THE PRESENT STUDY IS A TRANSLATION OF THE WORK "STROI
ARABSKOGO YAZYKA" BY THE EMINENT RUSSIAN LINGUIST AND
SEMITICS SCHOLAR, N.Y. YUSHMANOV. IT DEALS CONCISELY WITH THE
POSITION OF ARABIC AMONG THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND THE
RELATION OF THE LITERARY (CLASSICAL) LANGUAGE TO THE VARIOUS
MODERN SPOKEN DIALECTS, AND PRESENTS A CONDENSED BUT
COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF ARABIC PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR. PAGES
FROM SAMPLE TEXTS ARE INCLUDED. THIS REPORT IS AN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION BY MOSHE PERLMANN. (TC)

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N. V. Yushmanov

The Structure of the Arabic Language

Translated from the Russian by Moshe Perlmann

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The present study is a translation of С рой арабского языка
(Leningrad, 1938) by the eminent Russian linguist and Semitics scholar,
N. V. Yushmanov (1896-1946). Yushmanov's study has been recognized as
the best structural sketch of the Arabic language currently in existence.
It deals concisely but adequately with the position of Arabic among the
Semitic languages, the relation of the literary (classical) language to
the various modern spoken dialects, and presents a condensed but compre-
hensive summary of the phonology and grammar.

The translation was done by Moshe Perlmann of Harvard University
and revised by Harvey Sobelman of the Center for Applied Linguistics.
The primary principle of this translation was strict adherence to the
letter and spirit of the original text; hence, no attempt was made to
"modernize" the general treatment, update the statistical data, or alter
the transcriptions, except in the case of obvious misprints. However,
there were a few deletions made from the text, chiefly affecting the
author's comparisons of Arabic with Hausa.

Editorial supervision of the manuscript was provided by
Harvey Sobelman and Frank A. Rice, also of the Center for Applied
Linguistics.

H.S.
F.A.R.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Semitic Languages

The Semitic languages may be classified as follows, taking into account the territories of the various peoples as well as certain linguistic characteristics:

A.	**Northern branch**	**B.**	**Southern branch**
I.	Eastern division: Assyro-Babylonian	**I.**	Northern division: Arabic
II.	Western division: Hebrew-Phoenician Aramaic	**II.**	Southern division: South-Arabian Ethiopic

Within each language there are dialects and patois. Ancient South-Arabian as preserved in inscriptions is still very close to Arabic proper, but some modern South-Arabian dialects—Mehri, Soqoṭri, Eḥkili (or Šxauri)—are quite remote from Arabic and to some extent stand closer to the languages of the Northern branch. In the domain of Ethiopic, the now extinct Ethiopic (Geez) is distinguished from the living Semitic languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The names "Semite" and "Semitic" are derived from the Biblical legend according to which the patriarch Shem was the ancestor of the Hebrews and kindred peoples. The Greek and Latin versions render this name as "Sem", and this

form is the base of the modern term. The term "Akkadian" is often used in

place of "Assyro-Babylonian," and "Canaanite" in place of "Hebrew-Phoenician."

What characterizes the Semitic languages as a system is the rich

development of internal flection: the root consists of consonants only

(usually three radicals) while the vowels express grammatical categories.

Thus the root QTL which per se cannot be pronounced will denote everything

concerning 'killing' and appears in the words <u>qatl</u> 'murder', <u>qātil</u> 'killer',

<u>qatīl</u> 'killed one', <u>qitāl</u> 'battle', etc. This peculiarity of language

structure is encountered also in other linguistic systems but has not been

so extensively developed elsewhere, inasmuch as in other linguistic systems

the prevailing stem is of two consonants, while the Semitic root has three

consonants. Thus, the Indo-European languages also have internal flection,

but only a few types of it and merely in a secondary role, while external

flection is far more developed. Thus we have <u>tale</u> : <u>tell</u>, <u>run</u> : <u>ran</u>,

<u>break</u> : <u>broke</u>, <u>swim</u> : <u>swam</u>, from the two-consonant stems <u>tl</u>, <u>rn</u> and the

three-consonant stems <u>brk</u>, <u>swm</u>. The richly developed internal flection of

the Semitic languages determined the nature of the script. Phoenician and

South-Arabian inscriptions do not express vowels at all. The Hebrew, Aramaic,

and Arabic scripts adapted the signs of the so-called weak consonants (<u>w</u>, <u>y</u>;

sometimes <u>'</u>, <u>h</u>) to express the long vowels; but short vowels, consonant

gemination, and other details of correct reading are indicated by auxiliary

signs of very late origin, and only occasionally, to avoid dangerous similar-

ities, for example, or in school texts or religious scriptural readings.

Like the structurally kindred Hamitic languages of Africa, the Semitic

languages often display the law of polarization: the same element is used in

two opposite senses. Thus, the feminine ending -<u>at</u> can transform a collective

noun into a singular (Arabic naml 'ants', naml-at 'an ant', and conversely

a singular into a collective (Arabic baḥrīy 'seaman', baḥrīy-at 'seamen').

The similarity among the Semitic languages is very considerable both

in structure and vocabulary, a fact that becomes clear in a uniform trans-

literation; thus:

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Aramaic	Arabic	Ethiopic
'dog'	kalbu	kä̱lä̱β	kalbå	kalb	kalb
'horn'	qarnu	qä̱rä̱n	qarnå	qarn	qarn
'head'	rēšu	roš	rišå	ra's	rë'ës
'to bark'	nabāxu	nå̱βaḥ	nëβah	nabaḥa	nabëḥa
'to tie'	'esēru	'å̱sar	'ëssar	'ásara	'asára
'and'	ū	wë, u	wë	wa	wa

Assyro-Babylonian and Canaanite died out completely, having no dialect

still in use. Aramaic survived in living speech (Neo-Syriac or "Aisor")

and is now used by some 300,000 people (of whom some 50,000 are known as

"Assyrians" in the Soviet Union). The number of Arabic-speaking people is

at present about 50 million. Many people use it not as their native tongue

but as a second language. As far as is known, the numbers of Arabic-

speaking people in the Arab areas proper are as follows: Egypt, 12,500,000;

Arabia, 10,000,000; Algeria, 3,500,000; Mesopotamia, 3,000,000; Syria and

Morocco, about 2,500,000; Tunisia, 2,000,000; Tripoli, 800,000; Malta,

200,000; in all 37,000,000. Substantial numbers of Arab emigrants live in

the Americas and in Indonesia. There are about 4000 speakers of Arabic in

Soviet Central Asia.

2. Types of Arabic

Arabic stands out among the Semitic languages because of its richer sound system, an exceptional development of forms and vocabulary, and an astounding propensity for set patterns of word formation and word change which makes Arabic grammar look "algebraic", as some scholars put it, and sometimes gives an impression of artificiality. This patterning, however, stems from the very structure of Semitic speech, which is characterized, as mentioned above, by a rich development of internal flection and the so-called polarization. If Arabic develops these features to the highest degree, this reflects the specific structure and pattern of life of ancient Arabian society which shows certain analogies with Gothic society.[1]

The designation "Arabic language" is applied to various types of Arabic: the one literary (classical) language and the variety of spoken idioms (colloquial).

Literary Arabic arose from the ancient poetic language of the Arabs. Ancient Arabia, where every tribe had its own idiom, used a unified language in poetry, and carefully preserved it from disintegration, which made for the great conservatism and archaism of this language. The Quran, written in the same language but with an admixture of Meccan peculiarities of Muhammad's speech, became the model for the classical language, and the Arabs down to our own days use this language of the Quran, only slightly refurbished to meet modern requirements, in their press, literature, and political and social life. The need to study and fix the laws of Classical Arabic gave rise to the native Arab philology. Arab philology is characterized by a lack of comparative and historical methods. The same is true of

native dictionaries, though they are most valuable auxiliaries of Western
scholarship. In Arabic dictionaries words are arranged and listed under
their roots: thus 'islām, muslim, salām will be found under the root SLM.
In most of the old native dictionaries words were listed by their endings,
so that the root SLM appeared not under S, as we are accustomed to see it,
but under M; this was very convenient for the poets, since in Arabic poetry
a poem would have only one rhyme throughout, and an ordinary dictionary
could serve also as a rhyme manual.

Spoken Arabic with its variety of colloquial speech forms several
regional dialects. When Arabic speakers spread through alien territories
during the political expansion of Islam, the population underwent Arabi-
zation as the population assimilated Arabic, always with an admixture of
features from the previous native languages (Aramaic in Syria and Palestine,
Coptic in Egypt, Berber languages in northwest Africa, etc.). The develop-
ment of colloquial Arabic is remarkably reminiscent of that of the Romance
languages from Vulgar Latin: the same simplification of the structure of
the cumbersome ancient tongue; the same influence from the superseded
regional languages upon the language of the conquerors. Apart from these
regional differences, social variations can be observed: in the same region
town-dwellers' speech differs from that of the peasants and nomads, the
speech of the educated from that of the masses. Spoken Arabic is usually
divided into five regional types:

(1) Arabian   ⎫
(2) Iraqi   ⎬ in Asia
(3) Syro-Palestinian ⎭
(4) Egyptian   ⎫
(5) Maghribi   ⎬ in Africa

Linguistically, however, it seems more appropriate to divide all the speech forms into two large groups. One group might be termed town (urban) speech and would comprise the speech of town dwellers in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the Maghrib[2] (except Tunis); and the other might be termed rural or bedouin-fellaheen and would include the idioms of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Tunisia, as well as that of the nomads and peasants of other Arab lands. The two types differ in their phonetic and morphological features, by which they can easily be recognized. In addition, Maghribi speech differs from the other types (called by the Arabs "eastern") in quite a number of points, found in especially concentrated form in Morocco. It has to be borne in mind that in the Maghrib the native population consists of Berbers, who, unlike other Arabicized peoples in the Arab countries, have not lost their native speech (of the Hamitic family), which has been preserved to this day. Mention must be made further of the Sudan dialect, a crossbreed of Egyptian and Maghribi, and of the Arabs in Soviet Central Asia whose speech, though strongly influenced by Tajik, shows affinity with Iraqi and Arabian dialects.

The cleavage between the literary idiom and the colloquial dialects is so great that an uneducated Arab cannot understand the literary language. Attempts at turning the dialects into literary languages to supersede the present obsolete (though unifying) book language do not meet with support and sympathy in the contemporary Arab countries with their bourgeois society. Even educated Arabs use the native dialects in private life, while in public life, especially on solemn occasions, they use a peculiar compromise type of speech; the literary language but with a simplified popular grammar (no case endings, no mood endings). However, in Arabia orations are still delivered in accordance with the rules of classical grammar; for example,

Emir Faisal, son of King Ibn Saud, spoke in this ancient style on his visit
to the U.S.S.R.

3. The influence of Arabic on other languages

Spreading in the wake of the expansion of Islam, Arabic exercised a strong
influence upon other languages. Non-Arab Muslims, e.g. Persians, Turkic
peoples, Indians, Malayans, Negro peoples, did and do use the Arabic script
in writing their own languages, and use a vast number of Arabic words which
are further passed on to their neighbors. Some non-Arab groups assimilated
Arabic without embracing Islam and used their own scripts in writing Arabic,
Jews using the Hebrew alphabet, the Aramaic Christian group using the so-
called Karshuni Syriac script. Elsewhere, e.g. on the Mediterranean island
of Pantelleria and in the Balearic islands, Romance idiom shows a strong
admixture of Arabic elements. With the conquest of Spain by the Arabs a
multitude of Arabic words infiltrated not merely European but universal
usage. A few examples may be quoted here: admiral, azimuth, algebra,
alidade, alizarin, alkali, alcohol, alcove, amber, arrack, arsenal, arti-
choke, assassin, cipher, gazelle, giraffe, hashish, lute, magazine, mask,
masquerade, mattress, nadir, saffron, syrup, talc, tamarind, tare, tariff;
the names of the stars Algenib, Algol, Algorab, Aldebaran, Algedi, Alcor,
Altair, Achernar, Betelgeuse, Vega, Deneb, Markab, Rigel, Fomalhaut, etc.

In addition, many Arabic words connected with the history and lore of
the Orient have won wide recognition, e.g. adat, Allah, alme, Bedouin, emir,
harem, houri, imam, Islam, cadi, kismet, Quran, Mameluke, majlis, madrasah,
mosque, minaret, mullah, Muslim, mufti, halva, caliph, shaitan, Sharia,
sheik, sherbet (or syrup), vizier, etc.

Sometimes the Arabs borrowed foreign words and passed them on to other peoples and languages. Thus Latin praecox--Arabic 'al-burqūq--Spanish albaricoque--English apricot. Other examples of such transmission are: alchemy (Greek), almanac (Greek), aniline (Persian), bazaar (Persian), divan (Persian), jasmine (Persian), camphor (Malay), caravan (Persian), coffee (Ethiopic), rice (Indian), sugar (Indian), talisman (Greek), elixir (Greek).

II. PHONETICS AND SCRIPT

1. The consonants

The most wide-spread pronunciation of literary Arabic distinguishes twenty-eight consonant phonemes:

(1)	labial	b m w f
(2)	interdental	θ ð
(3)	dental	t d s z
	and emphatic (low timbre)	ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ
(4)	frontal palatal	ǰ š n l r
(5)	palatal	y k
(6)	uvular (tense, deep)	q x γ
(7)	pharyngeal	ḥ (sharp whisper)
		ʻ (compressed sound)
(8)	junctional	' (glottal stop) h (breath)

In the ancient classical pronunciation, which is well known from excellent descriptions of native philologists (beginning in the eighth

century) and which is still traditionally maintained in a few Muslim centers (e.g. Mecca), some consonants sound different: not t̪ but d̪, not d̪ but ẓ̌ (lateral fricative, a kind of z̲l̲ sound), not z̲ but ο̣ (intradental fricative but sonorous and emphatic like z̲), not ǰ but g̔ (velar-palatal occlusive), not q but g̣ (uvular g̲). For a linguistic evaluation of these divergences between the ancient and the contemporary pronunciations of the same literary language, it is to be noted that: (1) the emphatic consonants were in antiquity voiced, but this feature has been preserved at present only in South Arabia ⸳here, instead of the usual t̪, z̲, d̲, ş, q, one finds d̪, ο̣, ẓ̌, z̲, g̲, and in the reading of the Quran z̲ instead of ş was permissible in some cases, e.g. z̲irād̲ for s̲irāt̲ (derived from Latin strata); (2) in other Semitic languages g̲ corresponds to Arabic ǰ.

In the living dialects there is considerable variation in pronunciation. The main features distinguishing the "rural" group from the "urban" one are as follows: (1) the interdental fricatives θ, ο̲, ο̣ of the former group have their counterparts in the latter group in the transdental t̲, d̲, d̲; thus θalāθ:talāt 'three', ο̲īb:dīb 'wolf', ο̣ahr:d̲ahr 'back'; (2) the voiced g̲ of the former group corresponds to the unvoiced q of the latter group, e.g. g̲alb:qalb 'heart', q becoming ' in the large cities, e.g. 'alb; (3) "rural" g̔ has a variety of correspondents in the "urban" dialects: g̲ in Egypt, ǰ or ž (both palatalized, "soft") in Syria, Palestine, and in the Maghrib, č in Palmyra, y in the lower Euphrates region; furthermore, instead of simple t̲ (from old t̲ and θ), Morocco and Algeria usually have c [ts]; for ẓ̌ in South Arabia, cf. above (it also appears as ḷ); in Nazareth the distinction between k̲ and q has almost disappeared, both sounding as k̲.

The dialect of Malta has reduced the Semitisms of Arabic phonetics considerably: t̲, θ, t̤ reduced to t̲; d̲, ð, d̤, z̲ reduced to d̲; s̲, s̤ reduced to s̲; x, ḥ reduced to h̲; γ, ʿ reduced to ʿ (but the distinction between q and k has been retained). On the other hand, Maltese has acquired a number of Italian sounds alien to most Arabic dialects: p, v, c, č, g. Generally, Arabs substitute other sounds for those in loan words: e.g. būmāda 'pomade, salve', fītāmīn 'vitamin', šāy 'tea' (cf. Russian čaj), grām 'gram', or qrām in writing in countries where the q is voiced. Bilingual Arabs on the periphery of Arab areas sometimes assimilate alien sounds but the core of the Arab masses does not. In sound combinations various shadings arise, which, however, do not become phonemes (independent sound units), since they do not cause meaning (semantic) differences in speech. Thus an unvoiced consonant followed by a voiced one becomes voiced (f, k into v, g; e.g. lafz 'word' = lavz; 'akbar 'greatest' = 'agbar) while a voiced consonant followed by an unvoiced one becomes unvoiced (b, ǰ into a kind of p, č, as in mabsūt̤ 'satisfied' = mapsūt̤; miǰsad 'shirt' = mičsad; the voiced l, m, n, r, ʿ and the semi-vowels w, y ordinarily do not become unvoiced). Next to front vowels (i, e, ä) the consonants q, k may be fronted and turned into lisp sounds or sibilants, a not infrequent occurrence in the rural group. The sound n assimilates itself to the following conso-nant (nb = mb, nk = ŋk, etc.) In surveying sound combinations mention should be made of an interesting phenomenon in Maghrib dialects: while classical ǰ is usually sounded as ž, it will turn into g whenever the word also contains a sibilant. Thus, in Morocco glās 'he sat', gūz 'nut', gens 'kind, sex', appear instead of the expected žlās, žūz, žens (literary ǰalasa, ǰawz, ǰins). Emphatic consonants cause neighboring sounds to become

emphatic, e.g., ma<u>t</u>ar 'rain' = mȧt̊ȧr. Simple (rather soft) <u>l</u> (<u>l</u>ʹ) may become emphatic <u>l</u> reminiscent of hard (Russian) <u>l</u>, though this is not approved in the literary pronunciation; thus <u>sultān</u> 'power, ruler' = <u>sultān</u>. Yet in the word 'Allāh' this <u>l</u> is approved for the literary pronunciation though not after <u>i</u>, e.g. <u>wallāhi</u> 'by God', ʻ<u>Abdullāhi</u> 'slave of God (proper noun)'; however, the <u>l</u> in this word stems not from the proximity of an emphatic consonant but from a solemn enunciation which the ancient philologists failed to report.

