal-t*	*ti-saʻal*
2FS	*saʻal-ti* / *saʻal-te*	*ti-saʻalīn*
3MS	*saʻal*	*yi-saʻal*
3FS	*saʻal-at*	*ti-saʻal*
1PL	*saʻal-nā* / *saʻal-nī*	*ni-saʻal*
2MPL	*saʻal-tū* / *saʻal-tum*	*ti-saʻal-ū(n)*
2FPL	*saʻal-tēn*	*ti-saʻal-ēn*
3MPL	*saʻal-ū*	*yi-saʻal-ū(n)*
3FPL	*saʻal-ēn*	*yi-saʻal-ēn*

Table 4.25: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial glottal plosive /ʻ/ paradigms

4.3.9 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glide /w/[99]

Where C_3 is the glide /w/, it occurs as the long vowel /ū/ for first and second person inflection in the perfective, and as the long vowel /ā/ for third person inflections. In the imperfective paradigm, /w/ is realised as the long vowel /ū/ in the C_3 position, except for the second and third person plural inflections, where it is omitted.

√n-ʕ-w *naʕā* 'to inform s/o of death'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*naʕū-t*	*ʻa-nʕū*
2MS	*naʕū-t*	*ti-nʕū*
2FS	*naʕū-ti* / *naʕū-te*	*ti-nʕī-n*
3MS	*naʕā*	*yi-nʕū*
3FS	*naʕā-t*	*ti-nʕū*
1PL	*naʕū-nā* / *naʕū-nī*	*ni-nʕū*
2MPL	*naʕū-tū* / *naʕū-tum*	*ti-nʕ-ū(n)*
2FPL	*naʕū-tēn*	*ti-nʕ-ēn*
3MPL	*naʕū*	*yi-nʕ-ū(n)*
3FPL	*naʕ-ēn*	*yi-nʕ-ēn*

Table 4.26: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glide /w/ paradigms

4.3.10 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glide /y/

Where C_3 is the glide /y/, it occurs as the long vowel /ē/ for first and second person inflection in the perfective. For third person inflections, it occurs as the short vowel /a/ for singular inflections, but is omitted for plural forms. In the imperfective paradigm, /y/ is realised as the long vowel /ī/ in the C_3 position, except for the second and third person plural inflections, where it is omitted.

99 Examples of $C_1aC_2aC_3$ final glide /w/ verbs are rare in CDA. This example only occurred in citation form, and there were no examples in either the questionnaire or free speech data.

√r-m-y *rama* 'to throw'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*ramē-t*	*ʻa-rmī*
2MS	*ramē-t*	*ti-rmī*
2FS	*ramē-ti* / *ramē-te*	*ti-rmī-n*
3MS	*rama*	*yi-rmī*
3FS	*ram-at*	*ti-rmī*
1PL	*ramē-nā* / *ramē-nī*	*ni-rmī*
2MPL	*ramē-tū* / *ramē-tum*	*ti-rm-ū(n)*
2FPL	*ramē-tēn*	*ti-rm-ēn*
3MPL	*ram-ū*	*yi-rm-ū(n)*
3FPL	*ram-ēn*	*yi-rm-ēn*

Table 4.27: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glide /y/ paradigms

4.3.11 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glottal /ʻ/

Where C_3 is the glottal plosive /ʻ/, it is omitted in the perfective paradigm. In addition, the long vowel /ē/ is inserted between C_2 and the perfective suffix for first and second person inflection. In the imperfective paradigm, the final glottal /ʻ/ is omitted from all inflections.

√b-d-ʻ *bada* 'to start, begin'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*badē-t*	*ʻa-bdi*
2MS	*badē-t*	*ti-bdi*
2FS	*badē-ti* / *badē-te*	*ti-bdī-n*
3MS	*bada*	*yi-bdi*
3FS	*bad-at*	*ti-bdi*
1PL	*badē-nā* / *badē-nī*	*ni-bdi*
2MPL	*badē-tū* / *badē-tum*	*ti-bd-ū(n)*
2FPL	*badē-tēn*	*ti-bd-ēn*
3MPL	*bad-ū*	*yi-bd-ū(n)*
3FPL	*bad-ēn*	*yi-bd-ēn*

Table 4.28: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, final glottal /ʻ/ paradigms

4.3.12 $C_1vC_2C_3$ template, geminate C_2 and C_3

Where the C_2 and C_3 consonants are identical, they occur as a geminate pair in both the perfective and imperfective paradigms. In the first and second person perfective, a long vowel /ē/ occurs between the geminate consonant and the inflectional suffix, with the bare $C_1iC_2C_3$ stem suffixed in the third person. In the imperfective, this superheavy syllabic stem takes prefixes and suffixes directly, with no further modification.

√š-l-l *šill* 'to take'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*šillē-t*	*ʻa-šill*
2MS	*šillē-t*	*ti-šill*
2FS	*šillē-ti* / *šillē-te*	*ti-šill-īn*
3MS	*šill*	*yi-šill*
3FS	*šill-at*	*ti-šill*
1PL	*šillē-nā* / *šillē-nī*	*ni-šill*
2MPL	*šillē-tū* / *šillē-tum*	*ti-šill-ū(n)*
2FPL	*šillē-tēn*	*ti-šill-ēn*
3MPL	*šill-ū*	*yi-šill-ū(n)*
3FPL	*šill-ēn*	*yi-šill-ēn*

Table 4.29: $C_1vC_2C_3$ template, geminate C_2 and C_3 paradigms

4.3.13 $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial /y/, final glottal /ʻ/

Where both a glide and a glottal plosive /ʻ/ occur as C_2 and C_3 respectively, the verb inflects with the complete omission of the C_3 glottal plosive /ʻ/ in both paradigms. In the perfective, the medial /y/ is realised as the long vowel /ī/ for first and second person inflections, /ā/ for third person singular inflections, and is omitted for third person plural inflection. In the imperfective the long vowel /ī/ is again present, in this case for all singular and first person plural inflections. The long vowel /ī/ is omitted in second and third person plural inflections, where the C_1 consonant is directly prefixed and suffixed.

√g-y-‘ *gā* 'to come'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*gī-t*	*‘a-gī*
2MS	*gī-t*	*ti-gī*
2FS	*gī-ti* / *gī-te*	*ti-gī-n*
3MS	*gā*	*yi-gī*
3FS	*gā-t*	*ti-gī*
1PL	*gī-nā* / *gī-nī*	*ni-gī*
2MPL	*gī-tū* / *gī-tum*	*ti-g-ū(n)*
2FPL	*gī-tēn*	*ti-g-ēn*
3MPL	*g-ū* / *g-ō*	*yi-g-ū(n)*
3FPL	*g-ēn*	*yi-gēn*

Table 4.30: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ template, medial /y/, final glottal /‘/ paradigms

4.3.14 $C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / $C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and geminate C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined in (4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√x-b-r *xabbar* 'to tell s/o, inform s/o'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*xabbar-t*	*‘a-xabbar*
2MS	*xabbar-t*	*ti-xabbar*
2FS	*xabbar-ti* / *xabbar-te*	*ti-xabbar-īn*
3MS	*xabbar*	*yi-xabbar*
3FS	*xabbar-at*	*ti-xabbar*
1PL	*xabbar-nā* / *xabbar-nī*	*ni-xabbar*
2MPL	*xabbar-tū* / *xabbar-tum*	*ti-xabbar-ū(n)*
2FPL	*xabbar-tēn*	*ti-xabbar-ēn*
3MPL	*xabbar-ū*	*yi-xabbar-ū(n)*
3FPL	*xabbar-ēn*	*yi-xabbar-ēn*

Table 4.31: $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ template

4.3.15 $C_1āC_2aC_3$ / $C_1āC_2iC_3$ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined (4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√s-f-r *sāfar* 'to travel'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*sāfar-t*	*ʻa-sāfar*
2MS	*sāfar-t*	*ti-sāfar*
2FS	*sāfar-ti* / *sāfar-te*	*ti-sāfar-īn*
3MS	*sāfar*	*yi-sāfar*
3FS	*sāfar-at*	*ti-sāfar*
1PL	*sāfar-nā* / *sāfar-nī*	*ni-sāfar*
2MPL	*sāfar-tū* / *sāfar-tum*	*ti-sāfar-ū(n)*
2FPL	*sāfar-tēn*	*ti-sāfar-ēn*
3MPL	*sāfar-ū*	*yi-sāfar-ū(n)*
3FPL	*sāfar-ēn*	*yi-sāfar-ēn*

Table 4.32: $C_1āC_2aC_3$ / $C_1āC_2iC_3$ template paradigms

4.3.16 t(i)$C_1iC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_2iC_3$ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and geminate C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined in (4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√k-l-m *tkillam* 'to speak'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*tkillam-t*	*ʻa-tkillam*
2MS	*tkillam-t*	*ti-tkillam*
2FS	*tkillam-ti* / *tkillam-te*	*ti-tkillam-īn*
3MS	*tkillam*	*yi-tkillam*
3FS	*tkillam-at*	*ti-tkillam*
1PL	*tkillam-nā* / *tkillam-nī*	*ni-tkillam*
2MPL	*tkillam-tū* / *tkillam-tum*	*ti-tkillam-ū(n)*
2FPL	*tkillam-tēn*	*ti-tkillamēn*
3MPL	*tkillam-ū*	*yi-tkillam-ū(n)*
3FPL	*tkillam-ēn*	*yi-tkallamēn*

Table 4.33: t(i)C_1iC_2C_2aC_3 / t(i)C_1aC_2C_2aC_3 / t(i)C_1aC_2C_2iC_3 template paradigms

4.3.17 t(i)C_1āC_2iC_3 / t(i)C_1āC_2aC_3 template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined (4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√b-d-l *tbādal* 'to meet'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*tbādil-t*	*ʻa-tbādil*
2MS	*tbādil-t*	*ti-tbādil*
2FS	*tbādil-ti / tbādil-te*	*ti-tbādil-īn*
3MS	*tbādil*	*yi-tbādil*
3FS	*tbādil-at*	*ti-tbādil*
1PL	*tbādil-nā* / *tbādil-nī*	*n-tbādil*
2MPL	*tbādil-tū* / *tbādil-tum*	*ti-tbādil-ū(n)*
2FPL	*tbādil-tēn*	*ti-tbādil-ēn*
3MPL	*tbādil-ū*	*yi-tbādil-ū(n)*
3FPL	*tabādil-ēn*	*ya-tbādil-ēn*

Table 4.34: t(i)C_1āC_2iC_3 / t(i)C_1āC_2aC_3 template paradigms

4.3.18 (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃ / (i)nC₁iC₂aC₃ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined(4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√f-z-ʕ *infazaʕ* 'to be scared, worried'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*infazaʕ-t*	*ʻa-nfazaʕ*
2MS	*infazaʕ-t*	*ti-nfazaʕ*
2FS	*infazaʕ-ti* / *infazaʕ-te*	*ti-nfazaʕ-īn*
3MS	*infazaʕ*	*yi-nfazaʕ*
3FS	*infazaʕ-at*	*ti-nfazaʕ*
1PL	*infazaʕ-nā* / *infazaʕ-nī*	*ni-nfazaʕ*
2MPL	*infazaʕ-tū* / *infazaʕ-tum*	*ti-nfazaʕ-ū(n)*
2FPL	*infazaʕ-tēn*	*ti-nfazaʕ-ēn*
3MPL	*infazaʕ-ū*	*yi-nfazaʕ-ū(n)*
3FPL	*infazaʕ-ēn*	*yi-nfazaʕ-ēn*

Table 4.35: (i)nC₁aC₂aC₃ / (i)nC₁iC₂aC₃ template paradigms

4.3.19 (i)C₁tiC₂aC₃ / (i)C₁tiC₂iC₃ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined (4.3.9) and (4.3.10). In the example below, C_3 is the glide /y/.

√š-r-y *štara* 'to buy'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*štarē-t*	*ʻa-štarī*
2MS	*štarē-t*	*ti-štarī*
2FS	*štarē-ti* / *štarē-te*	*ti-štarī-n*
3MS	*štara*	*y-štarī*
3FS	*štar-at*	*ti-štarī*
1PL	*štarē-nā* / *štarē-nī*	*ni-štarī*
2MPL	*štarē-tū* / *štarē-tum*	*ti-štar-ū(n)*
2FPL	*štarē-tēn*	*ti-štar-ēn*
3MPL	*štar-ū*	*yi-štar-ū(n)*
3FPL	*štar-ēn*	*yi-štar-ēn*

Table 4.36: (i)C_1tiC_2aC_3 / (i)C_1tiC_2iC_3 template

4.3.20 (i)staC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)stiC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)staC_1C_2iC_3 template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 and C_2 positions retaining their semi-vowel quality. Where glides occur in the C_3 position, their morphological structure is analogous to that outlined (4.3.9) and (4.3.10).

√ʕ-m-l *staʕmal* 'to use'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*(i)staʕmal-t*	*ʻa-staʕmal*
2MS	*(i)staʕmal-t*	*ti-staʕmal*
2FS	*(i)staʕmal-ti* / *(i)staʕmal-te*	*ti-staʕmal-īn*
3MS	*(i)staʕmal*	*yi-staʕmal*
3FS	*(i)staʕmal-at*	*ti-staʕmal*
1PL	*(i)staʕmal-nā* / *(i)staʕmal-nī*	*ni-staʕmal*
2MPL	*(i)staʕmal-tū* / *(i)staʕmal-tum*	*ti-staʕmal-ū(n)*
2FPL	*(i)staʕmal-tēn*	*ti-staʕmal-ēn*
3MPL	*(i)staʕmal-ū*	*yi-staʕmal-ū(n)*
3FPL	*(i)staʕmal-ēn*	*yi-staʕmal-ēn*

Table 4.37: (i)staC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)stiC_1C_2aC_3 / (i)staC_1C_2iC_3 template paradigms

4.3.21 $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / $C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / $C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ template

Inflectional variation for this template is predictable, with glides in the C_1 position retaining its semi-vowel quality. In the current data set, there were no instances of glides in any other consonant slot.

√q-l-q-l *qalqal* 'to shake something'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*qalqal-t*	*ʻa-qalqal*
2MS	*qalqal-t*	*ti-qalqal*
2FS	*qalqal-ti* / *qalqal-te*	*ti-qalqal-īn*
3MS	*qalqal*	*yi-qalqal*
3FS	*qalqal-at*	*ti-qalqal*
1PL	*qalqal-nā* / *qalqal-nī*	*ni-qalqal*
2MPL	*qalqal-tū* / *qalqal-tum*	*ti-qalqal-ū(n)*
2FPL	*qalqal-tēn*	*ti-qalqal-ēn*
3MPL	*qalqal-ū*	*yi-qalqal-ū(n)*
3FPL	*qalqal-ēn*	*yi-qalqal-ēn*

Table 4.38: $C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / $C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / $C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / $C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ template paradigms

4.3.22 t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / t(i)$C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ template

As outlined in 4.3.20 above, there were no instances of glides in any consonant slot other than the C_1 position.

√q-l-q-l *tqalqal* 'to be shaken'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*tqalqal-t*	*'a-tqalqal*
2MS	*tqalqal-t*	*ti-tqalqal*
2FS	*tqalqal-ti* / *tqalqal-te*	*ti-tqalqal-īn*
3MS	*tqalqal*	*yi-tqalqal*
3FS	*tqalqal-at*	*ti-tqalqal*
1PL	*tqalqal-nā* / *tqalqal-nī*	*ni-tqalqal*
2MPL	*tqalqal-tū* / *tqalqal-tum*	*ti-tqalqal-ū(n)*
2FPL	*tqalqal-tēn*	*ti-tqalqal-ēn*
3MPL	*tqalqal-ū*	*yi-tqalqal-ū(n)*
3FPL	*tqalqal-ēn*	*yi-tqalqal-ēn*

Table 4.39: t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_4$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_1aC_2$ / t(i)$C_1iC_2C_1iC_2$ / t(i)$C_1aC_2C_3aC_3$ template paradigms

4.4 Tense, aspect, and mood

In the discussion of CDA verbal morphology so far, the data has been presented as a binary morphological system consisting of a perfective suffix-only paradigm, and an imperfective prefix + suffix paradigm. The preference for describing these paradigms in terms of their perfectivity, or aspect, is made on account of aspect being the overall main function which these two paradigms appear to encode. However, whilst the patterns of morphological inflection are relatively predictable, the differentiation between tense and aspect is not always readily apparent, and the overall focus on aspect is not always clear.[100] Comrie's (1981: 78-81) analysis of aspect in MSA describes the tight conceptual relationship which exists between tense and aspect, and the difficulty in initially deciphering whether the morphological paradigms encode tense primarily, with coincidental aspectual meaning, or aspect as the primary difference, the interpretation of which then provides a temporal reference. The close relationship between the two can be seen in the following CDA examples, adapted from Payne's discussion of the perfective and imperfective (1997: 239).

(1) *ktub* *risāla*
wrote.3MS letter
'He wrote a letter'

(2) *yu-ktub* *risāyil*
3MS-write letters
'He writes letters'

In example (1), the perfective verb *ktub* 'he wrote', when taken in isolation, appears to correspond with both aspect and tense in equal measure, as it describes both the completed nature of the action and grounds it in a past time frame. Similarly, the isolated verb in example (2) *yu-ktub* 'he writes' gives the meaning of both an action currently taking place, and which is incomplete. When both phrases (1) and (2) are viewed in their entirety, the supplemental information provides little extra context which might help to differentiate whether it is tense or aspect which is being encoded.

100 The decision to use the terms *perfective* and *imperfective* to describe the binary morphological system in CDA was preferred as they are the most adequate terms available to reflect the overall focus on aspect in CDA verb inflection. These terms are also frequently used in traditional Arabic grammars, although there is no overall consensus whether it is aspect or tense which is the underlying function encoded by this morphological system.

Givon's (2001: 287-89) outline of aspect describes it in terms of event focus, and the interaction between grammatical aspect and the inherent lexical aspect of verbs. More explicitly, grammatical aspect is the perspective through which an event is viewed, and which focuses the communicative perspective of the inherent lexical aspect of the verb used via one of two lenses; the ongoing, durative, imperfective lens, and the narrow, bounded, temporally completed perfective lens. The variation in the lexical aspect of verbs plays an integral part, and can be divided into four major types, with their relationship mapped out along a path based on their temporal boundaries and duration. At one end of the path, compact verbs (jump, hit, cough) describe temporally short events whose inception and termination are clearly defined. At the other end of this path are stative verbs (be standing, be sitting, be standing), which have a long duration and undefined temporal boundaries. Between these two sets of verbs are accomplishment-completion verbs (arrive/come, obtain/get), and activity-process verbs (bend, walk, read, write), both of which vary in their relative focus either on the temporal boundary of the verb, or on its duration instead. Importantly for the following discussion of CDA aspect and tense, it is the interaction between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect which then determines the overall communicative function of the verb. Although one of the main communicative functions of the combination of these two aspectual qualities may well be the expression of the past and present tense, such as in (1) and (2), it is the internal focus of the event as being complete vs. incomplete which appears to be the underlying difference between these two morphological systems.

In the following examples I demonstrate the close relationship between aspect and tense in CDA, as expressed through both their individual perfective and imperfective morphological forms, and in relation to each other in complement clauses. Where mood is explicitly expressed through either the perfective or imperfective form, then this is also covered. Both the perfective and imperfective forms may also be preceded by particles (perfective) and verbal prefixes (imperfective), which shift the temporal and aspectual focus. Although they are briefly outlined in this section in terms of their morphological features, they are covered in more detail in section (8.4). The role of the verb *kān* 'to be' as an auxiliary verb affecting tense, aspect, and mood is also examined.

4.4.1 Perfective – past tense, indicative

As described by Watson (1993: 63) for Ṣanʕānī Arabic, the main function of the perfective form in CDA is to express the past tense. That is, it communicates the certainty of the completion of an action, relative to the time of utterance.[101] In this function of the perfective, aspect and tense

101The verb *baġa* 'to want' occurs in its perfective form in almost all the CDA examples given, regardless of its temporal interpretation as either past or present tense. In this sense, the conceptual meaning of 'want' is complete at the the time of utterance. See also section 8.4.

are closely encoded, and their relationship is clear.

(3) *gilis* *maʕ* *zōgt-ū* *ʕala* *s-sāḥal*
sat.3MS with wife-his on DEF-beach
'He sat with his wife on the beach'

(4) *rama-t* *il-biðūr* *fōq* *iṭ-ṭīn*
threw-3FS DEF-seeds on DEF-ground
'She scattered the seeds on the ground'

(5) *ðaḥk-at-hā* *il-qiṣṣa*
make laugh-3FS-her DEF-story
'The story made her laugh'

(6) *štarē-t* *hāðēlak* *il-xuḍarwāt* *il-yōm* *iṣ-ṣubuḥ*
bought.1S those DEF-vegetables DEF-day DEF-morning
'I bought those vegetables this morning'

(7) *ḥaṣal-nī* *kum* *min* *kursī* *qadīm*
found-1PL number from old chair
'We found several old chairs'

(8) *ōb-ī* *wa* *x-ī* *rāḥ-ū* *l-markīt*
father-my and brother-my went-3MPL DEF-market
yōm *is-sabt*
day DEF-saturday
'My father and brother went to the market on Saturday'

4.4.2 Perfective – conditional

Another common use of the perfective is in conditional clauses. Rather than the indicative mood created by the use of the perfective in expressing the completed action of past tense, here the perfective has an irrealis meaning, in that it expresses the hypothetical outcome of the two completed actions in the protasis and apodosis. In examples (9) and (10), there is no specific temporal focus in the two stative, temporarily unbound examples, but in example (11) the concept of tense is added through the modifying temporal adverb *il-bāraḥ* 'yesterday'. Without this adverb, the consequential nature of these two action verb events remain incomplete, and hypothetical. In (12), the use of the imperative occurs in the protasis of the conditional clause, in contrast to the perfective form in the apodosis, creates a temporal impression of a potential future event. Overall, this variation in use of the perfective in conditional clauses demonstrates that despite the close association and frequent use to indicate the past tense (4.4.1), the perfective is not limited to tense only. This suggests that aspect is the underlying feature of this paradigm is more accurately described as providing a completive aspect which can combine with lexical aspect to convey a variety of TAM meanings.

(9)	*lō*	*kān*	*ʕind-ī*	*šē*	*filūs*	*kun-t*	*ʕaṭē-t-hā*
	if	was.3MS	to-me	some	money	was-1S	give-1S-it
	l-ak						
	to-you						
	'If I had some money I would give it to you'						

(10)	*lō*	*kunt*	*makān-ak*	*mā*	*sawwē-t*	*hēkiðē*
	if	was-1S	place-your	NEG	done-1S	so
	'If I were you, I would not do that'					

(11)	*iðā*	*il-bāraḥ*	*gī-t*	*kun-t*	*ṣuf-t-hā*
	if	DEF-yesterday	come-2MS	was-2MS	saw-2MS-her
	'If you had come yesterday, you would have seen her'				

(12)	*lō*	*šuf-t*	*šē*	*xabbar-nī*
	if	saw-2MS	something	tell.2MS.IMP-me
	'If you see something, tell me'			

4.4.3 Imperfective – present tense

In contrast to the perfective, the imperfective may carry a present tense meaning, although the link between form and tense is less tightly connected as the imperfective is also used to indicate the future tense (4.4.8). One of the most common functions of the bare imperfective verb is to indicate present, ongoing states, and habitual actions, which are incomplete and do not express a sense of short duration and temporal boundness. Rather, the present tense expressed through the imperfective has a durative meaning, the mood of which is contextually dependent. In the following examples, the mood is indicative, but as will be shown in (4.4.4), the same imperfective form may also be used to express uncertainty in embedded modal and purpose clauses.

(13) *ti-glis* *bi-wāḥad-hē* *ʕala* *s-sāḥal*
3FS-sit with-alone-her on DEF-beach
'She sits alone at the beach'

(14) *ʿa-ġsil* *wigh-i* *kull* *ṣubuḥ*
1S-wash face-my every morning
'I wash my face every morning'

(15) *ʿa-stamaʕ* *ili* *r-rādiyū* *marrāt* *kiθīra*
1S-listen to DEF-radio times many
'I listen to the radio a lot'

(16) *ʿa-tawaqqaʕ* *axbār* *mā* *hē* *zēna*
1S-expect news NEG it good
'I am expecting bad news'

(17) *yi-fraq-ūn* *bēn* *ið-ðān* *wa* *l-maʕaz*
3M-separate-PL between DEF-goats and DEF-sheep
'They are separating the goats and the sheep'

4.4.4 Imperfective – embedded clauses

The imperfective inflected verb may also be used in embedded clauses, which are usually modal or purpose clauses (see sections 7.3 and 7.4). In this context, the meaning of the embedded imperfective verb is less grounded in the temporal sense, and the focus shifts from asserting the certainty of an ongoing action to describing a state which may be uncertain, possible, or desired such as in examples (18-26).[102] It can also be contrasted with imperfective indicative in some clauses by its lack of continuous prefix, such as example (26), which embedded imperfective verbs do not take. In this example, the verb 'try' is marked with the continuous prefix *bi-* to show the certainty of the action taking place, but the outcome of the imperfective verb 'to teach' is less certain.

(18) *ti-qdar* *tī-gī* *maʕ-ī*
2MS-able 2MS-come with-me
'Can you come with me?'

(19) *il-ʕagāyiz* *yi-hibb-ēn* *yi-glis-ēn* *quddām* *il-bēt*
DEF-old women 3-love-FPL 3-sit-FPL in front of DEF-house
wa *yi-takillam-ēn* *li* *sāʕāt*
and 3-talk-FPL for hours
'Old women like to sit in front of the house and talk for hours'

(20) *mā* *ni-qdar* *ni-rgaʕ* *ḥatta* *ti-kūn* *bi-xēr*
NEG 1PL-able 1PL-return until 3FS-be with-good
'We cannot go back, until she gets well'

(21) *gī-t* *ili* *l-bēt* *ʕašān* *a-tkillam*
came-1S to DEF-house because 1S-talk
maʕ-ak
with-you
'I came home to talk to you'

102 In MSA, embedded verbs are marked morphologically as subjunctive, but in CDA there is no morphological differentiation.

(22) *qāl-at* *li* *ṣāḥabat-hā* *ʕāda-nī* *baġē-t*
said-3FS to friend-her still-me want-1S
a-rigaʕ *ṣaġīra*
1S-go back young girl
'She said to her friend: I still want to be young'

(23) *ġud-ūn* *bā-nu-xrug* *min* *hinna*
go away-2MPL FUT-1PL-leave from here
'Come on, let's get out out here!'[103]

(24) *mumkin* *ti-xīṭ* *hāðēn* *il-figāra* *bi* *l-xēt*
possible 2MS-stitch these DEF-holes with DEF-thread
'Can you fix these holes with a thread?'

(25) *min* *il-mumkin* *yi-sīr* *ili* *l-madīna*
from DEF-possibility 3MS-go to DEF-town
'He might go town'

(26) *bi-yi-ḥāwal* *il-ōb* *yi-ʕallam* *awlād-ū*
CONT-3MS-try DEF-father 3MS-teach sons-his
'The father is trying to teach his sons'

4.4.5 Perfective plus imperfective

Whilst the perfective and imperfective inflected verb may appear on their own, they may also be combined within the same phrase, or in combined clauses. The order of the two verbs is maintained in all circumstances, with the perfective verb followed by the imperfective verb. The communicative meaning created by this juxtaposition of the two forms is to relate the incomplete aspect of the imperfective verb within the perfect tense timescale of the perfective verb, and may occur in a variety of combinations such as adverbial clauses. In (27), the perfective and

103 The form *ġudūn*, here translated as 'come on' rather than its literal meaning of 'go away', is in the imperative. However in relation to other CDA imperative verbs, it retains the final /*-n*/ when conjugated in the 2MPL, which is unique to this verb (see 4.4.5)

imperfective verbs appear consecutively in the modal clause combination *ḥāwal-t a-tfaṭan* 'I tried to remember', with the past tense expressed by the perfective verb affecting the temporal interpretation of the imperfective. Example (28) contains the perfective verb *sār-ū* 'They walked' in the main clause, and contrasts the ongoing, imperfective *yi-tkillam-ū* 'They speak' of the subordinate, circumstantial clause. Whilst the imperfective expresses an ongoing, incomplete action, it is framed within the past tense of the main clause perfective verb. Similarly in (29), the imperfective *yi-xabbī* 'he hides' is framed within the past tense of the perfective *iqtarab* 'He approached'

(27) *ḥāwal-t* *a-tfaṭan* *ʕan* *ēš* *illi* *gara*
try-1S 1MS-remember about what REL happen.3MS
bi *ḍ-ḍabṭ*
with DEF-accuracy
'I tried to remember exactly what had happened'

(28) *sār-ū* *ṭ-ṭarīq* *kull-u* *bidūn* *yi-tkillam-ū*
walk-3MPL DEF-road all-it without 3-speak-MPL
maʕ *baʕḍ-hum* *baʕḍ*
with some-them some
'They walked all the way without speaking to each other'

(29) *iqtarab* *ir-riggāl* *min-nī* *yi-xabbī* *šē*
approach.3MS DEF-man from-me 3-MS-hide something
wārā *ḍahar-ū*
behind back-his
'The man approached me, hiding something behind his back'

4.4.6 Auxiliary / copula verb kān / yi-kūn

The verb *kān* / *yi-kūn* 'to be' exists in CDA, as well as other Arabic dialects and MSA, as an auxiliary and copula verb. As a copula verb it modifies the tense of nominal clauses, most notably in its perfective form to indicate the past tense copula, but as an auxiliary verb, it

precedes other finite verbs and provides further TAM features.[104] A summary of its perfective and imperfective paradigms are given below.

√k-w-n *kān* 'to be'

	Perfective	Imperfective
1S	*kun-t*	*a-kūn*
2MS	*kun-t*	*ti-kūn*
2FS	*kun-ti* / *kun-te*	*ti-kūn-īn*
3MS	*kān*	*yi-kūn*
3FS	*kān-at*	*ti-kūn*
1PL	*kun-nā* / *kun-nī*	*ni-kūn*
2MPL	*kun-tū* / *kun-tum*	*ti-kūn-ū(n)*
2FPL	*kun-tēn*	*ti-kūn-ēn*
3MPL	*kān-ū*	*yi-kūn-ū(n)*
3F PL	*kān-ēn*	*ti-kūn-ēn*

Table 4.40: Auxiliary / copula verb kān / yi-kūn

The TAM function of *kān* / *yi-kūn* is most apparent in its use as an perfective auxiliary verb preceding a finite lexical verb. As outlined in 4.4.5 above, *kān* in its perfective form may accompany an imperfective verb. Where it immediately proceeds an imperfective verb, its function is to place the lexical meaning of the imperfective verb in a past progressive or past habitual aspect. For example:

(29) *kān* *yi-ktub* *li* *hum* *kull* *yōm* *wa*
was.3MS 3MS-write to them every day and
yi-xabbar-hum *bi* *xbār-u*
3MS-inform-them with news-his
'He used to write to them every day and tell them his news'

(30) *kun-t* *a-ʕraf* *ann-ī* *mā* *bā-ḥṣal* *ṣāḥib-ī*
was-1S 1S-know that-I NEG FUT-find friend-my
'I knew that I would not find my friend'

104 See section (8.7) for inceptive auxiliary verbs'

(31) *kān-at* *bi-ti-ktub* *li* *ṣāḥibat-hā* *min* *il-qadam*
was-3FS CONT-3FS-write to friend-her from DEF-past
'She was writing to her old friend'

(32) *kullu-hum* *kān* *yi-mizz-ūn* *min* *dūn*
all-them was.3MS 3M-smoke-PL from exclusion
riggāl *šēb*
man old
'Everyone was smoking except for an old man'

(33) *kun-nā* *bi-ni-tkillam* *maʕ* *baʕḍ-nā* *kull* *yōm*
was-1PL` CONT-1PL-speak with some-us every day
'We used to speak to each other every day'

In (29) and (33), the past habitual is created using the perfective auxiliary + imperfective lexical verb combination, in conjunction with the adverbial phrase *kull yōm* 'every day'. In (30), an ongoing, past progressive meaning is given to the stative verb *a-ʕraf* 'I know', as is the case in examples (31) and (32). In (32), as the auxiliary *kān* precedes the main verb *yi-mizz-ūn*, full inflectional agreement is not obligatory.

The use of the imperfective form *yi-kūn* is reserved for the subjunctive mood of the copula, such as in (34), (35), and (36) below, and as a future prefixed imperfective form it carries a future tense meaning (4.4.8).

(34) *mumkin* *yi-kūn* *fī* *ē* *buqʕa*
possible 3MS-be in any place
'He could be anywhere'

(35) *il-mudīr* *lāzim* *yi-kūn* *fi* *l-bēt*
DEF-manager must 3MS-be in DEF-house
'The manager must be at home'

(36) *lāzim* *ti-kūn* *ḥaðar* *axθar* *fi* *l-mistaqbal*
must 2MS-be careful more in DEF-future
'You must be more careful in the future'

4.4.7 Imperative mood

The imperative mood of the verb in CDA is formed from the imperfective paradigm, specifically the second person form of the verb. As shown in the table below, the morphology of the imperative verb is predictable, and involves the removal of the 2 person imperfective prefixes, along with the addition of fixed suffixes. Unlike many other Arabic dialects which prefix the basic derived imperative verb template *CvCvC* with /'i/-, the tendency in CDA to avoid glottal/vowel initial forms prevents this. On the following page is a summary of the imperative inflection of the main derived verb templates.

	Verb	Meaning
$C_1C_2vC_3$	*ktub*	'Write!' 2MS
	ktub-ī	'Write!' 2FS
	ktub-ū	'Write!' 2MPL
	ktub-ēn	'Write!' 2FPL
$C_1vC_2C_3$	*šill*	'Take!' 2MS
	šill-ī	'Take!' 2FS
	šill-ū	'Take!' 2MPL
	šill-ēn	'Take!' 2FPL
$C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$	*fikkar*	'Think!' 2MS
	fikkar-ī	'Think!' 2FS
	fikkar-ū	'Think!' 2MPL
	fikkar-ēn	'Think!' 2FPL
$C_1āC_2vC_3$	*ḥāwal*	'Try!' 2MS
	ḥāwal-ī	'Try!' 2FS
	ḥāwal-ū	'Try!' 2MPL
	ḥāwal-ēn	'Try!' 2FPL
$t(i)C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$	*tkillam*	'Speak!' 2MS
	tkillam-ī	'Speak!' 2FS
	tkillam-ū	'Speak!' 2MPL
	tkillam-ēn	'Speak!' 2FPL
$t(i)C_1āC_2vC_3$	*tbādil*	'Swap!' 2MS
	tbādil-ī	'Swap!' 2FS
	tbādil-ū	'Swap!' 2MPL
	tbādil-ēn	'Swap!' 2FPL
$(i)nC_1vC_2vC_3$	*inqaṭaʕ*	'Stop!' 2MS
	inqaṭaʕ-ī	'Stop!' 2FS
	inqaṭaʕ-ū	'Stop!' 2MPL
	inqaṭaʕ-ēn	'Stop!' 2FPL
$(i)C_1tC_2vC_3$	*intibah*	'Be careful!' 2MS
	intibah-ī	'Be careful!' 2FS
	intibah-ū	'Be careful!' 2MPL
	intibah-ēn	'Be careful!' 2FPL
$(i)staC_1C_2vC_3$	*staʕgil*	'Hurry!' 2MS
	staʕgil-ī	'Hurry!' 2FS
	staʕgil-ū	'Hurry!' 2MPL
	staʕgil-ēn	'Hurry!' 2FPL

Table 4.41: Imperative derived verbs

In examples (37), (38), and (39) below, the imperative verb is used. In examples (40) and (41), a

negative command is used, which results in the standard imperfective form of the verb being used after the imperative negator *lā.*

(37) *dawwar* *ʕala* *l-kutub* *ll-qudām*
look.2MS for DEF-books DEF-old
'Look for the old books!'

(38) *qābil-ī-hē* *bukra*
meet-2FS-her tomorrow
'Meet her tomorrow!'

(39) *ya* *muḥammad* *tḥaððar* *min*
VOC muḥammad take care.2MS from
hāðēn *is-siyyārāt* *il-masraʕa*
those DEF-cars DEF-fast
'Muhammad, mind these fast cars!'

