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University of California, Berkeley, 1971
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Chalilun and Sudanic Arabic
In the Light of Comparative Arabic Dialectology

By

Alia Stewart Kaye
A.B. (University of California, Los Angeles) 1965
M.A. (University of California) 1968

DISSERTATION
Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Linguistics
in the
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of the
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

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quite some time for almost all other major Arabic-speaking geographical and linguistic areas, i.e., Egypt, North Africa (Maghreb), Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Syria-Lebanon-Israel, etc. State of the art papers are provided, for the first time anywhere, for both of these major dialects having more millions of native speakers than other better-known dialects of Arabic-speaking linguistic areas.

Both Sudanic and Chadian Arabic dialects have received but little serious linguistic attention due to the relatively remote geographical position of the Republic of the Sudan and the Republic of Chad, the "sub-
survival of these countries in comparison to other countries in which Arabic is the major language, as well as to dialectologists' unreserved preference for the more "civilized" areas of the "Arab world" in which to do research, e.g., Egypt or Lebanon. Additional information is provided and analyzed (bringing the older literature up-to-date, in some cases) based on my own observations in both countries, June 1 to Sept. 1, 1970.

A long and detailed look is taken at the hypotheses of the Arabic holoc developed by Charles A. Ferguson and presented in 1959 in terms of "drift", comparative Semitic linguistics, comparative Arabic dialectology, and general genetic linguistics theory. Fourteen linguistic features are then discussed in terms of Chadian and Sudanese colloquial Arabic. They are as follows: (1) the loss of the dual in the adjective, pronoun, and verb (\( \star \) 2 or \( \star \) 2\( h \)), and obligatory plural concord with dual nouns (\( \star \) en or \( \star \) 2); (2) the imperfect vowel preformative, the definite article, the particle \( \omega \) or \( \omega \) 'and', and t prefixes and suffixed, etc.; (3) the loss of \( 2 \)\( h \) verbal roots; (4) the merger of 122 verbal roots with 2\( h \) ones; (5) the particle \( \star \) \( \ell \) \( \ell \) or \( \ell \) \( \ell \) 'with'; (6) the cardinal numbers 3-10; (7) the \( \star \) in the numbers 13-19; (8) the loss of the CuC\( C \) (subjective relative) form; (9) the development of a CuC\( C \) (\( t h \) 2\( h \))
(10) the development of the conjunction, -īyy
> fi (11) the lemmata ǧāba, imperfect ḳaṭṭa ‘to bring’;
(12) the lemmata ǧā‘ū, imperfect ḳaṭṭū ‘to see’; (13) the development of the relative particle ʾa‘li, and the use of ʾa‘lā, the definite article, as the relative particle;
and (14) the merger of ǧ and ḫ into either ǧ or ɣ.

The conclusions reached by the data are: (1) Chadian Arabic was originally a dialect of Sudanic colloquial Arabic; (2) Sudanic colloquial Arabic was originally a dialect of an Egyptian Arabic dialect; (3) both Chadian Arabic and Sudanic colloquial Arabic share things (same things in common) not shared by other Arabic dialects; (4) the bold features have to be modified to include data from Chadian Arabic and Sudanic colloquial Arabic; and (5) both Chadian Arabic and Sudanic colloquial Arabic derive from an Egyptian Arabic dialect which has descended from the Arabic word.

Approved

Murray B. French
Chairman of the
Commission

[Signature]
Preface

The study of Arabic linguistics and Arabic dialectology is mainly limited to the study of classical Arabic, old Arabic dialects, Middle Arabic dialects, and some of the modern dialects. The aim of this work is to present an introduction to selected synchronic and diachronic aspects of the two most largely neglected areas of the modern secondary Arabic dialects, i.e., Sudanese colloquial Arabic and Chadian Arabic. Reboussin 1962 presents articles (state of the art type) on Syrian, Egyptian, Arabian, Iraqi, North African and Maltese dialects. We have presented in Chs. 8 and 11 of this work state of the art papers, which indicate the state of our knowledge at the present moment.

Also we have tried to present outline of the gramar of each dialect. The lack of scholarly attention to both these major dialects is due to the relatively remote geographical position of the Sudan and Chad as well as to dialectologists' preference for more 'civilized' areas in which to do research, e.g., Egypt or Lebanon. Even Maltese, with far fewer speakers than Chadian Arabic, has received considerable linguistic attention.

Ch. III takes a long-detailed look at the hypothesis of the Arabic tongues (Ferguson 1979), and Chs. IV and V examine
each one of the proposed features in terms of the two dialects under consideration. We have endeavored to elucidate some of the intricate problems connected with this subject, and hopefully demonstrate the crucial importance of Sudanese colloquial Arabic and Chadian Arabic materials for any full understanding of the history of Arabic. We have tried also not to chop the subject up too much and not to dwell upon too many isolated details, but rather to follow and to put emphasis into those details which are in fact interconnected. I think that our principal goal can be stated to be a more or less complete picture of the significance of both of these micro-dialects rather than a presentation of grammatical details. Anyone who has studied Classical Arabic and one modern dialect can see the interest and fascination for both of these dialects—a fascination which I first developed in 1967-68 participating in Joshua Blau’s seminars in Arabic dialectology at the University of California, Berkeley, while I was a Visiting Professor there.

Of course we should still welcome studies on Sudanese colloquial Arabic and Chadian Arabic, especially the sub-dialects, but this would require a team-effort, which is not possible in the near future, at least, due to civil wars ravaging both countries.

When I first began having a look at both dialects, I frankly did not believe much of the data available in some parts of the literature. I therefore thought that I had to
travel to both the Sudan and Chad to confirm (or reject) many of the statements of the sources. This I was able to do from June 1, 1970 to Sept. 1, 1970 through a grant of the National Science Foundation, Program in Anthropology, GS-2916, which enabled me to spend three months in Chad and the Sudan gathering information. Grateful acknowledgement must be recorded to the National Science Foundation for this aid. My own personal observations have largely rejected most of the statements in most linguistic materials available. Much of this work is taken into consideration and is observable in the following pages of this work.

Finally I wish to thank Professor M.A. Emeneu for his many kind efforts on my behalf—efforts too numerous to mention here.

A.E.K.

Los Angeles, Calif.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>American Anthropologist</td>
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<tr>
<td>AL</td>
<td>Anthropological Linguistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>BGAS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJL</td>
<td>Canadian Journal of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTL</td>
<td>Current Trends in Linguistics</td>
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<td>DRCPS</td>
<td>Documents de la Recherche Coopérative sur Programmes No 45, Dossier 1, Études arabes (1946-47), Populations anciennes et actuelles des confins Tchad-Soudanais. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (1968)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FO</td>
<td>Folia Orientalia</td>
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<td>IJMES</td>
<td>International Journal of Middle East Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOAS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JL</td>
<td>Journal of Linguistics</td>
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<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
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<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society</td>
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<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lg.</td>
<td>Language</td>
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<td>MEJ</td>
<td>Middle East Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>Modern Standard Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>MGGS</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</td>
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<td>PSCA</td>
<td>Proto-Colligial Arabic</td>
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<td>PS</td>
<td>Proto-Semitic</td>
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1. Sudanese Colloquial Arabic: The Status of the Art

1.1 Arabic is not the only language spoken in the Republic of the Sudan (hereafter the Sudan) today. Wunder (1971: 171), for example, reports the following languages spoken close to the Ethiopian borders: Ingassana, Butun, Junjua, Central Kusa, Moham, and Marie. Indeed more could easily be listed. Of course, relatively little is known about all Sudanese languages. Relatively little is also known about or has been written about the dialects of Arabic which are spoken in the Sudan. Most of the material available was written by British government officials and missionaries during the British-Egyptian condominium rule, which was terminated by Sudanese independence on January 1, 1956. The purpose of this chapter is to present, for the first time anywhere to date, all available materials on SCA and to evaluate critically such materials for the student of Arabic linguistics in general and Arabic dialectology in particular.

1.2 The Sudan, the largest country on the continent of Africa, like most of its neighbors, was, and still is, the homeland of many languages and dialects. The central part of the country which now-day speaks Arabic as a mother tongue (principally) must have previously been in a multi-lingual state of affairs as is still the case with other
parts of the Sudan. But the arrival of the Arabs into the Sudan in the fourteenth century (Rickwood 1932: 76) from Egypt had revolutionary (not evolutionary) effects on the linguistic structure of the country. Yet direct Arabic influence depended to a large extent on the movement of the Arab tribes in the Sudan, which was largely centered in the central part of the country. In the course of time, these tribes, Arabic supplanted the local languages, as Arab conquest spread from the north and east. As Gezin (1965: 60-1) notes:

This explains in part the existence of the multifold chain of languages along the periphery of the region. In the north, the Nubian language in its four dialects is still spoken by the Komo, Suk, Kajo, and Aweera. In the east, Tigrinya in five dialects is used by the Semites, Galaica, Amharic, Siharyun and Shiladannah. All these Beja tribes speak a Semitic language, while some of them, among others, the Beja tribe, use Tigre, a Semitic language closely connected with the Abyssinian language. Towards the south-east the Injeraana still use their own language, while in the south more than a hundred distinct languages exist. This multiplicity of language can also be seen in the west where the Nubian and Darfurian languages are in use. But most of these regions have been influenced
in some way or other by Arabic, while Arabic itself has
been exposed to varying degrees to their influence.
1.3 As Cuspin (1966: 41) points out, it is extremely dif-
ficult to speak of a SCA in general, simply because there
does not exist one single dialect used by all speakers to
whom Arabic is the mother tongue. Every region, almost
every tribe, has its own version of SCA, a similar situation
existing in other Arabic speech communities. It, however,
follow Cuspin's assertion that one can take the dialect of
Khartoum and its vicinity as a common medium intelligible to
most, if not all, who are native speakers of a Sudanese
secondary (not bedouin) Arabic dialect.
1.4 Following reassessment of Anglo-Egyptian authority
over the Sudan by Sir H. (afterwards, Lord) Kitchener in
1900, an effective administrative system was rapidly devel-
oped throughout the Sudan. Since British and Egyptian admin-
istrators, as could be expected, were brought in to occupy
top-level positions throughout the country, and since earli-
est plans called for maximal use of native-born Sudanese to
work under these top administrators, it was necessary that an
adequate and effective means of communication be establish-
It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in 1905 the
first English-Arabic vocabulary was published.
1.5 This first major effort at presenting Arabic vocabu-
lary in use in the Sudan was the result of the pioneering
work of a Brittoner, H.T.E. Abery, who held the rank of
Captain in the Intelligence department of the Egyptian Army.
His stated purpose was to compile a vocabulary (1901: 1)
"primarily for the use of British officers and officials serv-
ing in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but," he continued, "It is
hoped that it may also prove of some use to visitors to the
Sudan, or to those interested in the various dialects of the
Arabic language."

1.6 Although Abery's work is apparently the first effort
made to record information about SCA as a separate dialect
of Arabic, a few documents written in SCA previous to this
time are in existence. These are, or better I should say
contain, elements of SCA. By elements (characteristics) of
SCA I refer generally to the following:

(1) Ы > ٧, e.g., یاسن > ایسان 'Yasen'.
(2) interchangeability of ة and ئ, e.g., یلا > ئل 'All';
'ئئار > ئئار 'he endured'.
(3) gemination of final consonants before possessive pron-
ouns beginning with ی, e.g., یكیب > یكیبا 'her
book', i.e., یب > یب (یب > یب).
(4) the use of یکی 'the grave' for یلا'.
(5) ی > ی, e.g., یخ > یخ 'cry'.
(6) triliteral roots > bilateral, e.g., یداد < والاد 'boy',
(7) Assimilation of a liquid, e.g., "lita < lima 'you (mas.
sg.)', guza < jinta 'you (mas. sg.) said'.
(8) Semantic change for license, e.g., ayada 'the grinding
of corns' > 'thrilling shrills by women in weddings'.
(9) African substitution, e.g., "zum in wanyiwa 'a goat', or
"zên in guridži 'quen worn by women around the waist'.
These three characteristics are representative of many dia-
lects of SCA, and I have chosen them because Arabic script
would denote all of them, whereas it would not (in its un-
vocalized version) indicate other well-known happenings in
SCA, such as the preservation of a in imperfect personal-
atives.
1.7 The earliest of these documents which I have found
is Khâb yâhâb wa-d-jâyûflâlin în 'halifas wa gâlîhân wa
gâlîhân wa su'ânî al-nâhâin. Hillelson (1931: 172), who was
the most prolific writer on SCA and a British government offi-
cial, indicates that this "book" was probably written during
the eighteenth century by Qâdir al-Mâhû. He states: "It
is a kind of biographical dictionary containing notice of
the men of religion and learning who flourished in the Nath
kingdom from its foundation at the beginning of the nineteenth
century to the author's own time."
Several manuscripts containing these writings have been
handed down, but there is great disagreement among manuscripts as to the actual content of the original Edisi.

Hillenius (1935: 173) states that he has made use of two copies of two texts, both published in 1910, one edited by Sidi Derimi Daud Nasir (printed at the Mu'aja Press in Cairo). He goes on: "Both editions are based on M6, in native ownership and follow their originals closely without attempting to correct even the most obvious errors..."

Hillenius's edition contains marginal notes which are useful...but they evade the more serious difficulties."

1.8. Even the extent to which portions of the text can be considered to be 'pure' colloquial Sudanese Arabic is very much up for grabs (see Kaye 1970 for a new analysis of some of the issues involved concerning diglossia in Arabic). Sir H.A. Maclachlan (1922 II: 215) says of the passage that "the Arabic is Sudanic colloquial and presents a very interesting study. No dictionary would alone enable one to deduce the meaning of all words and phrases one has to read them aloud and imagine a Sudanese speaking." This seems to indicate that certain lexemes are used which do not appear in dictionaries of classical Arabic. Hillenius (1925: 197) attempts to determine the linguistic characteristics of these manuscripts. No says of them:

One of the most conspicuous features of the work is its
Linguistic facts, which make it of utmost interest to the student of Arabic dialects, though it renders the task of the translator and compiler somewhat difficult. With a
broad disregard for tradition the author employed the
spoken vernacular of his country, and apart from quota-
tions and from such classical Arabic as inevitably flow
from the pen whenever the colloquial is reduced to writing,
the language represents the spoken idiom of the eastern
Sudan, or rather a form of colloquial Arabic based on the
elements common to the many groups and sub-dialects. It
thus forms a most valuable lexicographical store house,
especially as it preserves a good many words which now
seem to have become obsolete.

1.9 By 1935, when Hillelson produced his Sudan Arabic
texts, he seems to have modified his position considerably.
In the introduction to the yahäul, he indicates that by
words, phrases, and grammatical forms utilized, these texts
belong more properly to the written language. Actually,
there is a great deal of variety evident in the way in which
various authors involved in the production of the texts re-
corded the material. Many quotations and sayings (götermä
recorded in the yahäul are undoubtedly colloquial words,
though the main text itself gives evidence of lacking dual
vernacular prose-style. Lack of vowel markings (punctuations)
increases the problem of determining just what was being written, of course. Additional careful study of these manuscripts might add considerably to the knowledge of the ways in which SCA developed. 1.10 Another pre-Arya glimpse of the structure of SCA is contained in at least one or a pair of letters dating back to the time of the Nabol (later part of the nineteenth century). One of these was a letter from Kaifira "Abdulrahman to the Aufi and el-Qa'ib of the Dinka tribe. It is written in very 'simple' or 'basic' Arabic. Whether this was a conscious effort to write in the vernacular or, as is more than likely, simply an attempt to simplify written (classical) Arabic so as to make it readible (intelligible) to an uneducated tribesman is not known. A part of this letter follows:

"Hum ba'qi al-nilam kefi, hum na' Guth al-kurum Ragilah
w na' qalab hum na' fi al-ka'ba al-kurum na' afi, khabir
hum w na' ilman w al-nilam, na' gun'af fi
dar Gun'af, al-qash'at ba'qi kefi."