A few words on the interaction of the literary and vulgar pronunciations. The "rural" group merges the former <u>ḍ</u> and <u>z</u>^λ into <u>ḍ</u> (the caliph Omar did so), while the "urban" group will pronounce the <u>ϑ</u>, <u>ð</u>, <u>ḍ</u> of Classical borrowings as <u>s</u>, <u>z</u>, <u>z</u>, while in words derived historically the correspondence is <u>t</u>, <u>d</u>, <u>d</u>. Hence the living speech is saturated with bookish words the phonetics of which differ from the ordinary phonetics of this speech. Thus we find <u>talat</u> 'three' along with <u>salūs</u> 'Trinity'; <u>dēl</u> 'tail' along with <u>tazyīl</u> 'appendage'; <u>dalma</u> 'darkness' along with <u>zulm</u> 'oppression'. Though in each case the two words are derived from the same root (ΘLΘ, ÐYL, ḌLM), the pronunciation of the root consonants is different. Arabs who in their native dialect pronounce <u>q</u> as <u>ʾ</u> will, while reading a text aloud pronounce it as <u>g</u>; that is why the word <u>qurʾān</u> 'Quran' will still be pronounced in the modern dialect with <u>q</u> and constitute the unique case of the use of the sound <u>q</u> in speech. Uneducated Arabs, in their desire to speak "elegantly", will often make amusing errors, thus, to "correct" the vulgar pronunciation <u>ʾ</u>, which, as we know, corresponds in the modern language to the two ancient sounds <u>q</u> and <u>ʾ</u>, they will say <u>qurqān</u> instead of <u>qurʾān</u>.

Every consonant may be short or long (double), not excluding the so-called gutturals (x, γ, ḥ, ', ', h); hence <u>fa''ālun</u> 'active', <u>su''ālun</u> 'beggars', where we have clearly articulated long <u>'</u> and long <u>'</u>. In the dialects that lost the sound <u>'</u> altogether, (e.g., in the old Meccan and in many modern ones), it is superseded, when occurring between vowels, by an inserted consonant <u>w</u> or <u>y</u>, as in <u>sā'il</u> 'beggar' → <u>sāyil</u>, in the plural <u>su''āl</u> → <u>suwwāl</u>.

2. The vowels

Arabic has three vowel phonemes—A, I, U. They may be short (<u>a</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>u</u>) or long (<u>ā</u>, <u>ī</u>, <u>ū</u>). In the classical period the phonemes <u>ē</u>, <u>ō</u> occurred, but they were quite open and later converged with the ordinary <u>ā</u>, e.g., <u>Mūsē</u> 'Moses' (Hebrew <u>Mošä</u>) → <u>Mūsā</u>, <u>hayōtun</u> 'life' → <u>hayātun</u>. Arabic vowels assume the coloring of neighboring consonants in the word; emphatic consonants lend them low timbre (<u>a</u>, <u>i</u> [Russian ы], <u>u</u>), while the other consonants lend the vowels a high timbre (ä, i, ü), though the gutturals favor the timbre of pure <u>a</u> and even cause the other vowels to come closer to it (thus with <u>ḥ</u> or <u>'</u> the sounds may be <u>a</u>, ë, ö). If a word contains consonants of different origins, the vowel shadings fluctuate but usually the influence of the emphatic consonants will prevail. Short vowels are more exposed to change than long ones: in an unstressed syllable they are easily dropped and may as easily reappear, and before a double consonant or before a consonant cluster they are reduced (tend to the so-called indefinite vowel ə) and are therefore easily interchangeable. Thus <u>himārun</u> 'ass' will be pronounced in the spoken idiom <u>hemār</u>, or <u>ḥmār</u>, or <u>ehmār</u> (no metathesis here but rather an added 'prosthetic' vowel); literary <u>'inda</u> 'at, with', as well as <u>Miṣru</u> 'Egypt' usually are pronounced <u>'and</u>, <u>Mȧṣr</u>; and even in the

classical period there were many doubles such as 'uðnun: 'uðunun 'ear',
dil'un: dila'un 'rib'.

The vowel i̲ is apt to give the vowel ā a tendency toward ē. This
phenomenon is known in Arabic as 'imālah ("inclination"); thus, 'ālim →
'ēlim 'scholar'; 'ibādun → 'ibēdun 'slaves'. The presence of an emphatic
consonant in the word will block the 'imālah. Though the 'imālah does not
cause semantic differences, it was indicated by a special sign in careful
Quran manuscripts. In the current dialect, the 'imālah continues as a
variety of shadings of ē. In Maltese a further narrowing of this vowel into
a dipthongoid (incomplete dipthong) may be observed; thus, bābun 'door' →
bēb → bieb. But both in ancient times and at present not all the dialects
admit 'imālah: it is alien to Egyptian speech. The delabialization (loss
of lip rounding) of ū → ī̵ → ī, as in Latin Rōma → Arabic Rūm/Rīm 'Rome',
may be considered less important. This phenomenon is known in Arabic as
'išmām and goes back to the ancient timbre of u̲, which was rather fronted
(thus in the Quran ū and ī are frequently rhymed).

Diphthongs in Arabic are confined to ai̲, au̲ (or ay̲, aw̲). In the spoken
dialects we find a strongly developed reduction of the diphthongs into ē,
ō (and, in Morocco, into ī, ū). Sometimes the diphthongs have turned into
the diphthongs ēⁱ, ōᵘ (as in Iraq). A curious deviation from the main
trend of development, au̲ → ōᵘ → ō, is, in some dialects (e.g. the Maltese)
the diphthong eu̲, as in mautun → mōᵘt → mōt → mewṭ 'death'; here we see
reflected the role of the above mentioned ancient timbre of u̲. The number
of vowel phonemes has increased.

3. Syllable and stress

The classical language distinguishes the following types of syllables:

quantity	type	tempo	quality
short	da	‖	
long	dā	‖‖	open
	dal	‖‖	closed

A long vowel in a closed syllable is shortened, e.g. ramā 'he threw', ramat 'she threw'. It is preserved only when two syllables are contracted into one; e.g., māddatun 'material', derived from *mādidatun. (The syllable of the dāl type is called superlong; Arabic poetry does not make any distinction between superlong and long syllables, while Persian poetry, based on the same principles, does.) In the modern dialects further types of syllables arise with the dropping of unstressed short vowels, but these types occurred in some cases in the classical period also (cf. infra on the biconsonantal opening and on pause). On the whole the Arabic syllable has preserved the characteristics of the syllable in primitive speech: the syllable ordinarily opens with a single consonant, and also ends with not more than one consonant. When Arabs borrow words from other languages, they alter the syllable division in the borrowings; e.g., climate → 'iqlīm (the consonant cluster is eliminated by the auxiliary vowel i; but the syllable cannot start with a vowel, and consequently this i is preceded by the most "colorless" consonant '). Even Classical Arabic has a number of cases where the short vowel of the initial syllable has been dropped with a resulting biconsonantal base. This heavy beginning is alleviated either by the end of the preceding word in the sentence, e.g. kāna smuhu Mūsā 'his name was Moses' (*simu 'name' = Hebrew šem); qāla qtulhā 'he said: kill her' (earlier *qutúl or *qatúl 'kill'); or else by an auxiliary

opening consisting of the glottal explosion ', and a short vowel i or u (depending on the root vowel) if the word is out of context or at the opening of an utterance, e.g. 'ismuhu 'his name'; 'uqtulhā 'kill her'. In pause, i.e. when stopping in reading or conversation, the Arab simplifies the ending of the last word (in the classical idiom or its modern imitations) -a, -i, -u, -in, -un into zero; -an into ā; -ata(n), -ati(n), -atu(n) into ah. Thus, Muḥammadun → Muḥammad, Makkatu → Makkah 'Mecca'. The ending -ah has been retained to this day in the dialect of Daθīnah (Southern Arabia) but at present is generally pronounced without the h. The endings have undergone the same kind of reduction in the living dialects, but the alternation of -at and -a (from the earlier -atun and -ah) has been retained, e.g. madīna 'city', but madīnat in-nabī 'the city of the prophet' (in the latter case there is a close junction of the two words).

Accent in Arabic does not produce semantic distinctions. In such cases as qátil 'killer': qatíl 'killed one (victim)', the position of the accent depends on the length of the vowel, and length, connected with semantic variation, is preserved also in unaccented or weakly accented position, e.g. qātiluhúnna 'their (the women's) killer': qatīluhúnna 'their (the women's) victim'. As far as the classical language is concerned, it is ordinarily accepted that the accent is on the penultimate syllable if it is long, and if it is not long on the antepenultimate (third from the end), e.g. Bayrútu, Dimíšqu, Ḥálabu 'Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo'. Initial auxiliary particles are not accented, e.g. al-fámu 'the mouth' (where al is the article), bi-yádin 'with (or in) the hand' (where bi is a preposition). In the modern dialects, accent in the pausal

position is on the final syllable if it is superlong, e.g. Bayrút, Dimíšq, and otherwise it recedes, as in Hálab, Fátima(h). Inasmuch as the living Arabic dialects have had and still have contacts with other languages (cf. Introduction, Sec. 2), their problems of accentuation have become highly complicated. As we cannot present a complete picture, we shall mention only a few of the most important features of the dialects. The auxiliary vowel inserted into a group of consonants to ease pronunciation may take on the accent, as in Egyptian darabtíni 'you have struck me' (instead of darábt-ni, from the Classical darábta-ni). Under the influence of Berber languages in which the whole word or phrases may consist of consonants only (as f̣k 'give', tf̣kt 'you give'), Moroccan Arabic speech may have accented consonants, as in gḷsec 'she sat' (Classical jálasat). The dropping of unstable final consonants makes the accent recede, as in Allāhu → álla 'Allah', 'Alīyun → 'áli 'Ali', al-ḥamrá'u → al-ḥámra 'Alhambra'.

4. Sound change

As it is neither possible nor necessary to register here all the sound changes occurring in Arabic, and especially in the numerous and various living dialects, we shall confine ourselves to the remarks offered on partial assimilation of consonants (Sec. 1) and on timbre changes of vowels (Sec. 2), adding notes on the wider and deeper sound changes of special import for the presentation of Arabic morphology.

Identical consonants separated by a short vowel and belonging to different syllables are contracted into one long consonant; e.g., *madada 'he stretched' → madda. The differentiation between monosyllabic and

dissyllabic stems may be retained, e.g. maddun (type qatl) 'stretch':
madadun (type qatal) 'aid, succor'; here the importance of the semantic
differentiation favors the preservation of an unstable form.

A glottal stop belonging to a root may occur in the same syllable
as the glottal stop in a prefix; but two glottal stops in one syllable are
not admitted; hence 'a' → 'ā, 'i' → 'ī, 'u' → 'ū, e.g. *'a'θarun → 'āθarun
'traces', *'i'mānun → 'īmānun 'faith'.

The consonants w and y in sequence produce yy, e.g. *'aywāmun →
'ayyāmun 'days'; *kawyun → kayyun 'branding'. In combination with vowels,
they produce sound complexes of which some are stable,[3] some weak. The
latter undergo mutations based on the trend toward (1) maximum sonorousness
(U yields to I, both to A) and (2) maximum homogeneousness (heterogeneous
assimilated into homogeneous and then contracted into one long sound).
Thus *suwdun → sūdun 'black ones', *buydun → *biydun → bīdun 'white ones',
*hawalun → *hōlun → hālun 'situation', *qāwilun → *qāyilun → *qā'ilun
'speaking'. Affixed U (-u of prefixes and -ū of plural) prevails over I
by virtue of the importance of semantic differentiation; thus, *muyqizun →
mūqizun 'waking', ramayū → ramaw 'they threw'. A number of word types
retain the medial weak radical without change, but these are later
formations, e.g. dawarānun 'circulation', tawīlun 'long', sawida 'he was
black' (from 'aswadu 'black').

Along with the regular changes discussed above, there are some
sporadic changes, especially in the direction of dissimilation. Dissimi-
lation may be brought about by the accumulation of kindred sounds; thus,
*nawūmun → na'ūmun 'sleepy', *wurāθun → turāθun 'heritage', *madīnīyun →
madanīyun 'urban', *qurayšīyun → qurašīyun 'Qurayshi (pertaining to the

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clan of Quraysh)'. Such phenomena are very frequent in the spoken idioms;
here, along with naḥna 'we', aḥna will also occur; beside riẑl 'foot' also
iẑr (from *riẑr); mismār/musmār 'nail', but also busmār. In both the
classical language and the spoken dialects, two very similar successive
syllables are sometimes fused into one (haplology), e.g. taqātalūna instead
of tataqātalūna 'you are fighting one another'; maltīn instead of maltīyīn
'Maltese (ones)'. Geminated consonants are not infrequently dissimilated
by changing one part of the geminated element (usually the initial one)
into a voiced consonant, e.g. ʿuruddun : ʿurundun 'hard', ðurrūḥun :
ðurnūḥun 'Spanish flies', faqqaʿa : farqaʿa 'crack the fingers'. This is
observed frequently in the living dialects, and the dissimilated variant
is sometimes peculiar to one dialect only, e.g. the common Arabic xuld
'field rat' (through *xludd?) turns up in Jerusalem as xlund. Sound
changes connected with particular parts of speech will be dealt with in
the outline of morphology.

5. The Arabic script

The North-Arabic script is derived from the cursive Aramaic. The Aramaic
alphabet has twenty-two letters; Classical Arabic needed twenty-eight.
(As in other types of Semitic alphabets, the letters express consonants
only, cf. Introduction, Sec. 1). Besides, some Aramaic letters were too
similar and converged in their transition to the Arabic. Consequently,
ancient Arabic monuments of the time prior to the script reform are very
difficult to read; for example, the very same sign could stand for any one
of five different consonants—b, t, θ, n, y. The reform fixed the Arabic
script by adding diacritic dots and producing twenty-eight graphemes

(independent script units) which, because they are connected in the cursive script, are represented by numerous shapes; twenty-two letters have four shapes each (initial, medial, final, separate); six have two each (final and separate). The tendency to accelerate the process of writing leads to the abbreviation of the connective elements between the letters, i.e. to ligatures (cf. æ, œ, &). Printed texts imitate manuscript calligraphy; this is achieved by precise gearing of the connective elements to the letters and by keeping a large stock of variants and ligatures. Attempts at simplifying the printed Arabic script are numerous; they lead to a less beautiful script but are absolutely necessary for the production of Arabic typewriters and typesetting machines.

For expressing the short vowels (or their omission), consonant gemination, and other details of correct reading, a set of auxiliary signs (mostly over the letters, less frequently under them) has been elaborated. But these signs are employed mostly in textbooks and sacred writings (the Quran among Muslims, the Bible among Christians). The inclusion of these signs makes typesetting complicated and expensive. As typewriters and typesetting machines can place an auxiliary sign only between or near a letter, not over or under it, it is customary to dispense with the auxiliary signs.

For cabling, the European Morse alphabet has been reworked in such a way that the vowels (which the Arabic script does not use) are used to express the consonants peculiar to Arabic; thus a̲, o̲, ö̲, u̲, y̲, ä̲, é̲, i̲ serve respectively to express the Arabic sounds ʾ, x̲, z̲, t̲, z̲, ʿ, h̲, y̲. The auxiliary signs are, of course, not transmitted.

A transition to Roman script does not seem attractive to contemporary Arab society, and numerous suggestions connected with the European milieu find no response. Only the Maltese dialect uses the Roman alphabet but has not yet attained a fixed orthography (several systems are in competition).

In the Arab countries there is usually an official Romań transliteration of Arabic proper names and untranslatable words for international postal-telegraphic and diplomatic relations as well as for documents in which Roman transliteration may be required by law. However, there is no uniformity in this transliteration, each country going its own way. The scholarly transliteration of Arabic and its dialects is also lacking in uniformity but the one most widely used is as follows: ' b t t̲ ǧ ḥ ẖ d d̲ r z s š ṣ ḍ ṭ ẓ ' ġ f ḳ k l m n h u̯ i̯. In this system a dot under a letter indicates an emphatic consonant (except ẖ—a ligature from the German ch; in ġ the dot is above the letter); a line under a letter indicates a fricative as opposed to an occlusive: t̲, d̲; the Greek spiritus lenis and spiritus asper are used for the glottal stop and the compressed pharyngeal respectively. To symbolize the Arabic vowels the letters a i u and ā ī ū are sufficient (though for the dialectal vowels more signs are necessary).

III. VOCABULARY

1. The basic vocabulary

The vocabulary of Arabic is astoundingly rich. The most frequent notions have up to a thousand designations each, and less frequent ones, up to a hundred. As a native philologist once remarked, the words for 'calamity'

are so numerous that they themselves become a calamity.

The overwhelming majority of the vocabulary is primordial Semitic. A comparison of Arabic with other Semitic tongues shows very many roots peculiar to Arabic only. The reason is that literary Arabic absorbed numerous archaisms carefully preserved in outlying places, a wealth of neologisms evolved over centuries by various tribal dialects. All these various elements of the vocabulary, in constant interaction, gave rise to further new varieties of roots and words. Of course, not all the elements are equally frequently employed: the larger the vocabulary, the more rare and obscure words it will contain.

The wealth of the Arabic vocabulary was explored by native philolo-gists in various directions. On the one hand, there flourished the usual type of explanatory dictionary in which the words were listed in the alpha-betic order of their roots: on the other hand there are thesaurus-type lists of synonyms in which the difference between the numerous names for the same thing or notion is indicated, and such dictionaries are arranged in the order of some classification of ideas, i.e. not alphabetically but systematically. Obviously, special terminologies, proper names, and even such a specific feature of the Arabic vocabulary as the words with contra-dictory meanings (tamawwala 'he became rich', but also 'became poor', mawlan 'lord', but also 'slave'; da''afa 'weakened, humiliated' but also 'doubled, increased') were not ignored. All these objects of lexicography are treated in special native dictionaries compiled with all the meticu-lousness and inimitable assiduity of the Arab philologists.

The vocabulary of the living dialects is considerably poorer. From the vast store of synonyms only the most common have been retained (though

sometimes the most usual Classical words have been superseded by others, e.g. instead of ra'ā, šaf is used, and miθl/mitl is used instead of ka 'like'). A considerable part of the Classical vocabulary is utterly alien to the Arab of our days. Similar words sometimes have different meanings in the different dialects, e.g. 'ayš for the most part means 'life', but in Egypt 'bread'; šarmūṭa is in Egypt 'rag', in Syria 'whore'. Not infrequently the same concept is expressed in various dialects by different words, e.g. 'letter' is mektūb in Syria and Iraq, gawāb/jawāb in Egypt, Tripolitania, and Tunisia, brā'a in Algeria and Morocco, xaṭṭ in Arabia, etc., down to the Maltese itra (from Italian lettera minus the initial l which is taken to be part of the article al). Concerning Maltese it must be said that its vocabulary contains numerous Italian words which sometimes displace the usual Arabic words; for example, Arabic 'ab 'father' has been superseded by misier (Italian messère 'lord') and a number of the parts of the body have received Italian names, e.g. spalla 'shoulder', pulmūn 'lung' koša 'hip', milsa 'spleen', kustilya 'rib', stonku 'stomach' (from Italian spalla, polmone, còscia, milza, còstola, stòmaco).