(40) *lā* *ti-fzaʕ-īn* *yā* *xt-ī*
NEG 2-be frightened-FS VOC sister-my
'Don't be frightened sister!'

(41) *lā* *ti-qūl* *šē* *ʕan* *aṣḥāb-ak*
NEG 2MS-say thing about friends-your
'Don't say anything about your friends!'

4.4.8 Pre-verbal particles and imperfective verb prefixes

In addition to the contrasting TAM features in the perfective and bare imperfective paradigms discussed above, pre-verbal particles and verbal prefixes also exist in CDA which mark other TAM features. These are the imperfective continuous aspect prefix *bi-*, the future imperfective prefix *bā-*, and the present/past perfective particle *qad*. The existence of these particles and prefixes is well-documented in other Arabic dialects and MSA (see Watson 2011: 864), and they

have developed as a result of grammaticalization in all these varieties, as well as CDA. For this reason, these particles and prefixes are discussed in more detail in chapter 8 , including their development and function. However, included below is a brief overview of the imperfective verbal prefix paradigms, and their morphological implications for the inflection of the verb.

	Continuous aspect prefix *bi-*	Meaning	Future prefix *bā-*	Meaning
1S	*bi-ktub*	'I am writing'	*bā-ktub*	'I will write'
2MS	*bi-ti-ktub*	'You are writing'	*bā-ti-ktub*	'You will write'
2FS	*bi-ti-ktub-īn*	'You are writing'	*bā-ti-ktub-īn*	'You will write'
3MS	*bi-yi-ktub / bi-ktub*	'He is writing'	*bā-yi-ktub*	'He will write'
3FS	*bi-ti-ktub*	'She is writing'	*bā-ti-ktub*	'She will write'
1PL	*bi-ni-ktub*	'We are writing'	*bā-ni-ktub*	'We will write'
2MPL	*bi-ti-ktub-ū(n)*	'You are writing'	*bā-ti-ktub-ū(n)*	'You will write'
2FPL	*bi-ti-ktub-ēn*	'You are writing'	*bā-ti-ktub-ēn*	'You will write'
3MPL	*bi-yi-ktub-ū(n)*	'They are writing'	*bā-yi-ktub-ū(n)*	'They will write'
3FPL	*bi-yi-ktub-ēn*	'They are writing'	*bā-yi-ktub-ēn*	'They will write'

Table 4.42: Pre-verbal particles and imperfective verb prefixes

In rapid speech, the continuous aspect and future imperfective prefixes can be difficult to discern, most notably for the 1S and 3MS inflected verbs. Where there is no ambiguity possible, the 3MS continuous aspect prefixed verb may be identical to the 1S prefixed verb, with the elision of the standard *yi-* prefix of the 3MS verb and the continuous aspect prefix taking place, such as *bi-ktub* 'He is writing'. For the continuous aspect prefixed 1S verb, the glottal/vowel initial prefix of the standard imperfective verb is omitted, and the continuous aspect prefix attaches directly to the verb stem. In the prefixed environment, the 1S continuous aspect and 1S future prefixed verbs may only be discerned through length and quality of the prefix vowel.

4.5 Passive voice

The expression of the passive voice in southern Arabian Arabic dialects usually occurs through one of two methods, either by alteration of the internal vowels of basic derived verbs, or through extensive use of one or more of the derived verb templates outlined earlier in this chapter. In particular, the templates $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ (4.2.2), $t(i)C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$ (4.2.5), and $(i)C_1tvC_2vC_3$ (4.2.6), can all express the medio-passive voice, or in the case of $(i)nC_1vC_2vC_3$ (4.2.5) the 'true passive' (Holes (1990: 181). One of the characterising features of dialects found across this region however is the retention of the passive voice expressed through internal vowel changes in the basic derived form. That is, the morphological variation of vowels to transform a transitive verb

with active voice into one where the agent or subject of the verb is no longer present, via ablaut.[105]

This feature is documented in Ṣanʕānī Arabic (Watson 1993: 91-92), many other Yemeni dialects (Retso 1983: 147, Rossi 1939), Najdi Arabic (Ingham 1994: 6) and is described as one of the main identifying features of Omani Arabic dialects (Holes 1989: 449, 1998). Holes (2008: 488) also describes the tendency in some northern Omani dialects to shift away from the *ablaut* passive to the more common expression of the passive via one of the derived templates given above, a characteristic feature of eastern Arabian dialects. As CDA is somewhat geographically removed from the eastern Arabian/Gulf dialects of Arabic, it might be expected to exhibit this same tendency to use the *ablaut* passive, but in the recorded data examples of the *ablaut* passive are extremely rare, and are restricted to certain phrases. Consider the following example:

(42) *matā* *wulād*
when be born.3MS
'When was he born?'

From the above perfective verb example it is difficult to determine the morphological vowel variation, as the corresponding transitive verb *wallad* 'to bear a child' corresponds to a different verb template, in this case $C_1vC_2C_2vC_3$. Further examples were elicited in citation form only, notably *qubār* 'he / it was buried', *suhōg* 'he / it vanished', and *ʕudōm* 'he / it is not present', but example (42) was unique in the recorded data. From these four examples above, it would appear to suggest that the basic derived template $CuC\bar{v}C$ may have been a productive morphological expression of the passive voice in CDA at some stage, but its use today has almost vanished. In the closest geographical dialect to CDA, the dialect of Wadi Ḥaḍramawt in Yemen, al-Saqqāf (1999: 194-197) describes a similar *ablaut* passive which is reserved for set phrases, and which has largely been superseded by use of one of the derived medio-passive or true passive templates. Al-Saqqāf reasons that the lack of *ablaut* passive in Ḥaḍrāmī Arabic is due to the *CC*- initial clusters being permitted, which in the case of verbal morphology would prevent variation of the vowel between the first and second root consonants. Given the same tendency for *CC*- initial clusters in CDA, this reason may well apply here, although the lack of data prevents further analysis of this feature.

The true passive in CDA, where there is no explicit mention of an agent, agrees with the patient which undergoes the action of the verb. This is expressed in CDA using the derived template

105 In many studies, *ablaut* is often referred to as *apophony*, and the expression of the passive voice through *ablaut* as the *apophonic* passive.

(i)nC₁vC₂vC₃ form of the verb, which often corresponds with an active verb from either the basic derived form *C₁vC₂vC₃*, or *C₁vC₂C₂vC₃*. In (43) below, the active voice of the transitive verb *kasar* 'to break' is made passive through the *(i)nC₁vC₂vC₃* template of the same root. Similarly in (44) and (45), the active, transitive verbs *wallad* 'to bear' and *ktub* 'to write' are made passive with the same *(i)nC₁vC₂vC₃* template form of the root. In all three examples, whilst there is no mention of an agent performing the action of the verb, an external causative agent is implied nonetheless (Watson 1993: 92).

(43) *il-xalāf* *inkasar-at* *kulla-hēn*
DEF-windows be broken-3FS all-them
'The windows were completely broken'

(44) *inwalad* *wilda-hum* *fi* *s-sāʕa* *s-sabaʕ*
be born.3MS son-their in DEF-hour DEF-seven
iṣ-ṣubuḥ
DEF-morning
'Their son was born at seven o'clock in the morning'

(45) *hāði* *l-maqāla* *inkatab-at* *min* *xams* *sanawāt*
this DEF-article be written-3FS from five years
'This article was written five years ago'

A further morphological expression of the passive can also be made using the templates *C₁vC₂C₂vC₃*, *t(i)C₁vC₂C₂vC₃*, and *(i)C₁tvC₂vC₃*. In the case of the template *C₁vC₂C₂vC₃,* the passive voice expressed through this template usually refers to colours, as in (46) *ḥammar* 'to be red, blush' and (47) *suwwad* 'to be blackened, tanned' below, a feature which is also found in Ṣanʕānī Arabic (Watson 1993: 93-94).

(46) *ḥammar* *wigh-ū* *lamma* *šāf-hā*
be red.3MS face-his when saw.3MS-her
'He blushed when he saw her' (lit. his face became red)

(47) *wagh-ū* *suwwad* *min* *iš-šams*
face-his be blackened.3MS from DEF-sun
'His face was tanned from the sun'

The derived templates *t(i)*C_1*v*C_2C_2*v*C_3, and *(i)*C_1*tv*C_2*v*C_3 also express the passive voice, although a more accurate description of these templates would be in expressing the medio-passive. The medio-passive carries a passive meaning, but usually involves a reflexive or reciprocal sense, in that the causative agent is also the patient of the verb. In (48) below, the verb *ʕallim* 'to teach' becomes *tʕallim* 'to be taught, learn' when the *t(i)*C_1*v*C_2C_2*v*C_3 form of the verb is used, and a similar change occurs in (49) from *farraq* 'to separate' > *tfarraqa* 'to be separated, scattered', and (50) *ġayyar* 'to change' > *tġayyar* 'to be changed, alter'.

(48) *taʕallam-ū* *hāði* *l-qaṣāyid* *fi* *l-madarase*
learn-3MPL these DEF-poems in DEF-school
'They learned these poems in school'

(49) *baʕd* *il-ʕāṣifa* *'aġarar-nā* *tafarraq-at* *fi*
after DEF-storm things-our be scattered-3FS in
makān wāsaʕ
wide area
'After the storm our things were scattered across a wide area'

(50) *yi-taġayyar* *gadwal* *il-ḥāfila* *fi* *l-qēḍ*
3MS-be changed schedule DEF-bus in DEF-summer
liann *il-liyālī* *aqṣar*
because DEF-nights shorter
'The bus schedule is changed in the summer because the nights are shorter'

In the final examples below, the template *(i)*C_1*tv*C_2*v*C_3 is used for the passive voice of the transitive verbs *kšaf* 'to reveal > *iktišif* 'to be revealed, discovered' in (51), and (52) *ḥaraq* 'to burn' > *iḥtaraq* 'to be burning'.

(51)	*il-aθār*	*iktišif-at*	*bi*	*l-qurb*	*min*
	DEF-ruins	discovered	with	DEF-vicinity	from
	il-mīna	*il-qadīm*			
	DEF-port	DEF-old			
	'The ruins were discovered next to the old port'				

(52)	*gaʕn-t*	*il-bēt*	*yi-ḥtaraq*
	think-1S	DEF-house	3MS-be burning
	'I thought the house was burning'		

4.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have detailed the major features of verbal morphology in CDA. I have examined the various derivational templates, their properties, and their inflection for grammatical agreement, using a binary system grounded in the expression of perfective and imperfective aspect. I have also commented on the expression of the passive voice, the imperative, and given an overview of the imperfective verbal prefixes in CDA

5 Local relations, temporal relations, and prepositions

In this chapter I will explore the expression of local and temporal relations in CDA. These relations move beyond the predicative, attributive, and possessive features of noun phrases hitherto discussed in chapter 3, and ground such noun phrases within two and three dimensional space, or along a temporal continuum. For both local and temporal relations, some specific lexical forms and noun phrases can exhibit local and temporal meaning inherently, but the role of the CDA prepositional framework is integral in expressing these relations. Prepositions in CDA, as in other dialects of Arabic, are capable of differentiating both local and temporal relations through different functions relative to each form, and at the same time are also capable of providing further information about the semantic role of the adjacent noun phrases with which they occur (Payne 1997: 47). Despite the lack of overt case marking in CDA, the relationship between prepositions and noun phrases may also demonstrate specific case roles when they occur together.

Elšik and Matras (2006: 239 - 242), in dealing with the variation found in Romani dialectology, analyse the expression of local relations through a framework of four main values, which can be encoded by a number of different forms. These are values of CORE, PROXIMITY, AXIS, and PERIPHERAL localisation, which differentiate local relations in terms of the complexity of the locational information being related. The CORE values represent the most simplified form of relations, in that they express values which are either incorporative (expressing the value of containment or movement into a locale/destination, or the corresponding opposite, 'out' of such containment), or non-incorporative (expressing location at a specific non-contained point, or alternatively the opposite direction away from such a point). PROXIMITY values express locales which are close to specific points, or alternatively distant from them. AXIS values move the local relations from the binary oppositions of CORE and PROXIMITY into a three-dimensional sphere, expressing relations along the horizontal axis of anterior and posterior, and the vertical axis as above and below a specific locale. The final set of local values are then the PERIPHERAL set, which involve a more intricate expression of locality that may relate two points either in contrastive opposition or as an expression of direction along a path.

The expression of these local relations can be made in a variety of ways, using adverbs, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases which specify local content (Elšik & Matras 2006: 239). There is also correlation in the relationship between the function of the expression used and its form, in terms of the main CORE, PROXIMITY, AXIS, or PERIPHERAL local relational value group that it encodes. For example, CORE relations are expressed using prepositional forms and prepositional phrases, which are relatively simplistic in their structure, and which can attach to a wider variety of other structures to encode relations such as 'in', 'on', 'from, or 'into'. The complex, multi-dimensional local relations encoded by AXIS and PERIPHERAL values are more likely to be demonstrated by adverbs, which contain encoding of more specific local relations in

their lexical content, such as 'above', 'behind', 'below', or 'between'. In the following discussion, both local prepositions and local adverbs from CDA will be examined through this framework.

Returning to the prepositions and prepositional phrases which express CORE local relations, their simple form and binary expression of incorporative vs. non-incorporative, or ablative values, allows their function to extend beyond the sphere of local relations into that of temporal relations as well. Haspelmath (1997: 30) describes these adpositional forms in terms of their highly grammaticalized ability to express temporality, in particular the expression of simultaneous temporal relations where location and temporality can overlap. The function of a CORE adpositional can be extended to include the expression of a specific timeframe for an occurrence, such as 'I arrived at one o'clock', or similarly, 'I arrived in January', and many of the same prepositional forms can be reanalysed within a temporal framework, at the boundary between the local and the temporal. Beyond this shared sphere, temporal relations take a more complex structure, moving from the simultaneous to the durative and the sequential, the distant, and temporal extent (Haspelmath 1997: 32-47). Temporal relations also have a far richer set of canonical forms which can be used to encode a broad range of values, from hours of the day, day relative, months, to years, with their own more specific adverbial forms, in contrast to those of local relations.

One further area of note for these CORE prepositions in terms of their extra-categorial distribution (Elšik & Matras 2006: 259), such as that outlined above for temporal relations above, is their ability to express case relations for noun phrases as well. This is again symbolic of their susceptibility to be reanalysed as grammatical forms, and in the following discussion, examples of these case roles will also be examined. It will begin however with an overview of CDA prepositional forms and their main features.

5.1 Prepositions used to express local and temporal relations in CDA

The most common forms used in the expression of local and temporal relations in CDA are given in the table below, all of which precede pronoun suffixes, nouns, or noun phrases. Out of the 21 forms listed below, /*bi-*/, *maʕ*, *ʕind*, *min, ḥatta*, /*li-*/, *taḥt*, *ili*, *fī*, and *ʕan* do not demonstrate clear relationships with any specific consonantal root, whilst the remaining forms, such as *fōq*, *quddām/quddīm*, *wārā*, *ḍidd/ḍiddu*, *bēn*, *ʕala*, *qabal*, *baʕd*, and *bi-ginb,* can be viewed as grammaticalized nominal forms that can be linked semantically to identifiable roots, although they may not exist as specific nouns.

In the examples below, the forms /*bi-*/, *maʕ, ʕind, min*, *l(i)-*, *fī*, *ʕala*, *ili*, and *ʕan* constitute the CORE prepositions in CDA. Out of the remaining examples, forms such as *taḥt*, *fōq*, and *quddām* can also function as locational adverbs (see 6.1), with others, such as *xilāl*, *baʕd,* and *qabil*, as temporal adverbs (see 6.2). Although both prepositions and adverbs govern noun phrases in the following discussion, the main difference between these two sets of forms (prepositions and

adverbs) is that prepositions only occur in combination with pronoun suffixes, nouns, and noun phrases, and do not occur on their own. In contrast to this, the remaining forms in the table may also appear as single items when used as adverbs, and do not require an obligatory noun or noun phrase.

over, above	*fōq*	under, down	*taḥt*
with, in, into	*bi-*	between	*bēn*
in front of, opposite	*quddām* / *quddīm*	at, on, around	*ʕala*
with	*maʕ*	beside	*bi-ginb*
at, to, by	*ʕind*	to	*ili / lā*
from, ago, since	*min*	in	*fī*
behind	*wārā*	about	*ʕan*
against	*ḍidd / ḍiddu*	as far as	*ḥatta*
to, for, towards	*l(i)-*	during	*xilāl*
before, ago	*qabil*	after	*baʕd*
near	*qurb*	across	*ʕabra*
around	*ḥōl*	direct/indirect object marker[106]	*iyya*
without	*bidūn*	because	*ʕašān*

Table 5.1: Local and temporal prepositions

As CDA prepositions may only precede nouns or pronoun suffixes, in doing so they follow the phonological constraints for consonant clusters and epenthetic vowel insertion in CDA (see 2.7). The final vowel in the forms *ʕala* 'on' and *ili* 'to' is realised as /*ē*/ when pronoun suffixes are present, unless the 1S pronoun suffix is attached, in which case it is /*ī*/ (see 3.6).

5.2 Local relations

Local relations in CDA may either express a two-way local contrast based on inclusion or non-inclusion at or within a specific locale, or may refer to a location within three dimensional space. The expression of local relations in lexical items is limited, and restricted to adverbs or place deictics such as *hinnī* 'here', *hinnāk* 'there', *dāxil* 'inside', and *barra* 'outside (see 6.1 for a more extensive list of these locational adverbs). Prepositional forms and prepositional noun phrases however are more common, and express the CORE locational values of incorporative, non-incorporative, and ablative relations. Proximate, horizontal, vertical, or a variety of further

106 The direct object prepositional form only occurs in ditransitive clauses, and is covered in section (7.2)

relations (beside, opposite, across, and around, depending) are formed using locational adverbs. For example in (1) and (2) below, the preposition *fī* 'in, at' expresses the incorporative local relations within a wider whole, or specific location. A specific location and destination is also given by the preposition *ili* 'to' in (3).

(1) *mā* *kun-t* *fī* *l-bēt*
NEG was-1S in DEF-house
'I was not at home'

(2) *aṣḥāb-ī* *muntaḍir-īn-ī* *fī* *l-maqha*
friends-my waiting-MPL-me in DEF-cafe
'My friends are waiting for me in the cafe'

(3) *a-sīr* *ili* *s-sūq* *kull* *yōm*
1S-go to DEF-market every day
'I go to the market every day'

In (1 – 3), the location reference is the adjacent noun phrase to the immediate right of the preposition, as *(i)l-bēt* 'house', *(i)l-maqha* 'cafe', and *(i)s-sūq* 'the market'. Ablative relations indicating location away from, or departure from, or movement out from an incorporative whole or destination are expressed using the preposition *min* 'from', as demonstrated in (4).

(4) *il-bās* *taḥarrak* *min* *il-maḥaṭṭa*
DEF-bus left.3MS from DEF-station
'The bus left the station'

Proximate relations around a definite location are specified using the adverbs *qurb* / *qarīb* in examples (5) and (6). In (6), the additional preposition *min* occurs after the proximate form. Proximate local relations can also expressed using the adverb *ḥōl*, and the preposition *ʕala.*

(5) *kun-nā* *ni-sāwī* *muxayyim-anā* *qurb* *bīr* *dēman*
were-1PL 1PL-do tent-our near well always
'We always used to set up our tent near a well'

(6) *kun-nā* *gālis-īn* *qarīb* *min* *maktab* *ōb-ū*
were-1PL sitting-MPL near to office father-his
'We were sitting near his father's office'

Horizontal axis local relations, that is those which occur on a horizontal three dimensional plane in relation to a fixed point, are expressed using the anterior prepositional form *quddām* 'in front

of' in (7), and the posterior preposition *wārā* 'behind' in example (8).

(7) *bā-ḥaggar* *l-ak* *quddām* *il-misgid*
FUT-wait.1S for-you in front of DEF-mosque
'I will wait for you in front of the mosque'

(8) *xaṭaf* *il-wilīd* *wārā* *šagara*
hid.3MS DEF-boy behind tree
'The boy hid behind a tree'

Vertical local relations, occurring in relation to a fixed point on a three dimensional vertical plane, are expressed in terms of three different positions. These are the adverbs *taḥt* 'under, below' in example (9), *fōq* 'over, above' (10), and the preposition *ʕala* 'on' example (11), where there is contact with a surface. In the case of *ʕala* 'on' it can also be considered as the vertical mid-point between the superior *fōq* 'over, above' relation and the inferior *taḥt* 'under, below'.

(9) *il-ibil* *ti-waqqaf* *ʕādatan* *taḥt* *il-naxīl*
DEF-camels 3FS-stand usually under DEF-palms
'The camels usually stand under the palms'

(10) *fī* *līt* *fōq* *ll-bīb*
EXIST light above DEF-door
'There is a light above the door'

(11) *gilis* *maʕ* *zōgt-ū* *ʕala* *s-sāḥal*
sat.3MS with wife-his on DEF-beach
'He sat with his wife on the beach'

In example (12), further proximate local relations are given using the adverb *bi-ginb* 'next to', which is a compound form based on the preposition *bi* 'with' and noun *ginb* 'side'. In (13) and (14), the adverbs *bēn* 'between' and *ḥōl* 'around' demonstrate spatial relations between multiple points, and around a fixed point. In terms of the local relation groupings outlined at the start of the chapter, the use of adverbs to encode these more complex spatial values is consistent.

(12) *mā* *šē* *kirāsī* *bi-ginb-ak*
NEG EXIST chairs next to-you
'There are no seats next to you'

(13) *gilis-at* *bēn-ahum* *wa* *tikillam-at* *maʕ-hum*
sat-3FS between-them and spoke-3FS with them
'She sat between them and spoke with them'

(14) *dār-at* *ḥōl* *il-bēt* *wa* *mā* *ḥaṣal-at*
circled-3FS around DEF-house and NEG found-3FS
bāb *maftūḥ*
door open
'She walked around the house without finding an open door'

5.3 Temporal relations

As was outlined earlier, the expression of temporal relations occurs more frequently via lexical items, attributive noun phrases, or SGCs, on account of the much larger canonical repertoire of temporal adverbs. For example, temporal adverbs like *ġudwa* 'tomorrow' and *rubbāraḥ* 'yesterday' express temporal values in relation to the definite noun phrase *il-yōm* 'today', and other specific parts of the day may also be given as definite noun phrases, e.g *iṣ-ṣubuḥ* 'the morning' and *il-lēl* 'the evening'. Hours of the day, days of the week, seasons, and specific festivals may all demonstrate temporal adverb relations (see 6.2), but when accompanied by prepositions, these adverbs and expressions become grounded events, simultaneous with their temporal expression. To achieve this, the CORE locational prepositions outlined in 5.2 are reanalysed to specify these relations, as can be seen below.
The preposition *fī* 'in', when preceding a temporal adverb or noun phrase, specifies the occurrence of the event simultaneous to that relevant time, but its interpretation can vary from the punctual to a more durative timescale. Consider examples (15-17), where the punctuality of a specific hour of the day contrasts with the more vague temporal boundaries of a season.

(15) *waṣal* *fī* *s-sāʕa* *is-sabaʕ* *iṣ-ṣubuḥ*
arrived.3MS in DEF-hour DEF-seven DEF-morning
'He arrived at seven o'clock in the morning'

(16) *fī l-qēḍ* *ni-štaġal* *fī* *l-madīna*
in DEF-summer 1PL-work in DEF-city
'In the summer, we work in the city'

(17) *hāði* *ṭ-ṭarīq* *mā* *hō* *mustaʕmil* *fī* *š-šittā*
this DEF-road NEG it used in DEF-winter
'This road is not used during / in the winter'

The time reference in (15) is specific and punctual, but the use of the same preposition in (16), whilst still providing a simultaneous relation, is extended over a more prolonged time period.

Similarly, such temporal expressions may also be grounded by the preposition *bi* 'with, at' (18), where the reference period is confined to a party of the day. In (19), the same relation is implied by the adverb *xilāl* 'during' (19), with a simultaneous, durative meaning.

(18) *il-gō* *bi* *l-lēl* *kān* *ḥārr* *lākin*
DEF-weather at DEF-night was.3MS hot but
il-ḥadīq-a *bārid-a*
DEF-garden-F cool-F
'The weather in the evening was hot, but the garden was cool'

(19) *fēn* *hō* *xilāl* *il-nihār*
where he during DEF-daytime
'Where is he during the day?'

Sequential temporal relations have a more open-ended expression of time than those which are simultaneous. Haspelmath (1997: 32-33) identifies four semantic areas of sequential meaning which are closely connected in respect to their durability and anterior vs. posterior reference. The simple expression of sequential temporality is divided into the period before which an event occurred, or following it, both of which are in relation to the temporal information given in the noun phrase they modify. In CDA, these relations are created using the prepositions *qabil* 'before' and *baʕd* 'after', as in examples (20), and (21).

(20) *qabil* *is-subūʕ* *illi* *gē*
before DEF-week REL coming
'Before next week'

(21) *had-at* *il-ʕāṣif-a* *hadū kāmil* *baʕd* *sāʕat-ēn*
calmed-3FS DEF-storm-F quiet completely after hour-DL
'The storm had died down completely after a couple of hours'

The alternative to the simple sequential expression is one that encompasses a durative timeframe, where not only is the period before an event specified, there is also the notion that the event was still occurring at the specified time, or at least for part of the specified time. These durative relations are encoded with the adverbs *ḥatta* 'until' and the preposition *min* 'since'. In example (22) below, the temporal implication is that the subject will be staying at certain place until the arrival of the monsoon period (khareef), but this situation will then change once the khareef has arrived. Implied within this is that, for a certain period of time at the start of the khareef, the subject will still be staying at the same place. Such temporal relations specify both the period before *and* for a certain durative period at the specified timeframe, the anterior durative. In (23), the mirror relation to this is the posterior durative, where the event specified

has occurred since a point in time, and at that previous point was also taking place.

(22) *ḥatta* *il-xarīf* *bi-yi-glis* *wēn*
until DEF-monsoon CONT-3MS-stay where
'Where will he stay until the khareef?'

(23) *hō* *yi-ʕallam* *iṣ-ṣaġīrīn* *min* *ʕād-ū* *šab*
he 3ms-teach DEF-children since PTCL-he young man
'He has been teaching children since he was a young man'

In the final temporal relation examples (24 - 26), distant temporal relations are expressed. These relations encode two time references, one explicit in the utterance as an adverb or adverbial phrase, and the other the point at which the utterance itself is made. In CDA, these relations are encoded using the forms *qabil* 'before, ago' (24), *min* 'from, ago' (25) to express past events in relation to the speech event, whilst *baʕd* 'after' (26) provides the corresponding future time reference.

(24) *inkitib-at* *hāði* *l-maqāla* *qabil* *xams* *sanaw-āt*
be written-3FS this DEF-article before five years-FPL
'This article was written five years ago'

(25) *ibtinā* *l-misgid* *min* *zamān*
be built.3MS DEF-mosque from time
'The mosque was built long ago'

(26) *bā-yi-waṣal* *hinnī* *baʕd* *xams daqāyiq*
FUT-3MS-arrive here after five minutes
'He will be here in five minutes'

5.4 Other prepositional semantic roles

In (5.2) and (5.3) I have demonstrated the locational and extra-categorical temporal relation functions of some of the CORE prepositions in CDA. Their ability to be reanalysed and assigned other grammatical functions is further demonstrated in their expression of semantic roles.[107] For example, prepositions may precede an adjacent noun phrase which does not express a local or temporal expression, and assign to it a specific semantic case role such as POSSESSION. Semantic roles are also indicated in the verbal arguments which prepositions introduce, for example those of INSTRUMENT, RECIPIENT, BENEFACTIVE, GOAL, REASON, SOURCE, MATERIAL,

107 In defining semantic roles, I am using the definition provided by Payne (1997: 48), as incorporating concepts of both thematic roles and case grammar.

ASSOCIATIVE, and PARTITIVE. Given the variety of different roles which some prepositions can produce, in addition to the local and temporal relations mentioned so far, the following section will discuss each preposition on a form by form basis, describing their associated semantic roles, beginning with the form *ʕind* 'at, to'.

In CDA, *ʕind* 'at, to' indicates the semantic case of POSSESSION in nominal clauses. The structure of these clauses is in most cases the pronoun-suffixed preposition. The possessive relationship may be one such as kinship (27), or proper possession (28) & (29), whereby the suffixed preposition links the noun phrase (possession) to the possessor in an oblique phrase.

(27) *ʕind-ī* *walid-ēn* *wa* *bint*
to-me son-DL and girl
'I have two sons and a daughter'

(28) *ʕind-ak* *xātim* *ðahab* *zēda*
to-you ring gold also
'You also have a gold ring'

(29) *zēda* *ʕind-akum* *siyyārat-ēn*
additionally to-you car-DL
'What's more, you have two cars'

The preposition /*l(i)-*/ 'to, for' expresses RECIPIENT and BENEFACTIVE (31) roles, as well as specifying POSSESSION in clauses where there are other possessive constructions, such as the SGC in example (32). In (32), /*li-*/ is adjacent to the SGC and attaches directly as a clitic *l-ōb il-walid* 'to the boy's father', indicating the possessor of the indefinite noun phrase which follows the SGC, *laḥēy-a kibīr-a* 'a big beard'.

(31) *xalla* *hāði* *l-qōt* *l-ak* *wa* *xawān-ak*
left.3MS this DEF-food for-you and brothers-your
'He left this food for you and your brothers'

(32) *kān* *l-ōb* *il-walid* *laḥēy-a* *kibīr-a*
was.3MS to-father DEF-boy beard-F big-F
'The boy's father had a big beard'

The preposition *maʕ* 'with' can in some circumstances express POSSESSION relations, especially when it indicates a simultaneous timeframe. In (33), the implication of the question is to ascertain how much money is with the intended recipient of the utterance at the point in time in which the utterance is made. In addition to this role, *maʕ* also expresses ASSOCIATIVE comitative relations which may occur simultaneously (34) & (35). The preposition *maʕ* may take a pronoun

suffix or be immediately adjacent to the noun.

(33) *kum* *maʕ-ak* *min il-filūs*
How much with-you from DEF-money
'How much money do you have with you?'

(34) *sir-t* *maʕ* *xo* *ṣāḥib-ak*
walked-1S with brother friend-your
'I walked with your friend's brother'

(35) *bā-bqa* *maʕ-ak* *fēn-mā* *sir-t*
FUT-stay.1S with-you where-that went-2MS
'I will stay with you wherever you go'

The corresponding negative ASSOCIATIVE role is expressed through the form *bidūn* 'without', as in (36) and (37).

(36) *mīn* *illi* *mumkin* *yi-bnī* *bēt* *bidūn* *masāmīr*
who REL able 3MS-build house without nails
'Who can build a house without nails?'

(37) *ānā* *waḥīd* *bidūn-iš*
I lonely without-you
'I am lonely without you

The preposition *min* 'from' may indicate the semantic role of REASON (36), SOURCE (37), or the inherent MATERIAL quality (38), either with a pronoun suffix or adjacent to a noun phrase.

(36) *taḥaddab* *ðahar-ū* *min* *ḥeyā* *ṭawīl-a* *wa* *šāq-a*
was crooked.3MS back-his from life long and hard
'His back was crooked from a long, hard life'

(37) *saraq-ū* *min-hum*
stole-3MPL from-them
'He stole it from them'

(36) *hāðēnak* *il-karāsī* *maṣnūʕ-āt* *min* *maʕdan*
those DEF-chairs made-FPL from metal
'Those chairs are made from metal

The preposition *bi-* 'at, with' carries an ASSOCIATIVE role, most notably that of INSTRUMENT (37-39).

(37)	*mumkin*	*ti-xīṭ*	*hāðēn*	*il-figāra*	*bi*	*l-xēṭ*
	possible	2MS-sew	these	DEF-holes	with	DEF-thread
	'Can you mend these holes with a thread?'					

(38)	*ʕawwar-t*	*nafs-ī*	*bi*	*s-sikkīn*
	injured-1S	self-my	with	DEF-knife
	'I injured myself with the knife'			

(39)	*šāf-at*	*il-ḥādiθ*	*bi*	*ʕayūn-hā*
	saw-3FS	DEF-accident	with	eyes-her
	'She saw the accident with her own eyes'			

As is discussed in (7.6.4), the subordinating conjunction *ʕašān* 'because' introduces adverbial clauses of cause, reason, and explanation. It can also function as a preposition expressing CAUSE and REASON semantic roles in adjacent noun phrases, as shown in (40) and (41).

(40)	*zaʕal*	*ʕal-ī*	*ʕašān*	*šē*
	angry.3MS	at-me	because	something
	'He got angry with me because of something'			

(41)	*bi-yi-tqātil-ūn*	*ʕašān*	*il-mī*
	CONT-3-fight-MPL	because	DEF-water
	'They are fighting for the water'		

In the final three examples below, the prepositions *ʕala* 'on, for' (39), and *ʕan* 'about' (40) & (41) are given. In these examples, *ʕala* indicates CAUSE and REASON roles, whereas that of *ʕan* is REFERENTIAL.

(39)	*šakar-at-nī*	*ʕala*	*id-durūr*	*il-gamīla*
	thanked-3FS-me	for	DEF-earrings	DEF-beautiful
	'She thanked me for the beautiful earrings'			

(40)	*txabbar-nī*	*wild-ī*	*ʕan*	*gidd-ū*
	asked.3MS-me	son-my	about	grandfather-his
	'My son asked me about his grandfather'			

(41) *mā* *ti-qūl* *šē* *ʕan* *aṣḥāb-ak*
NEG 2MS-say anything about friends-your
'Don't say anything about your friends!'

5.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the role of CDA prepositions and adverbs in terms of the main locational and temporal relations which they encode. In addition to their syntactic function of marking direct or indirect objects, CORE prepositions combine with noun phrases to construct the basic locational sphere in which events are grounded. Where more complex relations based around the horizontal and vertical axes are required, CDA resorts to the use of locational adverbs to extend this sphere. The grammatical reanalysis of CORE prepositions is apparent in their temporal function expressing simultaneous events, and combining with the large canonical array of time adverbs and noun phrases, they produce a broad spectrum of possibilities. The more complex temporal relations in CDA, such as sequential and distant timeframes, are expressed using specific prepositions. Finally, I have examined the semantic roles which prepositions may also assign to noun phrases, to provide a more complete overview of their function at their function in establishing meaning.

6 Adverbs, and particles

The category of adverbs and particles is in many respects a difficult category to define, in that such forms do not fall under the description of nominal morphology, verbal morphology, or local and temporal relations.. Adverbs are perhaps the easier of these forms to describe in that they are a 'catch-all' category (Payne 1997: 69), which cover a wide variety of semantic concepts, and which modify meaning at a clause or discourse level. Matras (2012: 352) gives a more detailed description of the 'fuzzy' nature of this category, as parts of speech which do not correspond with any strong correlation to other types of clause or phrase constituent. Along with these forms, I have also included a number of other forms that I term as particles, which are highly limited to certain expressions.

Adverbs can be divided into three major groups in CDA, namely as location, temporal, and manner adverbs. The forms that constitute adverbs are drawn from a variety of different substantive types such as nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, although occasionally the adverb form will involve the combination of prepositions and definite nouns. Within the categories of location and temporal adverbs, I have also included terms for place deixis and time deixis, as they fall broadly within these boundaries. Adverbs can occupy a number of different positions within a phrase in relation to their referent, usually at the end, and they can occur either before or after their verbs. A more detailed discussion for each major category is given below, with a selection of CDA examples, although given the potential membership of each category, this is by no means exhaustive. In relation to adverbs, adverbial clauses are discussed in section (7.6)

6.1 Locational adverbs

The majority of location adverbs in CDA are also prepositions, and included within this group are the locational demonstrative adverbs *hinnā* / *hinnī* 'here', and *hinnāk* 'there'. The forms *šimāl* / *yasār* / *šadaf* 'left', *yamīn* 'right', and *ṭūl* 'straight on' are usually preceded by the preposition *ʕala*. The adverb *sīda* 'straight on' may be a loanword that ultimately derives from the English 'side', with its directional information implied from the path followed by moving along the side of a road or path.[108]

108 Given the widespread use of this term amongst CDA speakers, non-CDA Arabic speakers (mainly northern Omani / local MSAL speakers), and the migrant Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi communities in Dhofār, it is not possible to conclude how this term may have entered into CDA.

here	*hinnā / hinnī*	outside	*xārig / baraʕ*
there	*hinnāk*	after	*baʕd*
on the left	*(ʕala) šimāl / yasār / šadaf*	before	*qabil*
on the right	*(ʕala) yamīn*	in between	*bēn*
inside	*dāxil*	behind	*wārā*
next to	*ginb*	in front of	*quddām / quddīm*
under, down, below	*taḥt*	over, up, above	*fōq*
straight on	*sīda / (ʕala) ṭūl*	north	*fōq / šimāl*
east	*šarq*	south	*taḥt / ganūb / ḥadara*
west	*qabila / ġarb*		

Table 6.1: Locational adverbs

Forms which relate to the cardinal points are expressed using two sets of adverbs, which have a certain degree of interchangeability. Within the immediate environs of the coastal plain and surrounding mountains, the cardinal points are *fōq* 'north, *šarq* 'east', *taḥt* 'south', and *qabla* 'west', which reflects the east-west axis of the coastline against the north-south axis of the mountains in relation to the sea. Hence, *fōq* also expresses the directional movement upward and northward into the mountains, and *taḥt* the reciprocal directional movement downward and southward towards the coast, both of which have current usage in CDA. The form *ḥadara* 'south' is also used, particularly in communities to the east of Ṣalāla.