Hillelson (1935: 121) translates as follows:

I ask about you much, you did not say your own words.
Now listen well to the speech of this letter, come
quickly with your people and your children and your women,
do not stay in the Dinka country, so stay there is bad
Indeed.
1.11 Another record of early SCA speech forms is found in the historical traditions of the Sukriyya. While these were not written at an early date, none of them apparently retain early (sixteenth century) spoken forms which were carefully passed down through means of an oral tradition until recorded by Hillesen 1920. Unfortunately, texts included in the article are recorded in Arabic script without vowel markings, and a transliteration is not provided. Hillesen indicates that the vocabulary of these papers is definitely colloquial, but the syntactic structure is of a poetic nature. They would, therefore, be of extreme importance and value for any kind of study of the poetic structure of SCA. There is one exception to the above statement, however. There is a transliteration of one of these papers, "The Saga of Ḥan al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-ʿIṣaṣya". Since this is not poetry or verse with a set form, it probably reflects the dialect of the nomadic Sukriyya of the eastern Sudan at the time (1920) that Hillesen recorded the material.

1.12 It is important to keep in mind that Captain Honey and most of these experts on SCA who followed him were army officers—not linguists in the modern sense of the term. As indicated above, pre-twentieth century information on SCA is almost nonexistent. There must have been some word lists and glossaries of SCA which have since been lost.
never re-discovered or re-used because Amery states in his 
Introduction that there was "no English-Arabic Vocabulary or 
Dictionary (of reasonable dimensions)" in existence which 
would meet the need of incoming officials into the Sudan.

Amery's work was published only seven years after Sir Hor-
burt Kitchener had regained control of Khartoum, defeating 
the Mahdi's successor Khalifa Abdullah al-Tashki and the ren-
nants of his forces. Amery states that he worked under pres-
sure to complete his Vocabulary as rapidly as possible be-
cause of the tremendous and immediate need of the times. It 
is little wonder, then, that there are many shortcomings in 
the work, yet in spite of those shortcomings, this book be-
came the foundation upon which Hillisson and others later 
built. Close association with Egyptian personnel, who were 
also part of the occupying force in that period, undoubtedly 
influenced vocabulary and pronunciation of British officials.
This is evident throughout the work.

1.13 As could be expected, there is a high level of tendency 
to merge aspects of the classical language with the collo-
quial. This lays the groundwork for many of Amery's prob-
lems. In fact, it would appear that he uses this approach to 
the language as an excuse not to exercises even a minimum of 
care in differentiating phenomena of the spoken languages. He 
states that (1905): 2) "It is not considered necessary to
adopt any elaborate system of transliteration, and the Eng-
lish version of the Arabic words is only intended as a guide
to the nearest approach to the true sound with which the beginner
is likely to wrangle..."

Without indicating reasons for such a decision, Amery
states that in the transliterated forms of Arabic, the letter
"i" may stand for ١, ١, or ١; "a" may stand for ١, ١, ١, or
١. Obviously this causes untold confusion. He is referring
to the way in which he transliterates classical forms. Un-
fortunately, by following this procedure, he often does not
give the reader a clue as to how the given words are actually
pronounced in SCA.

Amery does not recognize aspastic segments (consonants)
at all. Consequently he transliterates:
Babyl "all right" for ١١١١١
Nashīq "he approved" for ١١١١١
Raddūq "he hit" for ١١١١١
Feel "chapter" for ١١١١
It would be apparent without saying that by his transcription
minimal pairs are often not differentiated at all. He
writes:
Bāqū 'after' for ١١١١١١١١١
Bāqū 'same' for ١١١١١١١١١
1.14 Other problems of a transcriptional nature are
apparent in the above-mentioned words. SCA does not permit consonant clusters within a syllable. 1 is the usual anal-
pptic filler in these circumstances, as seen in [\textregistered\textsuperscript{a}l\textregistered\textsuperscript{a}]
\[\textregistered\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{a}\] (\[\Rightarrow\] / []/ [\textsuperscript{a}P]).

He transliterates both the \[\textregistered\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{n}\] and the \textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}, i.e., \[\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{p}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\] and \[\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{p}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\], as \[\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\]. Probably part of the confusion in this case
arises out of the fact that he follows standard transcrip-
tional procedure for many colloquial Egyptian dialects, in
particular the dialect of Cairo, in which the \[\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{m}\] is realized phonetically as a voiced velar stop. The SCA reflex of the
\[\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{m}\] is rather a voiced palatal stop, IPA [\textsuperscript{t}] .
It has become the standard practice to transcribe this phone as \[\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\] in SCA,
although it is important to remember its phonetic nature.

The voiceless uvular plosive \[\textsuperscript{q}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\], found in classical Arabic and
other Arabic dialects (sometimes voiced, viz., IPA [\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\]), on
the other hand, is fronted in SCA (as in other modern dia-
lектs) to a close-velar position. The resultant stop is, of
course, a sound close to that usually associated with the
symbol \[\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\] in English, which i.e., in all probability, the reason
for which Asory transcribes both as \[\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\]. Thus his handling of
the problem is a phonetic rather than a morphophonemic one,
as the following examples from his vocabulary indicates:
gan 'he ran' [\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{a}]
classical Arabic \textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{a}
gan 'he read' [\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{a}]
classical Arabic \textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{m}\textsuperscript{a}
1.15 I do not know the source for Anony’s information concerning his claim that ḡ is not only pronounced as the English hard ẓ in go, but it is also pronounced as ḡ (IPA ḡ), particularly in the provinces north of Khartoum and on the Blue Nile. This may have been true then for certain branches of the so-called ẓene dialects, yet I never heard this myself and none of the later writers mention it. It does not appear as such in the Berber and Dongola texts collected by Milliet. Two other phonemes which need to be differentiated but are not by his orthography are ḫ and ẖ. He writes ḫ, ḏ for both ‘flow’ and ‘dour’. The latter should be written as ẖẖẖ. ¹⁰

1.16 His method of transcribing the voiced pharyngeal spirant, IPA [χ], standard Semitological ʾ, leaves something to be desired. He writes ʾ over the letter with which it is sounded. This seems to reflect a lack of recognition that this sound is actually a full consonantal phoneme. Writing ʾ as he does leaves the ordering of consonants and vowels (linearity) rather ambiguous in words such as ʾašš ʾeḥeṭ, ‘the heard’ and ʾašš ʾaḥwāt, ‘about’. In the first case the ʾ follows the final vowel, viz., ʾašš ʾeḥeṭ, while in the second it precedes the vowel, viz., ʾašš ʾaḥwāt. A more complex illustration of the problems of this transcriptional procedure is ʾašš ʾaḥuṭrāḥ. A more correct and unambiguous transcription would be ʾašš ʾaḥuṭrāḥ. ¹⁰

1.17 There are many other inadequacies in Anony’s trans-
citation. For fuu 'in it (mas.)' he writes fuu, leaving out both the h and vocate length. Similar problems of vowel homophones occur in Qatt 'water' for Qurayn. He retains the classical Arabic hamsa (the graphemes for the glottal stop) in words such as ra'al, which becomes ra'al in SGA (loss of the glottal stop and compensatory vowel lengthening).

In the introduction to "Specimens of the colloquial language" at the end of Anmary's book, he indicates that morphemes will be separated when written, even though morphophonemic changes take place such as those of elision. Thus he will write wa al timn 'and the alligator' even though the phrase is pronounced wata'lim. However, elsewhere (1905: 436) he writes biel el deim 'with the soldier' rather than bi el deim (which would be the correct spelling according to his rule), or when forms 'stu 'and his father' (1905: 437).

1.18 His remained transcription, in many ways, does not attempt to deal with departures from classical Arabic influence. Thus he transcribes tab 'absolutely', yet the word is only heard as tap. The developing of final stop is well-known in other modern dialects of Arabic. There are many other SGA words which require the use of the phoneme /p/ in certain contexts. Hillelson recognized the problem but does not really deal with it when he suggests that voalized bilabials are at least heard in free variation with their
...counterparts in certain environments. He notes (1925: xxiii):

"And if you are not brought the ahuwa? He has."

Or he notes (1925: xxiii):

"Allah in kuswa 'a'li 'kuwaa.

'God does not make things too hard for his friends.'"

1.19 As is typical not only with Ameir but also with many other authors of SCA materials, there is a tendency to collocate directly from English. For example, piyyu fi dawil 'which of these' rather than the more common SCA piyyu 'liinn (nun '3rd mas. pl. pronominal suffix'),. Observable also with Ameir as well as many others is the habit of including classificatory in 'pure' SCA vocabulary, or borrowings from other major dialectal areas, such as Cairene. Thus yasla 'he sat' (either a loanword from Cairene Arabic or Cairene SCA) is certain- ly less frequent than qaswa or qanaw, especially among SCA speakers themselves; or yassus 'as showed' is stylistically a less frequent in SCA than kuros. Unfortunately, al-Suliq carries these words over into his 1925 vocabulary, and it must be kept in mind that they are not normally used in most circles of SCA speakers who are extremely well-educated in literary Arabic and those who have been educated formally in institutions of higher learning in other Arab countries.
1.20 To conclude these brief remarks about Army 190, it is interesting to note that in this first major work the theory has advanced that (1903 xi-xii):

The Arabic of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan adheres more closely to the classical language than any other dialect outside Arabia.

This purify of language is attributable partly to the high consideration in which education was always held in the Sudan before the Mahdia, nearly every village having its ‘khilafah’ or Koranic School, and partly to the isolation of the country.12

In support of his hypothesis, he points out that many classical words not known in Egypt or Syria are commonly used in the Sudan. For example, nābū ‘flower', gau ‘asphalt', māhid ‘young woman', and zūl ‘person'. At the same time he claims that individuals using certain colloquial Egyptian phrases are looked down upon for speaking like a Turk. (e.g., ʿārṣī, ʿinta tatarka ʿalayya bas. (This is a well-known and common cultural bias in many Near-Eastern societies, the best known example probably being Iran, i.e., Bānū Turk fa bānī ʿĀdān hastīf, 'Are you a Turk or a human being?') Some of these phrases are:

"āra wa nāsilīf for nā bil'īf 'I don't know'  
"bāt bīla"' (Kartare filāna bīla) for bāt 'my house'
His comments include a warning: "There is, however, some danger that the Sudan Arabs, in ignorance of the elegance and purity of their language may adopt some of the colloquialisms of Egypt..." In the SCA of today, sixty six years later, both of the aforementioned phrases are used freely, except the second phrase has the definite article, viz., "al-żālī al-bidā'ī." 1.21 Although Ahery indicated that he planned to revise his vocabulary shortly after it was originally published, there was nothing published about SCA of a monographic nature or a book-long treatise for nearly twenty years. In 1933 a Sudanese official in the education department, ʿAbūlʿulā Mūhammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-sāliḥ published Al-ṣarḥ fī l-ḥādīth al-ḥammād (available in the Sudan). I have not been able to obtain a copy of the book, even in the Sudan, but later works on SCA quote and cite material from it. This work should be of considerable interest because it was prepared by an educated native speaker of SCA. His conclusion (1923: 77) says of this book by Sheikh ʿAbdu ʿIzz al-Raḥmān al-sāliḥ (two years before it was published in Khartoum):

The main portions of the book which hitherto remain unpublished, is a glossary of the spoken Arabic of this country—relating the modern dialect and the classical language. The author champions the thesis that the modern inhabitants of the Northern Sudan are of pure Arab
demect, and one of the objects of the book is to refute
the contrary view which would reduce the Arab influence
to a comparatively slight infiltration setting on the
original biblical stock. [Some of the material to back up
his thesis is also] found in a short account of the super-
stitious ideas and practices of the ancient Arab by Ḥumā
al-Ṭibrānī, who died between A.D. 961 and 971. This text
which was not accessible to the Shi‘kh has been published
by E. Mittwoch in the Mitteilungen of the Berlin Society
of Oriental Languages (Neustamische Studien Berlin,
1912).

1.22 Two years later, the work which became the acknow-
ledged standard of SIA was written. Allan Norsley, doctor in
the Church Missionary Society Hospital in Kondemun, wrote his
Sudanean grammar. Works which follow, including the better-
known Sudan colloquial Arabic by Tringilum, quote Norsley’s
description of sounds used in the Sudan, as well as utilizing
much of the grammatical analysis developed by Norsley. In a
review of Norsley’s work shortly after its publication,
L. P. Haldor (1951: 219-203) states that the work will be es-
specially beneficial for officials coming from other Arabic-
speaking countries because “their existing knowledge will
render the grammar readily comprehensible...” Specific
Arabic grammatical terminology such as the tā‘ marbūta
(usually marking feminine gender) and ḍaʻala (nominative form of the verb) are used without sufficient introduction, which, of course, will make it harder for the newcomer (novice) to understand the word. Wallace notes that one of the striking points of the work is that great pains were taken in careful accentuation of every Arabic word to enable the user to avoid a frequent source of error. He continues by pointing out several areas which are not adequately covered. He includes among such areas insufficient indication that many nouns (so-called 'sound' masculine and feminine plurals) do form plurals following the same basic vocalic pattern, and also that masculine masculine plural nouns do not take masculine plural adjectives. He also accuses Worley of a tendency to over-emphasize his points.

As an example, he points out that Worley indicates that certain variant forms only may be used—forms such as buṣutti for buṣutti, amili for amili, yaqfiti for yaqfiti, and baktiti for baktiti. With this, I would have to agree. Another example of such over-emphasis is seen when Worley states that (1925: 97)

A peculiarity of Sudanic is that ͡g, ʃ, ʃ,  ꧈, and ḍ cannot be pronounced without the help of a vowel. Thus in consonation, when normally these consonants should form a syllable, a phonetic “u” is inserted, as everywhere the
conjugation rule: as ʿanān (he was ashamed), which would be conjugated in casual Arabic ṣamūlah (he is ashamed), in Sudanese is ʿanānā.

Haldar points out that while these forms are undoubtedly current, they are not irrevocable forms. In fact, the regular formations are actually more common.

1.23 Further confirmation of Haldar's hypothesis (criticism) can be seen in a phrase such as bindīl ḥalīl! What will we do? Such phrases are too frequently used—as written—to simply discard them. Tittmington gives other examples (1966: 67, 69) in which the vowel position does not normally change—in the way that Purvis suggests that it does briefly 'I always shave', and našāl 'we finish'. Even Worsey (1925: 60, 67) cites examples which violate his rules: bones is haṣūf; the same after na; haṣūn 'after conversion'; and ʿajāra 'better'.

My own observation would be that the forms which Worsey cites to prove his point are probably used to a greater extent by women (see Hasa 1944). In support of this, Worsey does state in his introduction that much of his information (data) came from women patients in the hospital.

Worsey's book is a very excellent work and, undoubtedly was used by Tittmington extensively as he developed his textbook approach. While Tittmington's book is organized

raised by this statement includes: (1) What does he mean by energetic? (2) What is average Arabic? (3) What does 'gentle' mean in terms of phonology, and what does 'initially gentle' mean? (4) What does he mean by each component being distinctly pronounced? (5) How else can foreigners (or native speakers, for that matter) correctly pronounce sounds other than by giving each its 'characteristic value'?

His attempt at describing the 'declive Sudanese mid-palatal step' is less than effective. He states that the sound is 'pronounced somehow between those of d and g.'