2. Borrowed elements

Relatively few borrowings from other languages were grafted on to literary Arabic. Borrowings from kindred languages, especially Aramaic and Ethiopic, were absorbed without great difficulty. The Aramaic borrowings are mostly terms of religion and political·life; thus we find among Aramaisms of the classical era 'ālamun 'world, universe'; millatun 'religion, nation'; sulṭānun 'authority, power (→ ruler)'; salātun 'prayer'; dīnun 'faith'. Of the Indo-European languages, the Arabs borrowed mostly from Persian,

Greek and Latin, less frequently from Indian languages. Aramaic usually

served as the intermediary. A few examples:

> From Persian: banafsaǰun 'violet', barnāmaǰun 'program', kahrabā'un
>
> 'amber', sirāǰun 'lamp', sanārun 'plane tree'.

> From Greek: ǰinsun 'kind, sort' (γένος), faylasūfun 'philosopher'
>
> (φιλόσοφος), qānūnun 'rule' (κανών), qutrubun 'werewolf'
>
> (λυκάνθρωπος with the l taken for the article), zawǰun
>
> 'husband, mate' (ζεῦγος).

> From Latin: ǰinnun 'demons' (genii), qaṣrun 'castle' (castra 'camp'),
>
> sirāṭun 'path' (strata).

> From Indian languages: ruzzun 'rice', sukkarun 'sugar', sundūqun 'box'.

In later periods accessions from Turkish and modern European languages

appear, concerning a great variety of objects and ideas.

> From Turkish: balṭa 'axe', ōda 'room', qazān 'pot', šākūš 'hammer',
>
> yuzbāšī 'captain'.

> From Modern Western languages: busṭa 'post', ǰurnāl 'journal',
>
> qunṣulātō 'consulate', sigāra 'cigarette', wābūr 'steamer'
>
> (vapeur).

In some regions borrowings from local languages (Berber in the Maghrib,

Coptic in Egypt, etc.) may be observed, but they have no general impact upon

Arabic.

3. Contemporary terminology

The absorption of European culture by the Arabs is in full swing. Even the

inhabitants of forbidden Mecca use records, radios, cars, and planes, and

learn from the newspaper <u>Umm al-qurā</u> ('Mother of cities') all the latest

political news and scientific and technological discoveries. This means

that the language must create and develop a socio-political and scientific-

technical terminology, without which it would be impossible to assimilate

European culture. In this the Arabs have two choices: either to admit

European terms freely, or to utilize the wealth of the Arabic stock of

roots and descriptional processes to translate the foreign terms into the

Arabs' native idiom. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages,

and above all its technical difficulties. For it is extremely difficult

to transcribe the European terms into Arabic characters (and particularly

without vowel signs, as is the rule in books and newspapers); there are no

graphemes for the consonants <u>p</u>, <u>v</u>, <u>c</u>[ts], <u>č</u>, <u>g</u>, etc.[4], or for the vowels

<u>e</u>, <u>o</u> (<u>'</u>, <u>y</u>, <u>w</u> serve respectively to express <u>a</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>u</u>). Translation of

terminology is actually possible only if the native tongue has correspond-

ing terms; otherwise loan translations (calques) must be devised. The

colloquial is quicker at absorbing borrowings than the book-language with

its ideals of "language purity", and it may happen that a translated term

will be less understandable than the foreign original. In the contemporary

Arabic press a tug of war is testing both methods of terminological enrich-

ment: thus, <u>bank</u> vs. <u>maṣrif</u>; <u>utumbīl</u> vs. <u>sayyāra</u>; <u>wabūr</u> vs. <u>bāxira</u>; i.e.

along with the borrowed words <u>bank</u>, <u>automobile</u>, <u>vapeur</u>, we find new

formations ('changery', 'walkey', 'steamer'). In any case, Arabic termi-

nology is developing in scope and precision. Only recently Arabs did not

distinguish between 'politics' and 'diplomacy' (using <u>siyāsa</u> for either),

'socialism' and 'communism' (using <u>'istirākīya</u> for either) but now they

draw the strict distinction between <u>diblumātīya</u> and <u>siyāsa</u>, between

ištirākīya and the new word for 'communism', šuyū'īya. Strict uniformity
has not yet prevailed, and in reading newspapers one runs into divergences;
for instance, the League of Nations may be 'uṣbat al-'umam or jam'īyat
al-'umam; the railway may be sikkat al-ḥadīd or ṭarīq ḥadīdīya. Of course,
some of the terminology proves untranslatable. In this case European terms
are transliterated in Arabic characters, which, as we have seen above,
produces a questionable effect. It might be added that the Arab journalist
rarely knows the principal European languages (at best he will know one of
them). The transliteration, therefore, will suffer further from wrong
reading; thus, the German z is systematically transliterated by Arabs as an
English or French z.

In the Maltese dialect the problem was solved by unconditional prefer-
ence for borrowing from the Italian: a Maltese author will simply pick the
necessary term in literary Italian, even with the Italian plural, e.g.
l-aḥyar zewč novelli yiǰu ppremyati 'the two best novellas (Italian novella,
pl. novelle) will be awarded prizes (Italian premiata, pl. premiate)'.

IV. MORPHOLOGY

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1. Parts of speech

Native Arabic philology distinguishes three parts of speech – nouns, verbs,
and particles. The category of nouns includes pronouns, substantives,
adjectives, numerals; that of particles includes adverbs, prepositions,
conjunctions, interjections, and the undeclined article. Substantive and
adjective are distinguished only in context (by content); there is no formal

difference. The pronoun is not inflected: it is not classified with the particles only because it is a substitute for inflected nouns. The numeral oscillates between substantive and adjective. Adverbs and prepositions are frequently ordinary, fully inflected nouns with an auxiliary function, as if frozen in an undeclinable form. The interjection is sometimes in the form of a noun but is not a noun in meaning or in syntactic function. Because of the so-called "algebraic character" of Arabic grammar, it is advisable to have a **preliminary** survey of **the elements of which the Arabic word is composed.**

2. The pronoun

The disjunctive or independent pronouns (see Table I) express the subject of a nominal sentence, e.g. ʾanā barīʾun minhum 'I am free of them'; or it expresses the logical stress upon the person expressed by another form of pronoun, as in ʾanā muʿallimī 'my teacher', ʾanā ṣirtu kahlan 'I became mature', ʾataḥawwalu ʾanā ʾilā hayθu kunta 'I shall transfer to where you were'. The pronominal suffixes express the object of the transitive verb, as in ḍaraba-ka 'he hit you'; or our possessive pronoun, as in kalbu-ka 'your dog'. We may note that there is one and only one instance of a pronominal suffix with separate forms for object and possessive: -nī 'me', but -ī or older -ya 'my', e.g. ḍaraba-nī 'he hit me', kalb-ī 'my dog', ʿaṣā-ya 'my stick'.[5] Joined to prepositions, the pronominal suffixes express the oblique cases of our pronouns, as in lī 'to me, with me'. As the prepositions are former nouns, they take pronominal suffixes with the sense of possessive pronouns, for example, -ī 'my' (not -nī 'me'). True, min and ʿan form minnī and ʿannī but this is not because they contain

Table I   THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Independent	Suffixes	Perfect	Imperfect[6]
Singular				
1st m. & f.	'anā	-nī, -ī, -ya	-tu	'a-
2nd m.	'anta	-ka	-ta	ta-
2nd f.	'anti	-ki	-ti	ta...ī
3rd m.	huwa	-hu	-a	ya-
3rd f.	hiya	-hā	-at	ta-
Dual				
2nd m. & f.	'antumā	-kumā	-tumā	ta...ā
3rd m.	humā	-humā	-ā	ya...ā
3rd f.			-atā	ta...ā
Plural				
1st m. & f.	naḥnu	-nā	-nā	na-
2nd m.	'antum(ū)	-kum(ū)	-tum(ū)	ta...ū
2nd f.	'antunna	-kunna	-tunna	ta...na
3rd m.	hum(ū)	-hum(ū)	-ū	ya...ū
3rd f.	hunna	-hunna	-na	ya...na

-nī 'me' but because they double the n as a result of transforming -ya into
-ī. To express the accusative of personal pronouns separately, independ-
ently of the verb, the particle 'īyā is used, as in 'īyā-ya 'me', 'īyāhu
'him'. The perfect and imperfect pronouns are elements of the verbal con-
jugation (cf. Sec. 5); here we may note that the forms containing dots are
confixes, i.e. combinations of prefix and suffix; thus, lam yaḍribū 'they
did not hit' (lam 'not'; root ḌRB 'to hit', confix ya...ū 'they').

As for the system of personal pronouns as a whole, we may remark tnat
on the basis of data from outside Classical Arabic it is sometimes possible
to reconstruct more ancient forms. Thus the sound h in the pronouns is
everywhere a reduction (in this case by widening the glottis) of an earlier
s preserved in Akkadian, Minaean inscriptions of South-Arabian, and in the
modern South-Arabian dialect Ehkili (Šxauri). The form -tu replaced the
earlier -ku preserved in Akkadian 'anāku 'I', and in the South-Arabian
(ancient and modern) and Ethiopic perfect (where we find qatalku instead of
the North-Arabian qataltu). The -u- of the plural feminine forms shows the
influence of the masculine forms; earlier they had -i-, still preserved in
Bedouin dialects. One peculiarity of Classical Arabic is the assimilation
of forms in -hu, -humā, -hum(ū), -hunna to -hi, -himā, -him(ū), -hinnā when
following an I, as in bi-hi 'in (with) him (or it)'. The forms -kumā,
-kum(ū), -kunna do not yield to this assimilation for the k is an occlusive,
impervious to the influence of the vowel, while the fricative h is influ-
enced by the neighboring vowels and transmits their influence further.
The plural in -ū occurs only rarely.

In the modern dialects the system of personal pronouns is considerably
poorer. It shows no special form for the dual, following in this respect

the general Semitic pattern (except South-Arabian which has preserved such forms: Soqoṭri even has a form _ki_ 'both of us'). True, the forms _huma_, _intuma_ are still encountered, but they express the plural, not the dual. "Urban" dialects have no special form for the feminine plural; in Syria, however, _hinni_ 'they', _-hon_ 'them', _-kon_ 'you (obl.)' are quite usual, but they serve for both genders rather than just the feminine, as a result of the impact of the Aramaic substratum. The phonetic aspect of the pronouns has changed only slightly; it is easy to recognize the old form in the new ones. 'I' is not only _anā_ but also _anī_ (this usually in the "rural", countryside speech) and, in Morocco, _'anāya_. 'We' substituted _a_ for _u_: _niḥna_, _iḥna_, _naḥna_, _aḥna_, and in Morocco _ḥnāya_. For the second person we usually find _an-_ instead of _in-_; also instead of _'antum_ frequently _intu_. The feminine _-na_ in "rural" speech lost the vowel _a_ (and acquired the auxiliary _i_ instead: _intin_). Morocco has its peculiar _ntīn_ and _ntāya_ 'thou' for both genders. In pronominal suffixes the _h_ frequently disappears when consonant clusters arise: _kalb-hā_ 'her dog', becomes _kalbā_. The suffixes _-ka_, _-ki_, _-hu_ after vowels usually become _-k_, _-ki_, _-h_: _abū-k_ 'your (thy) father'; _ḍarabū-ki_, 'they (have) hit you (fem. sing)', _fī-h_ 'in him' ('in it; there is; il y a'); after consonants, as sometimes in the classical language, metathesis produces _-ak_, _-ik_, _-uh_ (the latter again resulting in _-u_, _-äh_ and other forms): _kalbak_ 'thy (m.) dog', _kalbik_ 'thy (f.) dog', _kalbu/kalbäh_ ' 's dog'. In Arabia _-ki/-ik_ frequently are replaced (since antiquity) by the assimilated forms _-š/-iš_; in South Arabia these have become universal.

The classical demonstrative pronouns may be traced back to the simplest forms still preserved. _ðā_ 'that (m.)'; _ðī_ 'that (f.)', _'ulā_ 'those'

(variants: t̄a, t̄ī). In other Semitic languages, conversely, -ā serves as the feminine form, -ī as the masculine. To indicate closeness or distance respectively, these forms are strengthened: hād̄ā 'this (m.)', hād̄ī 'this (f.)', hā'ulā'i 'these'; d̄āka 'that (m.)'; tīka 'that (f.)'; 'ulāka 'those'; or more frequently d̄ālika 'that (m.)', tilka 'that (f.)', 'ulā'ika 'those'. In the ancient language, e.g. still in the Quran, this -ka is inflected by gender and number in addressing several persons: d̄ālikum, d̄ālikumā, d̄ālikunna, but this does not affect the sense, though a literal translation might be 'that which is with you'. In the modern dialects there is a great variety of forms. We shall confine ourselves to a few dialect patterns (see Table II).

In Syria, Mesopotamia, and some other areas, the pronouns of proximity can be replaced by the prefix ha- followed by the article: nal-ktāb 'this book'. (In Syria the demonstrative pronoun may be doubled, as in har-riǧǧāl hāda 'this man', hal-bint hādi 'this girl', han-niswān hadōl 'these women'.) The role of the vowels is noteworthy: -a characterizes masculine singular, -i feminine singular, -u or its products (aw → ō) the plural. In Soviet Central Asia we find dok 'he' instead of huwa, i.e. an o sound in dāk/d̄āk, a result of the Tajik preference for the sound in this environment. The classical relative pronoun 'which' is allad̄ī (m.), allatī (f.) plural allad̄īna (m.), allātī/allawātī (f.). These are cumbersome combinations of the article al-, the affirmative particle la, and the demonstrative pronouns discussed above, d̄ī and tī (gender distinguished not by vowel but by consonant has almost disappeared from living speech), and wherever they have been retained they have become the invariable allad̄ī. Mostly we find in the dialects the invariable illi, sometimes shortened to li. Together with

Table II   DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	Syria	Egypt	Mesopotamia	Arabia	Morocco	Malta
'this (m.)'	hāda	da, di	hāðā	hāða	hād(a)	dan
'this (f.)'	hādi	di	hā(ð)ī	hāði	hād(i)	dīn
'these'	hadōl	dōl	hāðōle (m.) haðenni (f.)	hāðu	hādum	dawn
'that (m.)'	hadāk	dikhā	(ha)ðāk	haðāk	(hā)dāk	dak
'that (f.)'	hadīk	dikhā	(ha)ðīč	haðīk	(hā)dīk	dik
'those'	hadolīk	dikhamma	haðōlāk	haðūk	(hā)dūk	dawk

the demonstrative ha- this produces halli (Syria) or helli (Mesopotamia).
The form di encountered in Morocco and South Arabia is apparently of
Aramaic origin; otherwise the form in South Arabia would have been *ði.

The classical language has the interrogative pronouns mā 'what', man
'who', 'ayyun 'which' (this last one declinable as a noun, cf. Sec. 4).
In the dialects, mā (in this sense) is hardly used at all, having been
superseded by 'ayyu šay'in ('which thing?'), 'ayyu šay'in huwa ('which
thing is it?'), and these, in turn abridged and reduced to šū, ayš, äš,
šinhu, etc., are in use to this day. In Egypt ē pronounced with low
pitch (from 'ayyun) is used. Instead of man the dialects have mīn (cf.
the vowel variation in the demonstrative pronouns ðā : ðī, tā : tī);
sometimes this is strengthened: minhu(m.), minhi(f.) in Mesopotamia,
äšmen (or äškūn, from äš yakūn 'what is it?') in Morocco. In Syria we
find the form ayna in place of 'ayyun; in Egypt enhu(m.), enhi(f.),
enhum(pl.) along with ayy; in Mesopotamia ay or ayhu(m.), ayhi(f.), etc.;
in Morocco ama; in Arabia ayan or eš min.

The forms šay'un 'thing', 'aḥadun ·one' (fem. 'iḥdā) function as
indefinite ·pronouns (respectively 'something', 'somebody'). In negative
sentences they become the negatives 'nothing', 'nobody'. They appear
as ši and ḥad(a) in the dialects. The old negative pronoun mā (also an
interrogative) combined with the indefinite pronouns produces a variety
of forms such as muš (= mā huwa šay'un 'it is not a thing') 'not', and the
most frequent mā...š, as in mā ʿandiš 'I have not' (ʿandi 'with me' = 'I
have'). The reflexive pronoun is expressed by the noun nafsun 'soul' with
the pronominal suffix, e.g. 'anā nafsī 'I myself', jaraḥtu nafsī 'I wounded
myself'. Besides nafsun we also find ðātun 'essence', rūḥun 'spirit',

h̄alun 'state', and others fulfilling the same function.

The reciprocal pronoun is ba'ḍ 'part, some', in such constructions as qātala ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍan 'they fought each other, one another'. But there is also a special verbal formal to indicate interaction, e.g. taqātalū 'they fought each other'.

The definite article 'al is a weakened demonstrative pronoun added as a prefix to the noun and indicating the definiteness of this noun in either of two directions: generalization or specification. Thus al-kitābu means: (1) 'the book in general,' as distinct from all other things; or (2) 'the book under consideration,' as distinct from all other books. The article is unstable in form: its beginning gives way to the ending of the previous word, e.g. dāruˌl-'ulūmi 'academy of sciences'; its final l is assimilated to a following apical or laminal consonant (θ, ð, t, d, s, z, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, š, n, l, r) forming together with it a double consonant, e.g. aš-šamsu 'the sun'. Thus we get 4x14=56 forms of the article, all of identical content: 'aθ, 'að, 'at...aθ, að, at...iθ, ið, it.... It follows that in the mind of the speaker the article is represented by the formula 'any vowel + any apical or laminal consonant'. In the living idioms the al form is rare; the dead Andalusian dialect, on the other hand, had only al, in any position (hence English Aldebaran, Altair, for ad-dabarān, aṭ-ṭayr). At present the article is generally il (with an indistinct vowel or with no vowel: a syllabic l), but assimilation goes even further, as it includes present or past central (palatal) consonants, as in iž-žabal in Syria, ig-gäbäl in Egypt, for the literary al-jabalu 'the mountain'. The article frequently forms a syllable with beginning of the defined word, e.g. l-āxar 'the other', li-ktāb 'the book' instead of al-'āxaru, al-kitābu. Some dialects

of South Arabia have the article im, known since antiquity. Outside Arabia this article (possibly a coincidental result of assimilation) is found only in the word imbāriḥ 'yesterday', (from al-bāriḥa). The indefinite article -n (in South-Arabian -m) converged with the case endings and is part of the declension (Sec. 4.)