The east-west axis contains a more standard adverb *šarq* 'east', and a lesser-used, older form *qabila* 'west', the latter of which also reflects a more general local geographical alignment with the westerly direction of prayer towards Mecca.[109] A more common form for 'west' is *ġarb,* and alongside *šimāl* 'north', *šarq* 'east', and *ganūb* 'south', these adverbs constitute a more modern set of adverbs amongst CDA speakers, which are identical to MSA, and which are used for reference beyond the immediate environs.

Locational deixis forms in CDA demonstrate a proximal and distal deictic distance. The proximal form, *hinnā* 'here', has a variant form *hinnī* which demonstrates final vowel raising, and is relatively common for most CDA speakers. The corresponding distal form, *hinnāk* 'there', has the same distal morpheme suffix /*-k*/ as found in distal demonstrative pronouns, although there is no final vowel raised variant in CDA despite the lack of a prohibiting phoneme. Within formal, educated speech, *hinnāk* also carries the same existential function in CDA as its identical form in MSA, with the meaning 'there is'. However, in casual speech the existential particles *šē* and *fīh* are more common, e.g: *še riggīl hinnāk* 'There is a man there?' .[110]

109 The MSA term for the direction of prayer towards Mecca is *qibla.*
110 Of the two more casual forms, *še* is considered to be a local variant, and *fīh* a modern form.

6.2 Temporal adverbs

In the selection of temporal adverbs given below, many are noun phrases which express specific periods of day in relation to the position of the sun, or specific Islamic prayers. In the first table, CDA contains a number of adverbs that are analogous with those in MSA, such as *il-yōm* 'today, *ams* 'yesterday', and *dēman* 'always', in addition to forms specific to both CDA and other Arabic dialects in southern Arabia.[111] The adverb *bi l-lēl* 'tonight' requires the additional preposition *bi* in order to express a temporal adverb quality, as unlike *il-yōm* whose meaning is contextually prescribed as either 'today' or 'the day', *il-lēl* only refers to 'the night'. Many CDA temporal adverbs also require the definite article.

today	*il-yōm*	always	*dēman*
yesterday	*ams* / *rubbārah*	whenever	*mta*
tomorrow	*ġudwah*	last night	*ams bi l-lēl*
tonight	*bi l-lēl*	early	*ġubša*
now	*ðaḥḥīn* / *ðalḥīn*	later	*baʕdīn*

Table 6.2: Temporal adverbs

In the second table below, *fagar*, *ḍuhr*, *ʕaṣar*, *maġrib*, and *ʕašā* refer to specific prayers and their approximate observed times. The times given for the remaining adverbs are also approximate, and these adverbs tend to be used less frequently in CDA. All the adverbs below are usually positioned before the verb at the start of a clause, or at the end of the clause, and often occur with prepositions as adverbial noun phrases, although absence of a preposition does not appear to affect adverb meaning, as is the case with *bi l-lēl* above.

The temporal deixis adverb has two variants *ðalḥīn*/*daḥḥīn* 'now'. There is no variation in usage of either form, although the latter usually occurs in connected speech more often. The adverb itself can be divided into three separate constituent parts which have lost their initial morphemic distinction, and merged historically to become a single lexical form which carries an overall demonstrative temporal meaning. The constituent morphemes are an initial demonstrative pronoun /*(hā)ðā*/ 'this', followed by the definite article /*(i)l*/, and a final nominal /*ḥīn*/, the combination of which results initially in the nominal phrase *(hā)ðā l-ḥīn* 'this time'.[112] The /l/ in the resulting form *ðalḥīn* 'now' can also undergo progressive assimilation to become /*ḥ*/, resulting in the gemination of /ḥ/ in the variant *daḥḥīn.* The grammaticalization of this form is discussed in section (8.6.2)

111 CDA shares the adverb *ġudwah* 'tomorrow' with several inland and coastal Yemeni dialects.

112 Other temporal phrases in CDA are analogous with this process, such as *ðalusbūʕ* 'this week' and *ðaššahar* 'this month'.

dawn (5am)	*il-fagar*	sunset (6pm)	*il-maġrib / il-ġurūb*
after dawn (7am)	*iš-šurūq*	darkness (7pm)	*il-gasās / il-gasīs* *il-gaṣāṣ / il-gaṣīṣ*[113]
mid-morning (9am)	*iḍ-ḍuḥa / iḍ-ḍuḥīwa*	evening (8pm)	*il-ʕašā / il-ʕašiya*
noon / midday (12pm)	*il-hagr / il-hagīra*	start of night (9pm)	*awwal il-lēl*
afternoon (1pm)	*iḍ-ḍuhr*	midnight (12pm)	*nuṣṣ il-lēl*
mid-afternoon (4pm)	*il-ʕaṣar / il-ʕaṣīr*	pre-dawn (3am)	*āxir il-lēl*
late-afternoon (5pm)	*il-ʕašiya*		

Table 6.3: Times of day

6.3 Manner adverbs

The category of adverbs of manner is a broad category that covers adverbs which describe circumstance, condition, manner, and state. Forms ending with the adverb suffix morpheme /*-an*/ are common in MSA. A sample of CDA adverbs of manner are given below.

well, good	*zēn*	slowly, carefully	*šwiya šwiya*
alone	*wāḥīd*	together	*gubra* / *maʕ baʕḍ*
very	*giddan / wāgid*	almost	*taqrīban*
quickly	*bisuraʕ*	naturally, of course	*ṭabʕan*
little	*šwī* / *šwē*	accidentally	*bi-ṣudf*
rarely	*nādirmā* / *nādiran*	immediately	*ʕala ṭūl*
completely, totally	*bi l-kāmil*	so, thus, in such a way	*hēkiḍē*

Table 6.4: Manner adverbs

113 Both forms are recognised in CDA, and final long vowel raising is present in *gaṣīṣ*, despite the presence of the voiceless alveolar pharyngeal fricative /*ṣ*/. The reference time for *gaṣīṣ* is the point at which the sky becomes totally dark, and carries the meaning of 'darkness' generally.

6.4 The particle bū

The particle *bū* is generally associated with names and proper nouns, deriving from the MSA term *ʻabū* 'father'. It appears as the first term in a construct phrase, and is usually followed by a inherently definite name to indicate the kinship meaning 'the father of...', as in *bū ḥāfiḍ* 'the father of Hāfiḍ', or *bū saʕīd* 'the father of Saeed'. Phrases such as these are used as substitute names to refer to people, by means of reference to one of their male children (usually the eldest).

As an extension to this naming convention, *bū* + proper noun is also used in the names of animals and birds, such as *bū ḥsēn* 'fox' (derived from *ʕalī bū ḥsēn*), and the bird *bū ġurayyib* 'Tristram's Starling '(onychognathus tristramii).

6.5 Presentative particle hā

The particle *hā*, as shown in section (3.5.2), has a presentative function in CDA which is common in many Arabic dialects, in addition to its morphemic role in demonstrative pronouns. [114] Its role in CDA however appears to be somewhat limited to certain phrases, where the particle combines with a limited range of second person pronoun suffixes. Examples of this are given in the table below, which also demonstrate the variable quality of the long vowel in this particle.

	Particle		*Particle*
2MS	*hō-k / hū-k*	2MPL	*hō-kum / hō-kū*
2FS	*hī-š / hū-š*	2FPL	*hō-kēn*

Table 6.5: Presentative particle hā

The examples cited here can be translated in two ways. The first possible translation reflects the presentative, and somewhat demonstrative quality of the particle, as 'This is yours'. As an extension of this, the second function of *hā* can carry an imperative function, with the translation of 'Take!', which may explain the limited rage of pronoun suffixes that may attach to the particle. The particle is also present in the phrase *hā aḷḷah* 'Oh God!', where it retains its presentative function, and also exhibits a vocative quality.

6.6 Vocative particle yā

The vocative particle *yā* is common in CDA, and can be combined with a variety of forms when

114 Holes (1995: 185)

used to address people or objects. It is most commonly used with names, as in *yā aḥmed* '(oh) Ahmed', and can be used before any definite noun, such as *yā ṣadīqī* '(oh) my friend', when the intended recipient of the phrase is known to the speaker. When the recipient is unknown to the speaker, the default form of address which accompanies the particle is usually either the name *muḥammad*, e.g. *yā muḥammad*, or in the case of a perceived non-Arabic speaker, *yā dost*, where *dost* is the Hindi term for 'friend'. In the latter case, *dost* does not carry any definite marking, and is the only example in the data where this is the case.

The particle *yā* may also be used with a restricted range of pronoun suffixes as a form of address to both known and unknown recipients. These are *yā-k* (2MS), *yī-š* (2FS), *yā-kum* (2MPL), and *yā-kēn* (2FPL), 'Hey you!', with the pronoun suffix for each form agreeing in gender and number with the intended recipient. The particle may also be used as a means of declarative response, as *yā hō* (3MS) 'I am the one', or its corresponding form *yā hē* (3FS), where an independent third person pronoun follows the particle, and agrees in gender with the speaker of the utterance.

6.7 Terms of affirmation and negation

Affirmation and negation can be expressed in CDA using several fixed forms. The common form for affirmation, for example as a response to yes/no questions, is *ēwa* 'yes', which can also be realised as the diphthongised form *eywa*. Two further forms also exist, *yāwan* and *naʕm* although the former is considered by many speakers to be an archaism, whilst the latter is a standard form found in MSA.

The corresponding negative response to yes/no questions is *lā*, 'no' which may also be realised with a raised long vowel as *lī*. CDA speakers may also use the Jibbāli form *lob* 'no'. All forms may be repeated in quick succession to emphasise negation.

The form *lā* may also be used for verbal negation, along with the negative particle *mā* which has a variety of negation functions (see 7.10).

6.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have given a brief overview of the main categories of adverbs in CDA, namely locational, temporal, and manner. I have also presented discussion on expressive particles in CDA such as the presentative and vocative, and provided an overview of terms of affirmation and negation.

7 Syntax

In the following chapter I will detail the main syntactic features of CDA. The organisation of this chapter is influenced by the functional categories which were used in the construction of the data collection questionnaire, and also using the descriptive outline of Payne (1997). The discussion is divided initially into two broad categories, nominal clauses and verbal clauses. In nominal clauses I will outline various CDA predicate combinations which constitute this group, such as nominal predicates, adjectival predicates, locative predicates, existential, and possessive clauses. I also discuss the constituent word order of nominal clauses. In verbal clauses, I will examine simple verb clauses and their constituent word order, as well as complex clause combinations such as complement clauses, purpose clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. Attention will then turn to clause co-ordination, negation, imperative clauses, and interrogative clauses.

7.1 Nominal clauses and word order

The definition of nominal clauses used in this section (Payne 1997: 111-113) are those clauses where there is no semantically rich lexical verb providing the predication for the grammatical subject, or where a verb is present, then it is semantically empty such as the verb 'to be'. Predication is provided through other nominal forms, which can be joined in a variety of ways to the grammatical subject or predicand to create a complete predicated clause, such as through the juxtaposition of nominal forms, the presence of a verbal copula, or via the insertion of an independent pronoun. As with Payne's definition, the term *nominal predicates* can be extended to refer to all clauses which use a nominal form for predication, but its use here is more specific.

7.1.1 Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates in CDA are those clauses where predication is provided by a noun, either expressing the proper inclusion of the predicand within the class of items specified by the noun, or expressing an equative relationship between the predicand and the predicate. In CDA, as with other dialects of Arabic, the structure of the clause is NP PRO NP where the predicate and predicand are both definite, with a copula pronoun linking the two nominals which agrees grammatically with the predicand, as in (1) and 2 below. In clauses where both predicate and predicand are definite, then the clauses are equational and their positions are readily interchangeable. Where the nominal predicate is indefinite, there is is no copula pronoun, and the two nominals are linked in juxtaposition, as in (3), (4), and (5). The copula meaning is inferred.

(1) *bēt-ū* *hō* *bēt* *hal-ū*
house-his PRO.3MS house family-his
'His house is the family home'

(2) *ir-riggāl* *iṭ-ṭawīl* *hō* *ōb-ū*
DEF-man DEF-tall PRO.3MS father-his
'The tall man is his father'

(3) *umm-iš* *daxtūra*
mother-your.2FS doctor
'Your mother is a doctor'

(4) *bin* *ʕamm-ū* *tāgir*
son uncle-his trader
'His cousin is a trader'

(5) *hāðēna l-bināt* *ṭabbāxāt* *ziyān*
these DEF-girls cooks skilled
'These girls are skilled cooks'

7.1.2 Adjectival predicates

In clauses where an adjective predicates the nominal predicand, the clause structure is the same as that for indefinite nominal predicates outlined in 7.1.1. That is, the adjective appears juxtaposed to the predicand, is indefinite, and there is no copula pronoun or verb. This is shown in examples (6-11) below.

(6) *il-bēt* *maṣbūġ*
DEF-house painted
'The house is painted'

(7) *hē* *lābisa*
she dressed
'She is dressed'

(8) *iṣ-ṣigīrīn* *šugʕān* *wāgid*
DEF-young men brave very
'Young men are very brave'

(9) *hō* *šabʕān*
he full
'He is full'

(10) *anā* *waḥīd* *bidūn-iš*
I lonely without-2FS
'I am lonely without you'

(11) *inta* *gaʕān*
you.2MS hungry
'You are hungry'

7.1.3 Locative predicates

As their name implies, locative predicates provide locational information in relation to the predicand, and take the form of an adpositional phrase. Where the predicate is locative, there is no overt copula form between the two nominals, and the nominal in the predicate may be indefinite. A summary of the range of prepositional locatives which may introduce locational predicates is given in section 6.2. Examples of locational predicates are as follows:

(12) *bēt-ū* *wārā* *l-misgid*
house-his behind DEF-mosque
'His house is behind the mosque'

(13) *il-qarūra* *fi* *š-šanṭa*
DEF-bottle in DEF-bag
'The bottle is in the bag'

(14) *iṣ-ṣūra* *fōq* *il-kurfāya*
DEF-picture above DEF-bed
'The picture is above the bed'

(15) *il-misgid* *muqābil* *il-madarsa*
DEF-mosque opposite DEF-school
'The mosque is facing/opposite the school'

7.1.4 Existentials

Existential constructions in CDA in nominal clauses are introduced with one of three different forms, either *šē* 'thing', *hinnāk* 'there is', or the alternative *fī* 'in, at' which is reinterpreted here with the same meaning. Given the prevalence of *fī* in other Arabic dialects, for example Egyptian

Cairene, this form has likely been introduced more recently into CDA as a consequence of mass media, and its frequency of use is comparable to that of *hinnāk* in the collected data. All three forms are found in CDA, and there is no overt copula verb or pronoun between the existential form and its accompanying clause. In line with Payne's (1997: 123) general remarks on existential constructions, the predicand is always indefinite in CDA, and there is often a presentative function to existential constructions in the introduction of new participants into discourse. In the following examples, existential constructions front similar examples to those given in (13) – (15) above, whilst in example (19), the rare existential use of *šē* 'thing' is demonstrated, although many speakers consider it to be the original existential form in CDA. It occurs more freely in negated existential clauses (see 7.10.3)

(16) *hinnāk* *qarūra* *fi* *š-šanṭa*
EXIST bottle in DEF-bag
'There is a bottle in the bag'

(17) *fī* *ṣūra* *fōq* *il-kurfāya*
EXIST picture above DEF-bed
'There is a picture above the bed'

(18) *hinnāk* *misgid* *muqābil* *il-madarsa*
EXIST mosque opposite DEF-school
'There is a mosque facing/opposite the school'

(19) *šē* *riyāl*
EXIST riyal
'Have you got a riyāl?' (lit. 'There is a riyāl?')

7.1.5 Possessive clauses

The concept of possessive relationships and ownership can be expressed in various ways in CDA, such as the definite noun phrases and SGCs outlined in section (3.5.5). Possessive clauses are a further means of expressing possessive relationships, and are somewhat more overt in their function, analogous to the use of the verb 'to have' in English. Possessive clauses are similar in many respects to the locative and existential constructions outlined in (7.1.3) and (7.1.4). Their relationship to locative predicates is particularly close as they exhibit the same structure, lack of overt copula, and use some of the same prepositional locatives as found with locational predicates. The difference between possessive clauses and existentials/locative predicates is that the nominal location of the predicate is in this case the possessor, and it is the interpretation of the clause which determines its possessive meaning. Clark (1978: 99) summarises the word order of these possessive clauses as LOC-NOM, with the LOCATIONAL

phrase of the clause preceding the indefinite/definite NOMINAL whose location is being specified, which itself contrasts with the reverse order in locative predicates of NOM-LOC. In such clauses, the possessor is usually the subject of the clause.

Where the possessed object is the subject of the clause, and is consequently definite, then the LOC element of the clause follows the NOM element, and an attributive meaning is expressed. CDA also exhibits an alternative system of expressing possessive relationships through the use of the possessive linker, a grammaticalized form which links NPs in a similar manner to the SGC. These are covered in more detail in section (8.1).

In the following examples (20) - (24), the possessed item is indefinite, and the LOCATIONAL element occurs before the possessed NOMINAL. In the final example, the possessed nominal is definite. The locative preposition *ʕind* 'at, with' is used :

(20) *ʕind-hā* *bēt*
at-her house
'She has a house'

(21) *ʕind-ī* *siyyāra*
at-me car
'I have a car'

(22) *ʕind-ak* *xātim* *ðahab* *zāyda*
at-you ring gold also
'You have a gold ring too'

(23) *ʕind-ī* *filūs* *kifāya*
at-me money enough
'I have enough money'

(24) *ʕind-nā* *il-kitāb*
at-us DEF-book
'We have the book'

Where the possessed item is the subject/predicand of the clause, and definite, it precedes the LOCATIONAL element, and the locational preposition *l(i)* 'for, to' occurs, as in (25) – (27) below. Often these clauses can be substituted using the possessive linker (see 5.2):

(25) *il-kitāb* *hāði* *l-ī*
DEF-book this for-me
'This book is mine'

(26) *id-dirāga* *l-ak*
DEF-bicycle for-you.2MS
'The bicycle is yours'

(27) *hāði* *n-nišra* *li-hum*
this DEF-animals for-them
'These animals are theirs'

7.2 *Verbal clauses and word order*

In contrast to the nominal clause, the core element of the verbal clause is a rich lexical verb, which carries the key predicational information of the clause. Around this lexical verb, the remaining constituents of the clause are structured to present the overall clause meaning, with verb inflection and argument structure linking grammatical elements such as subject and object, as well as determining the tense, aspect, and mood of the clause (section 4.4). Additional locative and adverbial forms can also enhance clause meaning. In its most simple form, the inflected finite verb contains sufficient lexical information to complete the clause. In the following examples, the verb inflects in agreement with the grammatical subject, and there is no explicit noun referring to the subject. The inflectional paradigm indicates the TAM information.

(28) *ʕadē-t*
ran-2.MS
'You ran'

(29) *gilis-nā*
sat-1.PL
'We sat'

(30) *yi-fṭan*
3.MS-remember
'He remembers'

Where additional information about the identity of the the subject is provided as an independent noun, the nominal subject may appear either before or after the verb, as in (31) - (33). Usually the independent subject occurs where the speaker wishes to change subject topicalization in conversation.

(31) *il-bint-ēn* *bi-yi-xidim-ēn*
DEF-girl-DL CONT-3-work-FPL
'The two girls are working'

(32) *ḥussēn* *waṣal*
Hussain arrived.3MS
'Hussain arrived'

(33) *tqātil-ū* *iṣ-ṣigīrīn*
fought-3MPL DEF-boys
'The boys fought'

Where the finite verb is transitive and requires both subject and object arguments, then the object argument may occur after the finite verb, or independent subject + finite verb. The object may be either a pronoun suffix as in (34) and (35), or another independent nominal (36) and (37). Alternatively, where the object is a pronoun suffix, and the subject appears as an independent nominal, then the independent subject appears after the finite verb + object suffix, as in (38) and (39).

(34) *šit-t-ū*
saw-1S-him
'I saw him'

(35) *xabbar-nī*
inform.3MS-me
'He told me'

(36) *xabbar* *il-ġāraf* *il-bilad* *kull-ā*
inform.3MS DEF-farmer DEF-village all-it
'The farmer informed the whole village'

(37) *tašāwir-ū* *l-mawḍūʕ*
consult-3MPL DEF-subject
'They dealt with the matter'

(38) *faṭan-at-nī* *il-ḥizāya*
remind-3FS-me DEF-story
'The story reminded me'

(39) *gā-nī* *riggāl*
came-me man
'A man approached me'

Where a verbal clause contains a ditransitive finite verb, an object, and an indirect object, then four possible verb clause structures may occur. In (40) and (41), the constituent order is finite

verb + indirect object + direct object, with both the indirect and direct objects appearing as independent nominals. In (42) and (43), the structure is identical to (40) and (41), except for the indirect object appearing as a pronoun object suffixed directly to the finite verb. In (44) and (45), the indirect object occurs as a pronoun object suffixed to a preposition, occuring between the finite verb and the direct object. In (46-48), the direct object is attached to the direct object preposition/particle *iyya-* as a pronominal suffix. In the last three examples, for some comparative questionnaire responses the direct and indirect object pronouns appear interchangeable when suffixed to the preposition/particle *iyya-*, dependent on the focus intended by the speaker. In these examples, *iyya-* is glossed as PREP.

(40) *ʕaṭē-t* *ir-riggāl* *šwiya* *filūs*
gave-1S DEF-man little money
“I gave the man some money'

(41) *yi-ʕallam l* *ṭ-ṭulāb* *haqqōt-u* *ḥarf* *gadīd* *kull* *yōm*
3MS-teach DEF-students POSS.PL-his letter new every day
'He teaches his pupils a new letter every day'

(42) *ʕaṭē-t-ū il-filūs*
gave-1S-him DEF-money
'I gave him the money'

(43) *xabbar-t-hum* *il-qiṣṣa*
told-1S-them DEF-story
'I told them the story'

(44) *yi-rsal-ūn* *l-ī* *risāla* *kul* *usbūʕ*
3-send-MPL to-me letter every week
'They send me a letter every week'

(45) *ti-ḥkī* *l-ī* *ḥakayat-hā*
3FS-tell to-me story-her
'She tells me her story'

(46) *ʕaṭē-t-ahum* *iyy-ā*
gave-1S-them PREP-it
'I gave it to them'

(47) *bā-ʕatī-hum* *iyy-ā*
FUT-give.1S-them PREP-it
'I will give it to them'

(48) *ʕaṭē-t-ū* *iyya-hum*
gave-1S-it PREP-them
'I gave it to them'

The basic verbal clause in CDA is modified further with the addition of adverbs, adverbial phrases, and adverbial clauses. Usually adverbials occur at the end of the verbal clause, following the main verb and its arguments, although occasionally the adverbial may appear in a pre-verbal position as a means of shifting discourse focus. In (49-52), the adverbial occurs at the end of the verbal phrase, whilst in (53) the adverb *bukra* 'tomorrow' occurs in the pre-verbal position, emphasising the specified timeframe of the verbal clause. Adverbial clauses are dealt with in section (7.6).

(49) *ištarē-t* *li* *nufs-ak* *šē* *r-rubbāraḥ*
bought-1S for self-you something DEF-yesterday
'You bought yourself something yesterday'

(50) *il-bint-ēn* *bi-yi-xadim-ēn* *dāxil* *il-bēt*
DEF-girl-DL CONT-3-work-FPL inside DEF-house
'The two girls work inside the house'

(51) *txabba* *il-wlīd* *wārā* *iš-šagara*
hid.3MS DEF-boy behind DEF-tree
'The little boy hid behind the tree'

(52) *il-xawān* *bi-yi-qātil-ū* *xārig* *l-maktab*
DEF-brothers CONT-3-fight-MPL outside DEF-office
'The brothers are fighting outside the office'

(53) *bukra* *bā-ʕraf* *il-ḥaqīqa*
tomorrow FUT-know.1S DEF-truth
'Tomorrow I will know the truth'

7.3 *Complement clauses*

In this section, I will outline verbal complement clauses in CDA and their main features. For the purposes of this discussion, I will adopt the descriptive framework for complement clauses given by Givon (2000b: 39-90), with the basic definition of complement clauses being those verbal clauses which occur as subject or object arguments, that is complements, of other clauses. Complement clauses consist of two dimensions, the syntactic integration of elements within a clause, and the semantic integration of events. When these two dimensions are taken in combination, they exhibit a general property whereby, “The stronger the *semantic bond* between

the two events, the more extensive will be the *syntactic integration* of the two clauses into a single though complex clause" (Givon 2000: 40)

Complement clauses can be categorised according to the matrix verb of the complex clause, which also reflects the strength of the semantic bond between the two events. There are three classes of verbs which may take a verbal complement, namely *modality* verbs, *manipulation* verbs, and *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs. When viewed in terms of the semantic bond between events that each class expresses, the separate classes can be viewed as having a scalar relationship with one another, where *modality* and *manipulation* verbs express a strong semantic bond, and the bond expressed by *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs is weaker. However, it is possible for the same verb to belong to different classes depending on usage, with the contextual meaning of the entire complex clause indicating its specific class. With this brief outline of Givon's (2000b: 39-41) description of complement clauses in mind, I will deal with complement clauses below based on each of the verb classes.

7.3.1 Modality verbs

The class of *modality* verbs can be further divided into two main sub-groups, those which express modal meaning ('to want', 'to need', 'to expect') and those which are aspectual in nature ('to start', 'to finish', 'to manage'), with further subdivision amongst these groups also possible. One key feature which separates these two sub-groups is that whilst modal verbs are non-implicative and express no certainty in the outcome of their verbal complement, aspectual verbs can be contrasted by their implicative meaning, and that the outcome expressed in their verbal complements is more certain. In (54-57) below, examples of CDA modal verbs as the matrix verb in complement clauses are given, whilst in (57-60) aspectual matrix verbs are found.

(54)	*baġa*	*yi-qābil*	*ḥad*	*hinna*
	want.3MS	3MS-meet	someone	here
	'He wants to meet someone here'			

(55)	*a-qdar*	*a-ftaḥ*	*il-bīb*
	1S-able	1S-open	DEF-door
	'I can open the door'		

(56)	*mā*	*baġa-t*	*ti-šrab*	*ē*	*šē*
	NEG	want-3FS	3FS-drink	any	thing
	'She did not want anything to drink'				

(57) *bā-yi-ḥāwil-ūn* *yi-hzim-ūn* *il-farīq* *iθ-θānī* *bukra*
FUT-3-try-MPL 3-defeat-MPL DEF-team DEF-other tomorrow
'They will try to beat the other team tomorrow'

(58) *twaqqaf-ū* *yi-qātil-ūn*
stopped-3MPL 3-fight-MPL
'They stopped fighting'

(59) *badē-nā* *ni-bkī*
began-1PL 1PL-cry
'We started to cry'

(60) *ṣibbar-at* *ti-ḥārz-īn-a* *bi-qiṣṣa* *ṭawīl-a*
arose-3FS 2-tell-FS-us with-story long-FS
'She started to tell us a long story'

(61) *qudur-ū* *yi-g-ū* *hinna* *fīsʕa* *li'anna-hum*
were able-3MPL 3-come-MPL here quickly because-they
istaxdam-ū *iṭ-ṭarīq* *iṣ-ṣaḥarāwī*
used-3MPL DEF-road DEF-desert
'They managed to arrive here quickly by using the desert road'

In examples (54-57), the modal nature of the matrix verbs verbs *baġa* 'He wanted', *a-qdar* 'I can, am able to', *mā baġa-t* 'She did not want', and *bā-yi-ḥāwil-ūn* 'They will try', does not imply that the action of the verbal complements which follows them actually took place, and at best carries an intentive meaning. However, in examples (58-61), *twaqqaf-ū* 'They stopped', *badē-nā* 'We started', *ṣibbar-at* 'She started, arose', and *qudur-ū* 'They were able to' imply an aspectual certainty due to the nature of these matrix verbs, and that the action of their verbal complements has been initiated at least. Regardless of the modal or aspectual group to which the modality verb belongs, the subject of both the main verbal clause and the complement clause are co-referent (Givon 2000b: 55), which is indicative of the strong semantic bond between both.

The syntactic relation between the matrix verb and the verbal complement in (54-61) also demonstrates close integration, with the subject of the matrix verb the same as the subject of the verb in the complement clause. The complement clause also appears in the same position as the direct object of a simple verbal clause (7.2). The subordinate nature and close integration of the complement clause to the main clause is demonstrated clearly in (56) where only the negation of the matrix verb is necessary, or in (57) where the verbal future prefix marker is only required on the matrix verb. As the verb occurs is embedded in verbal complements, its modification with TAM markers does not occur (4.4.4).

In the case of some modal verbs in CDA, as with most dialects of Arabic, the matrix verb can be and often is substituted with a different form which does not strictly adhere to the syntactic integration outlined above. The most common examples of this are the active participles *lāzim* 'must, necessary', and *wāgib* 'necessary, obligatory', or the passive participle *mumkin* 'possible', which may occur on their own in the matrix verb position, or in their corresponding set phrases *min il-lāzim* 'from the necessity', *min il-wāgib* 'from the necessity', and *min il-mumkin* 'from the possibility'. All three participle-based forms represent either the modal class verbs 'must', 'should' (*lāzim, wāgib*), or 'may/might' (*mumkin*), and in the case of *wāgib* and *mumkin*, may also appear in a fixed finite verbal form as either *yi-gib* 'He/it is necessary', or *yi-mkin* 'It is possible'. In both cases the verb is inflected as 3MS imperfective, regardless of the subject of the main clause. Examples (62-67) demonstrate this variability.

(62) *lāzim* *a-rūḥ* *id-dukkān* *ʕašiya* *ʕašān*
must 1S-go DEF-shop evening in order to
aštarī *baʔḍ* *il-akil*
1S-buy some DEF-food
'I must go to the shop to buy some food tonight'

(63) *lāzim* *ti-ntibah* *dēman*
must 2MS-be careful always
'You must always be careful'

(64) *lāzim* *ni-zūr* *bēt* *hal-ha*
must 1PL-visit house family-her
'We should visit her family's house'

(65) *yi-mkin* *yi-sāfir* *ila* *masqaṭ* *ġudwa*
3MS-possible 3MS-travel to Muscat tomorrow
'He might travel to Muscat tomorrow'

(66) *yi-mkin* *bā-sīr* *ili* *l-blād*
3MS-possible FUT-go.1S to DEF-town
'I might go to town'

(67) *min* *baʔd* *yi-mkin* *ni-sīr* *ili* *l-maṭʔam*
from after 3MS-possible 1PL-go to DEF-restaurant
'After that, we might go to the restaurant'

7.3.2 *Manipulation verbs*

Manipulation verbs are similar to *modality* verbs in their semantic bonding and syntactic

integration, in that the matrix verb and its complement are closely linked as a single event, and the complement clause occupies the direct object position in relation to the matrix verb. As with *modality* verbs, there are also implicative v.s non-implicative sub-groups of verbs within this class, which can broadly be defined as *successful* manipulation ('to force', 'to persuade', 'to stop') and *attempted* manipulation ('to tell', 'to ask', 'allow') respectively. In the following CDA examples (68-71), the matrix verb is implicative, and consequently implies a successful manipulation, whilst in (72-76) the matrix verb is non-implicative, attempted manipulation.

(68) *mā* *ḥad* *ġaṣab-ak* *ti-sāwī* *hāðāk* *iš-šē*
NEG person forced.3MS-you 2MS-do that DEF-thing
'No one forced you to do that'

(69) *ġaṣab-t* *nafs-ī* *ā-kil* *il-qōt*
forced-1S self-my 1S-eat DEF-food
'I forced myself to eat the food'

(70) *xalla-t-ū* *yi-sīr*
made-3FS-him 3MS-go
'She made him leave'

(71) *il-ḥarīq* *xalla-nā* *ni-sīr min* *biyūta-nā*
DEF-fire made.3MS-us 1PL-go from houses-our
'The fire made us leave our houses'

(72) *ḥaððar-ūn-ū* *yi-twaqqaf* *qabalmā*
warned-3MPL-him 3MS-stop before
yi-ʕawwar *nafs-ū*[115]
3MS-injure self-his
'They warned him to stop before he hurts himself'

(73) *ṭalab-t* *min-hā* *ti-štarī* *šāhī* *wa* *sukkar*
asked-1S from-her 3FS-buy tea and sugar
'I told her to buy tea and sugar'

(74) *xubbur-ū* *kēf* *yi-bīʕ* *arḍ-ū*
told.3MS-him how 3MS-sell land-his
'He told him how to sell his land'

115 The 3MPL inflected verb *ḥaððar-ūn* is a rare example in the data sample where the a perfective MPL inflected verb retains a final /*-n*/ (see 4.3.1).

(75) *xallē-t-ū* *yi-smaʕ* *il-musīqa*
made-1S-him 3MS-hear DEF-music
'I let him hear the music''

(76) *amar-hā* *ti-ftaḥ* *il-bāb*
order-her 3FS-open DEF-door
'He ordered her to open the door'

In terms of the semantic structure of complement clauses that have a manipulative verb as their matrix verb, there are two roles, that of the *manipulator* and *manipulee* (Givon 2000b: 41). The agent of the main verb is co-referent with the manipulator, who manipulates the co-referent of the complement verb, the manipulee. In (68), the manipulator is given in the matrix verb clause *mā ḥad ġaṣab-ak* 'No one forced you', with the manipulee evident here as the direct object pronoun suffix *-ak* 'you. Similarly in (70) and (71), the agent of the matrix verb corresponds with the manipulator, and the manipulee is present as a direct object suffix. Example (69) presents the manipulator and manipulee as both the agent of the matrix verb and of the complement verb through the presence of the reflexive *nafs-ī* 'myself'. The same semantic structure is found in the attempted manipulation class verb examples (72-76), although in (71) the manipulee does not appear as an object suffix, most likely due to the phonological similarity between the 3MPL perfective inflectional suffix *-ū* and the 3MS direct object suffix *-ū* 'him'.

The syntactic integration of manipulative verbs and their complements is again close, as with modality verbs, but rather than the agent of the complement verb being co-referent with the subject of the sentence, for manipulative verbs the agent is co-referent with the manipulee, and it is inflected accordingly. For example, in (75), *xallē-t-ū yi-smaʕ il-musīqa* 'I let him hear the music', the manipulator/subject of the matrix verb is inflected as 1S, but the complement verb is inflected in agreement with the direct object/manipulee, which then acts as the subject of the complement clause.

7.3.3 perception-cognition-utterance verbs

The *perception-cognition-utterance* class of verbs represent the opposite end of the event integration scale demonstrated by *modality* and *manipulation* verbs. The verbs in this class carry epistemic modality, that is they deal with the perception and cognition of events in terms of their certainty or truth ('to think', 'to ask', 'to hear', 'to believe), along with utterance verbs which relate to both direct and indirect speech reporting of events. As a class, *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs may again be divided into two sub-groups (Givon 2000a: 154), which may either imply a factive view of the event carried out in complement clause ('to see', 'to know'), or a non-factive view ('to think', 'to hope', to feel'). In all cases of this verb class, the event bond between the matrix verb and its complement is weaker, as there is no direct logical connection between the event of the complement cause being directly linked to, or a consequence of, the matrix

verb.