1.26 In a footnote Worsey touches on an aspect of the-
exception that is not even mentioned by others, but one which
needs more concrete work based, of course, on materials gath-
ered in the field. The problem concerns the determination of
the extent of influence of emphatic consonants on surrounding

'î' is (normally) only found in the Divine name Allāh
(God), the vowel of which it modifies...but actually, 'î'
influenes toward 'â' when in the vicinity of the modifying
consonants (s, 3, l, 4); e.g., itâb (where 'î' to-
gether with the second 'â' also inclines to 4). Similar
phenomena are common as between 3 and 3, 3 and 3, etc.;
for example, bâqâ is pronounced bâqâ and the first 'â'
it then also modified.

1.17 Tristram and recognizes that such changes occur; he
records نیلا نیلا، 'literally 'don't be angry, cheer up.'
(1961: 122). But Tristram gives no explanation of the
change and never does deal with the problem except to make a
statement indicating that if consonants are properly pro-
nounced, the vowels will take care of themselves (see Lehm
1903).

1.18 One further word must be stated concerning this.
Murphey has probably overstated the case as is done in many
grammars of Modern Standard Arabic, e.g., Zaidan and Vinder
(1977: 6). Tristram gives a minor pair, one part of
which has the emphatic š, proving it is not only used in the word for 'God', viz., gill 'to dominate', and qúš 'to raise'.

1.29 The hamza, or grapheme for the glottal stop, is not written in SCA by most writers because it occurs only rarely in word-medial position and is understood to occur before each word-initial vowel. There are morphological considerations, however, for writing the glottal stop in the latter-mentioned environment. Again, Worsley oversimplifies the case when he says (1925: 57) "In Arabic generally this sound can occur anywhere in a word, but in Sudanese only at the beginning of a word, e.g., rūrū the ate." This would simplify the description but does occur frequently, especially in some commonly used words. For example, Trubington (1960: 67) notes ma'sṣāf 'I am sorry', or biltu ma'sṣāf 'they breakfast later'. Compare even Worsley (1925: 48), ma'sṣāf, passive participle of 'āsat 'the ate'; 'raṣās'. [This text should have 7; see n. 114.]

1.30 In many dialects of SCA medial š becomes š as ašša 'question' > ašša (see buq'ašša in the text of 1.10). Worsley points out another change which occurs in SCA relative to š. He states that when š occurs before š, š > š. For example, qal š > qal š (qal š), šal š > šal š (šal š), or qal š > qal š (qal š). I is the first
person singular pronounal suffix.14

1.31 Worley's rules on accent (1921): 6) are not only inadequate but also confusing to follow. This needs more work. He does have an interesting note concerning a heighten-

ed tone on final syllables of some verbs. Examples given (the

written form final vowels to indicate the tone marking)

includes:

bird 'my daughter'

quarl 'moon'

He states that "Adenese women will imperatively correct pro-

nunciation of this point (but seldom anything else). Therefore it

must be a point of great importance to note."

1.32 In the same year (1921) in which Worley published

his grammar of SCA, B. Hillebrand published a great revision,

which was complete for the time, of Amory's vocabulary.15

During this decade and on into the next, Hillebrand appears

to have been the prime mover in publishing work on SCA. His

articles on aspects of SCA appear repeatedly in 1921. In

fact, he became editor of SBH resulting in great emphasis

being placed on SCA in the periodical.

1.33 Other Arabic-English vocabularies by Hillebrand

drew extensively on articles published in SBH as well as the

work of Shaikh 'Abdulrahim and al-Bayan al-Muh. previously

mentioned. A review of Hillebrand's vocabulary by R. Daviau
(1925: 225) concludes that this is a very valuable addition to the scholarly literature available for the study of SCA. Of particular value is the extensive work on various dialects and subdialects of SCA.

1.34 As Hillolson points out in his preface, this work is more than just a revision (albeit complete) of Newby 1901. It is actually a new work. Using orthographical practice as determined by the Sudan government, Hillolson has increased the phonetic meaningfulness of the lexical entries. Hillolson was, apparently, a great mover in setting up the transcription as adopted by the Sudan government for SCA. Many classical (strictly classical and pseudo-classical) terms are deleted. Examples of word usage are included in some entries and are of great value. He also uses the accepted technique of including the vowel of the imperfect in parentheses following the perfect of each verb (see Wehr 1961), such as qarab (to) 'the beast'.

1.35 In striving to establish a de facto being for SCA, Hillolson sometimes resorts outside of SCA (or, at least, the SCA of the common man) into the vocabulary used only by educated or semi-educated people. The Sudan at that time had a reported illiteracy rate of ninety-five per cent, probably even higher. Determining the point at which vocabulary and other elements of the language can be con-
older colloquial rather than belonging to the written language of an Arab country is always difficult. But, by definition, if a given word or syntactic structure is to be considered as being a part of the colloquial language (in this case SCA), it has to be used by the majority of native speakers in a given linguistic area. One cannot, therefore, take a word known and used by a limited number of educated people in a much wider area (in this case, covering the many Arabic dialects of the Sudan) and claim that thereby it has attained a higher status. Hill they seems to do this from time to time. He states (1971: 29) that "the general principle, where more than one term is given as the translation of an English word, has been to record first place in words of the latter; these are followed by dialectal forms." But his vocabulary includes such entries as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarak</td>
<td>abandon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alxas</td>
<td>wallis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabu</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tarak 'he abandoned', for example, is undoubtedly understood and used by many educated people of the Sudan, but I do not think that the average (uneducated) resident of the Khartoum North Khartoum-Emirat area knows it. Sabu is the more normal leave (someone). Tarak, then, could not be considered as belonging to Hill's list. The same applies to alxas. While it is not completely unknown by uneducated people,
dahara is commonly used by all SCA speakers. Interestingly, 
Armen 1905 lists dahara as being Karabatician dialect. 
Hillelson's concept of the kand seems to stem from a basic 
linguistic philosophy stated elsewhere (1975: xvi), in which 
he proclaims that "educated classes in all parts of the 
country tend to use an idiom devoid of any distinctively 
local features." He is alluding to a form of PSA (see Kaya 
1970), not a kand.

1.36 These are other generalizations made by Hillelson 
which cannot be supported. He, for example, states that 
(1925: xxiv) "the feminine plural termination -en is pre-
served in both tenses." Examples given include:

'eg Gift yeri waj "the camels are grazing"

Washi el ferig na bedir ugo "the dogs of the camp do not
like him"

'at lelo gini 'the bulls have come'

Hillelson seems to leave the final impression with the reader 
that such morphemes are universally retained for SCA; they, 
of course, are not. (In 'feminine plural--they have come' 
its problematic since the ending is -en, not -en; cf. Lati's 
review.)

1.37 There are several grammatical observations made by 
Hillelson which are unique, i.e., not dealt with by other 
authors on SCA in precisely the same way. For example, he
points out that it is highly characteristic of SCA to generate liquid consonants before a vowel (and, though not stated by him, delete the glottal stop). Examples include:

* 'al łyom 'the ruler' or *'al 'lyōm

* 'al łyom 'the days' or *'al 'lȳom (cf. Gallooe 33-140)

mi'em en-nī 'from the people' or mi'em en-nī

He also gives examples of phonemes introduced into SCA not normally found in Arabic. He suggests that the appearance of .AllowGet and _kb are probably due to Syriac influence. Examples given include:

* 'absa 'new'
* 'āwsa 'cat'

* 'āli'a 'hunt on horseback'

* 'absrō 'be disgusted with'

* 'āwā 'face'

* 'āwā 'abs is a species of grass'

1.53 The publication of Millard's vocabulary and Hassel- roth's grammar in 1925 generated a number of articles on specialized areas of SCA vocabulary, 29 show 1929 deals, for example, with the very specialized vocabulary relating to 

* 'jum' in SCA. 30 1933 concentrates on SCA terminology relating to the seasons of the year. He includes titles such as:

* in nazalat (masalat) fī tis'ā
When (eventually) a star goes down on the sixth day it is like a pregnant woman, gripping the rope that aids her in childbirth (i.e., very early, about June 1st—early just on the point of coming).

1.39 Michalson 1933 provides much interesting information not available in other sources about vocabulary used while working with a water wheel. Unfortunately, such transliteration of Arabic script as is given is rather poor. He fails to indicate vocative length, such as dālāh for ḍālāh 'water wheel'. He also does not differentiate between emphatic and non-emphatic consonants, such as šīd rather than šīd-i 'side', or 'ūfūf rather than 'ūfūf 'frame wheel carrying water bucket chains'.

1.40 Another example of specialized vocabulary is found in Bell 1953. Bell deals exclusively with foreign words which have been assimilated or partially assimilated into SCA vocabulary. He excludes from his discussion words which have been completely absorbed such as dohās 'doctor', ḍabrūs 'hospital', ḍagūs 'agenda', and ḍirās 'quota'. He also excludes what he terms narrowly confined or technical words such as qāl 'goal', ḍabul 'half-base' (plural, bewar ūla). Rather he deals with words such as ḍebris (plural, ḍebris) 'partes', formal 'mechanical brake' (from Italian), and
may be 'good quality—used of a lead of a girl'. Because Bantu's transliteration is inadequate, this article loses much of its potential value. It would be interesting to know how widespread usage of words such as the above really is. I do not expect, of course, that these types of words are used outside of the large urban centers, such as Khartoum-Bukhara.

1.41 It is difficult to understand why the next major work deals with here was written at all. C. J. N. Burton, an officer (librarian?) in the Sudan Defence Force produced his Sudan Arabic notebook in 1934. Although Westley's and Aflak's comparatively careful works had been in existence since 1925, Burton writes as if they were no where around. In fact, he writes as if he were the first person ever to deal with and publish about SCA. He states in his preface that he came to the Sudan without any previous knowledge of Arabic (any dialect or classical or literary), and thus tended his overwhelming nature in this work.

1.42 His description of some Arabic sounds, for example, is amusing but not exactly definitive. He states (1934: 4–6):

\[ a \] is quite another sound from English 'a'....

\[ s \] stronger and more hissing than our 's'. Rather like double 'ss' in English 'loss'...Can be known as railing...
ship 'u' [referring to the shape of the Arabic glottis]....

§, may be known as maili' ship 't'. Same as English 't'.

In toe, back 't' in little. Has a popping sound like the opening of a soda-water bottle...

b can be known in pronunciation by movement in the chest,

i.e. a frightening sound—hum...

NOTE.—It is very important for the beginner to grasp the pronunciation rule of the following as otherwise such confusion will be created—

they are sometimes pronounced jaw

and is sometimes pronounced jaw

as is sometimes pronounced jaw.

In his preface Button states: "One of the principal objects which I have maintained throughout has been to produce a correct transliteration and so to avoid confusion when writing in Arabic characters." He failed utterly. In his recommended list of two hundred words which are to be learned, he does not recognize the vowelless pharyngeal (pharyngeal aspirant (fricative) y (h) writingHIGH 'account, bill' rather than ghāsh. He does not recognize euphatics writing bath for haggās 'bad', and his vowel transcription often reflects aspects of literary or other dialectical kinds of Arabic.

For example, vowel no arrivals should be wigil, gihān 'baggages' should be waš (angustyla), and gah for SCA
"bread.

On a single page, within the table of the materials, he writes the lists 'three' but calls also 'three thousand'. Sometimes he writes SCA (dialectical form) 3amawa for 3amawa 'little (quantity)', or 3amawy 3amawy for 3amawy 'little (in stature)'.

1.43 The organization of Burton 1934 was, no doubt, convenient for newcomers to the Sudan. His table of contents gives a ready reference to specific vocabulary items related to concrete situations which the traveller would have been likely to come across. It is simply unfortunate that he did not consult previous published works to enable him to achieve the consistency which he has set as his goal. It is particularly surprising (owing) that he acknowledges a 'special debt of gratitude to Professor H.A.R. Gibb, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who, at great inconvenience, has most kindly read the greater part of the manuscript and proof sheets (1934 viii)."

1.44 An important contribution to the literature on SCA was made in the following year (1935). Hillelson completed his Sudan Arabic texts with translation and glossary. This volume includes dialectical material which should be used to develop more broadly needed comparative-dialectological studies. While there is not, probably, sufficient material in
the book to do a comprehensive study of this nature, the book
does draw some important distinctions between some of the
leading Arabic linguistic areas in the Sudan (see Hummous
1956).
1.45 In this book, Hillisam modifies two symbols of his
orthography. He replaces kh with k (x) and sh with x.19
Beyond that, the texts presented seem to be the promised con-
tinuation of Hillisam 1921.
1.46 Earlier in this chapter (see 1.1 ff.) some histori-
cal material included in the texts was discussed. Value of
these texts for a student of modern SCA line of knowledge
was discussed concerning the historical development of SCA dialects.
Hillisam notes, for instance, that the possessive marker
biš, commonly found in Egypt (especially Cairene) and wide-
ly used in the Sudan today (other dialects having sit2 or
tabč, etc.), is not found in one of the early manuscripts
discussed, the tabqāt.
1.47 Other parts of the book are of more immediate
interest as evidence of the differences in SCA dialects
today. Hillisam cites texts from the Oezira, Beber Pro-
vince, the Hajuara, Numad Arabia, and from Kordofan Province.
Specimens of the speech of the Ḥasanīya and Ḥusaynīya are
also found in extracts from al-wuṣayf al-ʿarabī.20 All
such texts are but a start towards a much-needed comparative
grammar of SCA dialects.

The inclusion of some proverbs (sayings), riddles, folk tales and nursery rhymes all provide material in areas that are largely neglected in other works about SCA. It is unfortunate that in a book of texts, Hillelson includes translations from other Arabic dialects rather than limiting himself to the actual speech of native speakers of SCA. 71

1.4i SCA dialectical variations are real and often approach being mutually unintelligible. Extent in this instance of such differences may be demonstrated by a verse quoted by Hillelson (1931: 148-9):

Western SCA

yal na`ah al-yusuf sallim `aliz `al-`amir
qu lama wala'ik bii `al-`a`izah ma nahr,
bil`adu safillath tawqat talaf mazret
u maratu gashaqat u girelu 1 be`uda ma`at.

Eastern SCA

ya `ad `in ma`at safilla `adl `ummat
qu lama wila`i al-fil-fajr ma`at,
bil`adu `asaffat ghabat talaf mazret
u maratu fallasat u girelu 1 be`uda ma`at.

Translations:

...
O traveller to the west (various: O bird in thy flight),
Give greetings to my mother;
Tell her, her son is among the living, not dead;
His crop has been three handfuls of grain;
His wife has caught nymphs and his favorite camel is dead.

1.49 The dearth of materials on SCA dialectology is unbelievable. Millersen published an article on songs of the Bagawara in 1929. This is primarily a collection of long songs which are rich in vocabulary not found in other parts of the Sudan. Lampen 1933 deals with vocabulary in daily use for ordinary living experiences and includes some nursery rhymes among the Bagawara tribes of Darfur. Renneville 1935 and Renneville 1956 deal with a collection of manuscripts "representative of the indigenous Arabic literature of the Western Sudan (1956: 79)." He has compiled lists of the writings (Arabic) of Shehu Usman Wand Fadil, the Reformer, founder of the Fulani empire, as well as the Arabic writings of his brother, Wadii Abdullahi Fadil. Most of the manuscripts belong to the library of the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria (17th and 19th centuries). (Usmanu was born in 1575; Abdullahi in 1656.) Some manuscripts are especially, such as tasyinh al-wasat in bi-janah bayaq wa il amin al-abyad, but as the author states (1956: 79): "There are four..."
new, in the School for Arabic Studies, Kasr, under Mr. Hla-
net, an Education Officer, is preparing an edition of this
work for publication: The Ibadun manuscript is imperfect.