3. Word-formation

There are three basic items in Arabic word-formation—— root, vocalization, and auxiliaries (prefixes, suffixes, and infixes). The root consists of consonants only. The overwhelming majority of roots is triliteral, i.e. each root consists of three consonants as QTL 'kill'. Less frequent are biliteral, two-consonant roots, remnants of remote antiquity when the three-consonant root had not yet been established. Medieval Arab philologists noticed that roots with identical first two consonants are identical or akin in sense, e.g. ǦMM, ǦMW, ǦML, ǦMHR, ǦMʻ 'collect'; European Semitists noticed that the root affinity goes further: semantic affinity is found also in groups of two-consonant roots with a common element: ǦD, ǦĐ, ǦZ, (= GD, GĐ, GZ), QT, QṢ, ḤṢ, etc. 'cut'; and the complementary third consonant may take its place anywhere in the root: thus, WRX, RXX, RYX, RXW 'to be soft, weak'. Biliteral roots have the same morphology as the triliteral roots, supplementing the derived forms with a third consonant from among the weakest (ʼ, h, w, y), thus, ʼabun 'father', ʼubūwatun 'fatherhood'; *binun 'son', bunūwatun 'sonhood'; damun 'blood', damiya 'he bled'. Roots with four or five consonants appear but rarely. They follow the pattern of the derived (i.e. longer) words, sometimes losing the final consonant.

The vocalized root is called the base. Both the root and the base are abstractions, for throughout the ages of spoken language people have spoken in words, not roots and vocalizations; yet the mind of the speaker, comparing the similar occurring words, such as qatlun 'killing', qātilun 'killer', qatīlun 'killed, victim', qitālun 'battle', qatūlun 'murderous', etc., discerns the root QTL and its various vocalizations which appear in other roots too. Thus, the relation of the active person to the object of action follows the pattern qātilun 'killer' vs. qatīlun 'the killed one'; wālidun 'parent', walīdun 'son'; jāriḥun 'wounding', jarīḥun 'wounded'; ʼāsirun 'captor', ʼasīrun 'captive', etc.

The short bases qatl, qitl, qutl, qatil, qatal, etc. have numerous and various applications, e.g. ʽabdun 'slave (concrete singular)', namlun 'ants (concrete collective)', sawmun 'fast (abstract singular)', ḍarbun 'beating (abstract collective)'. Frequently several bases serve the same purpose; for instance, both katifun and kitfun 'shoulder'.

The bases with an elongated vowel are somewhat more definite in their type-meaning. Thus the types qatīl, qatāl, qatūl serve mostly to produce qualitative adjectives of various shadings (qatūl rather frequently indicative of a propensity for a certain action), e.g. kabīrun 'big, large, great', ḥarāmun 'forbidden', šakūrun 'grateful'. Yet these very patterns may serve to express different categories of notions, such as the name of an action or state, e.g. ṣafīrun 'whistling', salāmun 'peace, intactness', qabūlun 'reception'. The base qitāl may express very simple instruments and appliances, e.g. bitānun 'belt', disārun 'wooden nail', liḥāfun 'bed sheet'. The base qutāl frequently indicates flow, disease, etc., as in luʽabun 'spittle', suʽālun 'cough', zukāmun 'rheum'. The pattern qattāl, reinforced

in its very form, expresses heightened content: characterization of a person
by constant occupation or behavior, e.g. ʻabbāsun 'grim, stern', ḥaddādun
'smith', warrāqun 'paper manufacturer'. The base qutlūl, with the final
consonant repeated and with the u vowel throughout, expresses a contemptuous,
humiliating designation, e.g. buhlūlun 'fool', šuʻrūrun 'rhyme-scribbler'
(cf. the four-consonant-root word burγūθun 'flea'). The base qutayl and
its variations serve to express diminutives, e.g. Ḥusaynun 'little Hasan'.
In the dialects the same bases appear, sometimes with a change in vowels.

The word-forming prefixes seem to be of pronominal origin. The prefix
ʼa- forms a number of collective nouns, the most widely used being of the
type ʼaqtāl, e.g. ʼaqwālun 'words' (from qawlun 'word'). The same prefix
produces the type ʼaqtal for adjectives of color and bodily defects (fem.
qatlāʼ), or the elative (comparative-superlative; fem. qutlā), e.g.

a. ʼaswadu 'black' f. sawdāʼu pl. sūdānun (root SWD)

    ʼaʻmā 'blind' f. ʻamyāʼu pl. ʻumyānun (root ʻMY)

b. ʼakbaru 'greater' f. kubrā pl. ʼākābiru f. kubaru

    ʼašaddu 'stronger' f. šuddā pl. ʼašāddu f. šudadu

    ʼadnā 'closer' f. dunyā pl. ʼadānin f. dunan

The prefix ma- forms nouns of place and time on the pattern maqta/il,
e.g. maktabun 'school', majlisun 'session, assembly, parliament', mafarrun
'refuge', maṭārun 'airfield' (root ṬYR 'fly'), marman 'target, range' (RMY
'throw'); also the passive participle of the maqtūl type to be considered
under conjugation (Sec. 5).

The prefix mi- forms names of tools on the pattern miqtāl, e.g.
mibradun 'file', miftāḥun 'key', miqaṣṣun 'scissors', mīzānun 'balance'

(root WZN 'weigh'), mirman 'missile projector'. Here the pronoun mā 'what'
is joined with the base qitāl mentioned above as a pattern for names of
simple tools. The length of the vowel is, as we see, variable. The prefix
mu- forms many participles (cf. Sec. 5), but these often become concrete
nouns, as mu'tamarun 'congress' (root 'MR, 'command,' earlier 'speak'),
mustašfan 'hospital' (root ŠFY 'heal'). It is also the only means of
forming nouns of place from derived verbs with more than three consonants.

The prefixes ta- and ya- also play a part in word formation but a less
important part than the prefixes mentioned above. (On verbal nouns with
ta-, cf. Sec. 5.) Illustrations: taðkārun 'recollection', tajribatun
'experience', yanbū'un 'well, spring'. The negation lā 'no, not' may be
considered a prefix in certain terms, e.g. lā-silkīyun 'wireless' (silkun
'wire'). The infixes -n-, -w-, -y-, are placed between the first and
second radical consonants (less frequently between the second and third).
The most important use of -y- (in diminutives of the type qutayl) has been
mentioned above. On the whole these infixes do not bring about any notice-
able change in sense, and are in most cases the result of the dissimilation
of double consonants, as in sunbulatun 'ear of corn' (also sablun), ṣayqālun
'polisher' (also ṣaqqālun), kaθθara 'to multiply → kawθarun 'numerous'.
Less representative are such cases as 'iθyalun 'male hyena', as opposed to
na'θalun 'hyena'.

The suffixes -ā', -ā (from *-au), -at (pausal -ah) are called feminine,
but serve various purposes. Purely feminine notions are quite frequently
expressed without any feminine endings, e.g. hāmilun 'pregnant', kā'ibun
'full-breasted', qā'idun 'sterile'. The most frequent feminine ending is
-at/-ah. It is used (1) to indicate feminine gender: fallāhun 'peasant',

fallāhatun 'peasant woman'; (2) to point out one unit of an aggregate, e.g. tibnun 'straw', tibnatun 'a straw'; (3) to mark the action as non-reiterated, e.g. darbun 'beating', darbatun 'a blow'; (4) to complement the weak radicals, as in 'iqāmatun 'erection' (type 'iqtāl from root QWM), tarbiyatun 'rearing, upbringing, education' (type taqtīl from root RBW;) (5) to take the place of a neuter (unknown in the Semitic languages), e.g. xalīqatun 'creature'; (6) with the type qitl, to express manner of action, as in misyatun 'gait' (root MŠY 'to walk'). In a few cases we find merely -t instead of -at, as frequently in other Semitic languages: bintun 'daughter, girl', (also ibnatun), 'uxtun 'sister', θintāni 'two (also iθnatāni). The Arabs think that this t belongs to the root "instead of w" (just as in turāθun 'inheritance', instead of wurāθun).

The types qatlā' and qutlā mentioned above serve as feminine counterparts of the 'aqtal form in various senses. The masculine endings -ān and -īy (the latter akin to the pronominal-verbal ya-, cf. Sec. 2) may be mentioned as the opposites of the feminine suffixes. -ān may point to masculinity, e.g. θu'lubānun 'male fox', dib'ānun 'male hyena', zaribānun 'polecat' (probably also 'insānun 'man' as opposed to 'insun 'the human race'). The same suffix forms adjectives, such as sakrānu 'drunken' (f. sakrā), 'uryānun 'naked' (f. 'uryānatun), and nouns of durative action, e.g. sayalānun 'flow, flux'. The suffix -īy forms the nisba, the relative noun (adjective of derivation), e.g. 'Arabun 'Arabs' → 'arabīyun 'Arabic'. The ending -at is dropped before it, e.g. 'ādatun 'custom, use', 'ādīyun 'customary, usual'. In roots with a weak final radical and in two-consonant roots, the form -awīy arises, e.g. sahrā'u 'desert' (noun) → sahrawīyun 'desert' (adj.), 'Alīyun 'Ali' → 'alawīyun 'Alid' (adj.), badwun 'steppe' → badawīyun

'Bedouin'; ʼibnun (from *binun) 'son' → banawīyun 'filial'. Sometimes the syllable -ān- (from Aramaic learned terms) is inserted without any result- ant semantic change, e.g. rūḥun 'spirit', rūḥānīyun 'spiritual'. Not infrequently sound changes will occur in the root: dissimilation (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4), and elongation or abbreviation of proper names, e.g. Ḥaḍramawtu (region in South Arabia) → ḥaḍramīyun; Marwun (town in Central Asia) → marwazīyun. In a case like Ṣanʻāʼu (capital of Yemen) → ṣanʻānīyun one may see the avoidance of hiatus: an inserted -n- is also used for this purpose in the modern dialects. In translating into Western languages, proper names in -īy are given the ending -i, e.g. al-Buxarīyu → Al-Bukhari; dynasties are given the ending -id, e.g. ʻabbāsīyun → Abbasid (but umawīyun → Umayyad); tribes and sects are given the ending -ite, e.g. kalbīyun → Kalbite, sunnīyun → Sunnite. The combination of the suffix -īy with the suffix -at produces not only the feminine of the noun of relation but also the noun of quality (abstract or collective noun, like English nouns in -ity, -ism, -dom). Thus ʻarabīyatun means not only 'an Arab woman' or 'Arabic (f.)', but also 'Arabism, Arabic language'.

Along with foreign words, some foreign suffixes infiltrated ᵤhe language: Persian -xānä 'house', Turkish -ǰi to indicate vocation, some- times the European -logia, e.g. kutubxānatun 'library', sāʻatǰīyᵤn 'watch- maker', nafsulūǰīyatun 'psychology'. Purists, however, will avoid such words; the consistent literary idiom will use instead maktabatun 'library' (noun of place with feminine ending), sāʻatīyun 'watchmaker' (rela+ive noun), ʻilmuᵤn-nafsi 'psychology' (periphrastic: 'the science of the soul').

Foreign words sometimes provide ready-made derivatives not following the Arabic pattern of derivation, e.g. ʼIngilterrā 'England', but

'ingilizīyun 'Englishman', qunṣulun 'consul', but qunṣulātō 'consulate'.
The connection between such words may be felt only vaguely by an Arab. In
the Maltese dialect, Arabic bases sometimes occur with Italian suffixes,
e.g. ḥbieberīya 'friendship' (ḥbieb, pl. of ḥabīb 'friend'), ḥlewicca
'sweetness' (root ḤLW + Ital. -ezza).

Even when it proves technically impossible to apply any word-deriva-
tion pattern, Arabic does find a way out: internal flection gives way to
external flection or to periphrasis, and external flection to periphrasis.
Thus, if the type qattāl of a given root is used in another sense, not as
a designation of vocation, or if the root contains more than three conso-
nants, use is made of the relative noun, e.g. ḥammāmun 'bath', ḥammāmīyun
'bath attendant'; bustānun 'garden' (a Persian word), bustānīyun 'gardener'.
If the type 'aqtal is "occupied" by the adjective in the positive degree,
then the comparative-superlative ("elative") is expressed by periphrasis;
thus, 'aḥmaru 'red' → 'ašaddu ḥumratan (literally 'stronger of redness') or
'ašaddu ḥmirāran (literally 'stronger of reddening') 'redder, the reddest'.
To express one-time action in terms of action which already has the ending
-at for a different reason, again periphrasis is used, as in 'iqāmatun
wāḥidatun 'a one-time (single) construction'. Generally, Semitic languages,
much like the Hamitic ones, e.g. Hausa, use periphrasis extensively instead
of derivation. Of special interest are the expressions using kinship terms,
e.g. 'abu n-nawmi 'father of sleep = poppy', 'ummu t-tarīqi 'mother of the
road = highroad', ibnu s-sabīli 'son of the road = traveler', ibnu 'arba'īna
sanatan 'son of forty years = forty years old', bintu t-tarīqī 'daughter of
the road = path', 'axu l-γinā 'brother of wealth = rich man', 'axawātu
kāna 'the sisters of the verb KWN = verbs of being and becoming, like the

verb KWN "to be"' (a term of the Arab phililogists). In the spoken dialects both derivation and periphrasis flourish, continuing the old Arabic types, but not all of them, of course: even in antiquity a process of selection was underway. In periphrastic formations used to designate one idea, the words frequently become so closely connected as to be treated as one word; thus, ibnu 'Ādama (lit. 'son of Adam') 'man', pl. banū 'Ādama, are fused in Maltese into one word bniedem, pl. bniedmīn; in the Sudan *bnādem loses the first consonant (which was conceived as the preposition b-) and becomes nādem, pl. nawādem.

4. Declension

Classical Arabic distinguishes three cases (nominative, genitive, and accusative) and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). The regular noun has three cases in the singular: nom. -u, gen. -i, acc. -a (when defined by an article or a following genitive or personal suffix); or nom. -un, gen. -in, acc. -an (when undefined, i.e. in the absence of these defining elements).

A personal proper name loses the -n before the indication of the father's name e.g. Zaydu bnu 'Amrin 'Zayd the son of 'Amr' (instead of Zaydun). Likewise, any noun in the nominative drops the -n after the vocative yā 'oh' as in yā Zaydu 'oh, Zayd'; and in the accusative following the particle of absolute negation lā as in lā šakka 'no doubt', and in a few cases where the -a is hardly an accusative.[7]

The dual distinguishes only two cases: the nominative in -ā, and the oblique (i.e. genitive and accusative) in -ay. It indicates two, yet not

necessarily a pair, though it arose in order to indicate pairs. If it is
not followed by a defining genitive or by a pronominal suffix, it takes on
the complementary ending -ni (from -na, which is attested for old dialects).
Thus, yadā Zaydin 'Zayd's hands', bayna yadayhi 'between his hands, in
front of him'; al-yadāni 'both hands'.

The plural also has two cases, the nominative in -ū, and the oblique
in -ī. If no defining genitive or pronominal suffix follows, it takes on
the complementary ending -na. Thus, banū Tamīmin (lit. 'the sons of Tamim')
'the tribe of Tamim'; rajulun min banī Tamīmin 'a man of (from) the tribe of
Tamim'; al-muslimūna 'the Muslims'. The feminine plural also distinguishes
only two cases: nominative in -ātu(n) and oblique in -āti(n); the -n ending
of the indefinite state is treated as in the singular. Thus, xamsu sanawātin
'five years'; al-muslimātu 'the Muslim women'. In both genders the same
principle may be noted; the plural is formed by the elongation of the vowel
of the singular, but while the masculine is formed by elongating the vowel
of the case (ending), the feminine is formed by elongating the vowel of the
feminine suffix: muslimun:muslimūna; muslimin:muslimīna; muslimatun:muslimātun;
muslimatin:muslimātin.

The regular plural is used rather rarely. For the most part the
collective nouns known as broken plurals take its place. These collective
nouns, which often supersede the plural, are of several types, of which the
most common are: qutūl, qitāl, 'aqtāl, and qatālīl (the latter for nouns

with four radicals or for three radical nouns with a final long vowel), e.g.

Singular		Plural
qalbun	'heart'	qulūbun
kalbun	'dog'	kilābun
lawnun	'color'	'alwānun
markazun	'center'	marākizu
miftāḥun	'key'	mafātīḥu

These patterns apply to foreign words also, e.g.

bank	'bank	bunūk
jurnāl	'journal'	jarānīl
qunṣul	'consul'	qanāṣil

Nouns that are too long either lose the last consonant, as bolšefīk 'Bolshevik', pl. balāšifa(tun), or form the regular plural in -at, as metr 'meter', pl. 'amtār, but kīlōmetr, pl. kīlōmetrāt. A noun may have several plural forms, e.g. šātun 'sheep' has as plurals šā'un, šayhun, šīhun, šawan, šayyihun, šiwāhun, šiyāhun, šawāhā, ašāwihu. Usually there is no semantic difference between the various plural forms. Sometimes a single narrative will use two or three different plural patterns for the same noun without the slightest difference in meaning. There is a "plural of paucity" (from three to ten items), and a "plural of abundance" (over ten items) but in practice this differentiation is unstable. Thus qawlun 'word', may be in the plural 'aqwālun (three to ten) or 'aqāwīlu (ten or more). For some nouns one plural indicates one meaning of the word, another plural a second meaning, e.g. baytun means 'house' or '(poetic) verse' (cf. Greek οἶκος, κοντάκιον); the plural 'houses' is buyūtun, while 'abyātun means 'verses'; yet, in antiquity, this latter form also meant 'houses' (as in South-Arabian

and Ethiopic 'abyāt).