As pointed to in the introduction of this section (7.3) it is possible for verbs to belong to more than one class, depending on the overall meaning of the complex clause. This is the case in particular where the boundaries of the three verbal classes meet along their event bond continuum. For example, the verb *ṯawaqqaʕ* 'to expect' may express weak manipulation, or weak perception/belief depending on the context in which it occurs, and the difference is usually quite subtle. For example, in (77) below there is a sense of manipulation in the overall complex clause, whilst in (78) the verb expresses the belief that the event in the verbal complement will take place.

(77) *a-twaqqaʕ-hum* *yi-txarig-ūn* *min* *il-gāmaʕa*
1S-expect-them 3-graduate-MPL from DEF-university
'I expect them to graduate from university's

(78) *a-twaqqaʕ* *inn-ī* *bā-qadar* *a-dfaʕ* *l-ak* *ġudwa*
1S-expect that-me FUT-able.1S 1S-pay to-you tomorrow
'I expect that I will be able to pay you tomorrow'

The main difference between examples (77) and (78) is the presence of the subordinating morpheme or complementizer *inn-* or *innū*, which is (78) is translated as 'that'. Indeed, it is almost invariably the case for *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs that the complementizer *inn-* appears in the complex clause, and precedes the verbal complement. The frequency of the complementizer in CDA holds true to the implicational-hierarchic prediction given by Givon (2000b: 71), whereby if a language uses a subordinating morpheme/complementizer at a certain point on the verb class scale, then it will appear with all complements that either share or demonstrate a weaker event bond.[116] The complementizer *inn-* usually takes a direct object suffix, which agrees with the subject of the complement clause, although if the subject of the complement clause is given as a specific nominal form, then the non-suffixed *innū* may appear instead. The following table summarises the suffixed forms of the complementizer, where an epenthetic vowel occasionally occurs with the 1S, 3FS, and 1PL bound forms, but is usually absent.

1S	*inn-ī / inna-nī*	1PL	*inn-ā / inna-nā*
2MS	*inn-ak*	2MPL	*inna-kum*
2FS	*inn-iš*	2FPL	*inna-kēn*
3MS	*inn-ū*	3MPL	*inna-hum*
3FS	*inn-hā / inna-hā*	3FPL	*inna-hēn*

Table 7.1: Complementizer

116The only exception to this implicational-hierarchic prediction is for complements where direct speech is reported, as the complementizer is omitted before these complements.

In examples (79-81) below, a factive view of the event stated in the complement clause is given through the CDA matrix verb *ʕraf* 'to know'. In all three examples the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer, and a variety of complements are found. In (79), the complementizer + bound suffix provides the subject of the complement clause, with its adjectival predicate in agreement. Similarly in (80), the construct phrase *bint xāl-ī* 'my cousin' predicates the complement subject, indicated by the bound complementizer suffix. In (81), the matrix + complement clause *ʕaraf-at inna-nī bi-kiðab* 'She knew that I was lying', introduces the complement subject as a bound suffix, and demonstrates subject agreement with the complement verb. The complement verb is also prefixed with the continuous aspect prefix marker *bi-*, as the complements of *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs are fully finite and have no restrictions on their capacity to reflect tense or aspect. This contrasts with the embedding of the complement verb which occurs with *modality* and *manipulation* class verbs, where tighter syntactic integration and semantic bond prevents this aspectual marking (Givon 2000b: 68)

(79) *kēf* *bi-yi-ʕraf-ūn* *inn-iš* *mašġūl-a*
how CONT-3-know-MPL COMP-you.FS busy-FS
'How do they know that you are busy?'

(80) *mā* *ḥad* *min* *tuggār* *is-sūq* *yi-ʕraf-iš*
NEG person from traders DEF-market 3MS-know-you.FS
inn-iš *bint* *xāl-ī*
COMP-you daughter uncle-my
'None of the market traders know that you are my cousin'

(81) *sawwē-t* *nafs-ī* *mā* *a-ʕraf* *šē* *lākin-hā*
made-1S self-my NEG 1S-know thing but-she
ʕaraf-at *inna-nī* *bi-kiðab*
knew-3FS COMP-me CONT-lie.1S
'I pretended to know nothing, but she knew that I was lying'

Contrasting with the factive examples above, examples (82-84) are non-factive, and there is no certainty in the truth of the compliment. In (83), the non-suffixed form of the complementizer *innū* is given.

(82) *a-ʕtaqad* *inn-ū* *sakan* *hinna* *min* *yūliyū*
1S-believe COMP-he lived.3MS here from July
'I believe he has lived here since July'

(83) *samaʕ-t* *innū* *bi-zēd* *il-nās* *yi-ʕīš-ūn* *hinna*
heard-1S COMP with-more DEF-people 3-live-MPL here
'I heard that other people live here'

(84) *samaʕ-t* *inn-ak* *ḥaṣal-t* *ʕala* *waḍīfa* *gadīd-a*
heard-1S COMP-you obtained-2MS over job new-FS
fi *l-madīna*
in DEF-city
'I heard that you got a new job in town'

Where reported speech is the complement of the utterance verb *qāl* 'to say', then the complement is again introduced by a complementizer + direct object suffix, with the suffix and any subsequent complement verb agreeing with the complement subject, as shown in (85) and (86). In these examples, the speakers interpretation of what was/is said is given is reported, or paraphrased, whereas in examples (87) and (88) a verbatim account of what was said is provided by the speaker. In these cases of direct speech complements, the complementizer is absent between the matrix verb and complement, and the two are more closely integrated syntactically.

(85) *qāl* *inna-hum* *g-ū* *min* *il-gibāl*
said.3MS COMP-they came-3MPL from DEF-mountains
'He said that they came through the mountains'

(86) *qāl-at* *inna-hā* *mā* *ti-ʕraf* *ē* *ḥad*
said-3FS COMP-she NEG 3FS-know any person
'She said that she didn't know anyone'

(87) *qāl-at* *li* *ṣāḥabt-hā* *ʕāda-nī* *bġē-t*
said-3FS to friend-her PTCL-I want-1S
a-rigaʕ *ṣaġīra*
1S-return young girl
'She said to her friend, “I still want to be young”'

(88) *qul-nā* *baʕḍ-nā* *l-baʕḍ* *naḥana* *wēn*
said-1PL some-us DEF-some we where
'We said to one another, “Where are we?”'

7.4 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are similar in some respects to the *modality* and *manipulation* classes of complement verbs detailed in 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 respectively. The syntactic similarity is that an

embedded verb occurs in the complement clause due to its irrealis, and consequently it is also restricted in its ability to demonstrate tense or aspectual verbal prefixes, as is the case with the *modality* and *manipulation* classes of complement clauses. However, the semantic difference is that they express loosely bound events, where the action of the complement verb is not dependent on the action expresses in the matrix verb. Purpose clauses also differ from complement clauses in that they may be drawn from an open class of verbs, as the potential for the purpose of one action to be linked to another action is far greater than the narrow range of modal, manipulative, and epistemic verbs of complement clauses (Matras 2012: 337). The most common means of linking the matrix verb with its purpose verb is made through the conjunction *ʕašān* 'in order to, so that', as shown in examples (89-91). Occasionally the prepositional phrase equivalent *min ʕašān* is given instead (92), and the matrix verb clause + purpose clause can also be reversed, as in (93). In all the examples given below, the complementizer is glossed as CONJ (see also 8.8).

(89) *gilis-at-ū* *ʕala* *l-kursī* *ʕašān* *ta-'akil-ū*
sat-3FS-him on DEF-chair CONJ 3FS-feed-him
'She sat him on the chair to feed him'

(90) *ragaʕ-t* *ili* *l-bēt* *ʕašān* *a-tkillam* *maʕ-k*
return-1S to DEF-house CONJ 1S-talk with-you
'I came home to talk to you'

(91) *bā-sikkar* *id-darīša* *ʕašān* *la* *yi-smaʕ-nā*
FUT-close.1S DEF-dindow CONJ NEG 3MS-hear-us
'I will close the window so that he cannot hear us'

(92) *waddē-nā* *ḥad* *min* *ʕašān* *yi-ṭlub* *il-mudīr*
sent-1PL person from CONJ 3MS-ask DEF-manager
'We sent someone to ask for the manager'

(93) *min* *ʕašān* *ti-sīr* *is-sūq* *lāzim*
from CONJ 2MS-go DEF-market must
ti-xṭaf *ʕala* *l-misgid*
2MS-pass by DEF-mosque
'To go to the shop you have to walk towards the mosque'

In addition to the conjunction *ʕašān,* the form *ḥatta* 'so that' may also be used to introduce a purpose clause, although its occurrence is relatively infrequent in comparison to the use of *ʕašān*. A further subordinating conjunction *gara* is also found in CDA, such as in (94) although its origin is less clear than *ḥatta*, which exists in MSA and other south Arabian Arabic dialects, e.g Ṣanʕānī (Watson 1993: 358-59). An analogous form to *gara* can be found in MSA, derived

from the root √*j-r-y*, as the phrase *min jarā-ka* 'for your sake' (Wehr 1994: 145), but a similar form also exists in Mehri as *lagrē* or *l-agərē* 'for the sake of, on behalf of', which is also used to introduce purpose clauses (Watson 2012: 390-91, also Rubin 2010: 293-94). [117] In (95-97) below, *gara* occupies the same position between the main clause and the purpose clause as both *ḥatta* and *ʕašān*, with almost identical questionnaire examples given in (98) and (99). Instances of *gara* however were only found in the data from Ṭāqa.

(94) *bā-qfil* *id-dārēš* *ḥatta* *ma* *yi-qdar* *yi-smaʕ-nā*
FUT-close DEF-windows CONJ NEG 3MS-able 3MS-hear-us
'I will close the windows so that he cannot hear us'

(95) *stuxdum-ū* *il-maḥrāθ* *gara* *yi-ḥraθ-ū* *araḍ-hum*
used-3MPL DEF-plough CONJ 3-cultivate-MPL land-their
'They used the plough to cultivate their land'

(96) *gā* *il-bēt* *gara* *yi-ṭwaf* *ʕaley-ī*
came-3MS DEF-house CONJ 3MS-visit on-me
'He came to my house to see me'

(97) *alēš* *il-nīs* *g-ō* *g-ō*
why DEF-people come-3MPL came-3MPL
gara *yi-ʕz-ūn-ū*
CONJ 3-mourn-MPL-him
'Why did the people come? The came to mourn him'

(98) *ištara* *milābis* *gadīda* *ḥatta* *yi-qdar* *yi-rūḥ* *il-madīna*
bought.3MS clothes new CONJ 3MS-able 3MS-go DEF-town
'He bought new clothes so that he could go to town'

(99) *ištara* *milābis* *gadīda* *gara* *yi-sīr* *il-madīna*
bought.3MS clothes new CONJ 3MS-go DEF-town
'He bought new clothes in order to go to town'

7.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in CDA can be defined by the following key features, which also are typical across many other languages. They are; a head noun phrase which is modified by the relative clause, the relative or restricting clause itself, a relativized noun phrase within the relative clause which is co-referent with the head noun, and a relativizer or relative pronoun which marks the onset of the relative clause (Payne 1997: 325-26). Relative clauses in CDA, as with

117 In CDA the same root consonants are realised as √g-r-y.

many other Arabic dialects, are identified by the relativizer *illi* (henceforth glossed as REL) where the head noun is definite, and in CDA this relativizer does not display any grammatical agreement with the preceding head noun, unlike MSA.[118] Where the referent head noun is indefinite, then the relativizer is omitted.

The relative clause acts as an adjectival or verbal modifier to the head noun phrase. In the examples given below, a resumptive pronoun occurs within the relative clause which is co-referent with the head noun phrase, and agrees grammatically with its number, gender, and person. This pronoun may the subject pronoun of an inflected verb, a direct or indirect pronoun, or an independent pronoun. In the definite referent examples (100-102), the resumptive pronoun is the subject pronoun of the inflected verb which immediately follows the relativizer. The relativizer *illi-* is glossed as REL in all examples.

(100) *ir-rigīl* *illi* *g-ū* *li* *l-ʕurs* *maʕ-hum*
DEF-men.3MPL REL came-3MPL to DEF-wedding with-them
siyyārāt gadīd-a
cars new-F
'The men who came ot the wedding have new cars'

(101) *hāða* *ho* *ir-riggāl* *illi* *salim-nī* *risāla*
this he DEF-man.3MS REL hand over.3MS-me letter
'This is the man who sent me a letter'

(102) *ir-riggāl* *illi* *yi-bēt* *hinnī* *a-ʕraf-ū*
DEF-man REL 3MS-stays here 1MS-know-him
'I know the man who lives here'

In example (103-105), the resumptive pronoun is an object pronoun, again in grammatical agreement with the head noun referent.

(103) *mā* *šuf-t* *il-biyūt* *illi*
NEG saw-1MS DEF-houses.3FPL REL
ti-killam *ʕan-hēn*
2MS-talk about-them.3FPL
'I did not see the houses which you were talking about'

118 Occasionally the form *illaði* occurs as a relativizer. Despite its identical form to the MSA, its occurrence in CDA is seen as an influence of some Gulf Arabic dialects in Dhofār (Holes 2004: 284).

(104) *txabbar-hum* *iš-šurṭī* *ʕala* *l-ḥādiθ*
ask.3MS-them DEF-policeman about DEF-accident.3MS
illi *šāf-ūn-ū*[119]
REL saw-3MPL-it.3MS
'The officer asked them about the accident they had seen'

(105) *ragaʕ-t* *il-kitāb* *illi* *šillē-t-ū*
return-2MS DEF-book.3MS REL took-2MS-it.3MS
il-usbūʕ *il-mārḍi*
DEF-week DEF-last
'You returned the book which you bought last week'

Where a ditransitive verb forms part of the relative clause, the order of the direct object/resumptive pronoun and the indirect object are interchangeable. Examples (106) and (107) demonstrate this in comparable questionnaire responses to the same sample phrase.

(106) *hāðī* *hēn* *iš-šanāṭ* *illi* *ʕaṭē-ta-ni*
these.FS they.3FPL DEF-bags.3FPL REL gave-2MS-me
iyya-hēn *il-bāraḥ*
PREP-them.3FPL DEF-yesterday
'These are the bags that you gave me yesterday'

(107) *hāðēla* *hēn* *iš-šanaṭ* *illi* *ʕatē-ta-hēn*
these.FPL they.3FPL DEF-bags.3FPL REL gave-2MS-them
l-ī ams
to-me yesterday
'These are the bags that you gave me yesterday'

Where the head noun referent is indefinite, then the relativizer is omitted and the relative clause is unmarked. The overall structure of the relative clause remains the same, in that the resumptive pronoun in the relative clause is referent with the head noun phrase (108) & (109). In (110) below, despite the translation *akbar šagara* 'the biggest tree' appearing definite, the noun phrase is grammatically indefinite and the relativizer is omitted.

(108) *ragaʕ-t* *kitāb* *šillē-t-ū* *il-usbūʕ* *il-mārḍi*
return-2MS book.3MS bought-2MS-it.3MS DEF-week DEF-last
'You returned a book which you bought last week'

119 The 3MPL inflected verb *šāf-ūn* is a rare example in the data sample where the a perfective MPL inflected verb retains a final /*-n*/ (see 4.3.1).

(109) *iqtarab* *min-nī* *riggāl* *mā*
approach.3MS from-me man.3MS NEG
šuf-t-ū *min* *qabal*
saw-1S-him.3MS from before
'A man approached me who I had not seen before'

(110) *ē* *wallah kān-at* *akbar* *šagara* *šitt-hē*
EXCL swear was-3FS biggest tree.3FS saw-1S-it.3FS
fī *ḥeyāt-ī*
in life-my
'I swear it was the biggest tree I had seen in my life'

7.6 *Adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses are complete clauses in themselves, and unlike complement clauses outlined in (7.3), they are not required to complete the argument of a clause which they accompany (Payne 1997: 317). Instead they behave as adjuncts, added to complete propositions to provide some type of supplementary information. Adverbial clauses modify other clauses with various additional types of information, which can be subdivided into various categories such as time, means, circumstance, cause, reason, explanation, and condition. The adverbial clause is usually connected to the clause it modifies by a subordinator, and the clause itself may also precede as well as follow the clause it is modifying. In the following overview of adverbial clauses in CDA, I will detail adverbial clauses based on the type of modifying information which they provide.

7.6.1 *Adverbial clauses of time*

Adverbial time clauses relate the occurrence of one event to the incidence of another event, or a specific time. Given the wide range of possible time frames which such clauses may express, they will be subdivided here according to whether the perceived time frame is simultaneous between the the two events, or whether there is an anterior or posterior time frame. In the case of simultaneous time frame events, the time focus may be further refined in terms of there being a punctual interface between the two events, an ongoing durative interface, or a repetitive one, as the following examples will demonstrate. The CDA subordinating conjunctions which precede these adverbial clauses are either *lamma* 'when', or *yōm* 'when', which are glossed as CONJ in the following examples.[120]

120 Out of the two possible conjunctions, *yōm* 'when' is far more prevalent in CDA, and *lamma* 'when' is considered a more recent introduction. See (8.6.1) for discussion on the grammaticalization of *yōm.*

(111) *kān-at* *is-sāʕa* *arbaʕ* *yōm* *bidē-nā*
was-3FS DEF-hour four CONJ began-1PL
'It was four o'clock when we began'

(112) *lamma* *waṣal-t* *hinnāk* *mā* *laqē-t-hā* *fi* *l-bēt*
CONJ arrive-1S there NEG find-1S-her in DEF-house
'I didn't find her at home when I got there'

(113) *mā* *kān-at* *il-ġarša* *fi* *š-šanṭa*
NEG was-3FS DEF-bottle in DEF-bag
yōm *dowwar-t* *ʕalē-hā*
CONJ search-1S for-it
'The bottle was not in the bag when I looked for it'

(114) *lamma* *fataḥ-t* *il-bīb* *txabb-at* *is-sinnāra*
CONJ opened-1S DEF-door hid-3FS DEF-cat
taḥt *iš-šagara*
under DEF-bush
'When I opened the door, the cat hid under the bushes'

The adverbial clauses in examples (111-114) all express a simultaneous, punctual temporal interface between two events. In the first example (111), the overt expression of time concurs with the verbal action which follows the subordinate conjunction *yōm*, and is modified by it. In (112), the adverbial clause precedes the main clause which it is modifying, but the simultaneous temporal relationship between the two clauses is unaffected, whereby the punctual arrival at the house marks a specific time, and modifies the proposition of the main clause. Similarly in (113) and (114), regardless of the order in which the main and adverbial clauses occur, the adverbial clause modifies the main clause with a specific temporal point contained within a complete clause.

The temporal adverbial clause may also express a durative time frame for two events which occur simultaneously, such as (115-117) below. Again, the same range of subordinating conjunctions are used.

(115) *yōm* *kun-t* *ṣaġīr* *sakan-t* *fī*
CONJ was-1S small lived-1S in
bēt *kibīr* *fī* *l-madīna*
house big in DEF-city
'When I was young, I lived in a big house in the town'

(116) *intiḍar* *il-bās* *lamma* *kān*
waited.3MS DEF-bus CONJ was.3MS
bi-yi-killam *ṣāḥib-ū*
CONT-3MS-talk friend-his
'He waited for the bus whilst talking to his friend'

(117) *warā-š* *mā* *xabar-ti-nī* *yōm* *kun-ti*
behind-you.FS NEG inform-2FS-me CONJ were-2FS
fi *s-sūq*
in DEF-market
'Why didn't you tell me this when you were in the market?'

A further simultaneous timeframe which an adverbial clause can provide is one of repetition. The expression of repetition with an adverbial clause is similar in structure to those for punctual and durative senses, but in addition to the conjunction *yōm*, the subordinating conjunction *kull mā* 'whenever' also occurs, as shown in (118-120) below.

(118) *kull mā* *xarag* *min* *il-bēt* *ti-šūf-ū*
CONJ left.3MS from DEF-house 3FS-see-him
ʕind *il-bāb*
at DEF-door
'Whenever he left the house, she saw him at the door

(119) *lamma* *kun-t* *ṣaġīr* *kun-t* *a-sīr*
CONJ was-1MS small was-1MS 1MS-go
ili *s-sūq* *wāgid*
to DEF-market a lot
'When I was young, I used to go to the market a lot'

(120) *lamma* *yi-karkar* *yi-smaʕ-ūn* *in-nās* *kullu-hum*
CONJ 3MS-laugh out loud 3-hear-MPL DEF-people all-them
min *ḥōl-u*
from force-his
'Whenever he laughs, the whole neighbourhood can hear him'

Adverbial clauses may also indicate a time frame which provides an anterior or posterior time reference to the modified main clause. Anterior adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinating phrase *baʕd mā* 'after', and they introduce a predicate in the modifying adverbial clause after which the proposition of the main clause begins, essentially its onset. This is the case in (121) below.

(121) *baʕd mā* *xarag-t* *min* *il-madarsa* *sabbar-t*
CONJ left-1S from DEF-school began-1MS
a-štaġal *fi* *s-sūq*
1S-work in DEF-market
'After I left school, I started working in the market'

Where the adverbial clause provides a posterior time frame, a point before which the proposition of the main clause was taking place, then it is introduced by the subordinating phrase *qabal mā* 'before', as shown in (122) and (123) below. Adverbial time clauses with a posterior time frame may also occur with the the subordinator *ḥatta* 'until', in (124) and (125).

(122) *ʕind-ī* *baʕḍ* *iš-šagal* *ll-basīṭ-a* *hinnā* *qabal mā*
to-me some DEF-work DEF-simple-F here CONJ
a-rgaʕ *ili* *l-bēt*
1S-return to DEF-house
'I have a few simple things to do here before I go home'

(123) *qabal mā* *ni-waṣal* *ili* *l-bēt* *hē*
CONJ 1PL-arrive to DEF-house she
qad *rāḥ-at*
PTCL gone-3FS
'Before we arrived at the house, she had gone'

(124) *iṣ-ṣaġīrīn* *tqātl-ū* *ḥatta* *gā* *ōb-hum*
DEF-boys fought-3MPL CONJ came.3MS father-their
'The boys fought until their father came'

(125) *mā* *ni-qdar* *ni-rgaʕ* *ḥatta* *ti-kūn* *bi-xēr*
NEG 1PL-able 1PL-return CONJ 3FS-is with-health
'We cannot go back until she gets well'

7.6.2 Adverbial clauses of manner

Adverbial clauses of manner are introduced either by the subordinators *kēf* 'how', *qadar mā* 'as', or *miθal mā* 'as, like', modifying the main clause with a predicate which either refers to the manner in which the main clause proposition is carried out, or in the behaviour of an individual.[121]

A selection of manner clauses are given below in (126-129).

121 The subordinator *kēf* 'how' may also be realised as *kē* occasionally.

(126) *xubbur-ū* *kēf* *yi-bīʕ* *arḍ-u*
informed.3MS-him CONJ 3MS-sell land-his
'He told him how to sell his land'

(127) *ʕallam-at* *bitt-hā* *kēf* *ti-fowwar* *il-bēḍ*
taught-3FS daughter-her CONJ 3FS-boil DEF-egg
'She taught her daughter how to boil an egg'

(128) *ʕadē-t* *il-mīdān* *qadar mā* *ti-qdar*
ran-1MS DEF-square CONJ 2MS-able
'You ran across the square as fast as you could'

(129) *mā* *yu-xdum* *miθal mā* *bi-yu-xdum* *ṣāḥab-ū*
NEG 3MS-work CONJ CONT-3MS-work friend-his
'He does not work like his friend works'

7.6.3 Adverbial clause of circumstance

Adverbial clauses of circumstance modify the main clause with an additional action or event information. In many respects these adverbial clauses, such as (116) above, display a similar modification to the main clause as some adverbial time clauses, in that they may specify durative events taking place simultaneously. However, whilst the subordinator *yōm* 'when' is used for such clauses, the presence of a subordinator in adverbial circumstantial clauses is not a strict requirement and may be asyndetic, although the conjunct *wa* 'and' or one of its variants (*ū* or *ō*) is usually present. This syndetic linkage (Watson 1993: 374) usually occurs where the action expressed in the adverbial clause is concurrent with the action of the main clause, with the imperfective verb in the adverbial clause highlighting the ongoing nature of the action, such as in example (130), a variation of the same phrase given in (116). However, the linkage may be asyndetic, as in (131), where there is no conjunct. The most common combination of main clause verb + subordinate clause verb sequence is perfective + imperfective.

Adverbial clauses of circumstance are also regularly expressed using the verbal participle, such as in (132-133), where the main clause verb is perfective, and the adverbial clause contains a verbal participle, usually introduced by a pronoun. In (132), the order of the main clause and subordinate clauses is also reversed. Alternatively in (134), the adverbial circumstantial clause is expressed by a noun phrase linked syndetically to the main clause.

(130) *ḥagar* *li* *l-bās* *wa* *hō* *bi-yi-tkillam*
wait.3MS for DEF-bus CONJ he CONT-3MS-speak
maʕ ṣāḥab-ū
with friend-3MS
'He waited for the bus chatting to his friend'

(131) *gā* *lābis* *qamīṣ* *zraq*
came.3MS wearing shirt blue
'He came wearing a blue shirt'

(132) *wa* *anā* *nāyim* *fi* *l-farāš* *samaʕ-t* *ðōla*
CONJ I sleeping.PART in DEF-bed hear-1S noise
'Asleep in bed, I heard a noise'

(133) *kalē-na akal-nā* *wa* *naḥna* *gālis-īn* *fi* *l-ġurfa*
eat-1PL food-1PL CONJ we sitting.PART-PL in DEF-room
'We ate our food sitting in the room'

(134) *tzawwag* *ʕalē-hā* *wa* *ho* *ṣaġīr*
marry.3MS to-3FS CONJ he young
'He married her when he was young'

7.6.4 Adverbial clauses of cause, reason, and explanation

Adverbial clauses of cause, reason, and explanation follow the same structural pattern as other adverbial clauses, in that they are introduced by subordinating conjunctions. With these clauses, the same subordinating conjunctions of *li'ann(ū)* 'because', and *bisabbab* 'because, on account of' tend to occur. Cause, reason, and explanation clauses may also be introduced by the same conjunctions found in time adverbial clauses, such as *lamma* 'when', *yōm* 'when', and *ḥatta* 'until, up to', if there is a potential consequential effect of the adverbial action on the main clause. Due to the variety of different adverbial clauses which can be expressed using these subordinators, they are given together here under the same heading. Their interpretation however is contextual, and the following discussion will detail examples of cause, reason, and explanation clauses for each subordinating conjunction where applicable.

The conjunction *li'ann(ū)* 'because' occurs with a pronoun suffix when it introduces an adverbial clause which has no overt nominal subject. In such instances, the pronoun suffix which attaches to the conjunction is in agreement with the subject-inflected verb which follows. Where there is an overt nominal subject at the head of the adverbial clause, then the conjunction takes the form *li'ann or li'annū.* A brief summary of the possible CONJ + PRO combinations is given in the table below.

1S	*li'ann-ī / li'anna-nī*	1PL	*li'ann-ā / li'anna-nā*
2MS	*li'ann-ak*	2MPL	*li'anna-kum*
2FS	*li'ann-iš*	2FPL	*li'anna-kēn*
3MS	*li'ann-ū*	3MPL	*li'anna-hum*
3FS	*li'ann-hā / li'anna-hā*	3FPL	*li'anna-hēn*

Table 7.2: Conjunction li'ann

In example (135), the contextual meaning of the adverbial clause can be seen as being as providing both cause and reason. In (136) and (137), the adverbial clauses modify the main clause with reason. In the final example (138), it is possible to interpret the adverbial clause as providing cause, reason, and and explanation for the proposition of the main modified clause.

(135) *qudur-ū* *yi-g-ū* *hinna* *fīsʕa* *li'anna-hum* *istaxdam-ū*
were able-3MPL 3-come-MPL here quickly CONJ-they used-3MPL
iṭ-ṭarīq *iṣ-ṣaḥarāwī*
DEF-road DEF-desert
'They managed to arrive here early by taking the desert road'

(136) *baġē-t* *a-štaġal* *fi* *s-sūq* *li'ann-ī*
want-1S 1S-work in DEF-market CONJ-I
a-ḥibb *is-sūq* *wāgid*
1MS-like DEF-market a lot
'I want to work in the market because I like it a lot'

(137) *li'ann-ā* *ni-ṣallaḥ* *naḥna* *is-siyyāra* *qad*
CONJ-we 1PL-fix us DEF-car PTCL
yi-waffar *filūs*
3MS-save money
'Because we are fixing his car, he might save money'

(138) *bin-ū* *xalla* *nafs-ū* *mrāḍ* *li'ann-ū* *mā* *yi-ḥibb*
son-his make.3MS self-his ill CONJ-he NEG 3MS-like
yi-rūḥ *il-madarsa*
3MS.go DEF-school
'His son is pretending to be ill because he does not like to go to school'

The conjunction *bisabbab* 'because, on account of' may also introduce an adverbial clause which is contextually specific, and like example (139), may be understood as either expressing cause, reason, or providing explanation.

(139) *xall-at* *nafs-hā* *mrīḍ-a* *bisabbab* *kal-at* *il-ḥalūwiyāt*
made-3FS self-her ill-FS CONJ ate-3FS DEF-sweets
'She made herself sick because she ate the sweets'

The interpretation of some time simultaneous adverbial clauses may also be interpreted as adverbial clauses of cause, reason or explanation. For example in (140) below, the same questionnaire phrase as (139) elicited a response using the conjunction *yōm* 'when', and in example (141), the conjunction *lamma* 'when' occurs in response to the same questionnaire phrase in (137). Due to the consequential relationship between the main clauses and the adverbial clauses, the adverbial clause modifies the main clause and provides reason and/or explanation.

(140) *xall-at* *nafs-hā* *marīḍ-a* *yōm* *kal-at* *il-ḥalawa*
made-3FS self-her ill-F CONJ ate-3FS DEF-sweets
'She made herself sick when she ate the sweets'

(141) *lamma* *sallaḥ-nā* *l-ū* *siyyārat-ū* *wafar-nā*
CONJ repair-1PL for-him car-his save-1PL
ʕal-ē *kiθīr* *min* *il-filūs*
for-him a lot from DEF-money
'When we repaired his car for him, we saved him a lot of money'

7.6.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in CDA demonstrate a similar structure to conditional clauses in other Arabic dialects. The conditional clause itself (protasis) is introduced by a conditional particle, either *lō* 'if', or its variant MSA realisation as *law* 'if', or by the particle *iðā* 'if', and provides the condition which is necessary for the completion of the proposition put forward in the main clause (apodosis). The choice of particle which introduces the conditional clause is dependent on the perceived outcome of the conditional + main clause combination. If the conditional clause and main clause present a scenario which is likely to occur or be accomplished, then the particle *iðā* precedes the conditional clause. Correspondingly, where the conditional and main clause presents a scenario which is hypothetical or unlikely to occur, then the particle *lō* precedes the clause. Regardless of the conditional particle, the verb in the protasis clause is always perfective.

In examples (142-145), the conditional clause is preceded by the particle *lō*, and glossed as COND. The verbs in both the protasis and apodosis are perfective, introducing an irrealis conditional and main clause combination which present a hypothetical situation, and for which there is no potential fulfilment possible.

(142) *lō* *kān* *ʕind-ī* *šē* *filūs* *kun-t* *ʕaṭē-t-hā* l-ak
COND was.3MS to-me some money was-1S gave-1S-it to-you
'If I had some money, I would have given it to you'

(143) *lō* *waṣal-t* *ir-rubbāraḥ* *kān* *šuf-t-hā*
COND arrived-2MS DEF-yesterday was.3MS saw-2MS-her
'If you had arrived yesterday, you would have seen her'

(144) *lō* *ḥaṣal* *il-bēt* *mā* *kān* *hinna* *ðaḥḥīn*
COND found.3MS DEF-house NEG was.3MS here now
'If he had found the house, he would not be here now'

(145) *lō* *kun-t* *makān-ak* *mā* *sawwēt* *hēkiðē*
COND was-1S place-your NEG done-1Sso
'If I were you, I would not do that'

If the verb in the apodosis is imperfective, then there is potential for the fulfilment of the proposition or circumstance it contains, although the overall irrealis remains. In (146) this provides one possible interpretation of the protasis and apodosis, but the likelihood of this outcome occurring remains hypothetical, despite the indication of intention should the condition be met.

(146) *lō* *kunt* *marīḍ* *bā-kil-ak*
COND were-2MS ill FUT-feed.1S-you
'If you are ill, I will feed you'

Where an outcome is achievable or likely between the protasis and apodosis, then the particle *iðā* is used (147-150). Although the verb in the protasis remains in the perfective, the verb in the apodosis is imperfective, and may also be prefixed by the future/irrealis verbal marker *bā-* (see 8.4.2). The order of the protasis and apodosis may also be reversed, such as (149) and (150), although the protasis usually occurs to the left of the main clause, whether it is introduced by *lō* or *iðā* (Watson 1993: 362).

(147) *iðā* *mā* *kān-ū* *fi* *l-bēt* *bā-yi-kūn-ū*
COND NEG were-3MPL in DEF-house FUT-3-be-MPL
ʕind *il-gīrān*
at DEF-neighbours
'If they are not at home, they will be at their neighbour's house'

(148) *iðā* *ðākir* *bā-yi-ngaḥ*
COND study.3MS FUT-3MS-succeed
'If he studies, he will succeed'

(149) *bā-ni-qšuf* *hāðak* *il-mawḍūʕ* *iðā* *ho* *baġa*
FUT-1PL-discuss that DEF-matter COND he want.3MS
'We will discuss that matter if he wants'

(150) *ta-ʕāl* *ili* *bēta-nā* *ġudwa* *iðā* *baġē-t*
2MS-come to house-our tomorrow COND want-2MS
'Come to our house tomorrow, if you want'

Concessive conditional clauses in CDA are introduced by the conjunctions such as *maʕ annū... (lākin)* 'although, even though', and *ḥatta lō* 'even if', glossed as CONJ below.[122] The concessive clause modifies the main clause by asserting the truth or validity of the main clause proposition, contrasting its occurrence with a state or event which would appear to exclude it. For example:

(151) *maʕ annū* *mulūd* *fi* *ḍufār* *lākinn-ū* *mā*
CONJ born in Dhofār CONJ-he NEG
yi-tkillam il-ʕarabiya
3MS-speak DEF-arabic
'Although he was born in Dhofār, he does not speak Arabic'

(152) *maʕ annū* *hō* *mā* *yi-tkillam* *mā* *hō* *yi-stahī*
CONJ he NEG 3MS-speak NEG he 3MS-shy
'Although he does not speak, he is not shy'

(153) *lāzim* *ʕalē-k* *ti-sīr* *ili* *hinnak* *ḥatta lō mā* *baġē-t*
must on-you 2MS-go to there CONJ NEG want-2MS
'You have to go there, even if you do not want to'

(154) *qām* *bi* *l-qowa* *maʕ annū* *kān* *taʕbān*
got up.3MS with DEF-strength CONJ was.3MS tired
'He forced himself to get up, even though he was tired'

7.7 *Interrogative clauses*

CDA declarative clauses may be turned into interrogative clauses through raised intonation during the utterance of the clause, a feature which can be found in all CDA interrogative clauses

122 The conjunction *lākin* 'but' may take a pronoun suffix (see 6.9). It precedes the main clause, but is sometimes omitted.

whether an interrogative pronoun is present or not. Rising intonation is the usual means of eliciting a yes/no response in CDA, with the word order in the interrogative clause remaining the same. For tag questions, where a declarative clause is given along with a 'tag' to request confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause (Payne 1997: 297), the negator *lā* 'no' is added to the end of the clause, usually with the expectation of a positive reply to the question asked, as in (155) and (156) below. In (157), the form *inzēn* 'ok' is also used as a tag to elicit a yes/no response, and usually occurs to elicit confirmation from the hearer that they have understood the preceding clause. In this particular instance, the speaker is relating the arrival of some friends, and that by this time in the morning he is getting ready to sleep.

(155) *mā* *inte* *gaʕān-a* *lā*
NEG you.FS hungry-F NEG
'Are you not hungry?'

(156) *hō yi-gī lā*
he 3MS-come NEG
'He is coming, isn't he?'