1.50 Two extremely interesting articles, Graepelovics 1959
and Graepelovics 1960, contribute greatly to our knowledge of
SCA. It is disappointing that there is not a great deal more
material of this nature available, not only for this dialect
which he terms "the dialect of the Middle Sudan," but also
for other SCA dialects. He rightly states (1960: 192):
"Also, the scarcity of our dialectical material allows
neither for construction of the grammatical sketch of our dia-
lect nor to make any remark of generally binding character."
This applies equally to many other SCA dialects.

1.51 In addition to these, Graepelovics includes a number
of SCA Proverbs. For example, "al-faṣal raṣa, which he transla-
tes 'leave whatever you have to leave', or more accurately,
'what which has left you has given', meaning 'do not worry
about what you are obliged to leave' Another proverb quan-
ted by him appears in Hillelsoni (1955: 4) in a slightly different
form:

Graepelovics: al-malin yahubu wā l-faṣal raṣa
Hillelsoni: al-bilīb yibabu wā aṣ-ṣaqqal raṣa

Translation: The dog bites and the camel passes on.
Kaye (field work, 1970): 'al-bilīb yibabu wa-qayf al-ṣaqqal raṣa
1.52 Several other works have appeared on SCA proverbs.
Of limited usefulness is Jackson 1919 since it has no transcriptions and no vowel markings, and the proverbs listed are very similar to literary Arabic ones. A book by Mrs. A.F. Singer is listed by Hillis 1935 entitled Arabic proverbs, and it is supposed to contain SCA material. I could not find any further reference to the book. Perhaps it was never published or even completed.

1.53 Closely related to the area of proverbs in that they also reflect the folklore and customs of a people are nursery rhymes. Some have already been mentioned such as Hillis's work 1919, the date having been obtained from schoolboys at Gordon College. The extremely colloquial character of this material is demonstrated by the first lines of one of the rhymes

(1919: 28):

b^mu xaxal-nu haima
du-ma^dut yU-l-marafs^m, yU-l-marafs^m, ta^-al
whai kiret
‘afterword her sister called out, 0 hyena, 0 hyena, come eat kiret.'

1.54 Later the same year, 1919, a Sudanese published Alisyah 1916, which contains three ballades which are of interest as parallels to the nursery rhyme.

1.55 Connected with proverbs and nursery rhymes is the material included in Griffiths and Field 1936. Scott 1937...
Indicates that it is a collection of polite phrases used by the Sudanese along with the proper replies which should be made. The book also deals with "double meaning in words used by Sudanese" (Scott 1937: 181) and the ways in which Europeans misunderstand Dinka. An example is given of the European who is happy to be called Gerät 'cool', thinking erroneously that this means that he is calm and temperate.

1.26 A recent book, Barclay 1964, contains many descriptive terms from Sudanese suburban life. It is an anthropological study of a Sudanese village, Kurrin al Qamh, a suburb of Khartoum. Of particular interest from a linguistic point of view is the comprehensive list of kinship terms contained in Appendix B. See p. 122.

1.28 Several reviews followed the publication of the second edition (first edition 1939), by the Church Missionary Society of Tringham's grammar in 1964. Tritton 1967 felt that it was particularly good in that it was written in a way which requires no background knowledge of classical or literary Arabic. In fact, he states (1967: 224): "The book can be recommended without reservations." (Contrast this opinion with the criticisms of Hussey 1925.) Holt 1968 felt that the second edition was a great improvement over the first edition in that it includes so many more useful conversations, but he felt
It would still require additional explanations and coaching from a qualified teacher. He was also critical of Trinh- ingham's choice of symbols (574) for the transliteration in that it was different from any used in the Haba previous to that type, and it could not be reproduced on a standard typewriter.

1.19 Ferguson 1949 is the most penetrating and useful review. While accepting the work as being a worthwhile and more than decent contribution to the literature on SCA,

he states that (1949: 42) "from a linguistic point of view, the phonological terminology is completely inadequate."

Some of Ferguson's points include the way in which long vowels are written, the minimal pair status differentiating i from a, as in call 'to distinguish' and u/ku 'to raise', the vowel phonemes, as Trinhingham introduces /oi/, indicating that it "will be used for a rapid obscure vowel, which occurs in short unaccented syllables"—then never uses the symbol again throughout the book. Ferguson asks, "What phoneme is this?" Raised a occurs once in the entire work.

1.60 Probably the greatest defect in the work, as in most material produced about SCA, is the use of translated material to demonstrate grammatical points rather than developing interpretative points around more natural material based on SCA text. An example of the unnatural sentence used which
Illustrates the point (1966, 28) in the following:

See I am standing. How I am sitting. Are you standing or sitting? I am sitting, not standing.

Here natural conversational material is found in part II of the book.

1.61 There are other areas which need additional clarification in the work. He does not deal adequately with the influence of emphatic consonants on vowels, nor does he really allow for variant pronunciations—even within one dialect area—which are not common in SCa. Mention was previously made concerning some of these variants in the discussion of Hesley 1973, which went to the other extreme and presented non-common forms as the only forms used (see 1.22 ff.).

1.62 Tringham 1946 also has a tendency to make general statements about changes that occur without defining how or when they occur (prefix environment). For example, consider two such forms (1946: 697):

The 1-1 form has a peculiarity due to elision, e.g., rithhu becomes rithu.

The forms ending in $u$ [paralogs have u] (3rd pers. plur. mas., past), when suffixed are added, are frequently pronounced $u$.

1.63 Although ScA would be hard to define precisely in all its dialectological versions, it continues to dominate
and spread its influence throughout the Sudan. The English 1964 documents and emphasized the ascendancy of SCA throughout the country, extending even to non-Arab speaking communities increasingly. Although the literate community in the Sudan deprecates spoken SCA or any other dialect as a non-language, it is a vital and unifying factor (form) in the Sudan. (See Haden 1962 and Kaye 1972 for a discussion of some of the issues involved here regarding attitudes on language.)

Before presenting a discussion per se of some of the major works already mentioned, a note on the future of SCA studies is appropriate. What areas have been neglected or need a tremendous amount of additional attention? There has never been an adequate dialectological study made in the Sudan. Because Khartoum is the largest population center (and also the national radio station of the country), or because Khartoum is the political center, it is presumed that one of these must also be the dominant linguistic center of the country. A scientific comparison of the major dialect areas and overlap of such areas (if badly in need, and should be conducted, perhaps by the Sudanese government itself. Such a study should include an evaluation of the SCA found in the homes of literate (and highly educated) native speakers as well as illiterate and non-educated peoples, as well as...
textual material must also be gathered from all parts of the
Sudan, which would confirm that there is really not one dia-
lect of SGA, but rather several major dialects with many vari-
atations for each dialect. See 1.5.

1.64 Particular emphasis should be placed on studying syn-
tactic patterns. Adequate discussion of SGA syntax is lacking
in all works cited in this chapter (done from any syntactic
point of view, whether it be generative/transformational,
tagmeme, generative semantic [Daafu 1970], etc.). Simple
sentence patterns are probably adequately discussed (at least
in traditional grammar approach) and presented, but more com-
plex SGA sentence structure is neglected. This becomes evi-
dent in conversation with a native SGA speaker.

1.65 Even in the area of traditional autonomous phonetics
much needs elucidation. The phoneme /a/ and its allophones
have not been adequately described by anyone. Worsley (1955)
said it probably gives the most accurate and adequate phonetic
description (reproduced verbatim in later citation; Tringali
1961: 47):

'In some words, especially those in which 'i' occurs,
this vowel seems to sound nearer to the English i in 'men'
than a, so that for example, the word for 'prophet' is
often written by English people meh instead of meh, and
gebil for gebal (hill). It is nevertheless a true "a" sound, even though in some cases it may be articulated relatively higher.

1.67 Finally, an Arabic-English vocabulary or dictionary, as the dictionaries done at Georgetown University (Richard Slade Harrell Arabic series) in the 60s, of SCA would be of great value. No one has ever attempted to produce such a work.

1.68 Valuable work has obviously been done on SCA, but there are continuing areas of real challenge in this relatively unknown dialect area of modern Arabic. Any linguist, trained in any of the modern methods of analysis, who devoted time and effort to the language, would undoubtedly uncover other neglected areas, which would need specific and immediate attention. Careful comparison with colloquial Arabic dialects of other countries is also badly needed.

1.69 Amery 1905


Amery himself states that the volume consists of two distinct elements (p. 1)
1. The technical terms in use in the Egyptian Army and in the various Departments of the Sudan Government.

2. Some 3,500 words of the most common daily usage translated into the Arabic equivalents employed for them in conversation among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

To avoid repetition and for convenience in finding words, these two elements have been arranged together in alphabetical order, the technical terms being distinguished by having a (t) placed after them.

Amyry claims that if a word is peculiar to, or of more frequent use in a part of the Sudan, this will be noted after the word. If no marking appears following the word, this means that the word is understood all over the Arabic-speaking Sudan.

The purpose of the book was clearly for official purposes. Amyry states (pp. 1-11):

As the British Officers of the Egyptian Army and officials of the Sudan Government are required to read and write Arabic, it has not been considered necessary to adopt any elaborate system of transcription...

The vowel transcriptions are based on the "Rules of orthography for native names of places, persons, etc., in Egypt and the Sudan," published by the Intelligence Depart-
ment, War Office, Cairo, with the addition of macrons distin-
guishing the long vowels.

Some of the abbreviations after a word include the follow-
ing:

B. Baxter
D. Dongola
G. Gezira
K. Kordofan
W.S. Western Sudan

Among, in a sense, criticizes his own work (p. 111); Daring to the novel nature of this Vocabulary and to the
fact that it has been considered desirable to get the first
edition through the printers as quickly as possible, it
will necessarily [emphasis mine] have many omissions and
mistakes. So then stated:

It is requested that any corrections and suggestions should
be sent to the Director of Intelligence, War Office, Cairo,
or to the Assistant Director of Intelligence, Khartoum,
with a view to a revised edition being produced at an
early date [emphasis mine].

The introduction was written on January 5, 1905 in Kha-
toum (see p. xii). It contains the only grammatical remarks
in the entire 554-page work. Op. iv-v are particularly
interesting in that they give us a glimpse into the tinge-
Amyr transcribes عَلَى, i.e. << as تُلَي, confusing grapheme and phoneme with regard to English orthography.

It is true that words derived from the roots גל and גל ('to kill' and 'to purr', respectively) exhibit گ → ہ, a common sound change in many other Arabic dialects, especially rural ones of the Syria-Palestine area. The morphophonemics need to be explored as گل 'the axle' but گل 'soundless' or گل 'it purrs'. The precise nature of dipthongization and monophthongization needs to be explored, as گل 'lion' but گل 'house', or گل 'boys' but گل 'voice' (Amyr's transcription).

A short section (pp. vii-viii) follows called "Interchange of letters." Well-known features of SCA (see Kaye 1971a, n. 55) are mentioned such as

<ش> → چ

شی 'trees'

deš 'army'

m → ہ

مکاہ or ہائی "place"

The following (pp. vii-viii) section is called "Verbs."

It contains some rather misleading and confusing information. Consider:

The Abs of the Sufi expresses himself when possible in verbs, giving also the preference to adjectives over sub-
analytically, as if he wished to say "at the time of the
rise of the river" he would say—
lema yarayyil al-ḥājar
lema yahūn al-ḥājar manayyil
fi nil al-ḥājar [transcriptions mine]
The remainder of the introduction is called "General."

There is a discussion of classical vs. colloquial discrepancies in vocalic patterns ("the vocalization of the harakāt," p. viii); ala'ūn "he heard" and ala'ūn "he understood." Then follow a few remarks about anusprays (see 1.14); sama for sama, and helib (Arabic) for helb (Arabic). Interesting statements concerning DCA būn 'became' follow (p. ix):

The verbal noun būn is generally used for "became" or "was," where in Egypt the word ʿaladān (ʾašān) would be employed, e.g. [see n. 127.]

ṣalāmi būn ʿagīl ʿagīl maghara [my transcription]
'the oppressed me because he is a man of power';
maṣūmi mina ʿamīn ʿagīl ʿamīn
'If I am pleased with you because you are a good man'

Then follows a brief discussion of conditional sentences,
'līka būn or just būn, followed by a discussion of 'mina' and 'perhaps' (līla ṣān and yīla bīn ʿān, respectively).

Then follows a brief mention of prepositions, such as the use of min for ʿān 'about', and the peculiar dialectological
The use of the word "fi" to express "an" or "in" in place of "al" or "il" in general, except in the latter province; 
thus:-- biya fi bati "he is in (on) his house" 
"fi fi" signifying "on the bed" 
"fi batin al-bati" "in the doorway" 
"fi batin al-fl'm" "on the river bank" 
It is also used occasionally to express "in the time of," as "fi al-mawjuya," in the time of the Mudir, 
and rarely used in the western Sudan in the place of "ind," as "fiqah sikh," have you any water? 
Then follows a brief discussion of "fi batin 'lat," "inside," 
as "fi batin al-bati" "in (inside) the house." Then Abery mentions 
that a few words are regularly used to express meanings 
somewhat different from their original ones. For example, 
"paddo 'to answer" (also, hailam), and sallam 'to kiss." 
Then he states (p. 51): 
These words are of course also used in their proper sense, 
but some few words are used only in an incorrect 
meaning, e.g. [prescriptive] 
"wirik" is used for "thigh"; its real meaning being "hip," 
for which the word ga'ba is used. 
"naash" is used for "relatives by marriage," real meaning "relative."
A little known fact about SCA (not mentioned by others) is then presented (p. xi):

The habit of giving emphasis or intensification to words by accentuating or dwelling upon certain parts of them, or by doubling a consonant or lengthening a vowel, is very common—

استه ‘good’

‘عابوس ‘white’

‘ارباج ‘blue’

This phenomenon I would equate with the similar development in English “grrreat”, as used in Kellog’s Sugar Frosted Flakes’ commercials on television by Tony the Tiger. To my knowledge, it has never received linguistic treatment (Arabic or English).

A brief mention of ‘ابن ‘of’ (‘ابن ‘son ‘of’), familiar from Arabic dialects, follows, with a note indicating that this is not common. Then follows a short paragraph about the calening of new words in SCA (دال ‘pin’).

Amer’s warning in 1.20 has a footnote (see Kaye 1970):

An excellent illustration of the reality of this danger may be obtained by questioning a native of the Sudan who has lived for instance in Khartoum and mixed with Government Officials. If he is asked how do you pronounce him (they) he will probably reply: “We, amongst ourselves,
say 'Hum' but the educated people who knew the Government say 'Huma'. Similarly he will tell you: "We in the desert say 'Huma' for fish, but the educated people (Fanâs al-nacawâdîn) say 'Hum,' etc. etc. (p. xxvi). Amary concludes (p. xiii) "Education, the study of the Koran and of the classical Arabic should do much to counteract this influence."

The bulk of the book (606 pp.) is a listing of words in alphabetical order in English, Arabic script, and transliteration. P. 1 (4) is prefaced by a H.B. which states:

It must be remembered that the definite article though written "el" is pronounced "al", and the letter "il" according to its position in the sentence, also that before final letters, B, S, etc. the final letter of the following word doubled, e.g. "ah shur", "as ehr" etc.

[Amary's transcription]

Sentences illustrating word usage are sometimes included. For example, 'I came two months ago, lot mahrin gît (p. 10). One of the major faults with the verbology, as a whole, is the listing of many words derived from the same root through the process of basic Arabic verbal morphology (root and vocalic pattern), such as 'to demarcate', iṣâṣ al-ya'ûd, and 'demarcation', taqṣîs al-ya'ûd (Form II, per-
foot and verbal noun, respectively) [p. 101 and passing].

Another major fault is in the area of noun morphology, such as 'my coming', Gezi, and 'your coming', Arzi (p. 78 and passim).