There is a class of nouns which in the indefinite singular do not take the ending -n, and have only two cases: nominative in -u, oblique in -a; these nouns are called in grammars diptotes ("two-case"). When such nouns are defined, they do not differ from regular three-case nouns (triptotes). Under the heading of diptotes we find: (1) proper names of foreign origin, feminine names in -at, in -ān, and of the type qutal, and verb-like names, e.g. Butrusu 'Peter', Maryamu 'Mary', Makkatu 'Mecca', Luqmānu 'Lokman', 'Umaru 'Omar', Yazīdu 'Yazid' (imperfect of ZYD); (2) nouns with a non-radical -ā', with the vocalization a-ā-i-u, adjectives of the types 'aqtal, qatlān, e.g. 'aðrā'u 'maiden, virgin', ma'ārifu 'enlightment', 'a'raju 'lame', yaðbānu 'angry'. Thus, bintu 'aswada 'daughter of a Negro', but bintu‿l-'aswadi 'the Negro's daughter', and bintu 'aswadinā 'our Negro's daughter'. The origin of this class has not been fully explained as yet; it does not appear in other Semitic languages.[8]

The contraction of weak sound combinations (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4) produces the endings -an, -in with incomplete declension in the singular. The vowel preceding -n is short; without the -n the vowel is long: thus wādin:al-wādī 'valley'; fatan:al-fatā 'youth'. Nouns in -ā are not declined in the singular at all, e.g. Mūsā 'Moses' (theoretically a diptote, as a proper name of foreign origin). Nouns in -ī have accusative in -iya, as wādiyan:al-wādiya. The ā of nouns in -ātun in the singular goes back to awa or aya, and therefore form the plural in -awātun, as hayātun 'life', pl. hayawātun.

A few nouns when followed by a defining element have a long case-ending vowel even in singular; such are 'abun 'father', 'axun 'brother', hamun

'father-in-law', hamun 'thing', e.g. 'abū Yūsufa 'Joseph's father', 'axīka
'thy brother'. In the word famun 'mouth', the m is a former indefinite
article, and the noun when defined has these forms: fū (nom.), fī (gen.),
fā (acc.). The noun ðū 'master', gen. ðī, acc. ðā, is derived from a demon-
strative pronoun (cf. Sec. 2), and is always used with a following defining
element, as in ðūˏl-māli 'master of wealth, rich man'; the plural is 'ulū
or ðawū, fem. sing. ðātu(n), fem. pl. ðawātu(n).

Mar'atun:imra'atun 'woman' forms its plural from another root: nisā'un,
niswānun, niswatun, nisūna (the first being the usual form).

Bek 'prince' (from Turkish bek, now bey) has the plural bekawātun, by
analogy with bāšā 'pasha', pl. bāš(aw)ātun and 'aɣā 'aga' pl. 'aɣawātun.
The English loan-word lord forms the plural lordātun.

In the modern dialects the declension has been simplified: the case
endings of the singular have been dropped, the dual has been preserved only
in nouns, with the ending -ayn/-ēn throughout, the regular plural has the
ending -īn, fem. -āt (though the feminine plural ending has been extended
greatly and has a much wider application); however, the broken plural is
flourishing but with the number of patterns (originally over forty) reduced.
In the Maghrib dialects the feminine ending -at is used rather frequently
as a means of forming the plural, e.g. Maltese kittiebat 'writers' instead
of the usual kattābīn from sing. kattāb. The dual and the masculine plural
retain the final -n even when followed by a defining genitive (ad sensum)
or a pronominal suffix; only the word banī in tribal names and some current
names of pairs of limbs (usually: hands, feet, eyes, ears) retain the form
without -n. In some Arabian dialects as well as in the Arabic of Soviet
Central Asia the indefinite article -n (but without case indication) is

retained, as in čayin azraq 'blue (i.e. green) tea'. The genitive relation is expressed simply by contact of the preceding defined noun with the following defining element, e.g. bayt al-māl 'the house of the wealth, the treasury'. Yet, side by side with this simplest pattern, a more complicated and clearer one has emerged: the defined noun, with the definite article, is joined to the defining word with the help of a word meaning 'property'; the most widespread word for 'property' is matā' → mtā' (Maghrib), ta' before consonants, and tie' before vowels (Malta), betā' (Egypt)[9], tabā' (Syria); but also māl (Iraq), ḥagg (Arabia), hana (Sudan). Thus, in Maltese, is-stamperīya ta l-gvern 'government printing-house'; il-ktieb ta'na 'our book'; l-itra tie'ek 'thy letter'.

In Morocco the relative pronoun di or d, sometimes expanded into diāl, is used for the same purpose. Example: sūra d-l-bläd or sūra diāl l-bläd 'the plan of the town'.

As mentioned above, the feminine ending -at retains its t in the dialects only when followed by a defining genitive or a pronominal suffix, as in mart it-tāžir 'the merchant's wife', marti 'my wife' (Classical mar'atu t-tāžiri, mar'atī); or else it is pronounced -ah or -a, with reduction in some dialects (-e, -i in Syria, except when it follows an emphatic or laryngeal or r, e.g. sini 'year'). Other -a endings (former -ā, -ā'u, -an, and foreign ones), follow the same pattern, e.g. dunyit álla 'God's world' (dunyā), marsit il-mdīne, 'the city harbour' (marsan), bāša Halab 'the pasha of Aleppo' (bāša, from Turkish pašá).

5. Conjugation

Verbs and verbal nouns are classified by "forms" ("conjugations"). The "forms" are bases, stems expressing variations in the quantity, quality, or direction of an action, state, or condition. In Western manuals they are marked by the Roman numerals I to XV, but the last five are too rare to be considered here. The derivation can be seen from Table III below. In the main their meanings are as follows:

Form   I   - simplest, starting point for further derivation

Form   II   - to do frequently or intensively, to consider somebody as...;
              frequently overlaps with Form IV

Form III   - to direct, strive to, act in conjunction with...

Form   IV   - to shape into..., induce, cause to do...

Form   V   - to become..., to do to oneself, to claim to be...

Form   VI   - to act mutually, to simulate

Form VII   - to let action be done to oneself; reflexive

Form VIII   - reflexive of I; may be used instead of VI or VII

Form   IX   - to be or become a certain color, or marked by a certain defect

Form   X   - to ask somebody for something, to force oneself, to do unto
              oneself; reflexive of IV

In English we can discern as parallel to some of these "forms" the separate forms of passive, reflexive, causative (factitive, as in to strengthen.) The I form of the root 'IM means 'to know'; the II 'to teach' (causative); the V 'to study' ('learn, teach oneself'; reflexive).

Table III   VERBAL FORMS AND NOUNS OF ROOT QTL 'TO KILL'

Form	Voice	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Participle	Verbal Noun
I	active	qatala	yaqtulu	uqtul	qātilun	qatlun
	passive	qutila	yuqtalu	------	maqtūlun	------
II	active	qattala	yuqattilu	qattil	maqattilun	taqtīlun
	passive	quttila	yuqattalu	------	muqattalun	------
III	active	qātala	yuqātilu	qātil	muqātilun	muqātalatun
	passive	qūtila	yuqātalu	------	muqātalun	------
IV	active	'aqtala	yuqtilu	'aqtil	muqtilun	'iqtālun
	passive	'uqtila	yuqtalu	------	muqtalun	------
V	active	taqattala	yataqattalu	taqattal	mutaqattilun	taqattulun
	passive	tuquttila	yutaqattalu	------	mutaqattalun	------
VI	active	taqātala	yataqātalu	taqātal	mutaqātilun	taqātulun
	passive	tuqūtila	yutaqātalu	------	mutaqātalun	------
VII	active	inqatala	yanqatilu	inqatil	munqatilun	inqitālun
VIII	active	iqtatala	yaqtatilu	iqtatil	muqtatilun	iqtitālun
	passive	uqtutila	yuqtatalu	------	muqtatalun	------
IX	active	iqtalla	yaqtallu	iqtalil	muqtallun	iqtilālun
X	active	istaqtala	yastaqtilu	istaqtil	mustaqtilun	istiqtālun
	passive	ustuqtila	yustaqtalu	------	mustaqtalun	------

As for the history of the forms, we should note that the IV form is the
result of the reduction of the former characteristic sibilant <u>s</u> into <u>h</u>
and then into <u>'</u>, i.e. <u>sa-qtala</u> → <u>ha-qtala</u> → <u>'aqtala</u>. (The first of these
formations is attested in Minaean inscriptions, the second in Sabaean
inscriptions and some vestiges in North-Arabian.) In the X form this
sibilant has been retained after regular change into <u>s</u>. In the IV form,
the imperfect lost the <u>'a</u> syllable, and therefore the passive imperfect
of I and IV is the same (*<u>yu'awtalu</u> → <u>yuqtalu</u>.) The meaning of IV is most
frequently transitive, though there are cases of intransitive usage for
the causative of internal object, as in the case of <u>γarbun</u> 'west', <u>'aγraba</u>
'he went westward', <u>hasanatun</u> 'good deed', <u>'ahsana</u> 'he acted as benefactor'.
In VIII the former reflexive prefix <u>ta</u> has exchanged place with the first
radical. The analogous case of the Hebrew reflexive shows that originally
this exchange occurred only when the first radical was a sibilant, as in
<u>hištammér</u> 'he guarded himself, was careful', from the root ŠMR (but
<u>hiθkappér</u> 'he was redeemed', from root KPR, with change of <u>t</u> to <u>θ</u> after
vowel).

The first form appears in six types (of which the table shows only
one, the most common). Of these, four are variants both in vocalization
and content; two depend on the composition of the root and are mere formal
variations in vocalization. Even in the classical period these types
influenced one another and were confused, with the result that there are
no exact rules about them. Examples:

(1) kataba 'he wrote'   yaktubu 'he writes'   uktub 'write!'

(2) daraba 'he hit'   yadribu 'he hits'   idrib 'hit!'

(3) qata'a 'he cut'   yaqta'u 'he cuts'   iqta' 'cut!'

(4) mariḍa 'he was ill,   yamraḍu 'he is ill'   imraḍ 'be ill!'
           he fell ill'

(5) wariθa 'he inherited' yariθu   'he inherits' riθ   'inherit!'

(6) karuma 'he was   yakrumu 'he is gener- ukrum 'be generous!'
           generous'   ous'

Formally, the main difference lies in the vocalization of the second radical (a-u, a-i, a-a, i-a, i-i, u-u). The difference in content is as follows:

First type: transitive, deep or complete action;

Second type: transitive, transitory, superficial action;

Third type: occurs only when the second or third radical is a

laryngeal (x, ɣ, ḥ, ', ', h); sometimes, by analogy with other

verbs, this type follows another type, as in daxala 'he entered',

yadxulu 'he enters', under the impact of xaraja 'he went out',

yaxruju 'he goes out';

Fourth type: intransitive; temporary, transient state;

Fifth type: conditioned by the initial radical w which, since it is

incompatible with the vocalization in -u-, dissimilates it into -i-,

and formally turns the first type (a-u) into the second (a-i), e.g.

waladat 'she gave birth', talidu 'she gives birth', and the second

(a-i) into a special fifth type, peculiar to verbs with an initial

w (the karuma type is preserved even when the initial radical is w,

but this type is generally rare in the language);

Sixth type: intransitive; permanent state or condition.

These types reflect a very ancient frame of mind which is quite alien
to us; the definitions "transitive" and "intransitive", though they apply

to the overwhelming majority of cases of each type, prove useless for the
minority of cases that reflect that peculiar frame of mind; for example,
the verbs of motion ('come', 'go', 'enter', etc.) in the first group go
back to a time when the direction of action was thought of as a direct
object;[10] verbs of internal action ('think', 'know', 'understand', etc.),
though transitive, belong to the fourth type.[11] How complicated the
history of these types may be, and how difficult it is to explain each
specific case in teaching Arabic, can be seen from the following example:
hamida 'he praised', yahmadu 'he praises', ihmad 'praise!' is a transitive
verb of type four; but why? This is a transposition (metathesis) variant
of the verb madaha 'he praised', yamdahu 'he praises', but the metathesis
occurred in the imperfect or imperative, and here, unless either the second
or third radical is a laryngeal, the corresponding perfect can be only
hamida (type i-a.) The more ancient order MDH is attested by the related
roots MDD, MTT 'elongate, stretch out (sc. arms)'. The six types can be
distinguished only in the perfect, imperfect, and imperative of the active
voice of form I. In other forms, the type a-i (in V and VI, however, a-a)
prevails, except in the participles; only occasionally do other types occur,
without playing any role in the language.

The passive is used only when the acting agent is unknown or unnamed.
Originally it was another, special "form" (conjugation) of the verb, but
later a number of passive "forms" were incorporated into the conjugation
as parallels to each of the active "forms" (except the intransitive VII
and IX, which ordinarily have no passive voice, though there is no techni-
cal difficulty in constructing one).

The above mentioned types of form I, it would seem, were also ~rigi-
nally separate "forms". But the passive converged with the _i-a_ type, to
which it was closest in content; thus, _qutila_ 'they killed him, he was
killed', _yuqtalu_ 'they kill him', just like _zukima_ 'he had a (nose) cold',
yuzkamu 'he has a (nose) cold' (cf. _marida_ 'he fell ill', _yamradu_ 'he is
ill'). The _u_ vowel of the passive voice resulted from the insertion into
the verb of a former prefix which is still used to form the passive in
many African languages.[12]

The conjugation of the perfect tense is effected ` y replacing the
ending _-a_ with the endings shown in the table of personal pronouns (Sec.
4.2), and is the same for all the "forms". The conjugation of the
imperfect employs the prefixes (and confixes) shown in the same table
but distinguishes several moods characterized by different endings (though
the distinction is not carried through completely):

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Jussive, Imperative
he, she, thou (m.), we	–u	–a	–Ø
thou (f.)	–īna		–ī
both	–āni		–ā
they (m.), you (m.)	–ūna		–ū
they (f.), you (f.)		–na	

In the simplest forms, indicative and subjunctive are inflected as the
noun declension: _-u_ in the nominative and _-a_ in the accusative; in the more
complicated forms, subjunctive, jussive and imperative, verbs end simply in
the concluding parts of the confixes, but the indicative has in addition the

endings -na, -ni, like the dual and regular plural of nouns. The imperative

has no personal prefixes; in many cases it begins with a two-consonant

cluster which is relieved at the opening of speech by the auxiliary i- or

u- (cf. Phonetics Sec. 3).

The moods can be strengthened by the addition of the ending -n ("light

form") or -nna/-nni ("grave form"), e.g. wa-tallāhi là 'akīdanna 'aṣnāmakum

'and, by God, I shall indeed plot against your idols' (root KYD 'to scheme,

plot').

For the verbal nouns, we may note that the prefix ma in the passive

participle of form I is peculiar to Arabic among the Semitic languages

(Hebr. qåtul, Aram. qetil; reflexive substitutes in other languages). The

vocalization of mu- in the participles of the derived forms (as well as in

the prefixes yu-, tu-, 'u-, nu- in the active imperfect of II, III, and IV)

has its origin in the reduction of a to ǝ, which is here originally un-

stressed. In IV, today's muqtilun, yuqtilu, etc. derive from *mu'áqtilun,

*yu'áqtilu. The most frequent verbal nouns are shown in the table. But I

has up to forty forms of verbal noun (depending on the type of verb and

various concomitant notions--such as duration, partial character, etc.);

the other forms have far fewer variants, and only the more regular ones,

II qittālun, III qītālun, V tiqittālun, VI tiqītālun will be mentioned

here, though even these are rare. The more or less accepted pattern

qitālun of III resulted from qītālun by quantitative dissimilation (long

vowel shortened before another long one).

The most frequent and important cases of assimilation resulting from

the contact between radical consonants and non-radical ones in the verb

occur in VIII:

θt	ðt	dt	zt	ṭt	ḍt	ṣt	ẓt	wt yt 't
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
θθ	ðð	dd	zd	ṭṭ	ḍṭ	ṣṭ	ẓṭ	tt

The intradentals when encountering a _t_ admit also mutual assimilation θt →
tt, ðt → dd, and ẓt → tt (from dd), and the Classical ẓ⟩t → ẓ⌃d is more
natural than the presumed ḍṭ (actually read tt or θt). Thus arises
izdiǰārun 'impediment', from ZǰR, ittiḥādun 'union' from WḤD. However,
these assimilations stem from different periods; the front-tongue sounds
assimilated the _t_ when it still was in front of them, i.e. before the trans-
position had taken place (otherwise zt would not produce zd in Arabic),
while the weak _w_ and _y_ changed under the pressure of the initial i_, i.e.
after the transposition (the double tt here being a secondary °ormation).

The perfect expresses completed action, referring most frequently to
the past, e.g. tarāhana θalāθatu nafarin 'three persons made a bet', but it
may refer to the present, as in 'alimtu 'I know', or to the future, as in
'in 'aḍḥaktanī 'if you make me laugh'. The imperfect refers to incompleted
action, and may refer to the present or future, as in 'u'ṭīka 'I give thee'
or 'I shall give thee'; but in some cases it may refer to the past, as in
lam yaǰid 'he did not find'. For more precise expression of the past in
the case of completed action, the verb is preceded by the auxiliary verb
KWN 'to be' or the particle qad 'already' or, sometimes, by both combined,
as in kāna qad raǰa'a 'ilā baytihi 'he returned home'. This turn of speech
is often used ⟨⟩ express the past perfect. The perfect of KWN set before
the imperfect of another verb will convey the notion of reiterated or usual
action in the past, as in kāna yaǰlisu 'he used to sit, he would sit'. For

more precise expression of the future, the particle sawfa 'thereupon' or its abridgment sa- followed by the imperfect of the indicative is used, as in sa-'aðkuru 'I shall mention'. The imperfect of KWN with the imperfect of another verb expresses the ingressive, 'to be about to...', as in 'akūnu 'aktubu 'I am about to write, I am going to write'. A series of auxiliary verbs helps to express the various "aspects" of action, such as beginning ('axaða yaktubu 'he began writing'; literally 'he took to writing'); closeness to action (kāda yaktubu 'he almost wrote'); continuity (mā zāla yaktubu 'he did not cease writing, he went on, kept on writing'), etc. The examples quoted show that there is no conjunction to connect the auxiliary verb with the main verb, and instead of our to write or writing the main verb appears in the imperfect, and both the auxiliary verb and the main verb undergo parallel change, mutually agreeing with each other (except when the auxiliary verb precedes the subject and the main verb follows the subject, in which case the agreement in number is broken, cf. Syntax, Sec. 2).