(157) *yi-gū-nā* *is-sāʕa* *θlāθ* *wa* *nuṣṣ* *qada-nī*
3MS-come-us DEF-hour three and half PTCL-me
mamdūd *inzēn*
stretched out ok
'They come to us at 3.30 and I am lying down, ok?'

Where a question demands a more detailed response, or specific content, then an interrogative pronoun may also be inserted at either the head of the clause or within the clause itself, with the interrogative pronoun corresponding to the type of information or content that the question is seeking to answer. This may also result in the constituent order of the clause being altered, with the verb and subject right-shifted to the end of the clause. The types of question clause which may be formed in this way are determiner interrogatives (*ēš min* 'which, what'), goal and reason (*lēš* 'why'), location (*wēn* / *fēn* / *ḥēn* 'where'), manner (*kēf* 'how'), person (*min* / *man* 'who'), quantity (*kum* / *kom* 'how much, how many'), thing (*ēš* 'what'), and time (*imta* / *mata* 'when). They are glossed as INT in the following discussion

Determiner interrogative clauses seek to identify a more specific type of thing or person from a larger subset, such as in examples (158) and (159).

(158) *ēš min* *iṣ-ṣagīra* *ši-tt-hē*
INT DEF-young girl saw-1S-her
'Which girl did you see?

(159) *ēš* *min* *il-qōt* *yi-ḥibb-ū* *xō-k*
INT from DEF-food 3MS-like-it brother-your
'What food does your brother like?'

Interrogative clauses of goal and reason target the clarification of actions, as in (160) and (161).

(160) *lēš* *nasē-t* *mā* *ti-rgaʕ* *il-qamīs* *ir-rubbāraḥ*
INT forget-2MS NEG 2MS-return DEF-shirt DEF-yesterday
'Why did you forget to return the shirt yesterday?'

(161) *lēš* *saww-at* *hēkiðē*
INT did-3FS so
'Why did she do this?'

Location interrogative clauses may be introduced by one of three interrogative pronouns, *wēn* / *fēn* / *ḥēn* 'where'. Most speakers use *wēn*, which is considered to be a more recent borrowing from Gulf Arabic varieties, although the more original *ḥēn* does not appear in the collected data. *fēn* is regarded as having entered CDA via media broadcasts and popular culture from Egypt and the Levant.

(162) *wēn* *bi-yiskun* *ḥatta* *l-qēð*
INT CONT-3MS-live until DEF-summer
'Where does he live until the summer?'

(163) *wēn-ū* *fitrat* *in-nahār*
INT-he period DEF-day
'Where is he during the day?'

Manner interrogatives are introduced by the interrogative pronoun *kēf* 'how', often shortened to *kē*.

(164) *kēf* *bā-ni-sāfar* *ili* *l-madīna* *min dūna* *ni-ṭlub*
INT FUT-1PL-travel to DEF-city without 1PL-ask
is-siyyāra *māl* *x-ī*
DEF-car PTCL brother-my
'How will we travel to town without asking for my brother's car?

(165) *kēf* *ti-šġal* *hāði* *l-āla*
INT 2MS-operate this DEF-machine
'How do you work this machine?'

Person interrogative pronouns seek information about human referents, such as the following.

(166) *min* *ir-riggāl* *illi* *gē* *li-nā*
INT DEF-man REL coming to-us
'Who is the man coming towards us?'

(167) *man* *bi-yi-gī* *maʕ-ak*
INT CONT-3MS-come with-you
'Who is coming with you?'

Quantity interrogatives seek information in terms of amount, as in (168-170). The interrogative pronoun *kum* 'how' may occasionally be modified with the preposition *bi* as *bi-kum* 'how much?', when the information sought concerns the price of an object. If the interrogative clause specifies a unit of amount as a nominal, such as *sana* 'year' or *yōm* 'day' in (169) and (170), then the unit is given as a singular noun.

(168) *bi-kum* *hāðēna* *t-tumūrāt* *iz-zēn*
INT these DEF-dates DEF-great
'How much are these wonderful dates?'

(169) *kum* *sana* *sakan-t* *hinnī*
INT year lived-2MS here
'How long have you lived here?

(170) *kum* *yōm*
INT day
'How many days?'

Interrogative clauses may simply require further information about non-human objects, using the pronoun *ēš* 'what'. Again, the nominal which follows the interrogative pronoun is usually singular, although plural forms do occur in the data

(171) *ēš* *ism* *hāðēnak* *iz-zaraʕ*
INT name those DEF-plants
'What are the names of those plants'

(172) *hāðēnak* *iṣ-ṣaġīrāt* *ịs-ṣuġār* *ēš* *asāmī-hēn*
these DEF-girls DEF-young INT names-their
'What are the names of those young girls?'

The final type of interrogative clause discussed here, time interrogative, is introduced by the

pronoun *imta* / *mata* 'when'.

(173) *imta* *bā-n-taqābal*
INT FUT-1PL-meet
'When will we meet?'

(174) *imta* *bā-yi-rgaʕ-ū* *min* *ir-riḥla*
INT FUT-3-return-MPL from trip-their
'When will they return from their trip'

7.7.1 Embedded questions

Although embedded questions do not form direct interrogative clauses, they are included with the discussion of interrogatives due to fact that they are introduced by the same interrogative pronouns outlined in (7.7). Structurally, embedded indirect questions are the same as complement clauses, and occur with the some epistemic knowledge (perception and cognition) verbs, as outlined in (7.6.3) above (Givon 2000b: 310). As with *perception-cognition-utterance* verbs, the complement clause (embedded question) which follows the matrix verb has loose syntactic and semantic integration with the the main clause proposition, and the tense and aspect of the complement is independent. In the following examples, the interrogative pronouns mark the following embedded question, and are glossed as CONJ.

(175) *xabbar-nī* *ēš* *sawwē-t* *il-yōm*
inform.2MS.IMP-me CONJ did-2MS DEF-day
'Tell me what have you done today'

(176) *txabbara* *ʕan* *min* *hō* *Illi* *sār*
asked.3MS about CONJ he REL went.3MS
is-sōq *yōm* *iθ-θulūθ*
DEF-market day DEF-third
'He asked who went to town on Tuesday'

(177) *mā ʕraf* *ēš* *a-sāwī* *ʕala* *ṭūl*
NEG know.1S CONJ 1S-do at all
'I don't know what to do at all'

7.8 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses are commands aimed directly at the addressee, and are limited in the TAM features they can express (Payne 1997: 303). In CDA and all forms of Arabic, they refer to

second person subjects, and consequently the inflectional possibilities for the imperative verb vary between gender and number. An outline of imperative verb formation is given in section (4.4.7).

Imperative clauses may be constructed from just an inflected imperative verb, or may contain other elements depending on the arguments of the verb in question. A sample of imperative CDA clauses are given in the following examples.

(178) *šill-ēn*
take-2FPL
'Take!'

(179) *kul-ī* *l-xubz* *wa* *šarab-ī* *l-mā*
eat-2FS DEF-bread and drink-2FS DEF-water
yā *karīma*
VOC karīma
'Eat the bread and drink the water Karīma!'

(180) *kumil-ū* *xudum-kum*
finish-MPL work-your
'Finish your work!'

7.9 *Coordination*

In the discussion of complex CDA clauses so far, the focus has been on those clauses where specific conjunctions introduce subordinated clauses which modify the proposition contained in the main clause, or expressed by a matrix verb. Clauses can also be combined through co-ordination, where clauses of equal rather than dependent grammatical status are linked together, providing the potential for sequential events and propositions to be chained together into discourse, via the use of a co-ordinating conjunction (Payne 1997: 337-39). Where the co-ordination of two clauses proposes that both of the clauses are true, then the clauses are linked by the conjunction *ū* 'and', which may also be realised as *ō* by some speakers, or alternatively as the MSA variant *wa*. The conjunction occurs directly between the two clauses, as in examples (181 -184) below, glossed as CONJ.

(181) *mā* *šāfa-nī* *wa* *la* *šuf-t-ū*
NEG saw.3MS-me CONJ NEG saw-1S-him
'He didn't see me, and I didn't see him'

(182) *kān* *fi* *rās-ū* *šaʕar* *qalīl*
was.3MS EXIST head-his hair little
ū *mā* *ʕind-ū* *ḍurūs*
CONJ NEG to-him teeth
'There was little hair on his head, and he had no teeth'

(183) *wallah* *il-manḍar* *kān* *zēn* *zēn* *ū*
swear DEF-view was.3MS beautiful beautiful CONJ
ma *drē-t* *kēf* *a-waṣṣaf-ū* *la-kum*
NEG know-1S how 1S-describe-it to-you
'I swear the view was really wonderful, and I don't know how to describe it to you'

(184) *bā-stamaʕ* *qiṣṣat-kum* *wa* *yi-mkin*
FUT-listen.1S story-your CONJ 3MS-possible
a-ġeyyar *rāy-ī*
1S-change opinion-my
'I will listen to your story, and perhaps I will change my mind'

Where there is the potential for only one of the co-ordinated clauses to be true, and by implication the conjoined clause to be false, then the conjunction *wala* 'or' links the two clauses together, as in (185). Here, the option of agreement in the proposition is presented as a non-negated vs. negated verb choice, co-ordinated by *wala*, but the same choice can also be expressed using a non-negated verb and the conjunction *wala la* 'or not', as in (186) and (187).

(185) *ti-wāfaq* *wala* *mā* *ti-wāfaq* *ānī* *mā-nī*
2MS-agree CONJ NEG 2MS-agree I NEG-I
mahtimm
interested
'Whether you agree or do not agree, I do not care'

(186) *wāfaq-t* *wala lā* *ānī* *mā-nī* *mahtimm*
agree-1S CONJ I NEG-I interested
'Whether you agree or not, I do not care'

(187) *wallah* *mā* *drē-t* *āni* *a-rsal-hā* *wala la*
swear NEG know-1MS I 1S-send-them CONJ
'I swear I don't know whether to send them or not'

The conjunction *lākin* 'but' links contrastive clause propositions, usually excluding or restricting

the conjoined clause from the preceding clause as in (188-190). Where the conjoined clause is verb-initial, the conjunction *lākin* takes a pronoun suffix which agrees with the grammatical subject as shown in the table below, but this is omitted when the subject is a specified nominal form.

1S	*lākinn-ī*	1PL	*lākinn-ā / lākinna-nā*
2MS	*lākinn-ak*	2MPL	*lākinn-kum*
2FS	*lākinn-iš*	2FPL	*lākinn-kēn*
3MS	*lākinn-ū*	3MPL	*lākinn-hum*
3FS	*lākinn-hā*	3FPL	*lākinn-hēn*

Table 7.3: Conjunction lākinn

(188) *il-gō* *bi l-lēl* *kān* *ḥār* *lākin*
DEF-weather in DEF-night was.3MS hot CONJ
il-ḥadīqa *bārid-a*
DEF-garden cool
'The weather in the evening was hot, but the garden was cool'

(189) *yi-ṭawwuf* *ʕal-ī* *wāgid* *lākinn-ū* *mā* *yi-xbar-nī*
3MS-drop by on-me a lot CONJ-he NEG 3MS-inform-me
imta *bā-yi-gī-nī*
when FUT-3MS-come-me
'He visits me a lot, but he never lets me know when he is coming'

(190) *ni-šrab* *il-qahawa* *fi* *ṣ-ṣubuḥ* *lākin*
1PL-drink DEF-coffee in DEF-morning CONJ
ʕāšiyan *ni-šrab* *iš-šāhī* *dēman*
evening 1PL-drink DEF-tea always
'In the morning we drink coffee, but in the evening we always drink tea'

7.10 Negation and negative clauses

In this section I will discuss negation in CDA, and in particular the negation of the various clause types that have been outlined so far. This will cover the negation of lexical verbs for the imperfective and perfective paradigms, the future negation of imperfective lexical verb clauses, negation of the imperative verb clause, the negation of past, present and future copula clauses, the negation of nominal clauses and phrases, and the negation of possessive clauses.
Central to this negation of all these various clause types are the negating particles *mā* and *lā,* glossed henceforth as NEG. On its own, *lā* has the lexical meaning 'no', and provides a negative answer to a direct question. Some speakers also use the expression *lōb* to signify 'no', or

occasionally its reduplicated form *lōb-lōb*, an adverbial intensifier for positive or negative expressions, found in Mehri (Watson 2012: 361-62) and other MSAL.[123] Occasional, infrequent use of the negative particle *miš* is also found, which appears to be a more recent addition to CDA, perhaps from the influence of mass media sources.[124] I will begin with the negation of the lexical verb.

7.10.1 Lexical verb negation

The negative particle *mā* is used almost exclusively for the negation of the lexical verb in CDA. Its occurs as a pre-verbal particle for both the imperfective and perfective paradigms, negating any TAM expression of the inflected finite verb. In examples (191-193) below, the imperfective verb is negated, with the overall expression of a negated present tense. Where the imperfective verb is inflected for the first person singular, as in (191), then the negator and the verbal subject prefix are elided together.

(191) *mā* *ʕraf* *ē* *ḥad* *hinnī*
NEG know.1S any person here
'I do not know anyone here'

(192) *mā* *baġē-t* *a-smaʕ* *ʕan-ū* *min* *ðaḥḥīn*
NEG want 1S-hear about-it from now
'I do not want to hear about it any more'

(193) *ē* *hāði* *l-qōt* *mā* *baġē-t* *ʕaṭē-nī*
EXCL this DEF-food NEG want-1S give.2MS.IMP-me
šē *θānī*
thing other
'Hey! I do not want this food. Give me something else!'

Similarly with the perfective verb, the pre-verbal *mā* negates the entire lexical proposition of the clause. In examples (194-196), the overall impression of a negated past tense is given.

(194) *ḥāwal-t* *a-ttaṣal* *b-ik* *lākin* *mā* *raddē-t* *ʕal-ī*
tried-1S 1S-call to-you but NEG reply-2MS to-me
'I tried to call you but you did not reply'

123 An accurate translation of *lōb* in Mehri would be the adverb 'really' or the phrase 'of course', as in the following sentence, 'I really don't want it' (Watson 2012: 361). Whilst it retains a certain emphatic sense in CDA, its main use is as a substitute for *lā* 'no.

124 The negator *miš* is common in Egyptian and Levantine Arabic dialects.

(195) *arbaʕt* *ēyām* *mā* *xurug-t* *min* *il-bēt*
four days NEG leave-1S from DEF-house
bisabbab *il-maṭar*
because of DEF-rain
'I did not leave the house for four days because of the rain'

(196) *mā* *sakan-ū* *hinna* *abadan*
NEG lived-3MPL here ever
'They have never lived here'

Where the imperfective verb is already prefixed with mood or tense marker, then the negator *mā* occurs immediately to the left of the modified verb. In (197), the continuous aspect-marked imperfective verb is negated, and in (198-200), the future-marked imperfective verb is negated.

(197) *mā* *bi-sīr* *ili* *l-blad*
NEG CONT-go.1S to DEF-town
'I am not on my way to town'

(198) *siyyārat-ī* *mā* *bā-ti-tṣallaḥ* *ḥatta* *baʕd* *il-usbūʕ*
car-my NEG FUT-3FS-repair until after DEF-week
il-qādim *ʕašān* *hēkiðē* *bā-gtīr* *siyyāra*
DEF-next because thus FUT-hire.1S car
'My car will not be repaired until next week, so I will hire a car'

(199) *mā* *bā-bqī* *akθar* *min* *šahūr* *qalīl-a*
NEG FUT-stay.1S more than months few-F
'I will not stay more than a few months'

(200) *ma* *bā-yu-xullū* *la-k* *ti-sīr* *aḥa*
NEG FUT-3MS-allowed to-you 2MS-go until
ti-xallaṣ *ṣuġal-ak*
2MS-finish work-your
'You will not be allowed to go until you finish your work'

The imperative verb may be negated by either the negator *mā* or *lā*, occurring immediately to the left of the lexical verb.

(201) *yā* *uxt-ī* *lā* *ti-xāf-ī*
VOC sister-my NEG 2-be scared-FS.IMP
'My sister, do not be scared!'

(202) *mā* *ti-qūl* *šē* *ʕan* *aṣḥāb-ak*
NEG 2MS-say.IMP thing about friends-your
'Don't say anything about your friends!'

Where two negated lexical verb clauses are co-ordinated by the conjunction *wa* / *ū* / *ō* 'and', or *lākin* 'but', the first verb is usually negated with *mā*, and the second verb negated with *lā*, as in (203) and (204) below.

(203) *mā* *šāfa-nī* *wa* *lā* *šuf-t-ū*
NEG saw.3MS-me and NEG saw-1S-him
'He did not see me, and I did not see him'

(204) *mā* *xabbar-t-hum* *ū* *lā* *faṭan-ū-nī*
NEG inform-1S-them and NEG remind-3MPL-me
'I did not tell them, and they did not remind me'

7.10.2 Copula and nominal clause negation

As outlined in sections (4.4.6 and 7.1), the expression of the present tense copula in CDA is made using the juxtaposition of nominals and their predicates in nominal clauses and phrases, whilst the expression of past and future tense copula is made using the perfective and imperfective forms of the auxiliary verb *kān* 'to be'. For the present tense copula, it is negated by a NEG + PRO combination, as shown in the following table. Where the independent pronoun is vowel-initial, then the negator and independent pronoun elide.

1S	*mā-nī*	1PL	*mānā / mā naḥana*
2MS	*mā-nta / mānti*	2MPL	*mā-ntum*
2FS	*mānti / mānte*	2FPL	*mā-ntēn*
3MS	*mā hō / mū hū*	3MPL	*mā hum*
3FS	*mā hē*	3FPL	*mā hēn*

Table 7.4: Nominal clause negation mā

In negated present tense nominal clauses, the NEG + PRO phrase agrees with the grammatical subject, as shown in the following examples.

(205) *mā* *hō* *fi* *ṣ-ṣaḥara*
NEG he.3MS in DEF-desert
'He is not in the desert'

(206) *mā* *hum* *mašġūl-īn*
NEG they.3MPL busy-MPL
'They are not busy'

(207) *qumṣān-ī* *mā* *hēn* *ziyān*
clothes-my NEG they.3FPL clean.PL
'My clothes are not clean'

(208) *il-mudīr* *mā* *hō* *fi* *l-igtimāʕ* *il-yōm*
DEF-manager NEG he.3MS in DEF-meeting DEF-day
'The manager is not in the meeting today'

(209) *mā-nī* *ðakī* *miθl-ak*
NEG-I.1S clever like-you
'I am not clever like you'

Accordingly for negated past and future tense nominal clauses, the auxiliary verb *kān* 'to be' is negated with the pre-verbal negator *mā*. For the negated past tense, the perfective paradigm verb is inflected to agree with the grammatical subject (210-212), whilst the negated future is signified using a negated imperfective verb with the future verbal prefix, again inflected to agree with the grammatical subject (213-215).

(210) *mā* *kun-nā* *fi* *l-bēt*
NEG were-1PL in DEF-house
'We were not at home'

(211) *mā* *kān* *hinnak* *ḥad* *yi-smaʕ-nā*
NEG was.3MS there person 3MS-hear-us
'There was no one there to hear us'

(212) *a-ʕraf* *inn-ak* *mā* *kun-t* *fi*
1S-know COMP-you NEG were-2MS in
l-bēt ir-rubbāraḥ
DEF-house DEF-yesterday
'I know that you were not at home yesterday'

(213) *mā* *bā-kūn* *fi* *l-bēt* *ġudwa*
NEG FUT-be.1S in DEF-house tomorrow
'I will not be at home tomorrow'

(214) *inta* *ʕāraf* *inn-ī* *bukra* *mā*
you.2MS know.PART COMP-I tomorrow NEG
bā-kūn *hinnī*
FUT-be.1S here

(215) *hāðēn* *il-ḥēwānāt* *mā* *bā-yi-kūn-ēn* *bukra* *hinnī*
these DEF-animals.FPL NEG FUT-3-be-FPL tomorrow here
'These animals will not be here tomorrow'

7.10.3 Possessive and existential clause negation

As nominal clause types, possessive and existential clauses negate using the same process outlined in (7.10.2). Possessive relations (3.5.5) can be expressed by three types of construction, either a synthetic construction (construct phrase or pronoun suffix), a locative/comitative/dative preposition + pronoun suffix construction, or as an analytic genitive construction with a possessive linker (Naïm 2008). Where the possessive clause is based on a synthetic construction, the negator *mā* occurs to the left of the copula pronoun in the present tense, as in (216) and (217), as a negator + copula verb for the perfect tense, and a negator + future marker + copula verb for future tense negation.

(216) *mā* *hō* *kitāb-ī*
NEG it.3MS book-my
'It is not my book'

(217) *mā* *hō* *maktab* *ōb-ū*
NEG it.3MS office father-his
'It is not his father's office'

If the possessive clause contains a prepositional possessive construction (218-222), then the same negation process occurs, with the negator or negated copula verb preceding the possessive construction.

(218) *mā* *l-hē* *xō*
NEG to-her brother
'She does not have a brother'

(219) *mā* *ʕind-ī* *filūs* *wāgid* *il-ḥīn*
NEG to-me money a lot DEF-now
'I do not have much money right now'

(220) *mā* *ʕind-ī* *siyyāra*
NEG to-me car
'I do not have a car'

(221) *mā* *kān* *ʕind-hā* *l-quwwa* *ti-sīr*
NEG was.3MS to-her DEF-strength 3FS-walk
ili *bēt-hā*
to house-her
'She did not have the strength to walk back home'

(222) *mā* *ʕind-ī* *aθāθ* *kifāya* *fi* *l-ġurfa*
NEG to-me furniture sufficient in DEF-room
kursī *wa* *ṭāwila* *wa* *kurfēya bass*
chair and table and bed only
'I do not have enough furniture in the room, just a chair, a table, and a bed'

Where the possessive clause is an analytic genitive construction (223-225), then it is negated by a NEG + PRO combination between the nominal element and the possessive linker.

(223) *hāði* *l-kitāb* *mū* *hū* *māl-ī*
this DEF-book.MS NEG it.3MS POSS-my
'This book is not mine'

(224) *hāðik* *id-dirāga* *mā* *hē* *māl-iš*
that DEF-bicycle.FS NEG it.3FS POSS-your.2FS
'This bicycle is not yours'

(225) *hāðēlak* *il-karāsī* *mā* *hēn* *māl-ūt-anā*
those DEF-seats.FPL NEG they.3FPL POSS-PL-our
'Those seats are not ours'

Existential clauses are negated using the phrase *mā šē*

(226) *mā* *šē* *hinnak*
NEG EXIST there
'There is nothing there'

(227) *mā* *kān* *šē* *hinnak*
NEG was.3MS EXIST there
'There was nothing there'

(228) *mā* *šē* *masāfa* *kibīr-a* *bēn* *iṭ-ṭāwila*
NEG EXIST distance large-F between DEF-table
wa *s-sarīr* *haqq-ī*
and DEF-bed POSS-my
'There is not much room between the table and my bed'

7.11 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have given a detailed account of the major clause structures and their components in CDA. I have looked at the nominal phrase, its word order, its expression of possessive and existential meaning, and its negation. For verbal clauses, I have again detailed the main features of constituent order in simple verb clauses, before looking at complex clause combinations, such as complementation, adverbial clauses, purpose clauses, relative clauses, and negation of the verbal clause.

8 Grammaticalization in coastal Dhofāri Arabic

In the following chapter, I will examine specific features of CDA from the perspective of grammaticalization. As a cross-linguistic feature, grammaticalization theory seeks to observe and explain the development of single lexemes or more complex clauses into functional, grammaticalized units, as well as the further grammaticalization of already grammaticalized forms. This process of grammaticalization can be best expressed as the transition of these forms along a cline of change or grammaticality, such as that laid out by Hopper & Traugott (1993: 7) below. At each end of this cline are contrasting domains that might best be described as 'lexical/content' on the left side, and 'grammatical' on the right.

content item → grammatical word → clitic → inflectional affix

On this cline, it may be possible to observe diachronic stages in the transition of forms on a left-right trajectory towards a more grammatical function, whilst synchronically, forms may demonstrate qualities of various stages along this cline simultaneously and/or polysemy.[125] That is, in such cases the source of each form is a lexical item which has been reinterpreted within a specific context, and this context dependency leads to the development of a grammatical meaning alongside the original lexical content of the form (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 3).

The core process which leads to the grammaticalization of lexical and clausal forms into items which have a separate grammatical function is the process of reanalysis. Hopper and Traugott (1993: 52) define this in terms of the ambiguity or opacity of certain structures, which allows them to be both analysed in new ways and retain their original lexical meanings simultaneously. They refer to this as 'abduction', whereby the output or result of an utterance is understood by the hearer to have a different, additional meaning to that which was intended. The surface components of the utterance remain the same throughout, but the hearer reanalyses their order within the repertoire of structures which they have available to them, abducting the original structure and assigning to it a different one which also meaningful validity. This initial step, essentially the transition along the first stage of the cline outlined above, represents the main process in grammaticalization. Once the grammatical interpretation of the form or structure is established, then the lexical content of the original surface components begin to lose their relevance in the new structure, and the further stages of phonological and morphological reduction can then be observed along the cline.

A typical pattern might be the reinterpretation of a lexical item, for example one referring to the body or part of the body, as reflexive pronoun or reciprocal form indicating 'self', an instance of grammaticalization that is observable both in Semitic languages as a whole (Rubin 2005: 19),

125 This process is seen as being unidirectional, although there are examples in other languages which suggest the albeit rare possibility of a reverse directionality, and which is the cause of much debate. For example, see Haspelmath (1999: 1043-68). However, within the current data set, there are no observed examples of this.

as well as many other unrelated languages throughout the world (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 58-60). Many Arabic dialects display a wide range of interrogative pronouns such as *lēš* 'why', *ēš* 'what', and *'addēš* 'how much', which have been derived historically from the grammaticalization of prepositional phrase involving the item *šay'* 'thing'.[126] Similarly, the reanalysis of verbs of motion as future tense markers is prevalent as a cross-linguistic example of grammaticalization, such as the use of the participle *rāyiḥ* 'going' in some Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian, and Iraqi Arabic dialects (Rubin 2005: 35), or as is demonstrated in non-Semitic languages such as English ('I am going to … X' as a verb of motion, vs. 'I am going to...' as an expression of future intention), Zulu, Sotho, Bari, Equadorian Quecha, or Tamil, for example (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 161-3).

The participle *rāyiḥ* is a useful example to focus on, as its manifestation in the above-mentioned Arabic dialects exemplifies some stages along the cline of grammaticalization. Once the reanalysed function of a form has become established, its gain in grammatical function comes at the expense of all or part of its semantic content, more commonly referred to as *semantic bleaching* or *desemanticization*. Although the original form may be retained as part of the lexicon and continue to be used, in this case the verb *rāḥ* 'to go', its reanalysed more grammatical form may then undergo further processes of morphosyntactic and phonological reduction. For example, *rāyiḥ* in Lebanese Arabic has been reduced to the form *raḥ*, with a reduced vowel length and deletion of its underlying middle radical /*y*/, whereas in Egyptian Arabic, the future pre-verbal marker *ḥa* retains only the final radical from its etymologically-derived form *rāyiḥ*. In both instances, there is also a loss of concord between the grammaticalized form and head noun in the phrase.

Whilst this neat, linear representation of the grammaticalization cline is useful, it must also be noted that the transition from stage to stage along this cline, and the manifestation of morphosyntactic and phonological reduction of forms, maybe be irregular and unclear. In addition, as stated in the opening of this chapter, grammaticalization is not restricted to single lexical items, and may often involve larger structures or previously grammaticalized forms, thus rendering the diachronic tracing of forms leftwards back along the cline to try and ascertain their original forms highly problematic, and subject to linguistic guesswork. Given the cross-linguistic nature of grammaticalization however, parallels can often be drawn from other languages, and analogous clines elsewhere can suggest possible content words for grammaticalized forms which have undergone considerable phonological and morphological reduction. In the following discussion of grammaticalization in CDA, I will endeavour to include such examples alongside others more closely related in other Semitic languages in order to try and identify sources for such forms.

The inclusion of grammaticalization here, as an integral part of the description of CDA, is warranted for a number of reasons. As grammaticalization is a cross-linguistic feature, the provision of further data adds to the existing corpus of data, such as that contained in Heine and

126 See Kaye & Rosenhouse (1997: 290-291) for further variants.

Kuteva's (2004) thorough lexicon. In Rubin's (2005) extensive comparative study of grammaticalization in Semitic, the value of such analysis is readily apparent, as grammaticalization theory offers potential solutions to a variety of diachronic issues, such as the development of the definite article and verbal tense markers both in a variety of Semitic languages, and at the level of major dialects amongst some of its constituent members. Esseesy (2010), dealing primarily with historical variations in Standard and Classical prepositions and subordinators, approaches their grammatical development with a similar goal, extending the scope of his study to include the grammaticalization of the structures that contain these forms. Watson's (2011: 864) overview of grammaticalized forms in the major Arabic dialectal groups notes the rich variety, with common grammaticalization processes appearing within these dialectal groups that hint at common processes occurring within regional groups, and a diverse collection of lexical forms which have resulted in the independent development of grammatical forms of similar function. It therefore appears from the onset that similar approaches will yield an equally useful analysis of some of the forms that occur in CDA, and that the following discussion of these forms will yield in itself a more complete depiction of similar features across the Arabic dialects of southern Arabia, and beyond.

In the following examples, the overall format of the presentation will be structured similarly to that outlined in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 13-14), so as to maximise compatibility with this existing corpus. Forms will be categorised where possible, using the same SOURCE > TARGET schema, and corresponding page references provided for further comparison. Where there is uncertainty regarding the underlying form, either due to conflicting data from other studies, or on account of morphological and phonological erosion rendering diachronic analysis difficult, then this will also be discussed. A brief reference to alternative terminology will also be provided, for the purpose of facilitating cross reference with the Semitic data examined by Ruben, along with references to the relevant sections. Following this, the grammatical function and scope of the CDA form in question will be examined in detail through collected data, along with any comparative corpus data from studies that are pertinent to the discussion of the CDA example.

8.1 Possessive linkers - ḥaqq / māl[127]

The forms *ḥaqq* and *māl* both function as possessive linkers used in analytic genitive constructions. The analytic genitive construction (AGC) functions as an alternative to the synthetic genitive construction (SGC) (section 3.5.5), where the possessive relationship between nominal elements is overtly linked with a grammatical form, rather than in the SGC which express possession through juxtaposition. The AGC has been shown to occur in the vast majority of Arabic dialects documented to date, and central to each is an analytic possessive linker: a lexical item indicating 'possession, property', or a relative/demonstrative form, which has undergone a degree of semantic bleaching, and subsequently acquired the additional

127 The following discussion of possessive linkers is also found in Davey (2012: 67-81).

grammatical function of indicating possessive relationships between nouns or NPs.[128] In CDA, the two lexical forms *ḥaqq* and *māl* 'property, possession' have both acquired this function, which corresponds closely to the cline PROPERTY ('property, possession') > A-POSSESSIVE (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 245-6). In the following discussion, these linker components are glossed as POSS where they occur in the data.

The most comprehensive account of the possessive linker and AGCs in Arabic dialects to date, using texts spanning a period of 75 years, demonstrated little evidence of the existence of the AGC in Rhodokanakis' (1908, 1911) Dhofārī Arabic volumes (Eksell-Harning 1980: 71), but the current data reveals a more extensive and complex use of the AGC in CDA than previously thought. As described by Eksell-Harning (1980: 19–21), AGCs have a core structure NOMINAL + LINKER + MODIFIER, which can be expanded via additional modifying components to the NOMINAL and/or MODIFIER elements. Both the NOMINAL and MODIFIER elements can be modified independently, but in all instances these elements are linked to form a complete NP in its own right. The LINKER element at the centre of each AGC then expresses the genitive relationship between a head/possessed constituent (NOMINAL) and a dependent/possessor constituent (MODIFIER) (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1996: 246). In CDA, both *ḥaqq* and *māl* are used as possessive linkers, and display inflectional suffixes in relation to the grammatical gender of the NOMINAL element, yet despite the reanalysis of these lexical forms, outside of these specific constructions their underlying lexical content is retained. A summary of their morphological features is shown below.

	ḥaqq	māl
MS	*ḥaqq*	*māl*
FS	*ḥaqqat / ḥaqt (+ pronoun suffix)*	*mālat / malt (+ pronoun suffix)*
PL	*ḥaqqōt / ḥaqqūt*	*mālūt*

Table 8.1: Possessive linkers

As shown in Table 132, when *ḥaqq* and *māl* are used as possessive linkers, they can inflect for number and gender, in agreement with the NOMINAL in the AGC. The grammatical gender of non-human plural nouns is treated as feminine plural, and in AGCs where the preceding NOMINAL is grammatically feminine plural, the PL forms of the possessive linkers *ḥaqqōt* and *mālūt* are used if inflection is present. On rare occasions, FS linkers may be used for a non-human plural NOMINAL. Similarly, these PL forms are used for a grammatically masculine plural NOMINAL. The inflection of LINKER elements is not obligatory in CDA however, and for any of the inflected examples given below, an uninflected MS form can also be used. The grammatical

128 The term 'linker' is chosen here in preference to the more traditional term 'exponent', in order to facilitate clearer cross-linguistic comparison. See Heine & Kuteva (2002: 245-6), and (Croft 2003: 38-40).

gender and number of the NOMINAL is indicated for clarity in the glossing for the following examples (1 - 6).

(1) *il-kitāb* *māl-ī*
DEF-book.MS POSS.MS-my
'my book'

(2) *is-siyyāra* *mālat-anā*
DEF-car.FS POSS.FS-our
'our car'

(3) *il-aqlām* *mālūt-ī*
DEF-pens.FPL POSS.PL-my
'my pens'

(4) *il-maḥmas* *ḥaqq-ī*
DEF-pan.MS POSS.MS-my
'my cooking pan'

(5) *id-dirrāga* *ḥaqt-ak*
DEF-bicycle.FS POSS.FS-your
'your bicycle'

(6) *il-maqāʕid* *ḥaqqōt-kum*
DEF-seats-FPL POSS.PL-your
'your seats'

For examples (1) to (6), in addition to the optional gender inflection of the possessive linker with its preceding head noun, the choice of possessive linker itself may also alternate, from *ḥaqq* to *māl* and vice versa, with no resulting change in meaning. Thus in (4), *il-maḥmas ḥaqq-ī* may also be realised as *il-maḥmas māl-ī*, whilst, in (6), the possessive linker *ḥaqqōt* may be substituted with *mālūt.* In the data, there was a tendency for speakers to provide inflected forms

of the possessive linker during the recording of questionnaire responses, with a contrasting lack of inflection in free speech data. In Rhodokanakis' analysis of AGC usage (1911: 107), all instances of the possessive linker are restricted to the form *māl*, and there are no inflected examples.[129] The constructions outlined in examples (1) to (6), with the structure DEFINITE NOUN + LINKER + PRONOUN, are the most frequent form of AGCs in CDA, although occasionally modifiers to the NOMINAL element may be postposed between the NOMINAL and the LINKER, such as the demonstrative pronoun in (7) and (8). Similarly, the negated copula verb may intervene between the NOMINAL and the LINKER elements, as in (9) and (10), but the overall integrity of the AGC is not affected.

(7) *il-kirāsī* *hāðēna* *ḥaqqōt-anā*
DEF-seats these POSS.PL-us
'These seats belong to us'

(8) *id-dirrāga* *hāðik* *ḥaqt-iš*
DEF-bicycle that POSS.FS-you
'That bicycle belongs to you'

(9) *il-kitāb* *mū* *hō* *māl-ī*
DEF-book NEG it POSS.MS-my
'It is not my book'

(10) *id-dirāga* *mā* *hē* *mālt-ū*
DEF-bicycle NEG it POSS.FS-his
'It is not his bicycle'

Occasionally the AGC structure may be NOUN + LINKER + NOUN, as shown in (11-16) below. There appears to be no restriction on definiteness for the NOMINAL and MODIFIER elements of the AGC, although indefinite forms occur less frequently in the data. Both the NOMINAL and MODIFIER elements in AGCs are also independent NPs in (11), (12), and (13), with the LINKER in these examples establishing the relationship between a definite NOUN and a definite MODIFIER.