Pp. 408-31 are the appendices (M_taxonomy's title). Appendix A is a listing of color terms including such words as blue, tan, pink, purple, brown, and beige. Appendix B contains the days of the week; Appendix C is a listing of the Gregorian months (not generally known in 1905), the Muslim calendar, and Sudanese (local?) months. Appendix D deals with various units of time or call numbers with listings for camel, dog, sheep, etc. Appendix E is a listing of cardinal numbers and ordinal ones. Appendix F includes ranks, titles, and offices (especially military, such as Lancer and Sapper, and Arab sheik [p. 417]). Appendix G is entitled 'naha and parts.' The scale (qasimi) is the Persian water wheel. Appendix H deals with weights, including some for gold, measures for grain, and Sudanese weights and measures with equivalents in the British system of the period, with notes on local weights of khercous. Barber Province, Kordofan, etc.

Pp. 432-51 contain some of the most interesting things in the work, viz., texts in Dinka. We are not told exactly how the texts were recorded, but I suspect that they were written
(and thus the influence of classical Arabic prose style).

There is an English translation, followed by Arabic script (classical Arabic, with preservation of the interental graphemes and gemination marker for consonants [‘allāh or ‘adda]), followed by the transliteration. Consider the opening sentence from the first text (p. 432):

The teacher of a primary school is either paid at the rate of 12 dollars per annum or teaches the children free of charge.

Arabic script:

أو يكن فور دابة يقري لله سأطت.

Transliteration:

Sheikh al khalw pi'agacu siatu bi etshahar aqil an yadm maa zaktu yuqarli lilla asilt.

All the texts are supposedly representative of the major dialect areas in which Arabic was spoken before 1905 (Berber, Dungali, Gozrra, etc.). There is one grammatical note in a footnote (p. 433); otherwise, nothing about grammar is mentioned.

Several poems and songs are also included among the texts.
Concluding the volume is a one-page introduction (enquistinah) in classical Arabic and a title page in Arabic script. There are very few printing errors in the work.

1.70 Barclay 1955

This discussion, which is more linguistic than Barclay 1964, deals with the sedentary Arabs in Khartoum and vicinities, and predicts a more secularized future (p. 48) for the culture. The article revolves around cultural change in the Sudan in terms of (1) Islamization (the Arabs are the largest ethnic group, about fifty per cent of the total population), and (2) Westernization. Barclay (p. 45) is right when he claims

Technically, these Arabs are overwhelmingly Arabized
Nubians, descendants of an old Nubian population which in the past few centuries has become assimilated to Arab culture. Arabs are represented across the entire spectrum of ecological types in the Sudan: the largest number are village dwellers engaged in irrigation agriculture.

Others are rain cultivators. Many are semi-sedentary, having permanent villages, but spending half or more of their time following their herds away from the village.

Close to a million Arabs may be classed as nomads, most of them herders of cattle along the southern fringes of Kar-
dofan and Darfur Provinces; the Arab camel nomads live
further north in the drier areas.

A history of Arabization (lightly considered [p. 44]) as being distinct from Islamization) is then presented concerning the Egyptian colonialism of the early 19th century, the Mahdist revolt of 1881, and the arrival of the British in 1898. The diversity of the southern part of the Sudan is then sketched, and notes about the rebellion of the South mentioned. Two linguistic conclusions become bold: (1) one does not have to be an Arab to be a native speaker of SCA, and (2) Arabization in the Sudan means linguistic acculturation to Arabic as a language. The remainder of the article, not really germane to our discussion of SCA literature, deals with ritual and religious systems and subsystems in the country.

1.71 Burtin 1934


The preface was written in Cullabat in September, 1933,
and some interesting background material for the book is included (pp. v-vi). It begins with a quatrain from Omar Khayyam:

The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on not all they meet nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all they wish wash out a Word of it.

The above lines seem to provide the excuse for my boldness in producing this book. The proverb about "fools rushing in", etc., is too well known to require repetition, but if my boldness seems to verge upon temerity it is because the expert and the beginner seldom come across the same stumbling blocks, for it generally happens that the expert has entirely lost sight of the trials which beset him in the initial stages of his studies. This note-book is, therefore, written for beginners in the hope that they will be able to avoid more easily the difficulties which explained by one who has only very recently overcome them for himself; it is even hoped that they will actually form a liking for their new task. Many will, no doubt, find themselves in a position very similar to my own, for when I was first ordered out to the Sudan I was told that it would be useless to attempt to learn any Arabic at home on account of the wide differences in local dialect.
Burton then discusses his first arrival at Fort Sudan, his respect for his servant (a Semai), and expresses his linguistic regret because his Semai servant did not have a full command of Arabic. After one month in the Sudan, he was called upon to take sole charge of the Corps which was, as he states, (p. vi) "somewhat of an ordeal under the circumstances."

He continues:

This note-book is the outcome of having kept a careful diary of my tribulations and progress; it is to be hoped that its publication will assist students with the many difficulties with which they are likely to be faced. I feel that with the aid of these notes the reader should find it possible to obtain valuable elementary instruction in Arabic at home, and more especially so if he is able to enlist the aid of anyone who already knows the language and can assist him with the pronunciation.

Burton also states that the vocabulary in the volume has been tested "in all the districts of the Sudan," and has been found to be effective in speaking with tribes such as the Hadendowa, Beil Amir, Hubban (see Badr, no date, no publisher), and Hassaniya.

The forward to the work was written by Kitchener of Khartoum himself, in Eldeere, Kenya, February 16th, 1914. (a
little more than three years before his death in Cairo). He states that CCA is "a notoriously difficult language to learn," and that "he should like to congratulate Colonel Burton on the industry which has enabled him to complete this book." It is interesting to note (as was common in this period for many types of scholarly publications) that Burton financed the publication of the work out of his own pocket. I do not know whether the book was a financial success or not.

The book consists of twenty-seven chapters, as is noted in the table of contents. Ch. I is entitled "Alphabet, Pronunciation, Writing Points, Numerals" (pp. 1-16). It begins with a discussion of basic Arabic graphemes (see Mitchell 1973 for the best discussion of the subject in print I know). Rules on pronunciation follow (see 1-43). Rules for the assimilation (elision—Burton's terminology) of the definite article (el—Burton's transcription) are given, followed by "writing points," i.e., the chart (kursi) for the huna (glottal stop), the vowel points (tampa, kasra, dama), the accusative with tawwed (tawwata), etc., followed by a listing of the numerals (cardinal and ordinal). Much confusion between classical and colloquial (see Kaye 1970) is evident, as well as a confusion between graphemes and phonemes.

Ch. II is called "First 200 Words" (pp. 15-27). He begins by commenting about the listings.
The following 200 words, if learnt before leaving the boat, will enable the beginner to face his new adventure with confidence and at least with the knowledge that he will be able to ensure personal comforts. All these words hold good throughout the Sudan and will be understood in Cairo.

We are never told why verbs are listed in the imperative singular masculine (a very uncommon practice), e.g., 'ask', 'talk' (p. 15), unless otherwise stated, such as 'arrived (he)', 'wait' (see 1.62). Basic sentences are also included, e.g., 'I wish he has they do you want anything what?' (p. 17).

This should be corrected too:

Gaw (Gawt) ḍāqa tāyya

or

ﺐ يلا ḍāqa tāyya ḍāwīs (Gawt).

Cf. Coffee ḍāqa tāyya ḍāwīs (Gawt).

There are many errors in the actual data (not printing errors either). It is certainly ignorance on the part of Burton which made him write ersed in Arabic script with ḍīb rather than 中国移动 (p. 19) in see much ersed I don't understand, or to list 'very nice' (p. 253) as hipple ersed for Domeapple thing. Many other errors from this chapter could easily be listed. An errata sheet for the volume would certainly run pages.

Ch. III is entitled "First 100 Words Written." It begins
Always practice by writing short notes to your Native Officers, Medical Officer, Native Civil Authorities, Mowr, Postmaster, and Station Master. They appreciate notice being taken and will help you in many small ways.

The vocabulary is largely polite conversational items such as 'mister' affendi, 'sir' fenn, 'please' min fadlik.

Ch. IV has vocabulary items for the post office, hospital, parts of the body, railway, cultivation, servants, household effects, animals, the man servant, and kitchen utensils (pp. 28-44).

Ch. V (pp. 45-72) is a list of "useful pairs of words" (Hutton's title) or antonyms such as 'right' yawyn, 'left' abulul.

P. 71 is interesting in its own right in terms of the pedagogical style in which it is written. It reads:

The "Thin Rule"

Very difficult. The stronger never gets this right.

1. rigalyag "thin" and is generally used of men and things, i.e. chiefly sticks, seats, pips, etc.

2. rabi' "thin" and applies to clothes and other things made out of sheets, i.e. paper and glass.

3. rafyīn "thin" and can be used to cover rigalyag and rabi'.
4. *d'ayf* "thin" (opposite of fat) and is used in de-
cribing men and animals.

Ch. VI (pp. 72-80) is entitled "Words for Distinguishing"
and contains asserted lexemes, viz., everything from 'pure'
saff, to 'fog,' haram, and 'donkey' hamaa.

P. 80 is more good evidence for the confusion between pho-
netics and graphemics in that it lists "words with dual mean-
ing." For example, he lists 'smart' laban, and 'to solder' as
laban, both spelled in Arabic script as *<illegible>.*

Ch. VII (pp. 81-5) deals with root words, i.e., words
derived through Arabic morphological processes (discontinuous
morphemes) from the same root, such as the words beginning
p. 81, viz., 'the spread' farash, 'spread' nafrouw, etc. The
root is frd and the two patterns are illustrative of the first
form perfect (CaCdC) third masculine singular and passive par-
ticiple (maCCC) masculine singulars, respectively. The stan-
dard Arabic (and Semitic) root used for this purpose is the
root 'to write,' which is also mentioned (p. 81) and the
derived forms given are as follows:

- written
  - nafroo (maftoo) [maftoo would be consistent with
    Burton's transcription; cf.
    maftoo listed earlier]
  - kath

book
writing
library, bookcase
office
correspondence

Ch. VIII (pp. 86-100) is entitled "Arabic Expressions, Stories, Proverbs, Sumerica" and is rather of a very classical nature. For example, "he gives an example" is given as yadib manahal, the -an marking the accusative singular, which does not occur in SCA (classical Arabic manahil).

Interesting vocabulary is given for tribal marks (facial marks), so characteristic of Sudanese from tribal areas.

The stories given in Arabic script only, as the first (p. 90), "Why the capital of the Sudan is called Khartoum" are in literary Arabic, and are thus not relevant to SCA literature.

The Sumerica and proverbs (anwāq) are not really particularly SCA, but rather Arabic of a more general scope and area (more MSA than SCA).

Ch. IX (pp. 101-3) is a listing of vocabulary items having to do with woolen, such as 'wool-ripe' musāh, or 'sheep-ripe' tālīc or shoros.

Ch. X (pp. 104-6) deals with comparatives and superlatives.

Ch. XI (pp. 107-15) deals with auxiliary verbs, such as 'to be' (אכון 'I will be' [p. 107]), and 'to have' ('אנדו 'I have'). Basic verbal morphology is given and a comparison with classical Arabic features is presented (see Bichler and Cauderoe-Demouyene (1971: 36-33) for particularly Arabic forms and Cohen 1974 for a detailed discussion in terms of Semitic in general, and Ndake 1976 for an older, more traditional point of view).

Ch. XII (pp. 126-30) is called "A Few Useful Rules" and mentions some rules about the 'fī'la (status construction), such as khabīrat shay 'a cup of tea', the definite article, the interrogative, the negative, and noun declension (possessive suffixes).

Ch. XIII (pp. 131-4) describes common greetings. See Ferguson 1967 for a theoretical discussion in terms of Syrian Arabic. Griffiths and Jaffe 1936 is quoted in that paper. Festival greetings are also included (פוד).

Ch. XIV (pp. 135-7) deals with weights and measures. Ch. XV (pp. 139-60) is a listing of adverbs, e.g., 'fiercely' (p. 140) and 'shouting'. Ch. XVI (pp. 141-3) is a listing of prepositions and conjunctions and "useful words in common use" (Burton's term). Ch. XVII (pp. 144-6) lists colors, shapes, and artistic and natural features (Burton's term), such as 'bridge' (נובך), 'mountain' (גוב).
Ch. XVIII (pp. 149-51) contains vocabulary items relating to the world and creation. Ch. XIX (pp. 152-6) deals with time and seasons including the Gregorian months. Ch. XX (pp. 157-8) deals with kinship terminology, but does not distinguish between 'maternal aunt' and 'paternal aunt' nor 'maternal uncle' and 'paternal uncle', batša, umma, baša, and sum, respectively. Ch. XXI (p. 159) lists native Sudanese dress terms, such as 'jibba (robe) jibba and 'galabiyät (gown) jallābīyya. Ch. XXII (pp. 160-1) discusses names of countries. The opening statement in this chapter is certainly not true today, let alone for 1934. The chapter begins as follows:

In speaking about countries, the word itself can be used, but the more usual form is to express the country thus, e.g.—England, the country of the English, halad al-İngiliṣ

Egypt, the country of the Egyptians, halad al-maqriyyiṣ. The forms today are Ingiltere 'England' and marj 'Egypt'.

Ch. XXIII (pp. 162-4) is a listing of tools and equipment, including such items as shuṭṭa 'sawed knife of the Bagi tribe' and wabur (p. 163) 'knife of any type from a primitive stone or a stainless steel knife'. Ch. XXIV (pp. 165-6) is a listing of minerals and metals including terms such as sabamun 'cement'. Ch. XV (pp. 167-73) deals with, as
might be expected, military terms in the office, for rations, clothing, company crimes, drills including exorcises like 'raise your butt' liró ("liró") disbahan, and 'lower your butt' narii disbahan (p. 197). Marketry, teams and special appointments, decorations like H.S.O. (Distinquished Service Order) tuba el khidma al musulma (p. 211) [tubak], tactical words, operation orders, and finally flying.

Ch. XXVI (pp. 235–63) deals with natural history terms, viz., animals, birds, reptiles, fish, trees and insects. The final chapter, Ch. XXVII (p. 294–51) is omitted "The Gaming" and lists fruits, spices, vegetables, flowers, and "garden words" (pp. 250–1).

As an illustration of the practical and pedagogical instruction of the author, there are four blank pages following the volume called "Notes," for addenda and corrigenda. There is also an excellent map of Africa (as of 1933) in the work showing occupation of African countries by the British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Spanish, and Italian forces.

There are also two plates: (1) a picture of the Governor-General's Palace in Harare, and (2) a portrait reproduced with the permission of the National British Portrait Gallery)


1.72 Crapshoter 1919
The SCA (Middle Sudan) texts and six proverbs are included with translations and a few grammatical notes. One of the informants was Huseyn Mihänd Elwassam (born July 2, 1926) from As-Dawutayn; the other his cousin Huseyn Al-Misr Welej Elwassam (born March 5, 1930) also from As-Dawutayn. The ɣ sound is transcribed as q, which he writes (p. 183) is "incorrectly transliterated "g."" The Hungarian "gy" is Hungarian. (See Karp 1971 for all the details, and Berggren 1921: 151 and Milletier 1951: 116 for brief mention in SCA and certain dialects of the Arabian peninsula.) qeq is transcribed as both q and q.

The vowels include: æ, ɛ, ɔ, ʌ, ø, a, i, u, e, and ñ, ɛ, æ, and diphthongs æɣ, æy, æw, and æν. Punctuation and emphasis are duly noted.

The first sentence from Text 1 is as follows (p. 192):

"We cannot abide these hopeful spirits and ministers of disaster."

The translation (p. 213):

There was our brother, with us, whose condition was poor and his wife brought him every time daughters and daughters (and no) and a dozen of daughters helped as the (kinds), and our friend, in the end began to be very angry and she was (simply) overcome when boys or daughters...
Perhaps the most interesting fact is Text II, which is about
the use of the term "p" or "m" in the light of context.