The so-called irregular verbs represent anomalies dependent upon the composition of the root. The sound changes that deflect verbs and verbal nouns from the expected regular form have been mentioned above (cf. Phonetics, Sec. 4). The doubled verbs (verba mediae geminatae), i.e. verbs with identical second and third radical, such as DQQ 'break, bruise, knock' and verbs with a "weak" consonant (w or y) as the middle radical ("hollow"; verba mediae w, y) such as QWM 'stand', SYR 'go, walk' will show contractions in the perfect, with differences in the formation of the open syllable (daqqa, qāma, sāra from *daqaqa, *qawama, *sayara) and the closed syllable (daqaqta, qumta, sirta from *qōmta, *sērta respectively).[13] The imperfect is formed on the patterns yaduqqu, yaqūmu, yasīru (open syllables) and

<u>yadquqna</u>, <u>yaqumna</u>, <u>yasirna</u> (with closed syllables). Forms II, V (cften III, VI) of the doubled verb and II, III, V, VI of hollow verbs generally follow the regular conjugation. Likewise, the denominative hollow verbs, e.g. <u>sawida</u> 'he was black' (from <u>'aswadu</u> 'black') has the imperfect <u>yaswaᵈi</u>. Verbs with an initial glottal stop are identical in forms III and IV, since two glottal stops may not occur in the same syllable: <u>'akala</u> 'he ate', forms III and IV, <u>'ākala</u>. The verbs 'KL 'eat', 'MR 'command', 'XⱭ 'take' have the imperatives <u>kul</u>, <u>mur</u>, <u>xuð</u> instead of <u>u'kul</u>, <u>u'mur</u>, <u>u'xuð</u>; the latter forms do occur in the dialects, however. Verbs with an initial <u>w</u> follow the <u>a-i</u>, <u>a-a</u>, <u>i-i</u> patterns, but lose the <u>w</u> in form I in the imperfect active, the imperative, and in the simplest noun of action with the feminine ending, e.g. <u>waṣala</u> 'he connected', <u>yaṣilu</u> 'he connects', <u>ṣil</u> 'connect!' <u>ṣilatun</u> 'connection (and other meanings)'.

Verbs with a final <u>w</u> or <u>y</u> undergo a series of changes. All their derived forms show the timbre I (<u>i</u>, <u>y</u>) and no trace of timbre U (<u>u</u>, <u>w</u>) thus, 'DW ('pass, befall, attack') has as the verbal noun of V <u>ta'addin</u> ('oppression, injury') reflecting *<u>ta'adduyun</u> and not *<u>ta'adduwun</u>. Here too the difference between open and closed syllable is noticeable: e.g. <u>ramā</u> 'he threw' from *<u>ramaya</u>, but <u>ramayta</u> 'thou threwest', much as a regular verb. Verbs that combine several anomalies are affected by all of them; but the middle <u>w</u> before a final <u>y</u> is stable; for example, <u>šawā</u> 'he roasted' forms <u>yašwī</u> 'he will roast', <u>išwi</u> 'roast!' however, assimilation will still affect the <u>w</u>, e.g. *<u>šawyun</u> produces <u>šayyun</u> 'roast'.

Quadriliteral verbs are infrequent, and their conjugation is that of triliterals, but I, e.g. <u>handasa</u> 'he measured', corresponds to form II of the triliteral verb (<u>qattala</u>), and therefore we have <u>yuhandisu</u> 'he measures',

handis ʾmeasure!ʼ, muhandisun ʼgeometrician, technician, engineerʼ.
Further, form II of the quadriliteral verb corresponds to form V of the
triliteral (tafalsafa ʼhe philosophizedʼ; III_4 is akin to VII_3 (iɣdanfara
ʼhe was rudeʼ, root ΓDR with inserted -n-); IV_4 is like IX_3 (išmaʻalla
ʼhe was, became dispersedʼ, root ŠMʻL).

Mention must be made of the negative verb laysa ʼis notʼ from lā ʼncʼ
plus *yiθ ʼthere isʼ, the latter corresponding to Hebrew yeš, Assyro-
Babylonian išū, Aramaic ʾiθ, with a dissimilation θt → st), which is used
with the endings of the perfect only and which in closed syllables shows the
base las-, e.g. lastum ʼyou are notʼ (from *layθtum).

The spoken dialects have preserved the main features of the Classical
conjugation. The passive, which even in Classical Arabic could be replaced
by reflexive forms, has disappeared except for a few traces, like the parti-
ciple maqtūl and some intransitive verbs that absorbed the former passive
voice as reduced short vowels converged. A real passive will occur only
by way of borrowing from the literary idiom, in certain locutions such as
qutil qatīl (or ʾitil ʾatīl) ʼkilled was the slain man, somebody was
killedʼ; in general, VII or VIII of the active voice replaces the passive.
IV is on the decline, and II takes its place; only in such specific cases
as ʾaslam ʼhe embraced Islamʼ, is IV still in use, but even here, by virtue
of the loss of the unstressed initial vowel (the glottal stop weakened and
fell away), it may be identical with I, e.g. ʾarāda ʼhe wishedʼ → rād.
Vocalization depends to a great extent on the surrounding consonants, and
therefore the old types of I are only barely distinguishable. Here are
examples from the dialect of Tripolitania: šrảb ʼhe drankʼ, šŏrbet/šúrbet
ʼshe drankʼ, šŏrbu/šúrbu ʼthey drankʼ; imperfect: yŏšrob, yášrab, yíšrub;

imperative: ŏsrob, ăsrab, ŭsrub, ĭsrub. The verb 'to write' KTB produces:
perfect kteb (m.), kitbet (f.), kĭt^ebu (pl.); imperfect yektib; imperative
ăktib. We see here a development which is just the opposite of the Classical
norm: šariba-yašrabu, which has no u in its base, acquires labial vocaliza-
tion (though, as the variants show, it is not binding), while kataba-yaktubu,
with its u in the base, loses its labial vocalization. In stricter pro-
nunciation (of the educated in Syria and Egypt) one can distinguish the
types qatal (transitive) and mirid (intransitive) ← marida; in the prefixes
of the imperfect the vowel -a- appears only when the first radical is a
laryngeal, e.g. yá'rif 'he notices' - elsewhere the vowel is -i- (or the
usual reduced -ə-), e.g. yĭktub/yĭktib 'he writes'. As in the case of the
personal pronouns (mentioned above in Sec. 2), the living dialects lost the
dual except in the nouns; the "provincial" group retains the distinction
between masculine and feminine in the plural, but the "urban" group has
lost it. In this way the conjugation has been considerably simplified. The
form for the third person masculine singular of the perfect deserves partic-
ular attention: the "provincial" group has the ending -aw, the "urban"
group the ending -u; Classical has both, but most verbs have -ū, and -aw
occurs in verbs with a final w or y, e.g. qatalu 'they killed' but ramaw
'they threw'; in Egypt -um is also used, e.g. qatalum, ramum.[14]

In the conjugation of the imperfect, the dialects make extensive use
of various particles to express shades of the time of action (continuous
vs. general, etc.). In Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, b- is widespread, e.g.
biktub/baktib 'I write', and, with assimilation of bn to mn, mniktub/
meniktib 'we write'. In Morocco and Algeria ka-/ta- is used, e.g. kayākul/
tayākul 'he eats'. The Maghrib dialects have a characteristic feature in

the formation of the first person of the imperfect: n̲- 'I', n̲...u 'we', e.g. nä̲ku̲l 'I eat', nä̲ku̲lu 'we eat', parallel to yä̲ku̲l 'he eats', yä̲ku̲lu 'they eat', tä̲ku̲l 'thou (m.) eatest', ᴜ̲ä̲ku̲lu 'you eat'. In Daθīnah (South Arabia) the pronoun 'we' became lah̲na (dissimilation of n̲...n̲ to l̲...n̲), and this affected the imperfect, e.g. lah̲na ma laqbil 'we shall not accept' (instead of Classical nah̲nu mä̲ naqbalu).

The variety of moods, indicative, subjunctive, and jussive, died out at an early period. The "provincial" group preserves the indicative in -n̲, while the "urban" group has lost it, e.g. tä̲ku̲lī̲n/tä̲ku̲lī 'thou (f.) eatest', where the presence or absence of -n̲ has no semantic value. The active participle is used as a verb, more in some dialects, less in others; it is extraordinarily in vogue in the Arabic of Soviet Central Asia.

In the spoken dialects, combinations of nouns and participles with pronominal suffixes often play the role of verbs of more general content. Thus ʻan̲d 'at, with, chez' with suffixes serves to express 'to have' as in ʻan̲di ktä̲b 'I have a book', mä̲ ʻan̲diš̲ 'I have no book'. The combinations fī̲-hi 'in it', and mä̲ fī̲-hi (š̲ay') 'there is not' are very much used in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In Mesopotamia the corresponding words are ä̲ku and mä̲ku respectively (origin as yet unclear). Bi-wadd 'in the desire' with suffixes functions in the sense of 'to want, wish', and helps to express the future, as in š̲u baddi aʻmal (Syria), biddi aʻmal ē̲ (Egypt) 'what shall I do?'. In Morocco and Algeria we find the participle rä̲ (from rä̲'ih 'going' or perhaps from ra 'look') with suffixes to express 'to be', e.g. rä̲ni 'I am'. Auxiliary words are often abridged; e.g. ʻammä̲l 'doing', which in Syria and Egypt indicates continuous action, is abridged to ʻamm̲, as in ʻammä̲l yiktub̲ = ʻamm byiktub̲ 'he is writing'; hattä̲ 'until, in order

to' is shortened to ta, which is used to indicate urging or inducing, as in tanrūh 'let us go' (literally, 'in order that we go').

The verb ra'ā 'to see' weakened and was superseded in the dialects by the more vigorous šāf; on the other hand, another weakened verb, ǰā'a 'he came', has been preserved but with reinforcement: its forms with an open syllable usually get an additional initial syllable: iǰa 'he came', iǰit 'she came', iǰu 'they came' (Syria); aga/igi 'he came', agat 'she came', but gum 'they came' (Egypt); the imperative is provided from another root— ta'āl(a) or ta'a (m.), ta'āli or ta'i (f.), ta'ālu or ta'u (pl.)

A very important change took place in the spoken Arabic conjugation of the perfect of the doubled verbs (mediae geminatae): they are treated as if they had a final y. True, the simplest 3 person sing. masc. form differentiates the two categories, e.g. madd 'he stretched out' (root MDD), ramā 'he threw' (root RMY), but in all the other formations the endings are identical, e.g. maddayt/maddēt 'I stretched out, thou stretchedest out', ramayt/ramēt 'I threw out, thou threwest out', maddayna/maddēna 'we threw'. The former perfect forms of the doubled verbs in which the identical consonants are separated by a short vowel, e.g. madadtu, madadnā, do not occur any more.

As in other Semitic languages, we find in Arabic too the use of the verb QWM 'to get up' to express vividness of action, or, with the imperative, 'urging', e.g. qām qāl 'he got up he said', = 'go, get going'.

6. Particles

Most adverbs are expressed by nouns in the accusative, e.g. maθalan 'for example', 'al-'āna 'at present, now'. These forms are also used in the dialects, but the ending -a is dropped, as are all the original short vowel endings; the ending -an is frequently replaced by a pausal -ā. However, the dialects usually borrow such adverbs from the literary language, which borrowing can be traced by the phonetics of the words; thus, in Syria one hears masalan 'for example' but matal 'example' (there is also matalan but this word is suspect, inasmuch as the literary θ is read by Syrians as s, and the old ending -an disappears in its proper function). The Arab nowadays feels no need for a specific adverbial ending; an adjective can serve as adverb too, e.g. tayyib 'good' or 'well', ktīr 'many, much, very'; similarly a noun with some additional demonstrative particle, e.g. hāðal-waqt 'this time' = 'now' → halwaqt, hallaq, halqayt (Syria), dilwaqt (Egypt), dāba (Morocco), etc.

The prepositions are former nouns defined by a following genitive. In Classical Arabic all the prepositions require the genitive, e.g. fi,l-bayti 'in the house'. Some are very short (bi 'with', li 'to', fi 'in', min 'from'), some longer ('ilā 'to', 'alā 'on, against', ladā 'at, in front of'); before pronominal suffixes the ending turns into a diphthong, as in 'alaykum 'upon you', etc. Former nouns used as particles have -a when serving as prepositions but -u when serving as adverbs, e.g. fawqa 'over': fawqu 'up(stairs)'; ba'da 'after':ba'du 'later'. The connection of verbs with indirect objects by prepositions has very significant effects: the prepositions change the meaning of the verbs, sometimes even reversing the meaning. Thus D'W 'call', but da'ā lahu 'he blessed him', da'ā 'alayhi

'he cursed him'; 'SR 'bind', ista'sara-hu 'he captured him', but ista'sara lahu 'he surrendered to him'. In the dialects, the prepositions underwent various changes. Li- and 'ilā, close in sense, form, and probably in origin, are regularly confused; short prepositions easily merge with the following words, e.g. jā'a bi- 'he came with, he brought' gave rise to the spoken Arabic verb žāb/gāb (imperfect yižīb/yigīb) 'to bring'; the prepositions 'alā 'over' and min 'from' are often abridged to 'a- and mi- respectively, especially with the article, e.g. 'albēt, milbēt instead of 'ala‿l-bēt 'on the house', mina‿l-bēt or mn‿l-bēt 'from the house'. Fī, despite the length of its vowel, is often reduced to f-, as in Maltese flimkien = flok 'instead' (the former from the Arabic fi‿l-makāni, the latter from fī plus Italian loco 'place'). Li- with pronominal suffixes merges with the verb into one stress unit, e.g. iḥlúqli (Syria), iḥláqli (Egypt) 'shave me, give me a shave'; žiblna (Syria), hātlina (Egypt) 'bring us, fetch us'. In Morocco, n- appears unexpectedly instead of li-, e.g. n'andi 'to me'. In Maltese lil arose, e.g. līli 'me', lil-min 'whom?'.

Classical Arabic is very rich in conjunctions, sometimes with only subtle differences between kindred ones, e.g. between wa 'and' (with the sense of simultaneity) and fa 'and' (with the sense of consecutiveness); between 'anna 'that' (following verb or particle) and 'inna 'truly, indeed, verily' (independently opening a sentence), both corresponding to the Hebrew hinné 'behold'. Conjunctions are formed from nouns and verbs with the help of the pronoun mā 'what', e.g. kulla-mā 'whenever, every time (that)...', tāla-mā 'as long as'. A curious example of the impact of ideology upon language is the rule of classical style that the name of Allah cannot be conjoined with his creatures by the conjunction wa; if

need be, the notion of 'Allah and...' can be expressed by the orthodox
Muslim author with the adverb θumma 'then' instead of the conjunction wa,
e.g. 'ašhadtu‿llāha θumma ǰamāʿatan mina‿l-muslimīna 'I ask God, further-
more a number of Muslims, to bear witness'. In the dialects, the subtleties
of the Classical conjunctions are obliterated; wa is far more used than fa,
and the latter is on the verge of disappearing; 'anna and 'inna converge in
one conjunction in 'that' (like the former in content, the latter in form);
in place of the Classical 'in 'if', we now find 'iδā (also Classical),
which has become ida, iza, or ila. Ordinary Classical conjunctions can be
replaced by new formations or even borrowings, e.g. wa-'illā 'and if not'
(→ willa, walla) or the Persian ya, both used instead of 'aw 'or'.

Classical interjections are easily turned into nouns, i.e. take on the
usual case endings, as in 'uffun lahu, 'uffin lahu, 'uffan lahu 'fie, for
shame'. Of course, there is actually no declension here. The exclamation
way li.... 'woe unto....' produced waylun 'grief, calamity, woe'. On the
other hand, entire expressions may be compressed into a particle and become
interjections, e.g. waylun li-'ummihi or waylu 'ummihi 'woe unto his mother'
is reduced to waylimmi. In the dialects the absence of case endings favors
the eradication of the border line between noun and interjection.

V. SYNTAX

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1. <u>Word order</u>

In the nominal clause the normal word order is subject-predicate, e.g.
<u>Zaydun maridun</u> 'Zayd is ill'. Sometimes, by reason of special logical
stress upon the predicate, the word order may change, e.g. <u>salamun hiya</u>
'it is peace' ('peace it is'; refers to the night of divine power, Quran,
sura 97). In the verbal clause, the normal word order is predicate-
subject-object, e.g. <u>zara Zaydun 'Amran</u> 'Zayd visited 'Amr'. But sometimes
the subject precedes the predicate: this is not infrequent in proverbs
which still preserve the most ancient structure going back to the pre-
verbal stage, e.g. <u>al-jahilu yaṭlubu l-mala wa l-'aqilu yaṭlubu l-kamala</u>
'the fool seeks wealth, the sage seeks perfection'. The object precedes
the verb only rarely, as in <u>'iyaka na'budu wa-'iyaka nasta'inu</u> 'Thee do we
worship, and on Thee do we call for help' (Quran, sura 1). In general, to
express logical stress upon the object, the Arabs usually use a third person
pronominal suffix with the verb, referring to the preceding object, e.g.
<u>wa l-'arda wada'aha li l-'anami</u> 'the earth, He set it for the living; He
set the earth...' (Quran, sura 55). Often, a verbal clause will be the
predicate of a nominal sentence; the clause is connected with the subject
of the nominal sentence by a third person pronominal suffix, e.g. <u>haddadun</u>
<u>kana lahu kalbun</u> 'a smith he had a dog, a smith had a dog' (also: 'a smith
who had a dog').

A modifier follows the modified noun, e.g. <u>lisanu l-'Arabi</u> 'the
language of the Arabs', <u>al-luyatu l-'arabiyatu</u> 'the Arabic language'. Only

the article and the demonstrative pronouns precede the modified noun, as in
hāðạ,r-rajulu 'this man'. The connection between the modifier and the modi-
fied noun is so firm that an inserted word cannot intervene, e.g. 'the
language and the poetry of the Arabs' is to be translated lisānu,l-'Arabi
wa-ši'ruhum that is 'the language of the Arabs and their poetry'. Modifiers
can be multiplied, e.g. 'alsinatu,l-'Arabi wa,l-Fursi wa,t-Turki 'the
languages of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks'. An adjective will in
any case follow a noun, e.g. lisānu,l-'Arabi,l-faṣīhu 'the classical language
of the Arabs' (lit. 'the language of the Arabs, the classical').

Particles occupy various places in the sentence; most particles precede
the word they refer to; only a few follow the word. Thus, the notion 'only'
is expressed by the particle 'innamā at the beginning of the sentence, while
ац the end of the sentence it is expressed by fa-qaṭ, e.g. 'innama,ṣ-ṣadaqātu
li,l-fuqarā'i 'alms are only for the poor'; but wajadnā dirhaman faqaṭ 'we
found only a drachma'.