129 For these examples, see Rhodokanakis (1908: 29, 96, 97, 99, 116, 119). An overall summary of possessive linkers can also be found in Rhodokanakis (1911: 107). All the examples used in this chapter from Rhodokanakis' study are given in their original form, with additional interlinear glossing and English translation.

(11) *il-qubba* *ḥaqqat* *il-misgid*
DEF-dome POSS.FS DEF-mosque
'the dome of the mosque'[130]

(12) *il-gāriya* *ḥaqqat* *il-māzūn*
DEF-slave POSS.FS DEF-māzūn
'the slave of the Māzūn'

(13) *iθ-θiyāb* *ḥaqqōt* *il-ḥarīm* *iḏ-ḏufāriyyāt*
DEF-dresses POSS.PL DEF-women DEF-Dhofārī
'the dresses of Dhofārī women'

(14) *hāðe* *ṣendūḳ* *māl* *ʕajūz*
this box POSS.MS old woman
'This is an old woman's box' (Rhodokanakis 1908: 29)

(15) *fī* *ḥagūzāt* *ḥagūzāt* *māl* *il-ḥinnā*
EXIST appointments appointments POSS.MS DEF-henna
'There are appointments, henna appointments'

(16) *yīd* *māl* *ṭifl*
hand POSS.MS child
'a child's hand'

Based around the core NOMINAL + LINKER + MODIFIER structure of AGCs, the majority of constructions in both my CDA data and that of Rhodokanakis demonstrate limited modification of either the NOMINAL or MODIFIER elements. However, more complex constructions may also occur, where AGCs are extended via additional possessive linkers, or where the NOMINAL element of the AGC may be an construct state SGC itself.

In (17) and (18), the AGC is extended via the use of a further possessive linker. This allows the

130 This example also appeared as an SGC in the data. See (3.5.5)

addition of an extra MODIFIER element to the AGC, providing greater specificity to the possessive relationship expressed. For example in (19), where the NOMINAL element contains an SGC, the AGC specifies the material quality of the NOMINAL element. As will be demonstrated later, this is a particular function of the AGC in CDA.

(17)	*bā-trūḥ*	*maʕ-ī*	*fōq*	*il-maginnē*	*illi*	*māl-nī*
	FUT-go.2MS	with-me	above	DEF-cemetery	REL	POSS.MS-our
	māl	*ṭāqa*				
	POSS.MS	Ṭāqa				
	'You will go with me, above our cemetery in Ṭāqa'					

(18)	*hāðē*	*mā-hū*	*māl-ek*	*māl*
	this	NEG-3MS	POSS.MS-your	POSS.MS
	ġayr-ak			
	other-you			
	'This is not yours, it's someone else's' (Rhodokanakis 1908: 119)			

(19)	*qābiḍat*	*il-manḥaz*	*haqq*	*ḥadīd*
	pestle	DEF-mortar.GEN	POSS.MS	iron
	'the iron pestle'			

The range of semantic relationships that AGCs can express in CDA is broadly similar to the Group III dialects of Mecca, Yemen, and Ḥaḍramawt in Eksell-Harning's study (1980: 158-159), as shown in the next examples. Amongst the possible types, concrete possession appears to be the most frequent, as shown in examples (1-10), and also in the following examples (20-22).

(20)	*il-qariya*	*ḥaqt-anā*
	DEF-village	POSS.FS-our
	'our village'	

(21) *il-gimalīt* *ḥaqqōt-kum*
DEF-camels POSS.PL-you
'your camels'

(22) *yi-ʕṭī-hā* *xarūf* *māl-ak*
3MS-gives-her sheep POSS.MS-you
'He gives her a sheep of yours'

The semantic relationship demonstrated in (15), possession of an abstract noun, is also found within the data, as shown in (23) below.

(23) *il-wāl* *māl-uh*
DEF-pain POSS.MS-his
'his pain'

(24) *ḍaḥak-nī* *yōm* *samaʕ-nā* *l-nukta* *ḥaqt-uh*
laughed-1PL when heard-1PL DEF-joke POSS.FS-his
'We laughed when we heard his joke'

Another common semantic relationship expressed by the AGC in CDA is one of qualification, in particular one of a material quality, which appears as a marked or unmarked noun in the MODIFIER element position of the construction. In (19), the MODIFIER *ḥadīd* 'iron' modifies an SGC via a possessive linker, thus expressing a material quality. However, qualification is not restricted to constructions where an SGC occurs as the NOMINAL element: it can also be expressed in AGCs with nouns or simple NPs occurring as the NOMINAL element as in (25) and (26).

(25) *taqṣid* *hāðī* *l-qamīṣ* *ḥaqq* *iṣ-ṣūf*
mean.IPFV.2MS DEM.MS DEF-shirt POSS.MS DEF-wool
wala *hāðī* *l-qamīṣ* *ḥaqq* *il-qaṭan*
or DEM.MS DEF-shirt POSS.MS DEF-cotton
'Do you mean this wool shirt or this cotton shirt?'

(26) *miθal* *kūra* *māl* *il-qašš*
like ball POSS.MS DEF-straw
'like a ball of straw'

The AGC can also be used attributively to express a very limited range of kinship and human relationships, for which there are often more common alternative NPs that express the same relationships. This use of the AGC appears to be restricted to parent-child relationships, as in (27) and (28) below where, along with each AGC construction, I have given the corresponding possessive noun phrase equivalent. The main difference in usage between these two constructions is that the AGC is not used as a means of direct address between a parent and a child. Instead it is a more formal means of reference to an absent child when speaking to a third party.

(27a) *il-widd* *ḥaqq-ī*
DEF-boy POSS.MS-my
'my son/child'

(27b) *widd-ī*
boy-my
'my son/child'

(28a) *il-bitt* *mālt-ī*
DEF-girl POSS.FS-my
'my daughter/child'

(28b) *bitt-ī*
girl-my
'my daughter/child'

For non-kinship human relationships, the AGC is limited to subordinate socio-economic relations between individuals and/or tribes, as in (29) below. Historically, Dhofār had a rigid socio-economic tribal hierarchy, with well-defined inter-tribe economic subservience, and slavery. The AGC provides a means of identifying both specific individuals and their subordinate

socio-economic relations simultaneously.[131] (30) below is an example.

(29) *muna* *il-gāriya* *mālt-ī*
muna DEF-female slave POSS.FS-my
'Muna, my slave/maid'

(30) *aḥmad* *ḥaqq* *il-kaθīrī*
aḥmad POSS.MS DEF-kaθīrī
'Aḥmed (the slave) of the il-Kaθīrī (tribe)'[132]

In Rhodokanakis' (1908, 1911) data, there are several examples of constructions that reflect an additional underlying semantic relationship of origin and tribal lineage. However, what separates them from the typical AGC structure outlined above is that the NOMINAL element of the construction is missing, as in (31), (32), and (33) below. The resulting construction has the same structure as an SGC, whereby the possessive linker *māl* does not appear to have a grammaticalised function, but demonstrates a substantive quality as a head/possessed nominal 'property, belonging', followed by its possessor/modifier nominal.

(31) *gēl* *el-hezār* *ʕalā* *māl* *el-jibēl*
said.3MS el-Hezār to POSS.MS DEF-mountains
'El-Hezār said to the Sheḥri (lit. people of the mountains)'
(Rhodokanakis 1908: 96)

(32) *ū* *jaw* *māl* *jibāl*
and came.3MS POSS.MS mountains
'Then came the Sheḥris' (Rhodokanakis 1908: 97)

131 Personal and tribal names used in all these examples have been altered to maintain anonymity.

132 This means of expressing human relationships in CDA still exists today, despite the radical socio-economic changes that have taken place since the 1970s, and the gradual disappearance of subservient tribal relationships in Dhofāri society. This example initially occurred in a narrative to identify one of the main characters, only to be retracted at a later stage and changed to *aḥmed bin il-kiθīrī* 'Aḥmed the son of al-Kiθīrī. Mistakenly, the initial phrase had attributed a subordinate status to the character Aḥmed, and created confusion for those listening to the subsequent narrative, despite the lack of any lexical item that could be translated as 'slave'. Having sought further clarification, the speaker then corrected this.

(33)	*gēl*	*ʕal*	*māla*	*ʕauget*
	said.3MS	to	POSS.MS	Auqad

'He spoke to the residents of Auqad' (Rhodokanakis 1908: 99)

In (31), (32), and (33), the possessive construction has the typical SGC structure HEAD/POSSESSED + DEPENDENT/POSSESSOR, but there is a sense in (31) and (32) of 'the people of the mountains (Sheḥris)', and in (33), of 'the people of Auqad'. The presence of the form *māl*, despite what appears to be its use as a substantive ‘possession’ here, still triggers the reading of an underlying AGC (NOMINAL) + LINKER + MODIFIER, where the bracketed nominal element is implied rather than stated. This unusual construction contrasts with the data collected in the present study, where speakers would either express the same relationship using the relative adjective *Sheḥri* / *Jibbālī*, or by an alternative SGC, such as *hal ʕuqad* 'the people of Auqad'. This specific use of the possessive linker found in Rhodokanakis’ data was not recognised as a valid expression of the same relationship amongst these speakers.

One of the notable uses of the AGC lies in the expression of alienable possession, although in CDA this is by no means an exclusive function of the AGC, as SGCs may also be used. The widespread, cross-linguistic tendency of differentiating between alienable vs. inalienable possessive relationships is well established (for example, Heine 1997), and is a common feature in the majority of Arabic dialects (Watson 2011: 864). Heine (1997: 85) provides a list of common conceptual domains that have a tendency to be treated as inalienable in many languages (kinship; body-parts; relational spatial concepts; inherent parts of items; physical and mental states), and in which a morphosyntactic distinction is made between the two categories. This distinction is only demonstrated in attributive possession, with inalienable possession restricted to a closed set of nouns (kinship terms, body parts) that appear in structures where there is a both a tighter structural bond between the possessed and possessor (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1996), and restrictions on marking, as is found in SGCs. In contrast, Heine (1997) stipulates that alienable possession structures (AGCs) involve a greater degree of marking, as seen above in both the potential marking of either the NOMINAL or MODIFIER elements with the definite article, and the presence of an optionally inflected LINKER element. Consequently, there is more effort phonologically and morphologically required from the speaker in expressing alienable possession. In CDA, whilst the occurrences of the AGC and SGC appear to conform to the alienable vs. inalienable distinction in general, their usage does not strictly follow this, and often an SGC can be found expressing alienable possession, for example (see 3.5.5). A wider database of examples may reveal that the AGC also has a stylistic function when it is used in the expression of alienable possession.

Using Heine’s (1997) outline as a basis for the alienable vs. inalienable distinction, the

examples given so far show that the AGC can occur in many of the conceptual domains where inalienable possessive structures exist in other languages. In (27) and (28), kinship is expressed using the AGC, although reserved for specific circumstances whilst, in (23), the physical state of being in pain is expressed using the same construction. For inherent parts of an item, such as in (19), the substantive 'pestle' occurs as the head/possessed substantive in the SGC *qābiḍat il-manḥaz* 'the pestle of the mortar', and the AGC is used to qualify the material quality of the pestle. In the case of body parts, the inalienable possessive relationship of body part is usually expressed using an SGC, as in (34):

(34)	*kān*	*ras*	*ir-riggīl*	*maġaṭṭī*	*bi*	*l-maṣār*
	was.3MS	head	DEF-man	covered	with	DEF-maṣār

'The man's head was covered with the maṣār (headcloth)'

Whilst the SGC in (34), *ras ir-riggīl* 'the man's head', has this close structural bond, there are instances in the recently collected data where an AGC occurs as an alternative means of expressing body part relationships. This was most noticeable in a series of supernatural stories concerning ghosts and jinn, where the speaker wished to convey a particularly grotesque scene, and used the AGC to demonstrate that the normally inalienable body parts had been alienated from their correct place. In (16) above, the phrase was used in a story to describe the scene presented to a narrator as they peered into a dark cave, with only child's detached hand apparently recognisable in the darkness. In the following passage, reproduced in (35), the informant uses the AGC with body parts twice, in her depiction of the scene that the protagonist in her story witnesses, as he is carried through the air by a jinn and brought to a new location on the beach.

(35) *qāla l-ī l-markab ḥaqq-hā…qāl milāyīn milāyīn alif wa l-ālāf. qāl wallah tšūf ka-inn-uh iḏ-ḏuhr…il-līṭāt…ḥarīm wa ragīl wa ṣaġīrīn wa ṣagīrāt. qāl ū ḥad bi-yišḥak…**rās ḥaqqu gāhal** bi-yašūw-uh bi l-nār wa ḥad **ragūl māl gāhal** bi-yasḥab-uh il-laḥam*

'He said to me, "Her boat…(there were) millions and millions (of people)… thousands and thousands…I swear it was like dawn…the lights…women, men, boys, and girls". He said, "…someone with their hand inside…**a child's head**, roasting it on the fire…and another…**a child's legs**…stripping the flesh".'

In the AGCs marked in bold above, the contrast of using this AGC instead of an SGC to express inalienable possession allows the informant to accentuate the unnatural scene, and emphasise

stylistically the alienability of what should normally be inalienable: the head and legs of a child. The scene also takes place at a critical juncture in the narrative, where the location of the story shifts focus, and the environment in which it takes place is transformed. This emphatic, stylistic function of the AGC, marking a climactic event in a story, is found both in the AGC phrases of other southern Arabian Arabic dialects, and those Arabic dialects where AGC frequency is higher (Eksell-Harning 1980: 81, 158-60).

(35) begins with an AGC, introducing the new discourse topic *l-markab ḥaqq-hā* 'her boat'. This kind of AGC has a pragmatic function, as noted by Brustad (2000: 31, 78) whereby the LINKER element highlights a possessive relationship that the speaker wishes to draw attention to. The description that follows this, referring to the unnatural details of the scene, delays further elaboration of this new topic, but once the speaker has established these details, the narrative returns to the focus of the boat. In (36), which immediately follows (35) in the narrative, the speaker reiterates the new topic with another, more complex AGC.

(36) *qāl yom gīt qāl waqafat il-mara* ***fōq ḥaqq is-sakkān māl il-markab ḥaqq-hē***

'He said, "When I arrived, she stopped **above the rudder of her boat**"'

The AGC in (36) reinforces the topicality of the boat within the story, and its complexity serves to specify a more precise location in the listener's mind: the vantage point of the boat's rudder. The use of both *ḥaqq* and *māl* within the same complex AGC is extremely rare in the data, and it appears that the contrasting choice of possessive linkers in (36) is not arbitrary. The linker *ḥaqq* is used in two separate AGCs, (*fōq ḥaqq is-sakkān* and *il-markab ḥaqq-hē),* to identify two specific locations which are linked together in a complex AGC with the central linker *māl*. By adopting this structure, the speaker emphasises a specific point of reference on a specific boat through her use of *ḥaqq*, whilst the use of *māl* establishes a more general possessive relationship between the rudder and the boat. This general relationship is also indicative of the potential in CDA for the inherent parts of items to be expressed through an AGC.

Given the infrequency of the AGC within CDA, it is difficult to advance an analysis of this contrastive use of *ḥaqq* and *māl* further. The 65-year-old female informant in this instance has received no formal education, and in the free speech texts used for this analysis, all seven recorded instances of *ḥaqq* were from her data.[133] Amongst younger, more-educated speakers of CDA (35-45 years old), there were no instances of *ḥaqq* in their free speech texts, and a minimal use of *ḥaqq* was mirrored in their elicited questionnaire responses. This suggests that the frequency of *ḥaqq* may be greater with older CDA speakers, and that its usage is declining. However, it remains possible that the grammatical function of *ḥaqq* as a possessive linker was restricted historically to instances where greater specificity was required, and had a lower

133 None of the tokens of *ḥaqq* that occurred with this speaker were inflected for gender or number.

frequency as a result. (37) lends further credibility to this hypothesis, from earlier in the same narrative.

(37)	*ū*	*inta*	*ʕāraf*	*ðaḥḥin*	*iθ-θōb*
	and	you	know	now	DEF-dress
	ḥaqq-nā			*bū ðēl*	
	POSS.MS-our			bū ðēl	
	'…you know, the "bū ðēl" dress we have now'				

The dress in (37) is a specific style worn by local women, and hence the use of *ḥaqq* potentially highlights this in comparison to other dresses which may carry the same name. Within the context of the story, it is the size of the dress which allows the main protagonist to be transported from place to place by the jinn, as he hides within her clothing, and for this reason the speaker specifies this local style. This function of *ḥaqq* however does not account for the contrasting forms used for alienable body parts in (35), and a much greater corpus of material would need to be examined in order to ascertain any stylistic factors.

It is worth hypothesising however that residual lexical content in the linkers *ḥaqq* and *māl* may account for their differential use in these examples, notably for *ḥaqq*, which is derived from the semantic root √*ḥ-q-q* that also expresses concepts of correctness, truth, and legality. As a lexical item, *ḥaqq* is still used with the meaning 'right, correctness', as well as 'possession, property', and when contrasted with *māl,* from the root √*m-w-l* which carries concepts of financial and wealth in its lexical meaning of 'money' as well as 'possession', there is a clear delineation in their respective lexical content. This reanalysis and grammaticalization of these two forms may account for their various grammatical functions in this chapter, but traces of their lexical content that are still retained may be able to explain their use in complex AGCs.

8.2 The particle – qad

The form *qad*, referred to as a particle by Rubin (2005: 33) and al-Saqqāf (1999: 200) amongst others, has several grammatical functions. The etymological source of the particle is difficult to ascertain, but two possible candidates are both derived from the root √*q-d-m*, namely the verbal *qad(d)ama* 'to come, arrive' (Rubin 2005:33) and the adverbial *qidman* 'in old times, once' (Bloch 1946-49: 723), the latter of which is noted as appearing in a pre-verbal position in poetry.[134] Despite the loss of the final radical /*m*/ due to phonological reduction, analogous

134 Gemination of the middle radical in *qad(d)ama* is bracketed in Rubin's account, as it is not possible to determine whether the *CvCvC* or *CvCCvC* verb are the diachronic source of qad. Using Piamenta's (1991: 389) definition of the Yemeni /*qadama*/ 'to come', the *CvCvC* verb is the more likely CDA source.

deverbal grammaticalization processes in other languages indicate a similar transformation of 'come (to/from)' process verbs into auxiliaries that function as a CHANGE OF STATE and/or a NEAR PAST tense marker (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 72-3; 74-5). A more general account of the same process is provided by Bybee et al. (1994: 55-7), where movement verbs such as 'to come' are discussed as a common source of auxiliaries in many languages, which perform resultative, completive, stative and perfective functions.[135] These cross-linguistic parallels suggest that the more likely source of *qad* in CDA is the verbal candidate *qad(d)ama*, and the following discussion will demonstrate that despite its description as a particle, *qad* exhibits grammatical functions more akin to that of a TAM auxiliary.[136] Indeed the case may be that *qad* has been reduced from an auxiliary to a particle, but retained its TAM functions. Further evidence for the deverbal source of *qad* is also demonstrated below, where *qad* is suffixed by the 1S object pronoun /*-nī*/ in certain nominal clauses. In these instances, as /*-nī*/ rarely appears as anything other than the object suffix of a verb, it can be argued that *qad* is still demonstrating verb-like qualities as an auxiliary.

The form *qad* is attested to in CDA as both a bare pre-verbal form, which performs a number of TAM functions, and as a pronoun-suffixed form which accompanies a predicand in certain verbless clauses. The TAM functions of the bare pre-verbal *qad* in CDA are also present in MSA, grammaticalized features that occur in other NEAR PAST tense marker forms. However it is the CHANGE OF STATE pronoun-suffixed usage of *qad* which appears to be a distinct areal feature, as it is also documented in some neighbouring Yemeni and Saudi Arabian Arabic dialects (Watson 1993: 39-40; al-Saqqāf 1999: 200-01; Rossi 1939: 4; Ingham 2008: 326). Given this bare pre-verbal form [*qad*[VERB]] and pronoun-suffixed [*qad*[PRO]] structural distinction in the CDA usage of *qad*, the following discussion of its grammatical functions will be divided into [*qad*[PRO]] and [*qad*[VERB]] sections respectively. As will be noted, an overriding assertive, emphatic sense is often present in both cases, and the features of both have some common ground. Givon (2000a: 343-345) discusses such a function of TAM auxiliaries as modifying the scope-of assertion-aspect in clauses, with their inclusion in non verbal sentences becoming the 'default focus of assertion'.

8.2.1 [qad[PRO]] structure

The function of [*qad*[PRO]] in CDA is to introduce the predicand either within a single noun phrase, or as part of a larger complex structure. Additionally, [*qad*[PRO]] appears to trigger an emphatic function in the most instances. Based on the assumption that the underlying diachronic form of *qad* is the process verb *qad(d)ama* 'to come' outlined above, this follows the COME TO > (2) CHANGE-OF-STATE grammatical cline (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 74-5), with *qad*

135 Bybee et al. (1994: 56) also note the difficulty in pinpointing specific diachronic sources for these auxiliaries.

136 Although 'particle' accurately describes the lack of inflection for qad (Matthews 1997:267), the term 'auxiliary' is more accurate in terms of its functionality, based on the definition of auxiliary forms as marking TAM categories (Matthews 1997: 31), whether or not they are verbs.

functioning as if it were a stative auxiliary usually translated as 'become/became'. As noted above, although [*qad*[PRO]] occurs in seemingly verbless clauses, as an auxiliary it still retains a trace of its original verb source, which is manifested in its 1S direct object pronoun suffixation. The morphological structure of the pronoun-suffixed *qad* element is [*qad*[PRO]], where the pronoun suffix agrees in number and gender with the predicand. This is shown in the following table, alongside an approximate translation for each example.

	Particle	Gloss		*Particle*	Gloss
1S	*qad(a)-nī*[137]	'I became'	1PL	*qad(a)-nā*	'we became'
2MS	*qad-ak*	'you became'	2MPL	*qad-kum*	'you became'
2FS	*qad-iš*	'you became'	2FPL	*qad-kēn*	'you became'
3MS	*qad-ū*	'he became'	3MPL	*qad-hum*	'they became'
3FS	*qad-hā*	'she became'	3FPL	*qad-hēn*	'they became'

Table 8.2: Particle - qad

The [*qad*[PRO]] structure can be seen in the following examples, glossed as PTCL. In the first example, [*qad*[PRO]] occurs in a clause-initial position, and the resultative process described has a perfective aspect. In addition, the [*qad*[PRO]] structure emphasises the predicate, which is also augmented by the repetition of *swād* 'black'.

(38)	*qad-ū*	*swād*	*swād*	*min*	*iš-šams*
	PTCL-he	black	black	from	DEF-sun
	'He became (very) tanned from the sun'				

[*qad*[PRO]] may also appear within a subordinate clause, as in the first example (39) below, where despite the future aspect of the matrix clause, the embedded [*qad*[PRO]] structure retains its perfective aspect. In the second example (40), [*qad*[PRO]] occurs within the matrix clause.

(39)	*ēš*	*ba-kūn*	*qad-ani*	*kibīr*
	what	FUT-be.1S	PTCL-me	old
	'What will I be when I become old?'			

(40)	*qad-hā*	*xēfa*	*yōm*	*šāfatū*
	PTCL-her	scared.FS	when	saw-3FS-him
	'She became (very) scared when she saw him'			

In the above example (40), the use of [*qad*[PRO]] also emphasises the sense of fear, in contrast to the alternative phrase *ṣārat xēfa yōm šāfat-ū* 'She became scared when she saw him', where the perfective 3FS verb *ṣārat* 'she became' is used instead. This emphatic feature of [*qad*[PRO]] can also be seen in the next example, where it is combined with the exclamatory particle *ē*.

137 The bracketed vowel in this example is epenthetic.

(41) *ē* *qad-ū* *maʕrūf* *hāðak*
EXCL PTCL-he known that
maʕū *biyas*
with-him baisa
'That man is definitely rich! (lit. it became known that one has baisa)'[138]

The above example is relatively frequent in the data, in that [*qad*[PRO]] precedes and emphasises an adjectival or active participle. A further example of this occurs in (42), where [*qad*[PRO]] emphasises an active particle in the matrix clause, and would appear to be an alternative formulation of the [*qad*[PFV]] function outlined in (8.2.2). Here the translation given of the matrix clause 'I knew', expresses a strong degree of modal certainty.

(42) *qad-anī* *ʕāraf* *inn-ī* *mā* *bā-ḥaṣṣal* *ṣāḥib-ī*
PTCL-me know that-I NEG FUT-find.1S friend-my
'I knew that I would not find my friend'

Occasionally, a separate predicand precedes the [*qad*[PRO]] structure. In the following example (43), the predicand *ʕamr-ū* 'his age' is followed by *qad-ū* 'certainly (it)', with the [*qad*[PRO]] structure in agreement with the predicand. However in example (44), in cases where a separate predicand occurs, a pronoun suffix does not appear to be obligatory.

(43) *hāðak* *iš-šēb* *ʕamr-ū* *qad-ū* *fōq* *is-sabaʕīn*
this DEF-old man age-his PTCL-it over DEF-seventy
'This old man is certainly over seventy years old'

(44) *gild-ī* *qad* *ḥmar* *bisabbab* *iš-šims*
skin-my PTCL red because of DEF-sun
'My skin became (very) red because of the sun'

8.2.2 [qad[VERB]] structure

Where *qad* functions as a TAM function, the closest SOURCE > TARGET grammatical cline, based on the assumption that *qad* derives from *qad(d)ama* 'to come', is that of COME FROM > (2) NEAR PAST (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 72-3). The structure of *qad* in these clauses is as a bare pre-verbal particle, where it has no suffixed pronoun, and is represented in the following discussion as [*qad*[VERB]]. As described by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 73), this function of *qad* is indicative of the same trend whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to become auxiliaries that modify tense or aspect, although *qad* remains a particle. The same process is also outlined by Bybee et al. (1994: 56), where the verb 'to come' is grouped along with a number of motion verbs that provide the lexical source for the TAM auxiliaries, such as in the Vanuato language Atchin.

138 A 'baisa' is the sub-unit of the Omani Riyal.

Bahloul's (2008: 96) discussion of the functions of *qad* in MSA proposes that it acts as an TAM marker, where each of these three features may be dominant in a phrase or clause, depending on context. Underlying these variable functions of MSA *qad* is a core assertive function, which Bahloul describes as similar to English 'have-en constructions' (2008: 101), and which combines with the imperfective or perfective aspect of the following verb to indicate an accomplished event e.g. 'He has given the books to them'.[139] Given the variety of constructions that *qad* appears in in CDA, this acts as a useful analysis through which to explore [*qad*[VERB]] structures.

The most frequent use of *qad* in the data occurs with a perfective verb, [*qad*[PFV]]. I have included here the additional structure [AUX[*qad*[PFV]]], where AUX refers to a perfective form of the copula auxiliary verb *kān* 'to be'. This structure occurs infrequently in the data and does not appear to carry any additional functionality in comparison to [*qad*[PFV]].[140] In the following examples (45) & (46), the use of [*qad*[PFV]] has an overall assertive sense indicating the completed action of the verb:

(45)	*qad*	*nazal-hum*	*ʕala*	*ḥāf*	*iṭ-ṭarīq*
	PTCL	let down.3MS-them	at	side	DEF-road
	'He had put them down at the side of the road'				

(46)	*illi*	*baġa-t*	*ti-qūl-ū*	*qad*	*faham-ū*
	REL	want-3FS	3fs-say-it	PTCL	uderstood-him
	'He had understood what she wanted to say'				

Whilst the two examples above establish the accomplished action of the verb, the next example (47) presents both accomplished action and an additional emphatic/tense dimension.

(47)	*yōm*	*gā-t*	*il-bēt*	*ma*	*kun-t*	*hinnāk*
	when	came-3FS	DEF-house	NEG	was-1S	there
	kun-t	*qad*	*xurug-t*			
	was-1S	PTCL	left-1S			
	'When you came to the house I was not there. I had gone out'					

The use of [*qad*[PFV]] above establishes a distinction between two events; arrival at a location, and departure from the same location prior to this. The [*qad*[PFV]] structure allows the speaker to differentiate and contrast the two time events, that is, to distinguish the tense of one event in relation to the other, which also emphasises the completion of the action.This is analogous with the past perfect/pluperfect tense in English, in that it establishes a moment of time before the moment of speaking (Matthews 1997: 284). This is also the case in the next example (48),

139 Bahloul (1994: 101-2) notes that this function of qad is analogous to the present perfect in English.
140The [AUX[*qad*[PFV]]] structure in MSA is analogous with the pluperfect/past perfect aspect in English.

where the time frame of the verb 'he asked' contrasts with preceding time frame of the verb 'he had given'.

(48)	*taxabbar-nī*	*iða*	*kān*	*qad*	*ʕaṭē-t-ū*	*il-filūs*
	asked.3MS-me	if	was.3MS	PTCL	gave-1S-him	DEF-money
	'He asked me if he had given him the money'					

[*qad*[PFV]] may also emphasise a modal dimension, in addition to the underlying sense of assertion. In the first example (49), [*qad*[PFV]] emphasises the speaker's belief in the truth of the statement, whilst in examples (50 - 52), [*qad*[PFV]] emphasises and augments the modal phrases *la tuqqu* 'no fear, no defence', *bā-yikūn* 'it may be', and *min il-akīd inn* 'it is certain that'. In such cases of modal function, [*qad*[PFV]] often appears alongside modal phrases:

(49)	*qad*	*xabbar-t-ak*	*hāði*	*min*	*qabil*
	PTCL	informed-1S-you	this	from	before
	'I have told you this before'				

(50)	*la*	*tuqqu*	*qad*	*waṣal*	*ðaḥḥīn*	*hinnāk*
	NEG	defence	PTCL	arrived.3MS	now	there
	'He must have arrived there now'					

Or alternatively:

(51)	*bā-yi-kūn*	*qad*	*waṣal-at*	*ðaḥḥīn*	*ili*	*l-makān*
	FUT-3MS-be	PTCL	arrived-3FS	now	to	DEF-place
	'She may have arrived there (at the place) now'					

(52)	*min*	*il-akīd*	*inn-ū*	*qad*	*tagāwaz*	*sabaʕīn*	*ʕām*
	from	DEF-certainty	that-he	PTCL	go beyond.3MS	seventy	year
	'It's certain that he has reached seventy years old'						

[*qad*[PFV]] may also indicate that the event has taken place in the recent past, that is it has 'just' happened. If *qad* were omitted, the time frame would be less specific, but the perfect aspect of the verb would be retained. In example (53), the temporal adverb *il-ḥīn* 'now' accentuates the sense of the recent event :

(53) *qāl-at* *l-ī* *il-mrah* *inn* *il-ḥīn*
said-3FS to-me DEF-woman COMP now
qad *waṣal-at* *li* *l-miṇṭaqa*
PTCL arrived-3FS to DEF-area
'The woman told me that she had just arrived now in the area'

[*qad*[VERB]] structures may also occur with an imperfective verb as [*qad*[IPFV]]. In these cases, the use of *qad* either carries a sense of the present perfect aspect, analogous with Bahloul's 'have-en constructions' (2008: 101), or has a modal focus. In example (54), [*qad*[IPFV]] adds a modal sense to the utterance, and suggests a potential consequential outcome:

(54) *lian-nā* *ni-ṣallaḥ* *naḥna* *is-siyyāra*
because-we 1PL-fix we DEF-car
qad *yi-waffar* *filūs*
PTCL 3MS-save money
'Because we are fixing the car, he might save some money'

In (55), a similar modal sense occurs in the final bracketed clause, as the possible outcome to a sequence of events:

(55) *siyyārat-ī* *ʕād* *mā* *tṣallaḥ-at* *ū* *ʕalē-nī*
car-my still NEG repair-3FS and upon-me
bā-ni-glis *usbōʕ* *[fō* *qad* *bā-ni-stagar* *siyyāra]*
FUT-1PL-sit week [so PTCL FUT-1PL-hire car]
'My car has still not been repaired, and we must wait for a week, [so we might have to hire a car]'

In this final example (56), [*qad*[IPFV]] has a present perfect aspect.

(56) *a-ðunn* *inn-ū* *qad* *yi-ʕīš* *hinna* *min* *yūniyū*
1S-think that-he PTCL 3MS-live here from June
'I think that he has been living here since June'

8.3 The particle ʕād

The main function of *ʕād* is as an adverbial particle which can best be translated as 'still, yet, just'. The etymological source of this deverbal particle appears to be the root √*ʕ-ā-d*, yet as noted by Watson (1993: 52-3), this would appear to be from a different lexical entry to that of the common verb *ʕād* / *yaʕūd* 'to return', and is more likely to be derived from the entry 'to do something again' (Wehr 1979: 765; Rubin 2005: 37)). Piamenta (1991: 344-5) defines the root in Yemeni Arabic as having a variety of further meanings, such as 'to maintain, support, set in,

begin, arrive(time), exist, live, be yet', which also convey an underlying durative meaning, and given the relatively close proximity of Dhofār to Yemen, it is feasible to extend these lexical meanings to CDA. For example, *ʕād* still retains the meaning of 'to begin' in CDA although as an inceptive auxiliary verb, as in the following example (57). In the following discussion, it is glossed as PTCL.

(57)	*axīran*	*ʕād*	*yi-štaġal*
	finally	PTCL	3MS-work
	'Finally he has started working'		

Although such examples are rare in the present data, given the fact that the adverbial particle *ʕād* is also an areal feature found in other Yemeni and Omani dialects (Watson 1993: 52-3; al-Saqqāf 1999: 202-5; Holes 2007: 484; Brockett 1985: 25-32), along with related forms in the Modern South Arabian languages of Mehri (Rubin 2010: 241-3), Jibbāli (Johnstone 1981: 19), and Ḥarsūsi (Johnstone 1977: 12), such alternative meanings may have been widespread at some diachronic stage in the grammaticalization of this verb.[141] In respect of Heine & Kuteva's (2002: 184) schemas, and the possible lexical meanings outlined above, *ʕād* corresponds most closely to the ITERATIVE > (2) STILL cline, which is also seen as the source for the Maltese particle *għad* 'still' for example. There is also a strong correlation with the REMAIN > (1) DURATIVE cline (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 254-55), where verbs with a basic meaning 'to remain, still exist, still be alive' can become continuative adverbial markers meaning 'still'. Both of these clines are comparable with the processes outlined by Bybee et al. (1994: 164-66) in the development of continuative 'keep on' auxiliaries from similar lexical sources.

ʕād structures are similar to those of *qad*, in that they occur as either a bare form in [*ʕād*[VERB/SUBSTANTIVE]] structures, or as a pronoun-suffixed structure [*ʕād*[PRO]] in a noun phrase. Unlike instances of *ʕād* in other dialects in southern Arabia, *ʕād* does not occur with independent pronouns. In all the CDA tokens of 1S *ʕād* structures in the data, a verbal direct object pronoun /*-nīl*/ occurs, which also reflects the deverbal origin of this form. A summary of [*ʕād*[PRO]] structures is given in the following table, along with an approximate translation of each token:

141 In Mehri, *ʕād* is realised as *ʻād*, due to the realisation of the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ as an unvoiced glottal stop /ʔ/ in most environments (Rubin 2010: 15). A similar process occurs in Ḥarsūsi, resulting in *ʻād* (Johnstone 1977: xii), whereas in Jibbāli the voiced pharyngeal fricative is retained as *ʕɔd* (Johnstone 1981: xiv).

	Particle	Gloss		Particle	Gloss
1S	*ʕād(a)-nī*[142]	'I am still'	1PL	*ʕād(a)-nā*	'we are still'
2MS	*ʕād-ak*	'you are still'	2MPL	*ʕād-kum*	'you are still'
2FS	*ʕād-iš*	'you are still'	2FPL	*ʕād-kēn*	'you are still'
3MS	*ʕād-ū*	'he is still'	3MPL	*ʕād-hum*	'they are still'
3FS	*ʕād-hā*	'she is still'	3FPL	*ʕād-hēn*	'they are still'

Table 8.3: Particle ʕād

In order to explore the grammatical functions of *ʕād*, the following discussion will be divided into [*ʕād*[PRO]] and [*ʕād*[VERB]] structures.