Text II reads as follows (p. 26):

\[
\text{אכְּלָל בֵּית אֲשֶׁר שָׁלֵשְׁנָה מַעַּלְמַיִם}
\]

Translation (p. 28):

On the education of the illiterate

One taught the illiterate people and then he told him (to
one of them) "say a word beginning with the letter "m" or
the letter "p" or "w", and the people living in the next,
from the best of the Sudan always pronounced gayo as "η".
And when he (one of these people) was to say a word begin-
inging with "η" he told him "γαμάθυα". This is under
(9) African Subtraction.

The six proverbs and the texts with the exception of Text
I אכְּלָל בֵּית אֲשֶׁר שָׁלֵשְׁנָה מַעַּלְמַיִם, are also known in other Arab countries, as
the author states (p. 13).

79. Zasadzinski 1960
This article contains three core texts in the same dialect as Caspianvîd 1959 and two of them are from the same two informants as Caspianvîd 1957 and the third one from Feth Aliê (here in 1992 in Ad-Nowayn). Caspianvîd is quite right about the third text when he states (p. 192) that the language, which he [the informants] use in his narrative above, strongly influences that of educated people. It is, and it true nevertheless when the author states (p. 192) concerning the dialect of the Middle Sudan:

Also, the scarcity of our dialectical material allows neither for constructions of the grammatical sketch of our dialect nor to make any remark of generally binding character.

The opening sentence of each of these texts with their transliterations is as follows:

C1. Ñurû 11-gâhâ (pp. 192-3)

کنیش مینیکک یا 11-غواه گین-غود, دیگی لینا م- گیر گین-غود بیگنکا نورو 11-غواه بی-پی-گی.

[گین-غود is a cognate for گی-غود, i.e., the apostles' names, not the apostolic names for Proclamation (pp. 194-5)]

C2. Quaffing of coffee

I would like to tell you about the coffee in Sudan. It happens that people in Sudan love the drinking of coffee.
very much.

(29) So-teh

Hama pi'a. Maqij ti-pi'enin yon an oni jiga, 3ji su
pi'a jila ti-inino yi'k'on. 3 ji yin sino nina ti-su'unin
k'ammi'i ti-yeye ni nina yiga'la.

Translation (p. 196)

When somebody else is dead, the first thing of course is,
that is of course the prono, whose majority are women, to
take this dead man and wash him.

(31) So-teh

Wampi muna pi'a, mani yin leluk ti-wokoy ti-pi'enin.37
Hama pi'a ti-pi'enin yon ti'san pi'a suka suka ino ni yiga
k'ala jill. 'Uta yiga'siin laa.

Translation (pp. 196-7)

The theme of the narrative is the wedding ceremony in
Sukam. When somebody intends to marry, he speaks of course
to his father about the girl he wants to marry.

1928 ceased 1929.

In this important review of Hillaese 1929, the author
began (p. 195):

The author, in his position, openly states that this is a
new work rather than a revised edition of the English-
Arabic vocabulary of the late Captain Merry, and it would
be unprofitable to the latter book, which, despite many
obvious defect, has served a very useful purpose in this
day (1905 [Ed.]), to institute comparisons between the two.
An introduction, as interesting as it is inordinately, defines
the scope of the work and explains the method of its pre-
guration. Sudan states "to get a homogeneous language..." but
equally the common term for a number of local forms of
speech which constitute a group owing to a general similar-
ity of type, and in consequence of geographical and politi-
cal contact." Of these local forms of speech, the author
broadly distinguishes sub-dialects for the Northern Sudan,
the Central Sudan, the Western Sudan, and the Nubians' tribe
and he notes, further, that the speech of nomad
Arabs everywhere differs from that of the settled popula-
tion.

Sudan proceeds to elaborate some of his own theories on
an Arabic based (common language), which he maintains, will
be found in any Arabic-speaking region. He is quite right
also in pointing out that even SDA sub-dialects have a great
diversity in vocabulary items (and idiomastic expressions),
and that words common to one dialect of SDA are not known or
used at all (even with different meanings) in other dialects,
but there is a very large number of common words in the whole
area.

Sudan then suggests that in addition to sub-dialects of
SCA and a SCA both, these who with an administrative  
('monotony') observe
 by the army, for instance, with
Davies writes in a fashion typical of British scholarly
human (p. 222).  
So much having been said, the author can afford to concede
 to the reviewer such small portion of unqualified joy as
the lucidus can, in this instance, derive from detecting
the errors in error. Like another lexicographer, who
defines the pattern as the same of a horse ("Ignorance,
Habitus, alter Ignoranti"), Mr. Millarson is not completely
happy in equine masters. Thus without is not even, but
cheesecakes and sheep is not cheesecakes but brown.
Davies continues by selecting small masters for criticism,
for which he apologizes by saying: "Readers of this review
will rightly infer that if criticism is directed to nice
patience of this kind (see below), it is for lack of serious
blunders in the work (p. 222)."  
There is always a danger in defining the meaning of a
historical word from insufficient data. On a certain
occasion Dr. Seligman 8 attempts to define the meaning
of the verb "heere" in "to go about", giving his defi-
nition on the usage of certain sections of the English
tribe. Mr. Millarson avoids this error, but falls into the
similar one of defining  

"to move south to the river" (Nagg). In fact,  

which is the complementary word to  

"household". The latter is correctly explained in the vocabulary as "to dispose in grazing grounds during the rainy season". The former means to "move back to dry quarters when the rainy season is over". It is perfectly  

true that for the Beja people this is a move south to the river,  

but the Nagg in  

also use the word for a movement which is  

neither towards the south nor to a river.

Other minor matters, in essence, are taken up by Davies. He complains that there are a few omissions due to sheer oversight on the part of Hillerton, such as when "wood" is listed as cf. "forest", there is no "forest", though the Arabic equivalent will be found under "acrob".

Davies ends his criticism before he actually praises the  

form, style, and printing of the work as a whole by saying (p. 223):

"Those thoroughly familiar with the dialect of a particular tribe will be in a position to point out that here and there the author has included a rare dialectical word while omitting a more common or more useful one. This, indeed, could hardly have been avoided except by organized collaboration with provincial officials. Thus outsiders (and possibly others) will have difficulty in finding the"
Ubiquitous word ميلاس، as applied to launiness of person-"lum, which is hidden away under the heading of "clear" and will look in vain for its antithesis في ميلاس سمع في ميلاس، as also for the vulgar but very common ميلاس، applied generally to stolen camels after they have passed from a thief to a receiver.

1.75 Davies 1926

This short article is a follow-up to the preceding one in that Davies lists lexicons not found in Willson 1917, in an effort to try to keep Willson 1923 (which replaced Amery 1905 for all purposes) up-to-date. Some words listed, it must be admitted, are not very common nor are they particularly useful. For instance, يلم "sixteen-year old (camel)" or ام "seven-year old (camel)" (p. 135).

1.76 Davies 1927

This is another short article which is a follow-up to the preceding in that it is a supplementary vocabulary listing to it. It contains one hundred items altogether in Arabic script and transliteration, and devotes a whole page (p. 219) to vocabulary of the Baghata (Central Sudan). The purpose of this article was the same as the one for Davies 1926 (see 1.75).

1.77 Farmer 1939

This article, by the world's authority on Arab music for the period in which he lived, concentrates on early references
from Arab historical writings on musical instruments and
other musical terms (from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries).
Unfortunately the manuscript (a page of one [dated 1701,
owned by the British Museum] is reproduced between pp. 372-1)
are not in SCA but rather in literary Arabic. There is noth-
ing which bears on scholarly SCA literature, yet for this
period it is interesting to note Fazret’s conclusion (p. 575);
it will be seen that most of the names of the instruments
are Arabic, but we must remember that Arabic was the lan-
guage in which the works quoted were written. In four in-
stances only are non-Arabic names used for instruments...

It is noteworthy to end this discussion here by saying that
it seems as though Arabic terms relating to music diffused
in the Sudan and other parts of North and Central Africa be-
fore SCA really emerged in the fourteenth century. The case
of the Arabic terms into languages such as Wolof, Bokkara,
Suwu, Fulbe, Nama, etc., is discussed by Fazret in this
article as well as his Studies in oriental musical instru-
ments (1939) and an article in Musical Standard (Nov. 1928),
“The Arab Influence on music in the western Sudan.”

Ferguson begins by telling us that Tringham 1946 is still
based on Gardiner’s Egyptian colloquial Arabic 1917 (first
edition), which is probably true. I would have to agree also
Sudan Colloquial Arabic.

1.79 Field 1952 (pp. 184-249)

Appendix A is useful in that it contains (pp. 290-1) a listing of English-Arabic-Bantu vocabulary recorded phonetically on March 6, 1948, at Abya, ten miles north of Kosti Malafa (with the assistance of Keith Murray). The transcriptions are far from being phonetic nor are they phonological. A look at the Arabic numerals (p. 233) confirms this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wallid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ethnaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>thelata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>aarba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>rhamuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>thanunay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sinnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ashera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sidaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>echusah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>asherita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>nisna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laryngeals, pharyngeals, and vocale length are those of the most conspicuous things not noted. Consider the nisna topic:
here" for ㈜ (p. 231), or 'sheep' is not known but

The remaining pages referred to here are important for they
list population statistics for nomadic peoples and for nomad-
ic groups, as well as non-linguistic facts (physical anthro-
pology) such as facial and nasal measurements, statistics on
age, hair, teeth, etc. Field led the University of California
African Expedition to the Sudan (and other African countries)
In the late 40s, and some of his ideas about the expedition
were published before 1921.31

Interesting ideas about the
history and prehistory of the Sudan are also included,
especially with reference to genealogy. See, for example,
the report of the Cuschs of Yoro Bunu (pp. 218 ff.).32

1.40 Hill and 1921

This article is a review article of Al-Adin 1922 (unpub-
lished but available, presumably in 1920, perhaps earlier).
Al-Adin was at that time an Arabic teacher under the Sudan
government (Education Department). Hill and (as well as
Al-Adin) treat native beliefs, customs, children's songs,
manners of dress, etc., in terms of CCA glossary, and a
companion between classical Arabic.

An example of a proverb known in ancient times (Hana
al-Adin) is the following in CCA:

yâ hâ Cần con thành nhân al-gonâ wa'kâfîd aîn

which in the Arabic means that a C C A is a C C A. The proverbs:

There are abbreviations for the vocabulary (301 pp., also-
theses) on p. viii. Some of these include: Radd, Baghira,
Fed. Bahasa, C.S.C., Central Sudan, Song, Dongola, Ru, Ru-
The vowel of the imperfect is put in parentheses after the perfect of the 3rd form (third masculine singular), and if a word belongs to BaA or Cairo Arabic, it is put in square brackets.

There are nineteen pages of grammatical names before the vocabulary actually begins. Some notes on pronunciation of SCA includes:

1. $g$ is emphatic, which he term 'velarized', with rounding of the lips.
2. $g$ is the chosen symbol for the $j\ddot{a}$, which he says is "half-way between $g$ and $j$, almost $dy$".
3. $j$ is defined as a "strongly breathed $h$, articulated far back in the throat, without visible strangle".
4. $q$, he says, is "like $h$ pronounced farther back".
5. $r$, he states, is "always rounded," which is a reference to the fact that in many dialects of English, the $r$ is dropped.
6. He includes $\ddot{a}h$, which is $j$, and $\ddot{u}h$, which is $g$.
7. $\ddot{a}h$ (actually $c$) is defined as "stands in the same relation to the English sound of $ch$ as $g$ does to $j$; almost like $by$".
8. $\ddot{a}h$ ($y$) and $\ddot{u}h$ ($w$), which has come to be a very standard orthographical and Arabic transcription, are..."
essentially equated with British German 'g' in signs and 'ch' in same with strong vowel scripture, respectively

9) It is defined as a noise before a vowel at the beginning of a word, or between two vowels, as in "Glasgow Scots water (for water)"

10) It is defined as the "vowel equivalent of g, articulated with strong constriction of throat muscles."

Hillelsen's transcription of vowels is essentially based on the phonetic principle. He states with respect to vowels (p. 11): "As the pronunciation varies in different localities, and is fluctuating even within the same area, a strictly phonetic notation would only be of limited value." The vowel symbols include: ə, ɛ, ɛ̆, ʊ, ʊ̆, ɪ, ɨ, ɜ, ɔ, ɔ̆, u, ŭ, æ, and ø.

Hillelsen is correct in stating that the original ə has mostly become ɛ, mostly in has become ɔ, as in the case with many other dialects of Arabic. Occasionally it becomes ʊ, also true of other Arabic dialects, but mostly in borrowings from NSA or other languages (p. 11).

Hillelsen is right in claiming that ɛ > ʊ in the ScA of the tribes of Kordofan (Sudanese). This is also known, for instance, in many Berber Arabic dialects, but is restricted to initial position (p. 11). This is true of Chadian Arabic, in general too.
Hillenbrand, in his classical upbringing when he states (p. xiv):

Sudan Arabic, then, like every other spoken dialect, is not a homogeneous language, with definite rules of grammar and vocabulary (emphasis mine), but rather the common term for a number of local forms of speech which constitute a group owing to a general similarity of type, and in consequence of geographical and political contacts. [See 1,74. It is interesting to speculate why Davies 1925 leaves out the clause which I have chosen to emphasize here.]

Concerning the subdialects of the Sudan (ECA), Hillenbrand states his position (p. xvi):

The subdialects of the Sudan group are not easy to classify. Though the speech of any circumscribed area bears a definite character and has its distinct peculiarities of pronunciation, vocabulary, and idiom, the geographical limits of such features are difficult to trace, and the lines of demarcation do not coincide with respect to the different peculiarities, by which a dialect is characterized. The difficulty of tracing dialect frontiers is further enhanced by the many migrations and tribal fusions, which have occurred within the area covered by the group, and by the fact that no detailed studies of any of the local dialects are as yet available. Nevertheless, and with due
terms for "knife", "bullet-shaped basket", and "place
vessels" accepted as a foreign language.

Elaborating on the Arabic ma'tāl (see 1.74) he maintains
(p. xvi, p. 2):

The term "common language" [ma'tāl] may be used both in a
wider and in a narrower sense: in the first it refers to
the Arabic language in general as contrasted with any dia-
telectual groups; in the narrower sense we speak of a com-
mon language of the Sudan as contrasted with any of the
sub-dialects.

A few examples from the vocabulary itself illustrate the
ma'tāl and so-called SC (dialects).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Malagasy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣala</td>
<td>sáí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wālā</td>
<td>duřō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arif</td>
<td>wajá, wajša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gujša</td>
<td>nujša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamešír</td>
<td>bebaší</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bājiší</td>
<td>ba'ziší</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More about Willcoxen's linguistic philosophy becomes
apparent when he talks about the "unrefined native"
(p. xviii) or when he states (p. xviii/13):

The common language is restricted to a narrower sphere; and

... lacks both the broadly strength of the dialects and the
(6) hollow verbs sometimes merge in their imperfect into other morphological categories, e.g., ya'oon 'he sleeper' and ya'az (cf. classical Arabic ya'uz and ya'az [passive form], respectively).

Particularly notable developments in SCA include the following:

(1) -un (recursiv e. e.) is preserved for other than advertent usages, e.g., damlan 'a camel'

(2) diachronous 'yam al-qaṣīrā) no longer having eliminative meanings, e.g., wīlē 'boy', bimala 'girl'

(3) new broken plural pattern CūCū, e.g., beṣībū 'little', beṭelī 'each', or CūCū, e.g., ḥurābā 'doomed'

(4) profession suffix (CūCū), on the analogy of the Turkish suffix -až, which also denotes professions as a class, beṣībi (CūCū), e.g., ḥarbān 'soldier'.