In the dialects the word order is in principle the same, though the
influence of non-Semitic languages is apt to disrupt—more or less—the
traditional word order. Thus, in Soviet Central Asia the word order is
Tajik (usually subject-object-predicate), e.g. ana čayin azraq zinn asūfah
'I like green tea very much' (lit. 'I green tea very much like'). In
Mesopotamia, the adjective of Persian origin xōš 'good' precedes the noun,
though the other adjectives follow the noun. Of interest is the evolution
and position of the indefinite article in the dialects. The old indefinite
article -n (in the case endings of the singular) has disappeared, but,
since the need for expressing indefiniteness remains, the dialects have
developed new indefinite articles derived from words denoting singleness;

usually it is wāḥid 'one', but in Mesopotamia fǟrd 'single'. In the very
few dialects that have preserved a vestige of the old -n, there is ordinar-
ily no new indefinite article. But in the dialect of Soviet Central Asia
the -n is kept, yet there is also fad (from fard). Unlike a numeral or
adjective, this wāḥid or fǟrd in the sense of an indefinite article comes
before the noun and does not change in gender, e.g. wāḥid mara or fǟrd mara
'a woman'.[15] In Mesopotamia, fǟrd may come before a plural noun, since
fǟrd clearly expresses indefiniteness rather than singularity, e.g. fǟrd
reyā̆jĭl eθne^in '(some) two men' (reyā̆jĭl being here the plural of rejjä̆l).
Another matter affecting the word order is how a question is expressed. In
Classical Arabic there is intonational expression of the interrogative;
here no change in the word order is necessary, e.g. 'anta wāriθun li-banī
'Umayyata 'art thou heir of the Umayyads?' but by virtue of the logical
stress, some members of the sentence may be transposed, as in fa-waṣīyun
'anta 'and art thou a trustee?'. Ordinarily, however, a question without
an interrogative word is introduced by a general interrogative particle 'a
or the stronger hal, e.g. 'a qāma Zaydun 'has Zayd risen? did Zayd rise?'
(in a double question we find 'a...'am..., e.g. 'a Zaydun 'indaka 'am
'Amrun 'is Zayd with you or 'Amr?'); hal fiᵕd-dāri jāriyatun tusammā
Fiddata 'is there in the house a maidservant called Fidda?'. Interrogative
words are placed at the opening of the sentence, e.g. 'ayna kunti 'where
wast thou (f.)?', bintu man 'anti 'whose daughter art thou?'. In the
dialects, the general interrogative particle has disappeared, and conse-
quently only the intonational interrogation remains; thus, na'am yā sīdi
without the interrogative tone means 'yes, sir', while with the interrog-
ative tone it means 'well, sir? what can I do for you?' ('plaît-il,

monsieur?'); 'andak xubz 'do you have bread?', fihimt 'did you understand?'.
Interrogative words come in most dialects at the opening of the sentence,
e.g., in Syria, šu ṣarlak 'what happened to you?', wayn baytak 'where is
your home?', qaddayš is-sǎ'a 'what time is it?'. In Egypt, however, under
the influence of the Coptic substratum, and also in Mesopotamia under the
influence of the Iranian substratum, interrogative words occur at the end
of the sentence, e.g. haṣallak ē 'what happened to you?', bētak fēn 'where
is your home?', is-sā'a kām 'what time is it?'. In the dialect of Soviet
Central Asia, as in Tajik, the interrogative particle mi is used after the
word questioned, e.g. gidir yimut-mi 'the pot—will it die?'.

2.   Agreement

Arabic distinguishes masculine and feminine gender; in many cases there is
vacillation (the so-called common gender). The following categories of
nouns are of feminine gender: (1) names of female persons and animals, such
as Maryamu 'Maryam', 'ummun 'mother', farasun 'mare'; (2) names of countries
and towns, such as Miṣru 'Egypt', Bayrūtu 'Beirut'; (3) names of paired
limbs, except when they have the form of participles, such as 'aynun 'eye',
rijlun 'foot', yadun 'hand', but not šāribun 'moustache' (literally,
'drinking'); (4) nouns ending in -atun, -ā'u, -ā, unless they designate
males, e.g. jarratun 'jar', sahra'u 'desert', halwā 'sweetmeat'; (5) certain
words by usage, e.g. 'arḍun 'earth, land', nafsun 'soul', šamsun 'sun',
rīhun 'wind'. The numerous vacillations of Classical Arabic continue in
the dialects, especially in nouns denoting inanimate things that have no
specific feminine form, but are assimilated in gender to some influential
feminine noun. Thus rūhun 'spirit' is assimilated in gender to ᶠsun

'soul'; names of various winds to rīḥun 'wind', whose adjectives they origi-
nally were, e.g. qabūlun 'east wind', samūmum 'scorching wind' (in Lebanon,
however, rīḥ is masculine). The tendency to mark the feminine gender exter-
nally (as in Akkadian erṣitu 'earth', napištu 'soul') is found in Arabic
also, especially in the dialects. Here sometimes the names of inanimate
things split between masculine and feminine, the latter designating smaller
size, e.g. Lebanese 'aḍm 'bone', but 'aḍmi 'small bone'; dalu 'bucket',
dalwi 'small bucket'; qidr 'pot', qidri 'small pot'; and even sikkīn 'knife'
(feminine without suffix), sikkīni 'penknife' (also feminine but with
suffix). Apart from gender, the classical language shows vestiges of the
former classes that later constituted grammatical gender: the plurals of
names of animals and inanimate objects (socially passive class) are treated
as singular feminine, unlike plurals of names of humans, spirits, deities
(socially active class). Horses are spoken of as 'she', but the riders as
'they'. As the broken plural and the analogous collective nouns are con-
sidered to be in singular feminine, their agreement with the plural of
either gender is a matter of personification (cf. English people, which agrees
sometimes with the singular, sometimes with the plural). In Classical Arabic
the verb preceding its subject agrees with it in gender[16] but is always
singular, e.g. lā yajtami'u sayfāni fī ɣimdin wāḥidin 'two swords do not
get together in one sheath'; kāna yaqūlu‿l-munajjimūna 'the astrologers
used to say'. But if the verb follows the subject, it is in full agreement
with it, e.g. 'inna banī 'Umayyata ẓalamu‿n-nāsa waɣaṣabū 'amwāla‿l-muslimīna
'indeed, the Umayyads oppressed the people and seized the wealth of the
Muslims'. The adjective agrees with its noun in gender, number, case, and
state (definite or indefinite), e.g. al-luɣatu‿l-'arabīyatu 'the Arabic

language'; here both words are feminine singular, nominative, definite.
For this last point it must be noted that, instead of the customary single
mention of the article in the western tongues (the Arabic language, la
langue arabe, die arabische Sprache), Arabic shows its multiple mention,
as a vestige of the former classes.[17] The adjective receives an article
even if the noun is defined by some other means, e.g. luqmānu‿l-ḥakīmu
'Luqman the wise' (the proper name is definite by content); yaduka‿s-saxīyatu
'thy generous hand'; lisānu‿l-ʻArabi l-fasīhu 'the classical language of
the Arabs'.

In the construction of a nominal sentence, a definite subject and
indefinite predicate is preferred, as in talabu‿l-ḥurmati mina‿l-jāhili
muḥālun 'to expect dignity from the fool is absurd'; or, transposing
subject and predicate, in šay'āni lā yuʻrafu fadluhumā 'illā min faqdi-
hima‿š-šabābu wa‿l-ʻāfiyatu 'two things whose advantage is recognized only
by their loss are youth and health'. Often, however, there are nominal
sentences with definite subject and predicate, and sometimes with both
in the indefinite state; such sentences occur usually in native Arabic
dictionaries, as they explain one word by another, e.g. an-ni'dilu‿d-dāhiyatu
'the misfortune is the calamity', rajulun θintilun qaδirun 'a filthy man
is dirty'. But they occur also in literary texts, e.g. 'awwalu‿l-ʻisqi‿
n-nazaru wa'awwalu‿l-ḥarīqi š-šararu 'the beginning of love is the glance,
and the beginning of fire is the spark'; 'ālimun bilā 'amalin ka saḥābin
bilā matarin 'a scholar without work is like a cloud without rain'.

Agreement in the dialects reflects a later stage of development than
that reflected in the agreement system of the literary language. First of
all, adjective, verb and pronoun have no dual, and a form with a noun in

dual and with the numeral 'two' is in the plural, e.g. ideyk ṭuwāl 'thy

hands are long', itneynhum rāḥu 'the two of them went'. The survival of

the classes is steadily on the decline; instead of the Classical agreement

in 'she' for animals and objects in the plural, we find mostly 'they', e.g.

it-tyāb tballalu mn il-maṭar; inšurhon fi š-šams tā yinšafu qawām 'the

clothes have got wet from the rain; hang them up in the sun, so that they

may dry soon' (Classical aθ-θiyābu 'clothes' requires ibtallat 'have got

wet', unšurhā 'hang them up', ḥattā tanšafa 'so they may get dry' — all

feminine singular instead of the masculine plural of the dialects). The

rule about the verb preceding its subject is not observed either; the verb

is quite regularly in the plural even before the subject, e.g. byis'alu

in-nās ʻannu 'people ask about him'. On the whole, the multiple mention

of the article is preserved; only Maltese, under Italian influence, took

to the single mention of the article, e.g. il-lsien malti 'the Maltese

language' (cf. Italian la lingua maltese). However, the dialects show a

tendency to turn the adjective into the "genitive" of the noun (since cases

in a declension-less tongue are grasped as syntactic relations); thus,

along with il-hudūm il-ḥumr 'the red garments', one can say hudūm il-ḥumr,

and along with il-Quds iš-Šerīf 'Jerusalem' (lit. 'the noble sanctuary')

also Quds iš-Šerīf. This trend was noticeable even in Classical Arabic,

in cases such as ʻāma 'awwalin 'last year' instead of ʻāma(n) 'awwala

(nowadays we find ʻam il-awwal, ʻamlawwal, ʻamnawwal, etc.). It must be

added that the former subtle difference between 'awwalu ('preceding,

first') and 'awwalun ('beginning') has long since been obliterated, and

now 'awwal and other ordinal numerals appear not infrequently before the

noun without agreeing with the noun in gender, e.g. awwal leʼle 'the first

night', θāliθ yōᵘm 'the third day' (Mesopotamia), ir-raba ktieb ta t-tielet
sena 'the fourth book of the third year' (Malta).

3.   The structure of numerals

Cardinal numerals are formed on various patterns[18] and show a variety of
constructions with the noun designating the enumerated objects. 'One' and
'two' are adjectives, follow the noun, and are in full agreement with it,
e.g. baytun wāḥidun 'one house', kuratāni θnatāni 'two balls'. Numerals
from 'three' to 'ten' are set in the gender opposite to the gender of the
noun indicating the things enumerated, and the noun follows in the genitive
plural, e.g. xamsu kurātin 'five balls', xamsatu buyūtin 'five houses'. It
is also possible for the numeral to follow the noun, in the same case as
the noun, but with the usual inversion of gender, e.g. al-kurātu l-xamsu
'the five balls'. The numerals from 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine' require a
following noun to be in the accusative singular indefinite, e.g. xamsūna
baytan 'fifty houses'; when the noun must be definite, tautological circum-
locution is used, e.g. 'arba'ūna 'arabatan min 'arabāti t-tanks 'the forty
tanks', literally 'forty vehicles of the tank-vehicles'. 'Hundred' and
'thousand' require the genitive singular, e.g. xamsumi'ati metrin '500
meters', 'alfu laylatin wa laylatun '1001 nights'. 'Eleven' and the
numerals from 'thirteen' to 'nineteen' are indeclinable. The numeral and
noun may form a firm complex, containing the article al, and yet
without dropping -n, e.g. al-xamsu sanawātin (or al-xamsu s-sanawāti,
where the -n is dropped following the noun's immediate article) 'the five
years (period)'.

Of course, such a complicated system of construing the numerals could not be retained in the living spoken idioms, whose structure is in general so much simpler than that of Classical Arabic. The difference between masculine and feminine in the numerals from 'three' to 'nineteen' has vanished almost without a trace; the feminine formation has prevailed, e.g. arb'a(t) 'four', arbaṭa'š or arba'tāšer 'fourteen', and Maghrib dialects insert an -er ending in place of the article of 'eleven' through 'nineteen'. After 'three' through 'ten', the plural is used, as in tlāt ržāl (Syria), talat rigāle (Egypt) 'three men'; xamst infus (Syria), xamast infus (Egypt) 'five persons'. After 'eleven' and the higher numerals, the singular is used, as in tna'šar marra (Syria), etnāšer marra (Egypt) 'twelve times'. Maghrib dialects show a tendency to put the nouns in a new genitive plural, as in tnāš deر-ržāl 'twelve men'.

4. Subordinate clauses

Object clauses are introduced by the conjunction 'an/'anna; the former is used before a verb, e.g. 'alima 'an sa-yakūnu minkum mardā 'he knew that some of you would be ill'; the latter form is used before a noun, and the noun follows in the accusative even if it is the subject, e.g. balaɣanī 'anna-ka tanṭaliqu 'it reached me that thou art leaving'; ḥukiya 'anna rajulan zawwara waraqatan 'it is said that a man forged a document'. The object clause without any conjunction is rather rare, e.g. kāna yaqūluا l-munajjimūnا t-ṭāli'u fī wilādati jadyun 'the astrologers used to say (that) the rising star at my birth was Capricorn'. In the dialects the one conjunction in object clauses is in, e.g. qalūli inno 'indak uwaḍ lil-kiri 'they told me that you have rooms to rent' (Syria; inno = Classical

'anna-hu, where the untranslatable -hu refers to the whole following clause).
In the Maghrib the function of this conjunction can be taken over by the
relative pronoun illi/li; e.g. in-nās ya'rifu illi xedīna Malṭa 'the people
know that we took Malta'. In Soviet Central Asia the Tajik ki 'that' is
used, even before direct discourse, e.g. effendi gayl ki gidirkum ulud 'the
gentleman said (that), "Your pot gave birth"'.

Clauses of purpose in the Classical Arabic either have no conjunction
or begin with conjunctions meaning 'in order to' (li-, 'an, likay, hattā,
etc.); in the former case the verb is in the indicative, as in 'arāda
yukallimuhu 'he wanted to talk to him'; in the latter case the verb must be
in the subjunctive, as in hadara li-yatahaddaθa ma'a wakīlihi 'he appeared
in order to talk to his agent'. In the dialects various conjunctions appear
in this function, e.g. haddi ir-rkāb tā irkab (Syria) = imsik er-rikāb
'ala šān arkab (Egypt) 'hold the stirrup that I may mount'. In the Maghrib
the conjunction bāš (Maltese bieš) is used in this sense, e.g. ommi qat-li
bieš niftah il-bieb bil-muftieh 'my mother told me to (that I should) open
the door with the key'.

There are several types of conditional clauses. The conjunction
expressive of real condition is 'in 'if', of unreal condition law, e.g.
'in 'anta 'adhaktanī 'a'ṭaytuka xamsami'ati dīnārin 'if thou make me laugh,
I'll give thee 500 dinars'; law kāna li-bni 'Ādama wādiyāni min mālin
la-btaγā θāliθan 'if a man had two valleys (full) of money, he would surely
desire a third one'. Conditional clauses without conjunctions are also
possible, e.g. jarrib—taškur 'try and (you will) thank'; man lā yarham
lā yurham 'he who does rot pity is not pitied' (such a conditional clause
without conjunction always uses the jussive). In the dialects all types of

conditional are possible despite the decline in the number of moods; often
the conjunction 'iδā 'when' is used, e.g. iza kān bitrīd ta'mil ma'i
halma'rūf, bitsayyirni mamnūn ktīr 'if you wish to do me this favor, you
will greatly oblige me'. The use of 'iδā in the sense of 'if' is known in
the classical language too, e.g. 'ukrimuka 'iδā 'akramtanī 'I shall honour
you if you honour me'; but this usage is considerably less frequent than in
the dialects.

Temporal clauses begin in Classical Arabic with various conjunctions
created to express 'when' with its shadings. For the past tense, 'iδ and
lammā (more often in the more general compounds wa-lammā, fa-lammā 'after...,
afterwards when, après que') are used; for the present, matā and wa (with
simultaneous action); for the future, 'iδā, which in some cases serves in
the past and present also but is mostly used with reference to the future.
Examples: wa‿δkurū 'iδ 'antum qalīlun 'and recall when you were few', qumtu
wa‿n-nāsu qu'ūdun 'I got up while the people were seated', 'iδā ǰi'ta
'akramtuka 'when thou comest, I'll honor thee'. It should be noted that
many words with a following mā 'that' become temporal conjunctions, e.g.
bayna 'between', baynamā/bayna 'while', ṭāla 'it continued', ṭalamā 'as
long as'. The same mā 'what' preceding a verb of being (KWN 'to be', DWM
'to last', etc.) expresses duration (i.e., 'while'), e.g. lā 'aṣḥabuka mā
dumtu ḥayyan 'I shall not keep company with thee as long as I live'. Temporal
clauses are similar to conditional clauses (cf. above on 'iδā) and also to
clauses of purpose, with ba'da 'an 'after, après quo', qabla 'an 'before',
and similar complex conjunctions that require the verb in the subjunctive,
e.g. yuɣfaru li‿l-ǰāhili sab'ūna δanban qabla 'an yuɣfara li‿l-'ālimi
wāḥidun 'seventy sins of the ignoramus are forgiven before the learned man

is forgiven one'. Conjunction-less temporal clauses can be expressed (in abridgment, to be sure) by verbal nouns in the ("adverbial") accusative, e.g. imḍi 'ilā sabīlika 'āminan ʿalā nafsika 'go your way safe(ly) (trusting yourself)'. The dialects do not have such a variety of temporal conjunctions, but in the main the structure of temporal clauses has not changed. In the Maghrib dialects the word kīf (from kayfa 'how') is also used as a temporal conjunction, as in kīf xaraẑu māt lhum nās bezzāf 'when they left, many of their men died'.

Arabic has quite a variety of types of relative clauses. The basic type has the relative pronoun allaði 'which, who, that', provided that the antecedent is definite; otherwise allaði does not appear, inasmuch as this pronoun contains the article. Thus, ra'aytu r-rajula llaðī ẑā'a 'I saw the man who came'; but ra'aytu rajulan ẑā'a 'I saw a man who came'. As Arabic pronouns are indeclinable, the oblique cases of the relative pronoun are expressed by adding the pronominal suffix of the third person, which in conjunction with allaðī presents a semantic entity but is separated from it by the given relative clause, e. g. ra'aytu r-rajula llaðī laqītumūhu 'I saw the man whom you met' (literally 'who you met him'); ra'aytu r-rajula llaðī marartum bihi 'I saw the man you passed by' (literally 'who you passed by him'). The interrogative pronouns 'ayyun 'which, what kind of', mā 'which', and man 'who' frequently function as relative pronouns, with the same rules for expressing the oblique cases, e.g. mā kānū fīhi mina l-balā'i 'the misfortune they were in' (literally 'what they were in it of misfortune'). Similarly in the dialects, but the invariable illi takes the place of allaðī, which changes in gender and number, and this further strengthens the rules for expressing oblique cases by the pronominal suffix of the

third person.