8.3.1 [ʕād[PRO]] structure

[*ʕād*[PRO]] structures in CDA carry the adverbial meaning of 'still, just', with the suffixed pronoun agreeing in number and gender with the head noun. [*ʕād*[PRO]] structures occur where the head noun is pronominal, although less frequently they may also follow a substantive head noun, with the suffixed pronoun agreeing with the preceding substantive. There appears to be a general tendency for [*ʕād*[PRO]] structures to occur with nominal clauses, although as this is by no means fixed as the following examples demonstrate. In the three examples of this (58 - 60), [*ʕād*[PRO]] appears in clause initial position and modifies the entire clause:

(58) *ʕād-ū* *hay*
PTCL-him living
'He is still alive'

(59) *ʕād-hā* *bi-ti-xēt* *bi* *l-xōṭ*
PTCL-her CONT-3FS-sew with DEF-needle
'She still sews with the needle'

(60) *ʕād-anī* *mā* *fahim-t* *ēš* *baġē-t* *ti-qūl*
PTCL-me NEG understood-1S what want-2MS 2MS-say
'I still do not understood what you are trying to say'

[*ʕād*[PRO]] structures can also modify dependent clauses, or a prepositional noun phrase, as in (61 – 63).

142 The bracketed vowel in this example is epenthetic.

(61) *ʕād-anī* *fī* *l-bēt*
PTCL-me in DEF-house
'I am still at home'

(62) *faṭan-at-nī* *l-ḥizāya* *yōm* *ʕād-anī* *ṣaġīr*
remind-3FS-me DEF-story when PTCL-me young
'The story reminded me of when I was still young'

(63) *tzowwag* *wa* *ʕād-ū* *ṣaġīr*
get married.3MS and PTCL-him young
'He married her whilst he was still young'

Occasionally [*ʕād*[PRO]] may also appear following a head noun (64):

(64) *umm-hē* *ʕād-hā* *mutaraddida*
mother-her PTCL-her undecided
'Her mother is still undecided'

8.3.2 [ʕād[VERB/SUBSTANTIVE]] structure

[*ʕād*[VERB/SUBSTANTIVE]] structures in CDA also have the adverbial meaning of 'still, yet, just', with the bare particle appearing either in a pre-verbal position, or preceding a head noun. In contrast to [*ʕād*[PRO]] structures, [*ʕād*[VERB/SUBSTANTIVE]] structures appear to occur with verbal phrases, particularly negated verbal phrases, although this is by no means exclusive. In the first example (65), the occurrence of *ʕād* in the verb phrase *mā ʕād a-ḥtāg l-ū* 'I do not still need it' can be reinterpreted as the adverbial phrase 'anymore':

(65) *ʕaṭē-t-ahum-iyy-ā* *lian-nī* *mā* *ʕād* *a-ḥtāg* *l-ū*
gave-1S-them-DO-it because-I NEG PTCL 1S-need for-it
'I gave it to them because I do not need it anymore'

(66) *ʕād* *ma* *sār* *maʕ-ī* *miθil* *hāði*
PTCL NEG happened.3MS with-me like this
'Nothing like this has happened to me'

(67) *ḥatta* *ðaḥḥīn* *ʕād* *ma* *gā-t*
until now PTCL NEG come-3FS
'She still has not arrived '

In the final example (67) above, the adverbial phrase *ḥatta ðaḥḥīn* 'until now' may carry the sense of 'yet' on its own, but with *ʕād* present, there is a more emphatic meaning to the clause.

8.4 /bā-/ verbal prefix

The verbal prefix /*ba-*/ is documented in a large number of south Arabian and Gulf Arabic dialects as /*b-*/, notably those of northern Oman (Brockett 1985: 21f; Persson 2008: 30-32; Eades 2013: 49-66; Holes 1995: 187-88), Yemen (al-Saqqāf 1999: 205-6), and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1994: 119-21). In CDA, the same verbal prefix is realised as *bā-*, although the length of the /ā/ vowel may occasionally be shortened to /*a*/, especially when it precedes an imperfective verb other than the 1S inflected form. Etymologically, the source of the verbal prefix noted in the studies above as being the root √*b-ġ-a*, with the imperfective form of the verb *yabġī* 'he wants' having undergone phonological reduction to eventually become the prefix /*b-*/. Ingham (1994: 120) notes the intermediary stages of this process as being the elision of the middle radical /*ġ*/ to give /*yabī*/ 'he wants', with the potential further reduction to /*bi*/ or /*b-*/, and the loss of verbal agreement for number and gender. Whilst this process may appear complete in some dialects, for example Ḥaḍrāmī Arabic (al-Saqqāf 1999: 205-6), other dialects (Ingham 1994: 120-21) still exhibit the different stages of this process where the transformation does not yet appear to be as stable.

Although the verb *baġa, ya-bġī* 'he wanted, he wants' is the source of this verbal prefix, the above dialects retain the use of the verb and its volitive meaning in both the imperfective and perfective forms, with the imperfective appearing as either the full *ya-bġī* 'he wants' form, or the partially reduced *yabī* 'he wants'.[143] Ingham (1994: 120) notes that it is the imperfective form of the verb which is reduced, and that the perfective form of the verb retains the middle radical /*ġ*/, but notably in CDA the imperfective form of the verb very rarely occurs with a volitive meaning.[144] Where an imperfective volitive use of the verb occurs in CDA, the perfective form of the verb is used on almost all occasions, such as *baġē-t*, which can be translated as either 'I want' or 'I wanted', a feature which CDA shares with Ḥaḍrāmī Arabic (al-Saqqāf 1999: 165n), and which separates CDA and Ḥaḍrāmī Arabic from other south Arabian dialects. For example (68 – 70).

(68)	*baġa*	*yi-qābil*	*ḥad*	*hinnā*
	want.3MS	3MS-meet	someone	here
	'He wants to meet someone here'			

(69)	*baġē-t-ū*	*yisīr*
	want-1S-him	3MS-go
	'I want him to go'	

143 In the Šawāwī Arabic dialect of Oman, the future tense is expressed by the verb /*yabġī*/ 'to want' itself and no phonological reduction has occurred (Eades 2009: 91).

144 In a comparative questionnaire sample of 96 instances of the volitive verb 'to want', there was only one token of the verb in the imperfective.

(70) *mā* *baġē-nā* *ni-sīr* *ili* *l-madīna*
NEG want-1PL 1PL-go to DEF-town
'We do not want to go to town'

The closest grammaticalization cline for /*bā-*/, outlined by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 310-11), is the well-documented cline WANT ('want', 'wish', 'desire') > (2) FUTURE, which is also found in other Arabic dialects, as well as North Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects and MSAL (Rubin 2005: 38-38). In CDA the /*bā-*/ prefix appears to occur in two types of clause, either as an indicator of future tense in a main clause, or in the apodosis (result-clause) of a conditional clause combination, in both cases where it immediately precedes an imperfective verb. Persson (2008: 43-47) argues that the function of /*bā-*/ has been extended further to act as a general marker of irrealis in a number of different clause types, which will be discussed in due course, but for now the data for /*bā-*/ will be divided into clause types.

8.4.1 /bā-/ - main clause

The use of /*bā-*/ as an indicator of future tense occurs in main clauses, where it precedes the main verb. Consider the following examples (71 - 75), where the particle is glossed as FUT:

(71) *bā-ḥgūr* *l-ak* *quddām* *il-misgid*
FUT-wait.1S for-you in front of DEF-mosque
'I will wait for you in front of the mosque'

(72) *bā-kūn* *fi* *l-bēt* *ġudwa*
FUT-be.1S at DEF-house tomorrow
'I will be at home tomorrow'

(73) *imta* *bā-yi-rgaʕ-ūn* *min* *raḥlat-uhum*
when FUT-3.return.MPL from journey-their
'When will they return from their journey?'

(74) *mā* *bā-t-zowwag*
NEG FUT-2MS-marry
'Won't you get married?'

(75) *bā-ni-ltaqī* *ġudwa* *miθalmā* *baġē-t*
FUT-1PL-meet tomorrow as want-2MS
'We will meet tomorrow as you wish'

When used in combination with the verb *yikūn* 'to be', the prefix /*bā-*/ also expresses a modal quality (76) & (77):

(76) *bā-yi-kūn* *yi-ʕraf* *aḥsan* *min-nī*
FUT-3MS-be 3MS-know better than-me
'Perhaps he knows better than me'

(77) *bā-yi-kūn* *ē* *makān*
FUT-3MS-be any place
'He could be anywhere!'

8.4.2 /bā-/ - apodosis of conditional clause combination

The prefix *bā*, glossed as FUT in the following examples, can also appear before an imperfective verb in the apodosis of a conditional clause combination, whereby it acts as a marker for a conditional (hypothetical or counterfactual) event in the result clause that may have a past, present or future timeframe. In CDA conditional clauses, examples of imperfective verbs occurring with the prefix /*bā-*/ in apodoses are common. Its use does not appear to be obligatory in all apodoses which contain an imperfective verb, but it occurs more regularly when the protasis is introduced by the particle *iðā* 'if' (see 7.6.5). In the first example (78) below of a counterfactual conditional clause, the time focus of the clause is situated in the past, and a future perfect tense results from the use of /*bā-*/. This is also the case in the second example (79) of a hypothetical conditional clause, whilst in the third example (80), the apodosis has a present timeframe:

(78) *lō* *kun-t* *gē-t* *ams* *bā-t-šūf-hē*
COND was-2MS come-2MS yesterday FUT-2MS-see-her
'If you had come yesterday, you would have seen her'

(79) *iðā* *mā* *gā* *bā-nām* *fīsaʕ*
COND NEG came.3MS FUT.sleep.1S quickly
'If he did not come, I would go to sleep quickly'

(80) *mā* *kun-t* *bā-sa'al-ak* *iða* *kun-t* *a-ʕraf* *wēn-ū*
NEG was-1S FUT.ask.1S-you COND was-1S 1S-know where-it
'I would not ask you if I knew where it was'

The prefix /*bā-*/ is also common in CDA in the apodoses of simple conditional clauses, where it usually indicates a future timeframe in the apodosis (81 - 85)

(81) *iða* *ruḥ-t* *bā-qābil-ū*
COND go.1S FUT-meet.1S-him
'If I go I will meet him'

(82) *iða* *baġē-t* *ti-lāqī-hā* *bā-ti-lāqī-hā*
COND want-2MS 2MS-meet-her FUT-2MS-meet-her
'If you want to meet her, you will meet her'

(83) *iða* *sār* *iṣ-ṣubuḥ* *bā-yi-kūn* *hinna* *qabil* *ʕašiya*
COND go.3MS DEF-morning FUT-3MS-be here before evening
'If he leaves in the morning, he will be here before the evening'

(84) *bā-qābil* *hal-ū* *iðā* *zur-t* *ṣalāla*
FUT-meet.1S family-his COND visited.1S ṣalāla
'I will meet his family if I visit Ṣalāla'

(85) *iðā* *kun-t* *mārūd* *bā-kil-ak*
COND was-1S ill FUT-feed.1S-you
'If you are ill, I will feed you'

In her cross-dialectal study of Gulf Arabic, including some of the varieties found in northern Oman, Persson (2008) argues that the /*bā-*/ prefix acts as a general irrealis marker across these dialects, and for the examples outlined above, this would appear to be the case in CDA. Using a general definition of irrealis (Matthews 1997: 187), both the apodoses of conditional clauses and plain future clauses can be viewed as events or circumstances that have not yet happened. Persson extends the range of this marker to include a third type of clause, where a pre-verbal /*b-*/ prefix occurs with an imperfective verb with a non-future timeframe. In a number of these instances, the clause expresses past habitual actions or circumstances, where the lack of a specific timeframe falls within the boundary of Persson's definition of irrealis, despite the fact that past habitual actions have a higher assertive certainty (Persson 2008: 44-47). In the CDA data presented in this study, there is no evidence that /*bā-*/ has the same function of marking past habitual events, although the past habitual is marked with a similar verbal prefix /*bi-*/ which has a different etymological source (see 8.5)

8.5 /bi-/ continuous aspect verbal prefix

The /*bi-*/ continuous aspect prefix in CDA is similar in function to the /*b-*/ indicative verbal prefix that occurs in a number of Arabic dialects, such as Syrian, Palestinian, Cairene, and Ṣanʕānī (Watson 1993: 78, 2011: 866). Given the relatively widespread occurrence of this prefix, its etymological source could be expected to be relatively clear, but variation in form of the prefix in the countries cited above reveals two difficulties in pinpointing its origin. The dialects in which the indicative prefix /*b-*/ has been recorded can be divided into two groups, namely those of modern Yemen in one group, and those of North Africa and the Levant in a second.

In some Yemeni dialects, such as Ṣanʕānī Arabic, the etymological source of the prefix is given

by Rubin (2005: 146) as the conjunction *baynā* 'but, while', due to the variation of the prefix *bi-* as *bayn-* before 1S imperfective verbs. This is further supported by the realisation of the indicative verbal prefix as *bēn-* or *bīn-* in Northern Yemeni dialects for all conjugations. Rubin proposes that the use of *baynā* to introduce circumstantial clauses in Classical Arabic, where it marks the imperfective, continuous nature of the following clause, has been reinterpreted and grammaticalized, resulting in the eventual phonetic erosion and affixation of the form as an indicative marker. Northern Yemeni dialects which preserve the prefix as *bīn-* or *bēn-*, therefore demonstrate an earlier stage in this grammaticalization process, one which has almost become complete in Ṣanʕānī Arabic apart from before 1S imperfective verbs.[145]

The relevance of the Yemeni /*b-*/ indicative verbal prefix to CDA is that the relative proximity of these dialects within southern Arabia could be explained feasibly as an areal feature, where a common etymological source would be expected. Rubin notes the existence of an almost identical indicative verbal prefix in some of the varieties of Old South Arabian (Qatabanic, and to a lesser extent Minaic), which scholars have previously suggested as a potential source for all forms of the /*b-*/ prefix, one which was exported from southern Arabia to the north via tribal migration (Rubin 2005: 149-50). However, this fails to explain the current forms found in northern Yemen and runs contrary to the suggested grammatical path outlined so far. Furthermore, the difficulty in establishing this path for all Arabic dialects where /*b-*/ occurs is that the forms *bayn- , bēn-*, and *bīn* only exist within Yemen, and as is the case with North African and Levantine occurrences of an indicative verbal prefix, the CDA variant is /*b-*/ for all conjugations of the imperfective verb.

Leaving aside the Yemeni forms as a separate group, the most obvious alternative source for /*b-*/ is the Arabic and Semitic prepositional form /b-/. Rubin (2005: 150) acknowledges a number of supporting arguments why the prepositional form /*b-*/ 'with, at, in, on' may be a preferable source for North African and Levantine dialects, despite the fact that it does not appear as a prefix before verbs in written Arabic sources. Esseesy (2010: 241) also notes that, whilst *baynā* may explain current Yemeni forms of the prefix, the form *bayna* has not followed the same grammaticalization path to become an indicative verbal marker in the many other Semitic languages in which it is found, such as Ugaritic, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Epigraphical South Arabian, Modern South Arabian, and Ge'ez. The prepositional /*bi-*/ is also common across Semitic languages as a bound form (Esseesy 2010: 241), and its historical phonological reduction in all recorded instances suggests a common Proto-Semitic grammaticalized form whose lexical source has long since disappeared. If it is the case that /*b-*/ as a verbal prefix is an extension of grammatical function of this ancient prepositional form, it adds to the numerous semantic fields in which it already appears, and lends validity to Esseesy's view that its interpretation is dependent on the object to which it is bound (Esseesy 2010: 242).

145 For a detailed, extensive discussion of the potential sources of the *b-* prefix in Arabic, see Rubin (2005: 145-51)

Using Esseesy's view as a basis, /*b*-/ as a highly grammaticalized, readily binding, contextually dependent form would appear to be a more solid source for the continuous aspect verbal prefix in CDA. The lack of any form in CDA which might be related to *baynā* indicates to a certain extent that the CDA variant does not share the same source as those in Yemen, unless it reflects the complete phonological reduction of the form. If this is the case then it is impossible to differentiate between the two possible sources for this prefix, and the possibility that there are two separate processes taking place within Arabic cannot be excluded. Further weight is lent to Esseesy's view in the cross-linguistic evidence that supports the grammaticalization of such forms to become continuous/habitual markers (Bybee et al. 1994: 127-33). Using Wehr's (1979: 48-49) basic lexical definition of the preposition *bi* 'in, at, on, with', two possible cross-linguistic grammatical clines can be identified in Heine and Kuteva as either COMITATIVE > (4) CONTINUOUS (2002: 83-4) (in languages such as Umbundu, Baka, and Swahili), or alternatively LOCATIVE > (5) CONTINUOUS (2002: 202-3) (in languages such as Imonda and Irish), depending on the translation of the underlying form.[146] Given the abundance of examples for these clines, and the difficulty in assigning a precise meaning to *bi*, both may be considered as potential clines in CDA, although Esseesy (2010: 243) assigns a core locative semantic sense to /*bi*-/ in his outline the network of meanings associated with the form.

In conclusion to the above, it was noted in (8.4.2) during the discussion of /*bā*-/ occurring in the apodosis of a conditional clause, that Persson (2008: 44-47) noted a past habitual use of the /*bā*-/ irrealis verbal prefix also occurring in some Gulf Arabic dialects. As will be shown in the following examples for CDA, the past habitual can be marked using the continuous aspect verbal prefix, usually when preceded by an perfective verb or auxiliary verb, and it may be the case that there is some overlap between the functions performed by both verbal prefixes in CDA and Gulf Arabic. Further evidence for this comes from Watson (1993: 82-83), where habitual/continuous *bi-* imperfect verbs in Ṣanʕānī also appear in the apodoses of conditional and consequential clauses. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, the distribution of both verbal prefixes across southern Arabian Arabic dialects warrants further investigation.

In terms of the /*bi*-/ prefix in CDA, it can occur in a variety of clauses as detailed below. Although it generally occurs when a continuous aspect meaning is implied, its use is not obligatory.[147] As noted in section (4.4.8), the presence of verbal prefixes such as /*bi*-/ can often result in third person verbs beginning with /*yi*-/ subject morpheme to be elided, for example *bi-yi-štaġal* 'he is working' > *bi-štaġal* 'he is working'. In the following examples, /*bi*-/ is glossed as CONT.

In the data examples (86 – 90) below, the /*bi*-/ prefix on the main verb in the clause marks a

146 Rubin concludes that it is impossible to decide between the strong weight of cross-linguistic evidence for prepositional source of *bi*, and the corresponding arguments for the development of Yemeni forms. Hopper (1991: 28) proposes that this link between source and grammaticalized form has been lost.

147 During questionnaire-based recording sessions in Dhofār, particularly those sessions where verb paradigms were elicited, speakers often expressed a preference to conjugate certain verbs with the *bi-* marker present, as they considered the marked form to be the common way that they would express these verbs.

simple continuous aspect. In the first three examples, there is an underlying habitual sense to the verb, whilst in the second two examples, there is a sense of continuous meaning.

(86) *bi-t-ʕadī* *xēr* *min* *ē* *ḥad* *θānī*
CONT-3FS-run better than any one else
'She runs faster than anyone else'

(87) *ʕād-hā* *bi-ti-xēt* *bi* *l-xōṭ*
PTCL-she CONT-3FS-sew with DEF-thread
'She still sews with a (needle &) thread'

(88) *mā* *bi-rūḥ* *is-sūq* *ʕašān* *gīb* *xubz*
NEG CONT-go.1S DEF-market because bring bread
'I never go to the market to buy bread'

(89) *ho* *bi-kaðab* *ʕalē-nā*
he CONT-lie.3MS to-us
'He is lying to us'

(90) *bi-t-rawwī* *bitt-hā* *xātim-hā* *l-gadīd*
CONT-3FS-show daughter-her ring-her DEF-new
'She is showing her daughter her new ring'

The following two examples (91) & (92) demonstrate multiple instances of the /*bi-*/ verbal prefix in consecutive linked clauses. In the first example, the co-ordinated verbs are both marked with the continuous aspect prefix to provide continuous meaning, although the marking of the co-ordinated verb *bi-yi-tkillam-ūn* 'they are talking' in the second clause is less common. In other similar examples, it appears that the marking of the initial verb is sufficient to cover any subsequently co-ordinated verbs, thus rendering the marking of co-ordinated forms as somewhat optional, with no additional meaning should they be marked with /*bi-*/. In the second example, both the verb in the main clause and the verb in the subordinate clause are both marked for the continuous aspect.

(91) *il-nās* *ḥowl-ī* *bi-ðaḥk-ūn* *ō* *bi-yi-tkillam-ūn*
DEF-people around-me CONT-laugh-3MPL and CONT-3-talk-MPL
'The people around me are laughing and chatting'

(92) *wild-ī* *bi-yi-bkī* *li'ann* *aṣḥāb-ū*
son-my CONT-3MS-cry because friends-his
bi-yi-ðḥak-ū *ʕalē-h*
CONT-3-laugh-MPL at-him
'My son is crying because his friends are laughing at him'

The imperfective verb may also be marked in the continuous aspect for questions. As noted for Ṣanʕānī Arabic (Watson 1993: 80), in CDA this is associated with yes/no questions which are intended to ascertain the ongoing status of an event, state, or action (93) & (94).

(93) *šē* *bi-yi-ṣīr*
thing CONT-3MS-go
'Has anything happened? / Something is happening?"

(94) *inta* *bi-t-xudum* *bi* *l-maṭraqa*
you CONT-2MS-work with DEF-hammer
'Do you work with a hammer?'

In the following adverbial circumstantial clause examples (95-98), the use of the /*bi-*/ prefix occurs regularly in the subordinate clause. However in the final example, the co-ordinated verb *nitakalam* 'we talk' in the subordinate clause is not marked for continuous aspect, reflecting the optional marking of co-ordinated verbs following an continuous aspect marked initial verb.

(95) *ḥugur-nā* *l-ū* *wa* *naḥna* *bi-ni-šrub* *il-qahawa*
waited-1PL for-him and we CONT-1PL-drink DEF-coffee
'Whilst waiting for him, we drank coffee'

(96) *iqtarab* *ir-riggāl* *min-nī* *ū* *bi-taxabbī*
approach.3MS DEF-man from-me and CONT-hide.3MS
šē *wārā* *ðahar-ū*
thing behind back-his
'A man approached me hiding something behind his back'

(97) *kān-at* *ti-ġinnī* *wa* *hē* *bi-ti-ġsal*
was-3FS 3FS-sing and she CONT-2MS-washing
il-milābis
DEF-clothes
'Singing, she was washing the clothes'

(98) *gilis-na* *fi* *l-qahawa* *bi-ni-šrab* *l-qahawa*
sat-1PL in DEF-cafe CONT-1PL-drink DEF-coffee
wa *ni-tkillam*
and 1PL-talk
'We sat in the cafe drinking coffee and talking'

When an continuous aspect marked imperfective form is preceded by a perfective verb, or the auxiliary copula verb *kān* 'to be', the resulting timeframe of the action depicted in the verb is rendered as past continuous, as in (99-102) below:

(99) *kān* *fī* *riggāl* *bi-txabbar* *ʕalē-k* *ams*
was.3MS EXIST man CONT-ask.3MS about-you yesterday
'There was a man asking about you yesterday

(100) *il-qarāra* *mā* *kān-at* *fi* *š-šanṭa* *yōm*
DEF-bottle NEG was-3FS in DEF-bag when
kun-t *bi-dūr* *ʕalē-hā*
was-1S CONT-search.1S for-it
'The bottle was not in the bag when I was looking for it'

(101) *gaʕan-t* *il-bēt* *bi-yi-ḥtaraq*
thought.1S DEF-house CONT-3MS-be alight
'I thought the house was burning'

(102) *faham-t* *il-kilimāt* *kull-hēn* *illi* *bi-yi-qūl-hē*
understood.1S DEF-words all-them that CONT-3MS-say-them
'I understood everything (lit. all the words) that he was saying'

Similarly, the /*bi-*/ marked imperfective can also indicate a past habitual sense when preceded by a perfective form of a verb or the *kān* auxiliary, as shown below. Persson (2008: n. 45) cites a similar form /*b-*/ as a verbal prefix indicating past habitual actions in Gulf Arabic dialects. This is occurs in examples cited in her study, as an apparent alternative structure to the *kān* auxiliary preceding a bare imperfective form. In CDA, the /*bi-*/ prefix is not obligatory in marking the past continuous or habitual, although in the majority of instances it occurs. However, it does not appear to mark the past continuous itself, without being preceded by the *kān* auxiliary in CDA data (103-106).

(103) *kān* *bi-darras* *il-aṭfāl* *min* *hō*
was.3MS CONT-teach.3MS DEF-children since he
ʕād-ū *šāb*
PTCL-him young man
'He has been teaching children since he was a young man'

(104) *kun-nā* *bi-ni-tkillam* *maʕ* *baʕaḍ-nā* *kull* *yōm*
were.1PL CONT-1PL-speak with together-us every day
'We used to speak with each other every day'

(105) *kān-at* *hāði* *š-šaraka* *bi-ti-ṣdur* *arbaʕ*
was-3FS this DEF-company CONT-3FS-publish four
garayid *kull* *yōm*
newspapers every day
'This company was publishing four newspapers every day'

(106) *kān-at* *bi-ti-ktub* *li* *ṣāḥibat-hā* *min* *il-qadam*
was-3FS CONT-3FS-write to friend-PRO.3FS since DEF-past
'She has been writing to her friend for a long time'

8.6 Adverbs

The grammaticalization of lexical items to become adverbs is common in Arabic, and as noted by Watson (2011: 863), this is particularly so for adverbial words or phrases which relate to time, place, manner, and degree/amount. Within CDA, there are several examples of such grammaticalized forms, some of which have cognates in other Arabic dialects within southern Arabia, whilst others are more common and widespread throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

8.6.1 yōm - adverbial subordinate conjunction

The CDA form *yōm* has the lexical definition 'day, time', an item which is widespread elsewhere in other Arabic dialects, as well as MSA where it appears as the diphthongised form *yawm* (Wehr 1979: 1300-1). Across many south Arabian Arabic dialects, this form has also been grammaticalized to function as the adverbial subordinate clause conjunction 'when, while'. Watson (2011: 863) notes this grammaticalized form as widespread both within the region and outside, appearing in dialects such as that of Khābūra in northern Oman (Brockett 1985: 225), Yemeni Rāzihīt, and the Jordanian dialect of Ḥōrān (Cantineau 1946: 409-410). It is also attested to as an archaic form in Old Babylonian, Old South Arabian (Himyaritic), and the Cushitic language Oromo (Lipinski 2001: 485). In terms of its grammaticalization, *yōm* follows the common cline TIME > TEMPORAL (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 298-99), a process which is also observed in languages such as Japanese, Turkish, and Tamil, where a noun indicating 'time'

becomes a grammatical marker which highlights that lexical property. In the following examples (107-111), *yōm* is glossed as CONJ.

(107) *fazaʕ-at* *yōm* *šāf-at-ū*
be afraid.PFV.3FS CONJ see.PFV.3FS-PRO.3MS
'She was afraid when she saw him'

(108) *ḍaḥak-nī* *yōm* *samaʕ-nā* *l-nukta* *ḥaqt-ū*
laughed-1PL CONJ heard-1PL DEF-joke PTCL-his
'We laughed when we heard his joke'

(109) *yōm* *kun-nā* *ḥāgirīn* *l-ū* *šarab-nā* *kōb*
CONJ were-1PL waiting-MPL for-him drank-1PL cup
min *il-qahawa*
from DEF-coffee
'Whilst we were waiting for him, we drank a cup of coffee'

(110) *yōm* *ragaʕ-t* *ili* *l-bēt* *ḥaṣal-t* *kōda* *min*
CONJ returned-1S to DEF-house found-1S pile from
iz-zibāla *fi* *š-šāraʕ*
DEF-rubbish in DEF-street
'When I returned home, I found a pile of rubbish in the street'

(111) *wārā-š* *mā* *xabar-ti-nī* *yōm* *kun-ti*
behind-you NEG inform-2FS-me CONJ were-2FS
fi *s-sūq*
in DEF-market
'Why didn't you tell me this when you were at the market?'

8.6.1 ðaḥḥīn – temporal adverb

The form *ðaḥḥīn* 'now' is the CDA variant of a commonly grammaticalized structure in Arabic dialects, which can be represented as [DEM[TIME]]. In this structure, the element TIME represents a form whose lexical meaning refers to some semantic sense of time, and which is modified by a preceding demonstrative pronoun element DEM to give an underlying meaning that can translated as 'this time'. The resulting phrase then undergoes some degree of phonological and morphological reduction to become a single form. Watson (2011: 864) provides a list of 'now' forms in a variety of different Arabic dialects, noting their Classical Arabic cognates, and this provides a useful early-stage grammaticalized phrase from which the development of the dialectal forms can be traced. In the case of CDA, the initial [DEM[TIME]] phrase has a Classical Arabic cognate of *hāðā l-ḥīn* 'this time', which in CDA would be realised as *hāði l-ḥīn*, and which

has been reduced to give the current CDA form *ðaḥḥīn* 'now'. Whereas its Ṣanʕānī cognate *ðalḥīn* 'now' has retained a phonological trace /l/ of the definite article found in the underlying phrase, in CDA this has been further reduced via progressive assimilation with voiceless pharyngeal fricative /*ḥ*/ and become geminate. Occasionally however, the cognate *ðalḥīn* 'now' does occur in CDA as does the form *il-ḥīn*, although are recognised as recent imports from northern Omani and Yemeni dialects, or via the media.

In terms of the grammatical cline which best exemplifies the process described above, as with *yōm* (see 8.6.1) the cline TIME > TEMPORAL (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 298-99) is the closest approximation of the development of *ðaḥḥīn* 'now'. In this specific example, the TIME element of the cline is not a single lexical item, but rather a specific temporal phrase 'this time' which has acquired an additional adverbial function as a reduced form. In the following examples (112-114), *ðaḥḥīn* 'now' is glossed as ADV.

(112) *ʕaṭē-t-ū* *li-hum* *lian-nī* *mā* *baġē-t-ū*
give-1S-it to-them because-I NEG want-1S-it
baʕd *ðaḥḥīn*
after ADV
'I gave it to them because I do not need it anymore (lit. after now)'

(113) *mā* *ḥad* *yi-staxdam* *hāði* *l-kitāb* *ðaḥḥīn*
NEG person 3MS-use this DEF-book ADV
'No one uses this book now'

(114) *fṭan-t* *il-qiṣṣa* *ðaḥḥīn*
remembered-1S DEF-story ADV
'I remembered the story now'

Occasionally *ðaḥḥīn* may also carry the adverbial meaning of 'immediately' or 'yet' depending on its contextual use (115) & (116)

(115) *ṭalab-t* *min-hā* *ti-sīr* *ðaḥḥīn*
demand-1S from-her 3FS-go ADV
'I demanded that she leave immediately'

(116) *ḥatta* *ðaḥḥīn* *ʕād* *mā* *gā-t*
until ADV PTCL NEG come-3FS
'She has not arrived yet (lit. until now)'

8.7 Inceptive or 'beginning' verbs

Inceptive verbs, or 'verbs of beginning' as they are commonly referred to in MSA literature (Buckley 2004: 579-80), are a small group of lexical verbs which carry an inceptive function in addition to their non-inceptive original lexical meaning. In Arabic dialects, as well as in MSA, inceptive verbs exist alongside lexical verbs that mean 'to begin, start', and act as alternative variants with no apparent differing function. As an identifiable grammaticalization process, Heine and Kuteva (2002: 52) offer the cline BEGIN ('begin', 'start') > (3) INCEPTIVE, with the English example 'They started to laugh' (c.f Hopper 1991: 23), and Lingala example of an ingressive auxiliary, but for both these examples, the initial lexical verb has a meaning of 'to begin, start'. In the case of Arabic, whilst the verb *bada* 'to begin, start' performs a similar inceptive function, the inceptive group of verbs reflects a small group of verbs whose original lexical meanings are unrelated to an inceptive sense.

Inceptive verbs always appear in the following examples as perfectives, modifying a following subordinate verb in the imperfective. Whilst the aspect of these verbs is restricted to the perfective, they still demonstrate number and gender agreement with the grammatical subject of the clause. In addition to the verb *bada* 'to begin, start', the following CDA verbs may also have an inceptive function: *xalla* 'to leave, let, allow', *sār* 'to go, journey', *gilis* 'to sit, remain, stay', and *sabbar* 'to wait'. In the examples below, despite their underlying lexical sense, the inceptive verbs are glossed as AUX.START.

In the first two examples (117-118), the same clause is given using both the verb *bada* 'to begin, start', and *ṣabbar* 'to wait, rise'. In the remaining examples (119-123), various clauses are presented to demonstrate the inceptive function of each verb.

(117) *baʕd* *xams* *daqāyiq* *bada* *yi-tkillam*
after five minutes AUX.START.3MS 3MS-speak
'After five minutes he started to talk'

(118) *baʕd* *xams* *daqāyiq* *ṣabbar* *yi-tkillam*
after five minutes AUX.START.3MS 3MS-speak
'After five minutes he started to talk'

(119) *gilis-nā* *bi-ni-bkī*
AUX.START-1PL CONT-1PL-cry
'We started to cry'

(120) *sir-nā* *bāk-īn*
AUX.START-1PL crying-MPL
'We started to cry'

(121) *sir-nā* *ni-ḍḥak* *yōm* *samaʕ-nā*
AUX.START-1PL 1PL-laugh CONJ heard-1PL
l-nukta *māl-ū*
DEF-joke PTCL-his
'We started to laugh when we heard his joke'

(122) *ṣabbar-at* *il-maṭar* *wa* *naḥani* *ḥāgir-īn*
AUX.START-3FS DEF-rain and we waiting-MPL
'It started to rain whilst we were waiting'

(123) *xalla* *iṭ-ṭifal* *yi-bkī* *yōm* *mā* *laqab*
AUX.START.3MS DEF-boy 3MS-cry CONJ NEG find.3MS
umm-ū *biganb-ū*
mother-his next to-him
'The boy started to cry when he didn't find his mother beside him'

8.8 ʕašān – subordinating conjunction

In Esseesy's (2010: 5) discussion of the form *ʕašān* 'because, in order to', he identifies the constituent parts of its MSA cognate phrase as the preposition *ʕalā* 'on' and the noun *ša'n* 'matter, affair'. Together, they form the CDA phrasal equivalent of *ʕašān* 'because', that is the MSA prepositional phrase *ʕalā ša'n* 'because'. Despite the lack of an analogous grammaticalization cline in Heine & Kuteva (2002) to demonstrate the etymology of *ʕašān*, Esseesy (2010: 48-50) explains the development of this form through the grammaticalization of multi-word constructions, in particular prepositional complex phrases where both the function of the preposition and the semantic content of the noun(s) in the phrase undergo grammatical reanalysis to produce new forms that may bear little relation to their initial forms. In addition to this, phonological and morphological reduction also takes place. In the case of *ʕašān* 'because, in order to', whilst it retains a close semantic meaning in relation to its phrasal MSA cognate, phonological reduction and constituent combination have resulted in this grammaticalized form. An intermediary stage in the development of this form can be seen in its Egyptian Arabic cognate *ʕalāšān*, in which Esseesy argues that the prepositional nature of *ʕalā* 'on' is still retained (2010: 5), but which has become cliticised in the CDA cognate as *ʕa-,* as well as in other dialects.

In CDA, the subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *ʕašān* is either a reason clause, or a purpose clause. For each type of subordinate clause, *ʕašān* can usually be translated as 'because, for' (reason clause), or 'in order to, so that' (purpose clause). In the following examples of adverbial reason clauses (124-126), *ʕašān* is glossed as CONJ. Further examples can also be found in section (7.6.4)

(124) *baġē-t* *milābis gadīda* *min* *ʕašān* *ʕurs* *x-ī*
want-1S clothes new PREP CONJ wedding brother-my
'I want new clothes for my brother's wedding'

(125) *zaʕal* *ʕal-ī* *ʕašān* *šē*
became angry.3MS at-me CONJ thing
'He got angry with me '

(126) *kun-nā* *maḍṭar-īn* *intiḍār* *ʕašān* *il-maṭar*
were-1PL forced-MPL wait CONJ DEF-rain
'We were forced to wait because of the rain'

A pronoun suffix may also be attached to *ʕašān* (127).