For particular comments pertaining to the vocabulary section itself, see 1.35.

As regards the appendices, Hillenius follows the tradition of his predecessors, viz., cardinal and ordinal numbers, Islamic months, and weights and measures, although the appendices are certainly not very elaborate.

1.42 Hillenius 1935

The fourteen-page introduction includes new thoughts on
(5) "cat" --- "cat", e.g., *catina (catina) 'is root'.
(6) "cat?" --- "cat", e.g., *catina 'the prince' ---
   "catina?".43
(7) Nouns --- Nouns, e.g., *catina --- *catina (when one
   of the compounds must be n, n, or n)
(8) Irregular contracted of nouns, e.g., *catina 'the
   woman's', *catina '500 pen', *catina (catina) '500
   pen'; *catina (catina) 'the woman's'.
(9) -a- in the following types:
   n --- k, e.g., *kina 'the'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'our people'
   *n --- (l, e.g., *lina 'the entrance at this'
   *n --- (l, e.g., *nkina 'the entrance'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nlina 'entrance'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'entrance'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'entrance'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'entrance'
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'entrance'.
   *n --- *n, e.g., *nkina 'entrance'.

Note on pronouns and verbs not found in Whitehead text:
(1) "cat" is often omitted, e.g., *catina 'they enter
   ...'
(2) "cat" is used as the proper article, e.g., *catina 'I am
   ...'
(5) Negation syntax for the independent personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>mańha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>mań</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) Imperative pronoun mańha, mań, fem, mińha, išni, 3rd feminine, 'you'

(7) Present paradigm 'speak to or with' and 'speak to or with'

1. mańha
2. mińha

Feminine mańha, mińha
maraq, misik

1 maraq, misik [-ns in
Tringham (1946: 63)]
2 maraq, misik

3 maraq, misik [-ns in
Tringham (1946: 63)]

(a) imperfect paradigm

Sg.
1 masruq
2 masruq [masruq]
3 masruq

Tringham (1946: 73)

Pl.
1 masruq
2 masruq [masruq]
3 masruq

Tringham (1946: 73)

(v) use of preformative -i in the imperative, e.g., lamūl
(10) retention of tenseless passive classical Arabic

(11) the use of θη' as a subject, e.g., "I was killing", "you were killing"

Notes on nouns, prepositions, and particles not found in
Hillegaas 1925 provide the following:

(1) θη' for δελ' 'now' in the expression δελ'θα 'now
    are you?' on the analogy of the adverbial presenta-
    tion of time ('at what time?')

(2) new verbal plural formations, such as στᾶται,
    συνέθυνε, ενδοθα, 'there is a plural' (συνέθυνε and 'there
    also occur)

(3) the prepositions δι' and δει 'to and for, respective-
    ly' have varying forms and occasionally δει and δι',
    respectively

(4) the particle νομ' 'as the question particle (quiesce)

(5) grammatical forms ι and ιτ ερ' (θα)

Ps. 24-5 are a collection of proverbs listing Jackson,
1955, Singer 1931, and Smalley 1904. half of the proverbs
exist in other Arabic-speaking countries. For example, "اللَّهُ يَجْعَلُ" (lāh yaj‘alū) "he makes it bigger" and "اللَّهُ يَجْعَلُ" (lāh yaj‘alū) "he makes it bigger" have similar meanings.

Pp. 6-9 are a collection of riddles, also discussed in Al-Mas'ūdī 1973. See also Hilfklamm 1921. Riddles are called ḏā‘ib (e.g. ḏā‘ib ‘a‘la‘a). The questioner must always begin ِحَكَمَةَ اَنْهَاتِ يَدَّ قَالَ, which Al-Mas'ūdī 1973 says is from classical Arabic ḏā‘ib ‘to overcome’, yet Hilfklamm (p. 6) doubts this etymology and says "ḥakmāh is probably no more than a meaningless jingle with which we may compare Egyptian ṣaṭṭiṣāh, etc."

Pp. 10-19 are a collection of folk tales and nursery rhymes. The nursery rhymes have already appeared in Hilfklamm 1916. The folk tales per se were written down by students at Gordon College at Khartoum (year's before 1935), and the fact that they were originally written down makes them more literary than the actuality.

Pp. 20-7 concern anecdotes, the titles of which relate the subject matter. The texts here are extremely good. Some of the titles are: The two neighbours, the miser, an anecdote of Abu 'Umar (Sīa for Abu 'Umar), and how Ilyās Pasha out-witted the Dunṣālā. There are a few grammatical remarks in footnotes.
Pp. 28-35 are a story of the historical traditions of the Shaliya, a nomadic tribe of the eastern Sudan. It is called "The saga of the Al-OUM and Al-FASIMI," who were the founder of the house of ASIL Dhim. His date is the second half of the sixteenth century. See HIllisson 1950, which also includes the English translation of the text. He states that (pp. 28 ff.) now the text is published in the original from the dictation of Shaykh Muhammad al-TURATHI. See 1.11.

Pp. 36-7 are a text about the first airplane in Khartoum from the Sudan Times of 15 January 1916 in Arabic script as well as a transliteration in SCA. The text is not completely in MSA either. Note a form, for instance like the "transliterated" banana rather than MSA bara'ab 'place', or written "hawara' 'when', occurring several times.

Pp. 38-45 are texts called "Sketches of Zul'ra 1546." The Zul'ra is the fertile plain lying between the White Nile and the Blue Nile, of which Had Medain is the center. Hillisson says that the Zul'ra dialect of SCA is practically identical with the SCA of Omdurman. He is quite correct about this. Trimingham 1936 also believes this. Some of the titles of the individual texts include the following domestic furniture, a wedding party, death and mourning, a quarrel and reconciliation, a misunderstanding about land, domestic life, repairs to a house, and rain cultivation.
The next series of texts are entitled "Stories of the Rabīṭah (pp. 66-77). Two of the texts were written by Shaykh "Abdul-Badr., formerly of the Sudan Education Department, i.e., "The unfaithful brother" and "Domestic strife." The former begins (p. 66):

...ṣnāma alaš, awthābāka fištā ḥisn al-fāmī anā'a
...fi ṣin ad-dunyā, ẓanī an aṣ ṣipāt lāk an-ablīsmā,
...ṣrīk ẓaḥrisik al-wālīdāk naštābīnī l-qoṭīna u tebārāk
...naṭiṣah min lūn an-nān

Translations
Muḥammad Ṣallīb, people are crouching with you because you caused scandal with your brother about a matter of worldly wealth; I do not like to think that you should be disgraced, so I want to find out from you and ask you to tell me the true facts, so that you may guard yourself against the fault-finding of the people.60

Pp. 70-71 are texts of the Rabīṭah and Ṣagāra (Ṣagīra). The doubly-underlined clause in the opening line of text 54 (p. 71) illustrates the SCA character (as opposed to all other modern Arabic dialects):

ṣalām Ṣīḥāb, ḍīdū ṣaybiṣīn? bīr ḍīlīṣa61

Translations
Peace be upon you, AND YOU WILL? HOW ARE YOU?

Some of the material in the texts here are reminiscent of
classical Arabic poetry. See p. 85, fn. 3, for references to Duzayf b. al-Fjama in a poem quoted by Abû Tâmil (Qanûna).
The classical poem reads:

wâhâ bâni nûn yârizâna šu waqât
yâwâštâ wâli tâbût yârizâna šârûdhû

Translation (after R.A. Nicolaisen)
I am of Ghaziyya; if she be in error, then I will err.
And if Ghaziyya be guided aright, I go right with her.

See Hillelson 1949 for additional materials on this subject, as well as for some corrections to Hillelson 1951, e.g., isâbâن 'man who turns away from unpleasant things' (1949: 271).
Hillelson 1949 was written after Hillelson retired, thus "Formerly of the Sudan Government" under his name (1949: 271) is justified.

The next section of texts is called "Kordofanian jottings."

Sedentary Kordofanian SCA speakers are noted for one general phonological phenomenon, i.e., pharyngals > laryngals.
Hillelson, who quotes Al-Abîn 1922, says that this phenomenon is also known in certain dialects of ancient Arabic, and that sounds changes is also the norm among Chadian Arabic speakers (not noted). Kordofanian SCA has kept the emphatic series (Câânâ'a, Cîdayyya), e.g., qâqa 'to cut' for qaqa' (p. 90), whereas most dialects of Chadian Arabic have lost emphasis, as is the case with Cypriot Maronite Arabic and
Halkawī. The texts themselves (pp. 38-93) deal with such topics as haramiyyah, husband and wife, and the bidayt and his donkey.61

Pp. 94-119 are extracts from a short play by Tūhānī ʿAbd al-Samad Ḥusaynī, Caliph of Qayyimah, called Al-mustid al-
ahmar, first performed about 1930. Hillenbrand states (p. 94) it "was privately printed at the Victoria Press in Khartoum, but copies are difficult to obtain. The ob-
ject of the play was to stamp out native prejudice against government schools (a prejudice which has long since disappeared) and to combat native customs which con-
flict with enlightened Muslim morality, such as drinking beer, dancing to the dhūlān, dweltling with whips, and the ever-painful readiness to quarrel and to redress in-
sults with the knife. The industrious schoolboy, wearing clean clothes and exhibiting exemplary manners and a be-
coming pluck, is contrasted with the uncouth herd-boy who comes to a bad end, and the fāṭam or local man of religion is represented as exerting his influence on the side of
good learning and enlightenment. The schoolboy and the fāṭam speak careful literary Arabic, but the speeches of the uneducated members of the cast are admirable specimens of the dialect of the locality, i.e., the speech of such tribes as the Hamāliyya and..."
the Ḥ-sanāʾit. In reprinting extracts of the text, emendations have been made in the rare cases in which the author's spelling has unwittingly lapsed into Egyptian or classicising forms, and a few unintelligible and presumably corrupt words have been omitted. The transliteration and translation were prepared with the assistance of a native of Ḥ-sanāʾit who as a boy had acted in the play.

The text is printed in Arabic characters, with transliteration, and a translation, with a few grammatical comments in the footnotes (some originally by Naḥšīl, and some by Milliez, who also translated some of Naḥšīl's comments).

Pp. 105-22 contain two letters based on Shuqayr 1904. The first is a letter from Naḥšīl ʿAbdullāh to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān of the Dinka (see p. 106). The colloquial nature of this letter is further substantiated with such words as ʿalā (p. 122), ʿālī, ʿālī, which is the Dinka word for 'slave'.

The second letter (undated) is short, and thus I have chosen to reproduce it here:

البراق: إن كان شاق الشمل النقي والجميلة يزعم، ما يفعل

البراق: إن كان شاق الشمل النقي والجميلة، الذي يكون

في البيت ساكت بيرت ساكب، مثل فتاته الرسمية. وما كان

مات في الإخوان الله يغض عليه، والرسمية والصبر، وعليه

الذين أثناه
It is a letter also from Khalifa 'Abdiillahi to Hak al-Qanadi of the Muhall. Hillmen transcribes as follows (p. 110):

اررني ابا اگر لله يرمى الامام اف اب نحن اف الرحم اف

Translation:

If a man were to see the things of the world to come, not for a single day would he desert from the holy war in the name of Allah and the Prophet and the Mahdi. If a man dies in his house he dies only as we all die. But if he die in the holy war, Allah and the Prophet and the Mahdi are pleased with him and he obtains great blessings.

The next section of texts is called "Verse." Hillmen states that there exist the following major types of Sin verses (partly based on Shuaqayi 1966). The texts (pp. 123-55) are all transliterated, except for a namely in prayer of the Muhall, by Ahmad Abadh, reprinted from Hak al-Qanadi 1927.

(1) naa or naal, songs of camel-riders
(2) ?url al-ma?am, laments for the death of chiefs and great men, so called because a staff (?u?am) beating the ground accompanies the song rhythmically.

(3) ?url al-dal?u?u, dance songs sung by women to the rhythm of the dance drum (dal?u?u); topics include praise of the brave and hatred for the cowardly.

(4) songs sung by the men in praise of the great men of the tribe, or the beauty of women.

(5) ritualistic songs of childbirth, circumcision, weddings.

(6) na?d?n, songs in praise of the Prophet and/or Mahdi, sung by professional singers (na?d?n) with the tambourine (?a?m) in the background.

(7) ?abba?i, traditional songs in the Eastern and Central Sudan: the rhythm is accentual and based on the drum patterns.

The next section of texts (pp. 150-71) is entitled 'Prophetic and sayings of Shaykh Faraj bin Tahsin', who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, and is mentioned in the jahr?n. The reason for his importance in SCA studies is that many of his sayings and maxims live, even today, in a very rich oral tradition. (See Ennouvo 1986.)

Most of the texts in this section are in Arabic script (particularly vocalized); others are in transliteration only.
Translations are always given, with grammatical comments if in the footnote. Consider a short saying (text 308, p. 154):

"who is a man who has the art of glorifying God, and his tongue helps him in uttering praises?"

Translation:

I am a man of the Bajājī tribe, who knows the hidden secrets of time; listen to the speech of my tongue, lest I become of no account.

Arabic script:

Anna milākīni wa ḥafir yābuln al-nawrūz wa'aswārūn

Lsāni way ẓofiru ẓal-nawrūz

The last section of texts are (pp. 172-203) extracts from the ṭabātāt of Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī (see 1.7 ffl.). The Arabic manuscript (Mubāṣṣir Press in Cairo) has a title slightly different from the one given in 1.7, based on the Nasūrī manuscript (Mubāṣṣir Press in Cairo). In any, Kitāb al-ṭabātāt fi muqāṣad al-nun al-(styles a-ʾawqīq a-wa ʾiṣyāḥa a-wa ʾi-nasīḥ a-wa ʾi-maḥṣūṣa (11)

The full name of the author is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarānī al-Pāṣīnī (1139-1224 A.D.). The texts are all reproduced by Mihlelson in Arabic characters with slightly vocalisation), with a few transcriptions, textual emendations based on the two manuscripts published, and a few
grammatical notes. A rapid glance through the texts will con-
firm, I think, the SCA character of many parts of them. For
instance, consider the use of the b-imperfect (known also,
although very slightly, in Middle Arabic texts; see Fako
1965: 53, 65 fn. 7, 86, and 121-2) in the following poem
(p. 176):
Arabic script:

Transliteration:
Baylin mī yāiti yul ʿal-ʿulūb bittafirūna
aṣyāya yarmū ʾaynāl kāfiyyāna

Translations:
Manifest to all, not witnesses, you cure sick hearts,
not a greedy parasite who swallows gifts.
A selected glossary (pp. 205-10) concludes the book. The
words in the glossary are indexed in Arabic script with the
ordering of the Arabic alphabet, and page references to the
given items (in the texts). Millicent explains the organiza-
tion (p. 205):
The glossary records the dialectical words of the texts
which are not found in the ordinary dictionaries. Words
belonging to the Arabic *wats* are included only in certain
cases where it seemed desirable to record their occurrence
in the dialect. The numerals refer to the paragraphs in
the text; in the case of common words the references are
not intended to be complete.

Only Arabic (trisyllabomantal) roots are given in Arabic char-
acters. Thus words for which no root is known, Arabic script
is missing, e.g., shif, and *a* refreshing drink made of
maka dissolved in water* (p. 205)58

1.03 Kenaada 1915

The author explains the purpose of the paper (p. 162):
In January and February of 1954 the writer travelled some
4,000 miles through the Northern Region of Nigeria in
search of Arabic manuscripts for the library of the Univer-
sity College of Ibadan, and also to make a survey of the
Indigenous Arabic literature of the peoples of the Western
Sudan. There was no means beforehand of determining
whether any manuscripts would be found at all, or whether,
if they existed, their possessors would part with them.
The tour proved profitable in both respects; however;
over 150 works were obtained, most of which are unknown
outside Nigeria and very few of which have ever been
printed. Some were generously donated, but most were pur-
chased at the "market price", for the authors are still
Many in the more remote districts, although the popularity of the printed texts from Egypt is an increasing threat to their livelihood. In Kano, the largest town of the Northern Region, it was impossible to find a scribe at work and there Arabic manuscripts were, in consequence, rare and expensive. Some local bibliophiles, understandably reluctant to give or sell volumes which they could not replace, nevertheless lent them for microfilming. There was, generally, considerable interest shown towards this work and, since returning to Kano, manuscripts have been received by post from self-appointed agents, which is most encouraging.