On interrogative clauses cf. Sec. 1, **end.**

5. <u>Assertion and negation</u>

Classical Arabic has a subtle and differentiated system of assertives and negatives, but only vestiges of it remain in the dialects. The Classical patterns of assertion and negation are as follows:

<u>Assertion</u>: (1) particles of positive reply ('yes'): <u>'aǰal</u>, <u>'iy</u>, <u>balā</u>, <u>ǰayri</u>, <u>na'am</u>; <u>'iy</u> is found mostly in oaths, and <u>balā</u> in reply to a negative question (cf. French <u>si</u>); (2) confirming particles <u>'inna</u> and <u>la</u>: the former introducing a nominal sentence and governing the subject in the accusative, the latter with any part of speech, and without influencing its form, e.g. <u>'inna Zaydan la-qā'imun</u> 'Zayd is really rising'; (3) vocative particles: varying according to distance, the most frequent ones being <u>yā</u> and <u>'ayyuhā</u>; the former causes the change of <u>-un</u> to <u>-u</u>, as in <u>yā Zaydu</u> 'oh, Zayd', though, if the noun is defined by a following genitive or pronominal suffix, the noun is in the accusative,[19] e.g. <u>yā 'axa l-'Arabi</u> 'oh, brother of the Arabs', <u>yā 'abā-nā</u> 'oh, our father'; the latter is followed by the definite article, as in <u>'ayyuha l-'amīru</u> 'oh, commander'; (4) particles of swearing: <u>wa</u>, <u>bi</u>, <u>ta</u>, all followed by the noun in the genitive, as in <u>wa-llāhi</u>, <u>bi llāhi</u>, <u>ta llāhi</u> 'by God'; sometimes also <u>la</u> without influence upon the case, as in <u>la-'amruka</u> 'by thy life'; (5) expressions of surprise or wonder follow the pattern: <u>mā 'akrama Zaydan</u> or <u>'akrim bi-Zaydin</u> 'how generous Zayd is!', <u>yā lahu raǰulan</u> or <u>yā lahu min raǰulin</u> 'what a man!'; (6) expressions of suddenness follow the pattern: <u>wa-'iδā bi-ḥayyatin</u> 'and lo (suddenly), a snake'; (7) wishes may be expressed by the simple narrative past,

e.g. dāma mubārakan 'may he be (stay) blessed', or by a clause opening with law or layta 'oh, that...' or fa-l(i) with the jussive following, as in fa-l-yaḥya 'long live...'.

Negation: (1) lā, negating the past (with the perfect), the future (with the imperfect), a command (with the jussive: lā taqtul 'thou shalt not kill'; the imperative proper has no negative), nouns, which follow in the accusative without the -n ending: lā šakka 'no doubt'; lā...lā means 'neither...nor' and does not affect the form of the word; lā may continue any preceding negation, as in min ɣayri 'abin wa lā 'ummin 'with no (without) father or mother'; (2) mā, negating the past (with the perfect), the present (with the imperfect); coupled with the isolating min ('not one of...'), it is used with nouns, e.g. mā min 'aḥadin 'not one, not a man, nobody' (lit. 'not from one'), mā min rafīqin 'not a comrade'; (3) lam negates the past (only with jussive), e.g. lam yajid 'he did not find'; (4) lan negates the future (and is always followed by the subjunctive), e.g. lan 'aktuba 'I shall never write'; (5) laysa, a negative verb: lastu 'a'rifu 'I do not know', laysa bi-nā'imin 'he is not sleeping' (lit. 'he is not with the sleeping one'); (6) ɣayru followed by the genitive, negating an adjective, as in ɣayru šakūrin 'ungrateful', or a pronoun, as in ɣayru-hu '(not he, but) another, somebody else'; (7) 'illā, the particle of exclusion or exception (a contraction of 'in and lā), which governs the accusative when used in a positive clause, while in a negative clause it does not affect the form of the word marking the excluded item, e.g. jā'a l-qawmu 'illā Zaydan 'the people came, except Zayd', but mā jā'a 'illā Zaydun 'only Zayd came' ('no one came, except Zayd'); this particle

is used as the French ne...que, e.g. mā ’ajābanī ’ilā ðālika ’illā baʻda jahdin ʻazīmin 'he answered me in the positive only after much opposition' (literally 'he did not answer me except after...').

VI. SAMPLE TEXTS

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1. Classical language

Qadima ’ilā Maʻniᵕbni Zā’idata ’asrā fa ʻaraḍahum ʻalaᵕs-sayfi. Fa qāma rajulun minhum ’ilayhi wa qāla: yā ’amīraᵕl-mu’minīna, naḥnuᵕl-yawma ’asrāka wa naḥnu waᵕllāhi jiyā‘un min ’aθariᵕṭ-ṭarīqi fa ’in ra’ayta tuṭ‘imunā fa fī kulli kabidi ḥurrin ’ajrun. Fa ’amara Maʻnun bi-ṭaʻāmin fa ’uḥdiratᵕ il-mā’idatu wa ʻalayhā ṭaʻāmun. Faᵕjtamaʻū wa ’akalū wa Maʻnun yanẓuru ’ilayhim. Fa lammā faraγū qāma rajulun minhum wa qāla: ’ayyuhaᵕl’amīru, kunnā ’asrāka wa qad ṣirnā ḍuyūfa-ka faᵕnẓur mā-ðā yaṣna‘u miθluka bi-’aḍyāfihi. Fa xallā sabīlahum.

Captives came to Maʻn ibn Za’ida, and he sentenced them to the sword. Then one of them turned to him and said, "Oh, commander of the faithful, we are your captives today, and, by God, we are hungry from following the road, and if you see fit to feed us, then in every nobleman there is gratitude."[20] Then Maʻn ordered food, so the table was brought and on it was a meal. They then assembled and ate while Maʻn watched them. But when they finished, one of them rose and said, "Oh, commander, we were your prisoners, and have become your guests; now look, what will one like you do to his guests?"[21] He then let them go.[22]

2. A dialect of the "rural" group: Mesopotamian

Qufsīye li xawaǰa Naṣr ed-dīn. Fär͡ed yō͞um iǰa liᵤd-diwān we gāl: selāmun[23]
'alē͞ikum! Gālaw: wå 'alē͞ikum es-selām! Gāl ilhum: 'andi fär͡ed ḥičāye,
te'ᵃrefūnha lō͞u ma te'ᵃrefūnha? Gālaw ez-zilim: mᴬ ne'ᵃrífha. Gāl: āni
ham ma a'allem bīha. Rāḥ lī mečānah. ᵉxlāf ma rāḥ teḥačaw ez-zilim bi 'an
nuṣṣ yegulūn: ne'ᵃrífha, fa ṣāraw 'ala haᵤr-rāy. Fa iǰa Naṣr ed-dīn we gāl:
'andi fär͡ed ḥičāye te'ᵃrefūnha aw lā? Nuṣṣ gālaw: ne'ᵃrífha, u nuṣṣ gālaw:
ma ne'ᵃrífha. Gāl: elli ye'ᵃrefūnha ye'allemūn elli ma ye'ᵃrefūnha. We
rädd léhéläh. We θāliθ yō͞um iǰa liᵤd-diwān we gāl: 'andi ḥičāye te'ᵃrefūnha
aw lā? Gālaw: ne'ᵃrif. Gāl: ma-dām intu te'ᵃrefūnha āni mū lāzim aḥčīha.
We rāḥ léhéläh. Wi xlúṣet el-ḥičāye.

An anecdote about Khoja[24] Nasreddin. One day he came to the assembly[25]
and said, "Good day." They said, "Good day to you." He said to them, "I
have a story; do you know it or do you not know it?" The men said, "We do
not know it." Said he, "Neither shall I let you know it." He went home.
After he left, the men agreed that half would say, "We know it," and half
would say, "We do not know it." So they accepted this idea. Then Nasreddin
came and said, "I have a story, do you know it or not?" Half said, "We know
it," and half said, "We do not know it." He said, "Those who know it should
make it known to those who do not know it." And he returned home. On the
third day he came to the assembly and said, "I have a story; do you know it
or do you not know it?" They said, "We know." Said he, "Inasmuch as you
know it, I do not have to tell it." And he went his way. And that is the
end of the story.

3. A dialect of the "urban" group: Egyptian

Marra mil marrāt ṭiliʻ Guḥa ʻal mambar ʻalašan yuxṭub wi yiwʻiz in-nās. Fa
ʾāl: ya nās, intu tiʻrafu‿lli raḥ aʾūlu‿lkum? ʾAlūlu: la, ma niʻrafū-š.
ʾAm ʾāl luhum: madām innuku ma tiʻrafū-š illi raḥ ʾaʾūlu‿lkum mafīš fayda
fi waʻẓi lin-nās il-guhala‿lli zayyukum. Wi nizil min ʻala l-mambar wi
xad baʻdu wi miši. Wi‿f yōm tāni rāḥ ig-gāmiʻ wi ṭiliʻ ʻal mambar wi ʾāl:
alla‿ntu‿b-tifhamu lli ana ʻāyiz ʾaʾūlu‿lkum? ʾAlūlu: ʾaywa nifham ʾawi.
ʾAm ʾāl luhum: ḥēs innuku‿b-tiʻrafuh mafīš luzūm ʾi kōni ʾaʾūlu‿lkum tāni.
Wi nizil min ʻala l-mambar wi xarag. Wi baʻdēn fi yōm tāni wiʾif ʻal
mambar wi ʾāl: ya nās, ya‿mṣalliyyīn, intu tiʻlamu‿ll‿ana rāyiḥ ʾaʾūlu?
Fa ḥtāru fil-gawāb, wi‿ttafaʾu wayya baʻḍ[i] ʻala ʾinn[i] šwayya minhum yiʾūlu:
la, ma niʻrafš, wi šwayya minhum yiʾūlu: ʾaywa niʻraf. Wi gawbūh zayy[i] kida.
ʾAm ʾāl luhum: lāzim inn illi yiʻraf yiʻallim illi ma yiʻrafš, ʻalašan ana
muš ʻāwuz awgaʻ dimāɣi!

Once upon a time, Juha[26] mounted the platform in order to address and preach
to the people. So he said, "Oh, people, do you know what I am going to tell
you?" They said to him, "No, we do not know it." He said to them, "Inas-
much as you do not know what I am going to tell you, there is no use in my
preaching to ignorant people like you." And he descended from the platform,
turned around, and walked away. The next day he went to the mosque and went
up the platform, and said, "Do you know what I want to tell you?" They
said to him, "Yes, we know very well." Then he said to them, "As you know
it there is no need for me to tell it to you again." And he went down from
the platform and walked out. Then, on the following day, he stood on the
platform and said, "Oh, people, oh, worshippers, do you know what I am

going to say?" They then were confused about the answer. And they agreed among themselves that some of them should say, "No, we do not know," and some, "Yes, we know." And they answered him in this fashion. He said to them, "It is necessary that he who knows should inform him who does not know, in order that I should not have to pain my brain."

NOTE: In this text q becomes ' in the following words: 'āl 'he said'; 'awi 'very'; wi'if 'he stood'; 'ām 'he rose'; ittafa'u 'they agreed'; (= qāla; qawīyan; waqafa; qāma; ittafaqū). The "rural" gālaw 'they said', yegulūn 'they will say' have their counterparts in the "urban" 'ālu, yi'ūlu of this text (= qālū, yaqūlūna).

NOTES

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1. A. Meillet, _Introduction a l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes_, Russian translation, D. Kudrjavskij, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 385.

2. The Arabs refer to northwest Africa (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco) as "Maghrib", i.e. "the West". To the Maghribi dialects we might also add those of Andalusia and Sicily, both extinct, as well as the strongly Italianized Maltese, which has become a literary vehicle (in Latin script).

3. These are: (1) the diphthongs au, ai; (2) their inverses (u)wa, iya; (3) w and y between a sounds of different quantity: awā, āwa, ayā, āya; (4) w and y between long vowels, e.g. īwā; (5) geminates ww, yy.

4. We have seen above that some Arabs have the g sound in speech. However, the Egyptians write it ǰ, the "provincial" dialects, q, others, γ. Hence, we find a chaotic situation whenever a word is introduced not directly from a European tongue but through Arabic printed sources. Thus the word journal is pronounced in Egypt gurnāl, for the literary j corresponds ordinarily to g in the Egyptian dialect.

5. The form in -ya is used after long vowels and diphthongs but is admissable in poetry in other cases too, e.g. fil-qalbi minniya nārun 'there is a flame in my heart' (literally 'in the heart there is from me a flame'). The coincidence of the suffix -ya with the prefix ya- of the imperfect is not accidental: this is the former demonstrative pronoun which also functioned as the personal pronoun 'he' and as article.

6. Identical forms: 2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing.; 2nd dual and 3rd fem. dual. Earlier, the 2nd fem. pl. and the 3rd fem. pl. were identical, as in Hebrew (*ta...na).

7. Viz., combinations of two nouns without the conjunction wa 'and' or the preposition ma' 'with', but simply with the ending -a, as in the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen', e.g. xamsata 'ašara 'fifteen', and some old expressions, as huwa ǰārī bayta-bayta 'he is my next-door neighbor'.

8. [The author's study on this subject, "The enigma of the diptotes in Classical Arabic", appeared in Trudy vtoroi sessii assotsiatsii arabistov, Moscow, Leningrad, 1941, pp. 149-159. M. P.]

9. In Egypt this word is treated as an adjective: masc. betāᶜ, fem. betāʼet, pl. betūʼ, as in il-bint betāʼet il-mälik = bint il-mälik 'the king's daughter'.

10. Cf. I go home, Latin Romam nauigare 'to sail to Rome'. In various languages the accusative of direction follows a preposition.

11. Characteristically, the Arabs put the root ŠRB 'drink' into this category: šariba 'he drank', yašrubu 'he drinks', išrab 'drink!'. In antiquity, as indeed even now, the Bedouin drank not from a vessel but from his palms cupped and lifted to his mouth; this is considered a kind of "internal action". Cf. ʼKL 'to eat': ʼakala 'he ate', yaʼkulu 'he eats', kul 'eat!'.

12. The prefix is u- in Berber; Hausa uses a suffix -u, and Bantu languages a suffix -wa.

13. This blurring of vowels occurs only in I. In the other forms the usual a will prevail: ʼaqamta, ʼasarta, like ʼaqtalta.

14. Under the influence of hum 'they'. In the South-Arabian Mehri dialect this carries throughout the conjugation, e.g. tebōrem 'they broke', yitéberem 'they break'.

15. As an indication that färd in Mesopotamia is not indeclinable, we may cite the term färdet el mēzān 'the balance of scales', i.e. 'one piece, one of the scales'. (The feminine -et compensates for the neuter which is lacking in Semitic speech.)

16. Feminine when the verb is in immediate contact with a feminine subject; otherwise the verb may be masculine.

17. In languages with a living class system, the adjective follows the example of the noun with a prefix or suffix expressive of class, e.g. in Swahili kitu kizuru 'beautiful thing', pl. vitu vizuru; in Ful pučel pamarel 'little pony', pl. pučoy pamaroy.

18. Wāḥidun 'one', iθnāni 'two', θalāθun 'three', 'arba'un 'four', xamsun 'five', sittun (from *šidθ) 'six', sab'un 'seven', θamānin 'eight', tis'un 'nine', 'ašarun 'ten'. The second decade follows the pattern xamsata 'ašara 'fifteen'. Multiples of ten are plurals in -ūna of the simple cardinals (but 'isrūna is 'twenty', with the pl. ending, instead of the dual *'isrāni). Mi'atun 'hundred', 'alfun 'thousand'. Maghrib dialects prefer zawǰ, zūz 'pair, couple' to tneyn, tnīn 'two'. 'Nine' is tes'úd in Morocco, disa in Malta.

19. As has been pointed out in Morphology, Sec. 4, the ending -a may be a rudiment, only formally coinciding with the accusative, and formerly used to express quite a different category. In the case under question we are confronted with a connective -a, as in the Ethiopic construct state.

20. Literally, 'in every noble man's liver'; ancient Arab notions localized the emotion of gratitude in the liver.

21. 'Guests' is alternately <u>duyūfun</u>, and <u>'adyāfun</u>, i.e. different broken plurals of <u>dayfun</u> 'guest'. It will be noticed that the variation in form does not make the slightest difference in meaning.

22. Literally 'cleared their path' (form II of root XLW 'to be empty, free, unoccupied').

23. Arabic greeting (in its classical form), literally, 'peace upon you'. The reply is a formula with the same words in reversed order: 'and upon you (be) peace'.

24. Persian x^wajä 'old one, householder, chief, wealthy merchant'; in Arabic <u>xawāja</u> 'gentleman, sir' is used in speaking to Muslim clerics and merchants on the one hand, and to Christians on the other.

25. Persian: 'register, collection of poems, hall, assembly, council, court'.

26. The legendary fool of a multitude of anecdotes widespread throughout the Near East. He corresponds to Mulla Nasreddin of the preceding text.

N. V. YUSHMANOV

N. V. Yushmanov (1896-1946) began his language studies as a youth. At the age of 15 he mastered the international language Ido and later wrote in and about it. In his university studies, begun in St. Petersburg in 1913, he showed an interest in Caucasian and Indian languages, but he finally decided to concentrate on Semitic languages, applying advanced phonetic methods in this field. Inducted into the Army in 1916, he was removed from systematic studies, although his linguistic aptitudes developed greatly in the multi-lingual atmosphere of the Russian forces; not until seven years later was he able to return to the university. In 1928 he became an instructor and published his first major work — a concise Arabic grammar. During the thirties he devoted himself to African studies, reflected in The Structure of Amharic (1936) and The Structure of Hausa (1937). The present work appeared in 1938. A language classifier and a key to the world's Latin scripts followed in 1941. He wrote also on the Semitic-Hamitic-Japhetic occlusives (this study appeared posthumously in 1948) and on the Arabic of Central Asia. Again a world war disrupted his activities and hurled him over inner Russia to Central Asia. His health, affected by gas poisoning during the First World War, was failing, and the life of this original and distinguished scholar came to an untimely end at the age of fifty. (From an article by I. J. Krachkovskij, reprinted in his Selected Works [in Russian], Moscow and Leningrad, 1958, Vol. 5, pp. 448-452.) M. P.