(127) *inta* *mustaʕagil* *il-yōm* *ʕašān-ak* *muta'axxar*
you busy DEF-day CONJ-you late
'You are busy today because you are late'

ʕašān may also introduce purpose clauses as the phrase *min ʕašān* 'in order to', as in the following example (128). Further examples can also be found in section (7.4)

(128) *txabbar-nī* *kē* *yi-sawwī* *min* *ʕašān* *ḥaṣal*
ask.3MS-me how 3MS-do PREP CONJ obtain
il-kiθīr *min* *il-qurūš*
DEF-more from DEF-qurūš
'He asked me what to do (in order) to earn some more money'

8.9 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have examined various grammatical forms in CDA from the perspective of grammaticalization theory. I have outlined the main process of reanalysis, the underlying process which leads to the reinterpretation of forms as having grammatical function, and I have discussed some of the key examples that are found in CDA in terms of their TAM modifying features, clause subordination, and role in possessive clauses. This discussion has highlighted, where possible, analogous clines of grammaticalized forms in other languages, both Semitic and non-Semitic, as a means to understanding the current usage of similar CDA forms, and also to try and trace their diachronic development. Where possible, diachronic sources have been examined further, and wider regional patterns of usage analysed. Where diachronic sources cannot be identified, I have hypothesised where potential areas for further research may prove useful, as I have also done in the case of possessive linker forms.

9 Lexicon

The following lexical items are recorded using the same format as that of the Behnstedt and Woidich's *Word Atlas of Arabic dialects / Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte* (2011), based also on the same lexical items as those in Asiri (2009). Their inclusion is intended to provide a structured reference list with other dialects, and to supplement the data which is contained elsewhere in this study. Items are organised into semantic categories, and where more than one item was elicited, I have included it alongside the other entries for that item.

Category 1: Man

man	*riggāl* / *riggīl*
woman	*mara* / *harīm*
my father	*ōbī*
father	*ōb*
my brother	*axī* / *xuwī*
my mother	*ummī*
mother	*umm*
grandmother	*ḥabōbe*
grandfather	*gidd*
old man	*šība* / *šiyūba*
old woman	*ʕagūz* / *ʕagāyiz*
child(ren)	*gāhal* / *ṣaġīr*
baby	*gāhal* / *guhāl* / *tarba*
widow	*armalah* / *arāmil*
family	*ʕāyila* / *ʕawāyil*
tribe	*bēt* / *biyūt*
negro	*ʕabd* / *ʕabīd*
husband	*zōg* / *zowīg*
wife	*zōga* / *zōgāt*
father-in-law	*ʕamm* / *ʕamām*
mother-in-law	*ʕammah* / *ʕammāt*
brother-in-law	*ṣahar* / *ṣuhūr*
sister-in-law	*ṣaharah* / *ṣaharāt*
foster mother	**'***umm min* il-*riḍāʕah*
foster sister	*xut* / *xawāt min il-riḍāʕah*
foster brother	*xō* / *xawān min il-riḍāʕah*

Category 2: Persons

guest	*ḍēf* / *ḍiyūf*
host	*mḍʕayyif* / *mḍʕayyifīn*
friend	*ṣāḥib* / *ṣaḥāb*
landlord	*rāʕī* / *raʕāt* il-*bēt*
beggar	*ṭallāb* / *ṭallābīn*
thief	*ḥarāmiya* / *ḥarāmī*

Category 3: Professions

butcher	*gazzār* / *gazzārīn*
shoemaker	*māl il-naʕlāt* / *mālūt il-naʕlāt*
hairdresser (men & women)	*kūfīra* / *kūfīrāt*
medical doctor	*daxtar* / *dakāira*
chemist	*ṣīdalī* / *ṣiyādila*
tailor	*xayyāṭ* / *xayyāṭīn* / *xayyāṭāt*

Category 4: Body Parts

head	*rās* / *rūs*
forehead	*gabha* / *gabahāt*
face	*wigha* / *wugūh* / *karfīf* / *karāfīf*
eyebrow	*ḥagil* / *ḥagīl*
ear	*ðin* / *ðinēn*
lobe of the ear	*šaḥama* / *šaḥḥām*
nose	*xušum* / *xašīm*
cheek	*xadd* / *xudūd*
chin	*laḥāyā* / *alḥāyā*
neck	*raqba* / *raqāb* / *ḥalq* / *ḥulūq*
nape of the neck	*xūra* / *xawār*
mouth	*θūm* / *θawīm*
gullet	*ḥalq* / *ḥulūq*
lip	*žaġbūl* / *žaġābīl*
moustache	*šanab* / *šanāb*
hand	*yadd* / *īdīn*
arm	*yidd* / *yiddēn* / *ðiraʕ* / *ðiraʕān* / *ðurūʕ* / *zind* / *zunūd* (fore-arm) / *sāʕd* / *sūwāʕad*
elbow	*kūʕ* / *kuwāʕ*
finger	*ṣabaʕ* / *ṣawābiʕ*
chest	*ṣadr* / *ṣudūr*

shoulder	*ḍahar / ḍuhūr*
back	*ḍahar / ḍuhūr*
belly	*baṭan / baṭūn / qarš / qurūš*
leg	*sāq / ragūl*
foot	*qadam / aqdām / kaff / kufūf (il-yadd)*
knee	*rikba / rukkāb*
sole	*qāʕ r-rigl / qawāyiʕ r-rugūl*
heel	*kaʕb / kaʕūb*
buttocks	*gaʕba / gaʕāb*
heart	*qalb / qulūb*
heart of slaughtered animal	*gōf / giwīf*
skin	*gild / gulūd*

Category 5: Human Qualities and Defects

thick	*matīn / matān*
thin	*ḥaṭīṭ / ḥuṭāṭ*
blind	*ʕawār / ʕūr*
one-eyed	*ʔawar / ʔawār*
cross-eyed	*ḥawāl / ḥūl*
bald	*ṣalaʕ / ṣuluʕ*
deaf	*ṣaqaʕ / ṣuquʕ*
dumb	*ʕagām / ʕugum*
stutterer	*ʕagām / ʕugum*
hunchbacked	*ḥadab / ḥudub*
limping	*ʕarag / ʕurg*
lame	*ʕarag / ʕurg*
left-handed	*ʕasar / ʕusur*
stupid	*ġabbī / aġbiyā*
stingy	*baxīl / baxalāʔ*

Category 6: Animal

6.1 Domestic Animals

cattle / livestock	*qaṭiyʕ / māšiya*
herd / flock	*sirb*
sheep	*xarūf / xarfān*
ewe	*ḍāna / ḍān*
ram	*kabš / kabīš / kabāš*
lamb (f)	*raxla / raxalāt*

lamb (m)	*kabš* / *kabīš* / *kabāš*
lambs	*ʕayāl iḏ-ḍān*
goats	*ġanama* / *ġanam*
goats	*šāh* / *ġanam*
billy-goat	*tēs* / *tiyūs*
kid (f)	*ṭalī* / *ṭaliyāt* (very small) / *ʕarsa* / *ʕarās* (larger)
kid (m)	*gidī* / *gidiyāt*
cow	*baqara* / *baqār*
bull	*faʕur* / *fāʕir*
calf (m)	*fālī* / *fawālī*
calf (f)	*ligala* / *ligalāt* / *ligāl*
donkey	*ḥimār* / *ḥāmīr*
she-donkey	*ḥimāra* / *ḥimār*
foal of a donkey	*gaḥš* / *guḥūš*
horses	*ḥaṣān*
stallion	*ḥaṣān* / *ḥaṣanāt*
mare	*xēl* / *xiyūl*
foal of a horse	*muhar* / *muhara* / *muhūr* / *muharāt*
camel	*gimal* / *gimalāt* / *gimalīt*
hen	*dagāga* / *dagāg* / *dagōga* / *dagōg* / *dagēga* / *dagēg*
cock (rooster)	*dīk* / *diyāk*
chick	*farx* / *farāx*
ducks	*baṭṭa* / *baṭṭāt*
geese	*wazza* / *wazz*
hare	*arnab* / *arānib*
rabbit	*arnaba* / *arānib*
cat	*ʕurrī* / *ʕarārī* (m) / *sinnāra* / *sanānīr* (f)
tail	*ðēl* / *ðiyūl*
lion	*asad* / *asūd*
fish	*samaka* / *asmāk* / *ṣēd*
shrimps	*rabiyān*
bees	*nūba* / *nūb*
wasp	*ðabbūr* / *ðabābīr*
cockroach	*sarsa* / *sars* / *ṣarṣūr* / *ṣarāṣīr*
fly	*ðabōba* / *ðabōb* / *ðabīb*
bat	*saʕmar* / *saʕāmir*
gecko	*gumz* / *gumzāt* / *gumzīt*
chameleon	*šaḥbal* / *šaḥābal*
snail	*ḥalzūna*
turtle	*ḥamsa* / *ḥamās* / *ḥams*
frog	*qāqaʕa* / *qāqaʕ*

mouse	*garāð / gurðīn*
rat	*garāð / gurðīn*
monkey	*qard / qurūd*
fox	*ʕalī bin ḥuṣēn / bēt ʕalī bin ḥuṣēn*
pig	*xinzīr / xanāzīr*
hedgehog	*naṭāl / naṭliyāt*

Category 7: Nature

sun	*šims / šimūs*
moon	*qamar / qamār*
clouds	*ġīma / ġuyūm / saḥāba / suḥub*
rain	*maṭar*
heavy rain	*maṭar ḥarīra / bataršāx*
drizzle	*raðāð*
rain shower	*naff*
rainbow	*qaws quzaḥ*
shadow	*feyy / ðall*
water	*māy / miy*
brook	*sāqiya / sawāqī*
mountain	*gabāl / gabalāt / gabīl / gabalīt*
heat	*ḥarāra*
fire	*nār / nīrān*
cold	*barūda*

7.1 Cardinal Points

north	*fōq / šimāl*
south	*taḥt / ganūb*
west	*qabala / ġarb*
east	*šarq*

Category 8: Plants

tree	*šagara / šagār*
shrub	*šagīra / šagīrāt*
grass	*ḥašīš / ʕušub*
clover	*qaðab*
flowers	*zahara / zuhūr / warada / wurūd*
potatoes	*baṭāṭa / baṭāṭ / baṭāṭasa / baṭāṭis*
tomatoes	*ṭamāṭimiya / ṭamāṭim*

carrots	*ḥazara* / *ḥazar*
egg-plants	*bāḍingāna* / *bāḍingān*
wheat	*burr*
rice	*ruzz*
pumpkin	*qaraʕa* / *qaraʕ*
courgettes / zucchini	*kūsa* / *kūsāt*
cabbage	*malfūf*
peas	*faṣūliyā*
chick-peas	*ḥumuṣ*
parsley	*baqdūnis*
thyme	*zaʕtar*
coriander	*kuzbara*
sesame	*simsim*
figs	*tīna* / *tīn*
oranges	*burtaġāla* / *burtaġāl*
lemon	*līmūna* / *līmūn*
pears	*kumiθra*
plums	*barqūq*
peach	*xūx* / *xawāx*
apricot	*mišmiša* / *mišmiš*
strawberries	*frawla*
water-melon	*gūḥa* / *gūḥ*
honeydew (sweet) melons	*šamāma* / *šammām*
bīðān nut	*ḍāris* / *ḍawāris*

8.1 Palm Tree

stalk (without leaves)	*šarīfa* / *šariyāf*
leaves	*ḥūṣa* / *ḥūṣ* (date) / *maktī* (coconut)
raceme	*ʕiðq* / *ʕaðūq* (date) / *miθmār* / *maθāmir* (coconut)
trunk (of palm tree)	*giðaʕ* / *guðūʕ*
stone (of the date)	*nawā* / *ʕagma* / *ʕagam*
stalk (with leaves)	*gizm* / *guzūm*

Category 9: Constructions

minaret	*mināra* / *minārāt*
bridge (over river)	*gisar* / *gusūr*
hospital	*sbītar* / *sbītār*
cemetery	*maginne* / *magannāt*

Category 10: Residence

place/site	*buqaʕ* / *baqāyiʕ* / *makān* / *amkān*
village	*sakn* / *sukūn* / *qariya* / *qara*
quarter of a town (small)	*ḥāfa* / *ḥāfāt*
street	*šāriʕ* / *šawāriʕ*
way	*ṭarīq* / *ṭuruqāt*
tent	*xēma* / *xiyām*

Category 11: House

house	*dār* / *dūr* / *bēt* / *biyūt* / *sakn* / *sukūn*
room	*ḥigra* / *ḥigār*
kitchen	*maṭbax* / *maṭābix*
window	*xalfa* / *xalāf* / *darīša* / *darāyiš*
door eye	*būnī*
living room	*maglis* / *magālis*
roof window	*šamsiya* / *šamsiyāt*
bedroom	*ḥigra* / *ḥigār*
bathroom	*masbaḥ* / *masābiḥ* (place to wash) / *maṭhar* / *maṭāhir* (toilet)
baking oven	*tinnār* / *tinānīr* / *furn* / *afrān*
refrigerator	*θalāga* / *θalālīg*
electric light	*sarāg* / *surūg* / *sargīt* / *lamba* / *lambāt* / *fānūṣ* / *fawānīṣ* / *līt* / *lītāt*
lamp (modern)	*lamba* / *lambāt*
water tap	*bizbūz* / *bazābiz* / *bazābīz*
utensils	*mawāʕīn*
furniture	*aθāθ*
bed	*kurfēya* / *karāfī* / *sarīr* / *asarra*
table (modern)	*ṭāwala* / *ṭāwalāṭ*
cupboard	*kubāt* / *kubātāt*
carpet	*zall* / *zūliya* / *zawālī* (wall to wall) / *ṭarbāl* / *ṭarābīl* (mat) / *sagōda* / *sagāgīd* (prayer)
broom	*brūša* / *brūšāt*
knife	*maqṭaʕa* / *maqāṭaʕ* / *sikkīn* / *sikākīn* / *magzara* / *magāzir* (butcher's knife)
fork	*šawka* / *šawāk*
spoon	*maʕlqa* / *maʕālaq*
plate	*ṣaḥan* / *ṣuḥūn*

tea-pot	*turmūs* / *tarāmis*
glass (for tea)	*sitkāna* / *sitkānāt*
bottle (of water)	*ġarša* / *ġarāš*
key	*qālīd*
thermos / cool box	*θalāga* / *θalālīg*
matches	*šaxaṭ*
lighter	*walāʕ* / *walāʕāt*
cooking-pot	*ṣafriya* / *ṣafārī*
water-jar	*gaḥala* / *gaḥāl*

Category 12: Clothes

clothes	*θiyāb* (traditional) / *milābis* / qumsān
sandal shoe	*naʕāl* / *naʕālāt*
shoe	*gūtī* / *gawātī*
sock	*dalāġ* / *dalāġāt*
shirt (traditional)	*maṣdara* / *maṣādar*
undershirt	*qānīla* / *qanāyil*
coat	*kūt* / *kūtāt* / *kūtīt*
men's wrap	

Category 13: Different objects

thing	*ḥāga* / *ḥāgāt*
stuff	*waʕiya*
watch	*sāʕa* / *sāʕāt*
eye-glasses	*naḏāra* / *naḏarāt*
purse	*šanīṭa* / *šanīṭāt* / *maḥfaḍa* / *maḥāfaḍ*
bag (traditional)	*šinṭa* / *šinṭāt*
basket	*salla* / *salāl* / *qafīr*
shopping bag	*kīs* / *kiyās*
sack (general term)	*kīs* / *kiyās*
sling	*ḥammāla* / *ḥammālāt*

Category 14: Food

food	*akl* / *qōt*
breakfast	*ṣubūḥ* / *riyūq* / *fuṭūr*
bread	*xubz*
loaf of bread	*xubx muqaṣqaṣ*
white flour	*daqīq bēḍ*

brown flour	*daqīq asmar*
eggs	*bēḍa* / *bēḍ*
meat	*laḥam* / *luḥūm*
salad (dressed)	*zilṭa* / *salaṭa*
spices	*bahāra* / *bizār*
chillies	*filfil*
pepper	*filfil*
oil	*zēt*
sugar	*sukar*
raisins	*zabīb*

Category 15: Drinks

tea	*šāy* / *šāhī*
milk	*labān*
coffee	*bunn* / *qahawa*

Category 16: Agriculture

field	*ḥaqal* / *ḥaqūl*
farm	*ġārif* / *ġawārif* / *mazraʕa* / *mazāraʕ*
orchard, kitchen garden	*ḥadīqa* / *ḥadāyiq* / *bustān* / *busātīn*

16.1 Agricultural tools

hoe	*maʕzaqa*
sickle	*fās* / *fuwās*
plough	*ḥallī* / *ḥalliyāt*
plough-share	*sanna* / *sinan*
plough-beam	x (no item given)
plough-sole	x (no item given)
plough-tail	*maqbaḍ*
driver's whip	*ṣūṭ* / *ṣawīṭ* / *kirbāg*
yoke	*ġubūb* / *maraṣṣ*
furrow	*ʔuxdūd*
well	*bīr* / *buwār*
cistern	*gābiya* / *gawābī* / *ḥazzān*
threshing place	*maṣlib*
hen-house	*ḥūš*
cowshed	*darab*
stable	*darab*

bee-hive	*ḥūš*

16.2 Activities

to irrigate	*saqa* / *yi-sqī*
to plough	*ḥaraθ* / *yi-ḥruθ*
to harvest (crop)	*ḥaṣad* / *yi-ḥṣad*
to thresh	*ṣallab* / *yi-ṣallab*
to winnow	*šaxal* / *yi-šxal*

Category 17: Commerce

shop	*dukkān* / *dakākīn*
to bargain	*rāgil* / *yi-rāgal*
to buy	*ištara* / *yi-štarī*
money	*filūs* / *qurūš*
change (n)	*fakka*
customer	*zabūn* / *zabāyin*
dowry	*mahar* / *mihūr*

Category 18: Vehicles

car	*mūtar* / *mawātir* / *siyyāra* / *siyyārāt*
lorry (truck)	*šāḥina* / *šāḥināt* / *lūrī* / *lūriyāt*
horn	*harān* / *harānāt*
steering wheel	*sukkān* / *sukkānāt*
clutch	*klatš* / *klatšāt*
gear	*gīr* / *gīrāt*
reverse	*raywis*
brake	*brīk*
exhaust	*gazūz* / *gazūzāt*
tyre	*tāyir* / *tawāyir*
puncture	*banšar* / *banšarīn*
accident	*ḥādiθ* / *ḥawādiθ*
gas station	*maḥaṭṭat il-binzīn* / *maḥṭāṭ il-binzīn*
ship	*qārib* / *qawārib* / *safīna* / *sufun*

Category 19: Communication

letter	*risāla* / *risāyil* / *xaṭṭ* / *xuṭūṭ*
stamp	*ṭābiʕ* / *ṭawābiʕ*

cellular	*tilfūn / tilfūnāt / giyasam / giyasamāt*

Category 20: Material

glass (for tea)	*glāṣ / glaṣāt*
wood	*ḥaṭba / ḥaṭṭāb*
timber	*xašba / xašāb*
paint	*ṣabġa / ṣabġāt*

Category 21: Verbs

to go to	*sīr / yi-sīr*
to go for a walk	*tamašša / yitamašša*
to go away	*rāḥ / yi-rūḥ baʕīd*
to set out / go away	*inqašaʕ / yi-nqašaʕ*
to enter	*daxal / yi-dxul*
to go out (from a house)	*xurug / yu-xrug*
to go down (from a hill)	*nazal / yi-nzul*
to go down town	*nazal / yi-nzul*
to go down to the street	*nazal / yi-nzul*
to go upstairs	*ṭalaʕ / yi-ṭlaʕ*
to board (car), get in	*rakab fī / yi-rkab fī*
to mount (horse)	*rakab ʕala / yi-rkab ʕala*
to descend from a car, (get off)	*nazal min / yi-nzul min*
to dismount from a horse	*nazal min / yinzul min*
to return	*ragaʕ / yi-rgaʕ*
to go home	*rāḥ / yi-rūḥ*
to come	*gā / yi-gī*
come!	*taʕāl / taʕālī / taʕālū*
to arrive	*waṣal / yi-waṣal*
to pass by	*ʕadda ʕala / yi-ʕaddī ʕala*
to jump	*qafaz / yi-qfaz*
to fall	*ṭāḥ / yi-ṭīḥ / saqaṭ / yi-sqaṭ*
to dance	*raqaṣ / yi-rqaṣ*
to swim (person)	*sabaḥ / yi-sbaḥ*
to get up (from bed)	*ṣaḥa / yi-ṣḥī*
to sit down	*gilis / yi-glis*
to stop	*waqaf / yi-waqaf*
to stay	*ragaʕ / yi-rgaʕ*
to sleep	*nām / yi-nām*
to have breakfast	*faṭar / yi-fṭar*

to drink water	*šarab / yi-šrab*
to cook	*ṭabax / yi-ṭbax*
to bake bread	*xabaz / yi-xbaz*
to kindle a fire	*šaʕal / yi-šʕal / walaʕ / yi-walaʕ*
to hunt	*ṣād / yi-ṣīd*
to pour	*ṣabb / yi-ṣabb*
to pour out, spill	*ṭīr / yi-ṭīr*
to smoke (tobacco)	*mazz / yi-muzz*
to see	*šāf / yi-šūf*
look!	*ḥazzaq / yi-ḥazzaq*
to show	*rāwa / yi-rāwī*
to wait	*ḥagar / yi-ḥgar*
to speak	*tkillam / yi-tkillam*
to call (a person)	*ittaṣal / yi-ttaṣal*
to look for	*dawwar / yi-dawwar*
to work	*ištaġal / yi-štaġal*
to work (in the field)	*zaraʕ / yi-zraʕ*
to make, to do	*sāwa / yi-sāwī*
to bite (dog)	*ʕaḍḍ / yi-ʕuḍḍ*
to catch (something in the hand)	*masak / yi-msak*
to catch (a thief)	*qabaḍ / yi-qbaḍ*
to throw (something on the floor)	*rama / yi-rmī*
to shoot (gun)	*ṭalaq / yi-ṭlaq*
to get out (something out of a place)	*xarrag / yi-xarrag*
to close (door, shop)	*qafal / yi-qfal / sakar / yi-skar*
to open	*fataḥ / yi-ftaḥ*
to pull	*sadd / yi-sadd / saḥab / yi-sḥab*
to be able to	*qadar / yi-qdar*
to understand	*faham / yi-fham*
must	*lāzim*
to want	*baġa*
to let	*xall / yi-xall*
to ask (a question)	*txabbar / yi-txabbar*
to snore	*šaxar / yi-šxar / xaṭṭ / yi-xaṭṭ*
to burp	*tagašaʕ / yi-tgašaʕ*
to cough	*kaḥ / yi-kuḥ*
to spit	*bazaq / yi-bzaq*
to cry	*baka / yi-bkī / ṣāḥ / yi-ṣīḥ*
to quarrel	*qāṭaʕ / yi-qāṭaʕ*
to insult	*xāṣam / yi-axāṣam*
to be left	*xalla / yi-xallī*

to be born	*wilid* / *yu-lid*
to become	*ṣār* / *yi-ṣīr*
to live in a place	*sakan* / *yi-skun*
to hide	*xabba* / *yi-xabbī*
to give	*ʕaṭa* / *yi-ʕṭī*
to bring	*gāb* / *yi-gīb*
“bring the meal!”	*gāb* / *yi-gīb*
to take	*šill* / *yi-šill*
to get	*ḥaṣal* / *yi-ḥaṣal*
to pay	*dafaʕ* / *yi-dfaʕ*
to count	*ḥasab* / *yi-ḥsab*
to put something on the table	*ḥaṭṭ* / *yi-ḥaṭṭ*
to send (letter)	*rasal* / *yi-rsal*
to steal	*saraq* / *yi-sraq*
full tank!	*ʕabba ful* / *yi-ʕabbī ful*
Let’s go!	*ġudūn* / *rawwaḥ*

10 Sample text

The following recording was made in 2012 in ʕuqad. The recording scenario was mixed, and the theme of the session was based on stories relating to the supernatural. In this text, the recording is overwhelmingly a single monologue, with a few exceptions for interjections from other speakers. Where these have occurred, I have marked the entry number in bold for both the CDA text and the English translation. Entry numbers match their corresponding entries in the English translation, and I have attempted to signify sequential changes in the CDA narrative through the use of a forward slash [/].

Arabic text

1 *marra wāḥida / hāðī bā-xabbar-iš iyy-ā*
2 *i-gū-nā šabāb min ṣalāla / min diwām / min il-kitība fōq / raḥ-t is-sāʕa xamsa zēn?*
3 *is-sāʕa xamsa ṭalaʕ-t / i-gūnā is-sāʕa θalāθa wa nuṣṣ / qad-anī mamdūd inzēn?*
4 *yā ʕawaḍ / quddām il-bēt / ʕād-anā fī ṭāqa / tubb-ū ʕalē-nā inzēn?*
5 *qāl-ū l-ī / hāðak ēš ism-ū / naḥanā gī-nā baġē-nā ni-šūf il-ginn*
6 *qutt li-hum / yā x-ī / qutt li-hum / il-ḥēn nuṣṣ il-lēl zēn / ānā ʕal-ī diwām*
7 *qāl-ū l-ī / wallah mā ni-rūḥ min hinna ḥatta ti-rawwē-nā ginn*
8 *qutt li-hum / zēn anā ʕārif / bā-šūf-kum / zēn*
9 *a-nzil min hinnāk sīda lā ʕind / ēš ismū / il-xurāyib / min bēt lā bēt*
10 *ē! / iðā ʕād šē ginn hinnā / baġē-nā-kum txarrag-ū li ʕind-anā*
11 *mā ḥad xarag-nā / is-sāʕa arbaʕ bi-l-lēl / zēn*
12 *āxir šē / ṭalaʕ-nā min hinnāk / lā ʕind il-bīr hāk māl fataḥ / fataḥ il-kīðāb*
13 *ʕind il-bāb / wa mā fī fēyida / mā ḥad xarag min il-ginn*
14 *qutt li-hum / ē ānā taʕbān / bā-ni-rūḥ / bā-nām*
15 *āxīr makān ʕād-ani ʕāraf-ū / bā-ni-rūḥ l-ū / ānā a-ʕaraf fī yi-kūn ginn*
16 *iðā ʕād bāġ-ū yi-ṭlaʕū-nā /gāzā-kum allah xēr*
17 *qul-t li-hum / ānā ʕād-anī a-ʕraf fī makān zēn*
18 *bā-ni-rūḥ ṣalāla / bi-yigīb-ak ṣūlī / ṣaḥ?*
19 *fī hinnāk daharīz hinnāk inzēn / ti-nzil sīda taḥt / fī hinnāk ḥōš / maqubra hinnāk*
20 *kull qubra / bā-yi-gī min hinnā ḥattā lā ṭāqa / kubār qubōr! fahim-t inzēn*
21 ***makānmā ni-ðibbaḥ hinnāk / māl il-ḥakūma***
22 *fī maqbara hinnāk / maqbara / qubōr / quddām / tiwāl / wa maʕrūf hāðī zēn*
23 *lākin ti-rūḥ / bi-yi-gī min hinnī yimkin ḥatta lā ʕind id-diwār / masāfa inzēn*
24 *is-sāʕa arbaʕt il-figar / nizil-t bi s-siyyāra ḥatta lā ʕind il-bāb māl il-maqbara*
25 *yōm gī-t ʕind il-bāb bi-ḍarab haran / bām bām bām bām / minšān yi-θr-ū lā inzēn?*
26 *wa hum maʕ-ī hāḍēnak il-gamāʕa / qāl-ū l-ī / yā xalā xalā bā-ni-rūḥ xalā / wa bām bām bām bām*

27 *qut-t li-hum lā! mā baġ-ū intaḍar-ū šwēy / matḥammas ānī / intaḍar-ū šwēy*
28 *yi-mkin yi-ṭlaʕ liḥād / qeyimtū-nī min il-nōm wa mā a-ʕraf ēš!*
29 *āxīr šē qāl-ū / xalā bass bā-ni-rūḥ / baʕd is-sāʕa kum hāðī ya ʕawaḍ*
30 *is-sāʕa arbaʕ wa nuṣṣ / arbaʕ il-figar / fa raḥ-t li hāðī ēš ism-ū*
31 *ragaʕ-t is-siyyāra / ʕabāra gargara / bi-ṭlaʕ min ʕind il-gār*
32 *ḥatta gī-t / gī-t nuṣṣ iṭ-ṭarīq / wa bi-gawwad hāk il-ī / wārā inzēn*
33 *il-muhim / yi-thālū yimīn li yisār / qāl yā ʕawaḍ / wa allah mā a-drī ēš / sūd ṭālaʕ min il-maqbara*
34 *fī šē aswad / yi-ʕadī / gēy min / bi-yi-rkaḍ min il-maqbara zēn?*
35 *mā ʕād bi-tḥālī / ānā bi-sūq / qāl-ū l-ī / ginnī ginnī / xallāṣ*
36 *fakkēt ʕalā is-siyyāra inzēn / wa sīda fōq il-gār*
37 *wa hāk bi-yisḥū / yā ʕawaḍ wa rānā wa rānā*
38 *wa qālū lī / ānā gēy min il-gār / wa hō gēy kiðā*
39 ***bi-yi-gī min quddām lā?***
40 *tut tut / ānā sāḥib miya wa arbaʕīn zēn*
41 *wa hāðūlak / ʕād-ū bi-yi-qūl-ū lī / yā ʕawaḍ yā ʕawaḍ / wa allah hinnā ti-sraʕ ti-sraʕ!*
42 *tisraʕ wēn / is-siyyāra matrūsa / baġētū ni-qalab ðaḥḥīn*
43 *wa allah / tḥāl-t bi-ṭarf ʕēn-ī il-ginnī / wa ānā bi-sūq bass ilā ḥāga basīṭa*
44 *wa hō bi-yi-gī taḥat / bi-tiqūl masāfa miya mītar / ṭaḥat fi l-gisīs*
45 *hāðāk fī kūma l-ʕēn / kūma l-ʕēn hinnī fōq il-wasṭ*
46 *inzēn / a-šūf hāðik illī bi-tilmaʕ hinnī fī l-wusta / inzēn / šuft-ū ʕan ṭarf ʕēn-ī*
47 *aswad kāmil / fī bass hinnā ʕēn ḥamra / wa hō kull-ū aswad*
48 *fī-nī il-fizaʕ / wa bi-sūq wa bi-srax inzēn / wa šitt-ū kiðā, wa mā ʕād tḥālēt*
49 *wa gēy siddaq / gey kaðālik kunn-ū / masraʕ ānā miya wa arbaʕīn*
50 *wa hō baġā yi-gī-nī min il-quddām / baġā yi-ḍrab id-drēywil fi wigh-ū*
51 *baġā yi-gī min quddām*
52 ***ēwa hum zaḥag-ū / beeb beeb beeb beeb***
53 *zēn bi-šūf-ū gēy kiðā / ānā tḥalē-t fī šuft-ū / lākin masāfa / gamra hāðīk hinnā inzēn*
54 *wa hō ti-qūl mā ti-qūl bi-yiʕdī ti-qūl yi-ʕanī bi-yi-ṭīr kiðā*
55 *il-muhim / šē / rubb-ak / yi-ʕnī / bi-yi-qūl l-ī ti-sraʕ ti-sraʕ / wa ti-ʕrif inta*
56 *rubša / ginnī/ / rubb-ak / xarag min il-misgid iṣ-ṣaġīr / ʕind il-misgid iṣ-ṣaġīr hāk*
57 *misgid ṣaġīr / illī fī hāðāk fī ganīf / illī ʕala š-šāriʕ fi l-minṭaqa hāðik / ismu-hā ganīf*
58 *rubb-ak / yōm ʕind il-misgid hāðak / gamāʕ xutf-ū / mulaġġam / kull-ū qurān / kull-ū*
59 *fahimt lā / raḥt min hinnāk sīda, qālū l-ī xallāṣ*
60 *mā ʕād qurb qāl-ū ixtafa waffaq-t ʕind il-maʕmūra min fazaʕ hinnāk*
61 *qāl-ū xallāṣ*

English translation

1 One time...I will tell you this.
2 Some friends came to us from Salāla, from work.....from the battalion in the north....I got up at five o'clock (to go there) ok?
3 Five o-clock I got up...they came to us at 3.30am, I was asleep (stretched out).
4 'Hey ʕawaḍ!....in front of the house! We are still in Ṭāqa'. They had turned up suddenly ok?
5 They said to me, that one...what's his name... “We came, we want to see the Jinn”.
6 I said to them, “ Hey brother!”. I said to them “It's the middle of the night...I have got work!”.
7 They said to me, 'We swear we won't leave here until you show us the Jinn'.
8 I said to them, “ok, I know, I'll see you, ok”.
9 I go down from there, straight on to the, what's it's name? The ruins, from house to house.
10 “Hey, if there are any Jinn here we want you to come out (to us)”.
11 No one came, it was four o'clock at night, yeah.
12 The next thing, we go up from there to that well belonging to fataḥ, fataḥ il-kīðāb.
13 To the door, but it was no use....no Jinn came out.
14 I said to them, “ Hey, I'm tired. We will go, I will sleep”.
15 The next place I still knew it. “We will go to it, I know there are Jinn”.
16 If they still want to rise for us, may God reward with health
17 I said to them, “I still know where there is a good place”
18 “We will go to Ṣalāla, it brings you to Ṣulī right?”
19 “There's a storehouse there. Go straight down, there is a yard there, there is a cemetery”
20 “Each grave, it will come from here to Ṭāqa. Big graves. Do you understand?”
21 “The place where we slaughter, belongs to the Government”
22 “There's a cemetery there. A cemetery, graves in front, long. This is well-known”
23 “But if you go, it brings you from here maybe up to the roundabout. Quite a distance!”
24 It is four in the morning. I went down by car up to the gate of the cemetery.
25 When I got to the gate, I beeped the horn 'Bām bām bām bām', so that they wake up.
26 And they are with me, that group. They said to me, “Hey enough, enough, we will go, enough!” Bām bām bām bām.
27 I said to them, “No! Do you not want to wait a little? I'm keen, wait a little while!”
28 “Maybe the gravedigger will get up”. They had woken me up, and I did not know a thing.
29 The next thing, they said, “Enough! We will go. What time is it ʕawaḍ?”
30 “It is half past four, four in the morning”. So I went to this, what's its name?
31 I returned to the car, Gargara bridge, going up to the asphalt.
32 Until I came, came to the midde of the road, and this one is screaming at me, “Behind!”
33 The main thing, he is looking right to left. He said, “ʕawaḍ!”. I swear I don't what, black

rising from the cemetery

34 There is something black, running, coming from, rushing from the cemetery ok?

35 I cannot watch any more, I am driving. They said to me, “Jinn! Jinn!”. Enough!

36 I took off in the car, straight down the asphalt.

37 That one is screaming, “ʕawaḍ! Behind us, behind us!”

38 They said to me...I am coming from the asphalt and he is coming like this

39 “He is coming from in front isn't he?”

40 Tut, tut. I am pulling one hundred and forty, ok?

41 And those lot are still saying to me, “ʕawaḍ, ʕawaḍ! God is here, faster faster!”

42 Faster where? The car is armoured! They want us to turn round now?

43 I swear, I caught sight of the Jinn in the corner of my eye, and I'm driving straight on

44 And he is coming from below, you would say a one hundred metre distance, below in the shadows.

45 Totally black. There is just a red eye, and everything is black.

46 That is, like the eye, like the eye here, above the middle (of the forehead).

47 Ok, I see that glowing here, in the middle. I saw it from the corner of my eye.

48 I am frightened, and I'm driving, and shouting, and I saw him like that, and I looked no more.

49 And he's really coming, coming like so. I'm speeding, one hundred and forty.

50 And he wants to come from the front, he wants to hit the driver in his face.

51 He wants to come from the front.

52 Yes, they angered him, “Beeb, beeb, beeb, beeb”

53 Ok, I see him coming like this, I watched, I saw him but a (great) distance. That glowing coal is here.

54 And he...you say...you do not say he is running, you say like he is flying so.

55 The main thing, something...thank God, like, it says to me “Faster, faster!”, and do you know?

56 Chaos! Jinn! Thank God, he left at the small mosque.

57 A small mosque. That one which is in Ganīf. That which is on the road in that area called Ganīf.

58 Thank God, when he disappeared at that mosque...booby-trapped, all of it Qurʾān, all of it

59 You understand? I went straight from there straight on, they said to me, “Enough!”

60 He was no longer nearby. They said to me, “Disappear! I stopped at the maʕmūra palace out of fear”

61 They said, “Enough!”

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