Keradale rightly refutes the theory that Arabic seems to be a dying language in Nigeria (and the Western Sudan). He states (p. 163) that "it is still widely understood and original works are still being written, although their use is only local. (Pronunciation of the Arabic's courts are still kept in Arabic and translated later into English for administrative purposes.)" There is a list of 82 manuscripts. See L.49 for Keradale 1936.

Keradale does not comment on the nature of the Arabic passages, yet I would expect there to be many colloquial features of a general SEM nature evident in the manuscripts. See the listing in L.16.69.
The author comments on his interest in language-switching in the Sudan (p. 111):
The phenomenon of persons changing their language, disregarding the tongue with which they have grown up, came first to my attention when I was District Officer (Cadet), Lake Province Administration, Tanganyika, during 1952-1955. I noticed that some men who had migrated to wage-employment districts, and who had remained there for a while, dropped their traditional tongue completely; others did not.
More, workers of any given tribe showed no consistency in their "switching" rates—that is, under certain social and economic circumstances one would change language very quickly, but under others the rate of change was much slower, or even nil. It was apparent that the nature of the migrant's values, on the one hand, and the social milieu in which he found himself, on the other, were both variables in this socialization process.
During the academic year 1959-1960, while I was a lecturer in the Department of Economics, University of Khartoum, I was afforded the opportunity to study this social process in the Sudan. As the Sudan government had just published the final results of its 1955-1956 census, it proved possible to use the data on "Tribal and Nationality..."
Groups" and "Languages Spoken at Home" to measure this switching phenomenon, though there had to be a great deal of reorganizing of Census data before anything like meaningful results could be obtained. In this monograph the opportunity has also been taken, wherever appropriate, to discuss additional uses of tribal and language data to social scientists and policymakers.

The analysis in the monograph was hampered due to problems of bilingualism and multilingualism. MacLaughlin states (pp. (11-17)):

One of the important problems encountered throughout the analysis was the inability to account for the fact that many persons in the Sudan are multilingual—yet we have no data on bilingualism or multilingualism. When a person learns and adopts a second language he does not lose his original tongue, and no doubt uses it from time to time.

Thus the vast majority of persons in war or trade, commerce, domestic service, or civil service speak Arabic and, if they are not Arabs, their own language as well. A heavy percentage of the educated also use English with some frequency. Many non-African foreigners are fluent in three or more languages. Census enumerators recorded a person's language as being what the person told him it was, and the incident of "lying" is in some cases rather
High (see section 6.2 ['Arabs and Arabic Speakers']). But each person has only one language recorded, not two or more. Some language-switching, hence, as measured by these data, covers multilingualism.

Table 7 (p. 42) reports that there are 3,914,646 Arabs in the Sudan, but 2,983,363 Arabic speakers. There are many reasons why a non-Arab (i.e., Arabic native speaker) would want to adopt Arabic as his language. As the author maintains (pp. 45-33):

Put another way, there are economic and social reasons for a person to alter his language. The former include the need to communicate, particularly in the work environment, where the majority of persons speak the need-to-be-adopted language, typically Arabic. The non-Arabic speaker, in this example, must learn Arabic to retain his job, or perhaps even to be employed in the first place. He might also need to learn Arabic to purchase commodities in the shops and markets, read legal notices that affect him, and so on. Social pressures are equally strong and take many forms, such as being excluded or scorned for the use of poor Arabic, for inability to converse about events and people, or to read newspapers or to communicate with neighbours. If the language barrier is combined with other factors that denote lower status, such as very dark clo-


pletion, heavier facial features, nonobservance of Muslim dress or customs (or pure jujurism), working at menial wage labor, and so on, then there is a nexus of interrelat-
ed pressures to conform, and learning Arabic is perhaps the fastest and easiest start on the road to social and
economic acceptance.

Arabic has thus gradually become the main language of an
increasing percentage of the Sudan's peoples. Conversion
to Islam, a steady process, usually carries with it the
adoption of Arabic. More persons are being taught Arabic
in the schools. More are entering wage markets where
Arabic is the main language. More are living in societies
where, to gain social and economic acceptance, Arabic must
be adopted.

The longer this socialising process has been going on,
especially among some non-Arab groups in central and West-
tern Sudan, the more pronounced the difference between the
number of Arabs and the number of Arabic speakers. It
must be remembered, too, that any person obtaining a
formal education of any kind in the Sudan must use Arabic,
a European, or an Asian language—the over one-hundred
African languages historically had no written form until
Europeans started documenting them.

See the excellent map on p. 10 showing the tribal distri-
which recently fell and was reinstated within the same work (July 1971) does not wish documentation (linguistic or otherwise) to seek out.

1.06 Tringham 1946

As stated in 1.07, this is the standard work on SC today.

As the author mentions in the preface to the second edition, and as Ferguson (1960: 42) relates: "The first edition of this Grammar was based largely upon W.H.T. Cadbury's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. The second edition has been completely rewritten and some four-fifths of the material is entirely new."

As explained in 1.37 (*cf.* Tringham) these the urban dialects of Omdurman. He tells why himself (p. 6):

The urban dialect of Omdurman, fixed from purely tribal and local features, evolving rapidly, sensitive to external influences, literary and political, is becoming increasingly a recognised standard for Sudan Arabic and is the common medium of communication between speakers in the towns who may have been brought up under the influence of a local dialect. Formed as it has been through the assimilation of people from all over the Sudan, there is a family resemblance between it and most other dialects. The villages, who constitute the majority of the population, will naturally always use their own dialects; but
these are being modified, and to-day some approach to the
'common language' of Oudumran is used by heathen and
others in touch with the wider world.
In this Grammar therefore I have kept to the gradually
standardizing dialect of Oudumran except in the Jorla
dialect material of Part II. Those who wish to study
other varieties of Northern Sudan Arabic are advised to
read S. Higgins's Sudan Arabic Texts, which is prefaced
by an excellent introduction dealing with the grammatical
forms and phonetic features peculiar to other dialects.
The same author's Sudan Arabic Vocabulary will also be in
dispensible to students.72
The book begins with a five-page "The Pronunciation of the
Arabic sounds." Phonetic statements are based on a large ex-
tent on Coardmor 1925, still a very valuable work, and on
Waziriy 1925 (discussed in detail in 1.66). The transcrip-
tions are almost perfectly IPA-based, with the exception of:
(1) g is used for the šin, rather than ġ (from palatal
voiced plosive)73
(2) g is used for γ or γ
(3) q is used for the voiced dorso-velar stop; it is, in
actually, a morphophonemic symbol, as in his q.
A few prescriptive statements are evident, Ms., (p. 35):
"m—like the English b, but it must always be pronounced,
especially when in the final petition, where the English tend to leave it out."

Footnote 1, p. 3, is quite true, but needs further investigation, and deserves much nearer comment than a footnote.

The proximity of the velarized consonants š, ž, ž ż 76 changes the š to š unless separated by a long vowel, e.g., šağañ, šağal; rașã, arșã; šeșã, šeilb.

The discussion of vowels will be discussed in 1.86, since much of this subject’s discussion is taken directly from Horsley (1925: Sf).

Part I consists of 23 chapters (pp. 6-145). The highlights of each chapter will now be discussed. Tekington’s transcription will be changed slightly to conform with established Semitological phonetics (phonology).

Chapter I—The masculine noun (indefinite), subject and predicate, adjective (pp. 6-7)

Of particular interest in this chapter are the elision rules. One notes šimu ‘what’ > š慕 as in da šimu ‘what is this?’.

Tekington notes (p. 7, fn. 1):

Elision between two words is rare in Sudan Arabic. It is common within one word where three open syllables occur together, the second of which if it is a short unaccented š or u (rarely a) 75 is elided, e.g., šeṣir (clever) becomes šaṣa in the feminine. But note...da kīša ['this is a
book"), not da hi2b an in Egyptian. 76

The elision of ُ works the same way as it does in Cairoene, generally. See Mitchell (1956: 114-4) for a superb discussion of the phenomenon in Cairoene.

Chapter II—The definite article (pp. 8-9)

Even though the chapter is called 'The definite article', it does not occur once. It deals rather with the indefinite article. As the author notes (p. 9): "There is no indef.

art.: a book and a book."

Note that standard adjectival patterns such as esnits (e.g., "ta2 "rail") remain, rather than Cairoene ُ or ِ (many other dialects). Cf. classical Arabic ُ, pause form.

Chapter III—The adjective, the feminine noun (pp. 10-4)

This chapter deals with the definite article (lunar and solar consonants: ُ or ِ as opposed to Cairoene ِ). Consider the following (p. 12):

75, al kizb al hasr nafs2. "yes, the large book is open".

Morphophonemic rules delete the ُ.

Trimingham's rule 3 (p. 12) is well-known (see 1.29 and passim).

When a word begins with a vowel, the ِ of the definite
article al is doubled, e.g., al isawd ['the black'].

The note on doubled letters (p. 13) is pedagogically very

sound. It states:

One big fault of the English in speaking and reading Arabic

is in not paying attention to the 'doubled' or prolonged

letters. Such doubling is in English only heard between
two words. Presssure 'you are a bad dog' and then see

what 'you are a bad dog' sounds like. It sounds as absurd

in Arabic, and usually changes the meaning of a word.

Practice this exercise repeatedly with a Bedouin (the

meaning of the words need not be learned).

Chapter IV—The feminine noun and the adjective (pp. 14-6)

The highlight of this chapter is that the normal feminine

ending for nouns and adjectives is -a, and that the adjective

must agree with the noun it modifies in gender and definit-

eness.

Chapter V—The adverbs of place and the prepositions

(pp. 16-6)

Basic adverbs of place and basic prepositions, e.g., bi

'above', elt 'below', are presented in sixteen illustrative

sentences with no grammatical commentary.

Chapter VI—Demonstrative adjectives this and that, com-

parative (pp. 18-21)

(1) The demonstratives, which occur after the noun as, say,
in Cairo, have six doors.

'this' 'that'
da 'masc.' dān 'masc.' [for dān, War
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The masculine sound plural ending is -νς the femininum.

-S. Sound plurals are opposed to broken plurals, i.e., plural by vocalic change (basically) with or without affixes. Tringham is quite right in saying (p. 26): "The broken plural should therefore always be learnt with the singular."

The following classes of noun take a sound masculine or feminine plural:

1. active participles, e.g., ἐφίλος, ἐφίλος 'lying down'
2. passive participles, e.g., μαθήτης, μαθήτης 'afflicted'
3. professions—forms of the pattern Κακος, e.g., ἱκανός
   ἱκανός 'cook'
4. relative adjectives (nouns), e.g., ἐγγίζων, ἐγγίζων 'Egyptian'
5. nouns derived from verbs whose third radical is 'weak', e.g., παῖνεις 'prayer' (παῖς 'prayer'—root παίνει)

Chapter VIII—active and passive participles, disjunctive pronouns (pp. 20-22)

Nine sentences and a basic conversation illustrate the usage of the participles (Form I). A substitution drill demonstrating the morphology of some occurs on p. 32.

One terribly interesting phonological problem presents
The most direct reference possible is you (s)ēlî, the mother of my children.

This is also true in many other Arabic speech communities.

Chapter 18—Suffice pronouns of the possessive (genitive)

Case (pp. 32-6)

The suffices are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st cons. sg.</td>
<td>-1(ṣēl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st masc. sg.</td>
<td>-hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st fem. sg.</td>
<td>-hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st cons. pl.</td>
<td>-hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd cons. pl.</td>
<td>-hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd masc. pl.</td>
<td>-hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd fem. pl.</td>
<td>-hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd cons. pl.</td>
<td>-hīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc. pl.</td>
<td>-hīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem. pl.</td>
<td>-hīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that aspirated 1 and 3 are deleted before these suffixes (unaccented), but a is retained. For example, Latin 'ānōs', war 'ānōs', but Japanese 'ōsōshi'.

Ex. 1, p. 35, is another example of Trinitarian's live linguistic prose.

When suffix pronouns are added to fem. words ending in -a, the -a is changed to -i or -é and the suffix pronoun...
suffixes, e.g. םִּשָּׁה (watch), בָּאָה (your watch), בָּאָה (your watch) חוֹט אוֹיִו (my towel), לַשֵּׁק (your pen), הֶשָּׁה (his train), הֶשָּׁה (her train), הֶשָּׁה (my school), בַּשָּׁה (your school), בַּשָּׁה (her bag, satchel, trunk).

Chapter X—Suffix pronoun of the objective (accusative) case, comparative and superlative (pp. 34-44)

An interesting point occurs on p. 37, viz., הָנֵי kids 'not so'. This is typically very Galerone, but does occur often in SCA (Caen influenced). Compare with הָנֵי kids (p. 15), הָנֵי being the negative marker in Syro-Palestinian dialects. I have never heard הָנֵי kids from a native SCA speaker who has not resided in the Levant we come into close contact with Arabic speakers from that region (Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan).

The objective (accusative) possessive suffixes are the same as those previously listed, but note forms like (p. 41)

מָלָה 'the holding—active participle, feminine singular' and אֶמָלָה 'he is holding her'. See Kaye 1971b for a discussion of the so-called 'relative' (comparative and superlative).

Two phonological problems are manifest in this chapter. The first again concerns the use of the raised vowel symbol.

The forms מָלָה (p. 20) and מָלָה (twice, p. 41) occur. The environment for all four examples in the same,
(also p. 47, fn. 15) at kubat al Is în 'these books are Mohammed's'.

Chapter XIII—The feminine case (positive) by 'mention-
tion' (pp. 48-51)

Basic statements about the status constructus (Wajd) are presented (see Beckendorf (1971: 135 ff.) for the particulars in classical Arabic only; Mitchell (1956: 307) and Henton (1968: 27-33), while 'Wajūd' is mentioned several times. A raised 1 occurs in 11u11 Wajd 'everyone' (p. 51) (see earlier remarks). A drill illustrating the use of the construct state occurs on p. 51.

Chapter XIV—To have by means of 'īn, man'a, and lā (pp. 52-5)

It should be pointed out that the word for 'today' (p. 52) viz., 7ū-n-nā in is not with g and short vowel as it is in Cairo Arabic (Mitchell 1956: 262), viz., 'nānā. This word is a loanword into LCA from Cairo Arabic, simply because no other dialect has this construction (some dialects use a descendant of classical Arabic 7ū-n-nā = 'today').

One is told that there is no verb 'to have' in Arabic, and that the 'then and' construction provided the particle 'īn in the comment and can be used for anything. 'īn is used for small articles (as a pronoun) and is used for
The participle of *nān, imperfect yāḥān 'he was' are presented. See Mitchell (1966: 30-1) for the details in Qāmir Arabic, where the imperfect has 1, viz., yāḥān 3am when the pronunciation is 6,3 (-l). thiếthān states (p. 58) under yāḥān

In Sudani Arabic, contrary to Egyptian, when the verbs *nān and yāḥān are combined with fath and 'and they agree with the participles in number and gender, e.g.,

- kawn 'kawn 3am 'did you have a weapon?'
- kéyn 'céyn 3am 'had they children?'
- kéyn kéy 'céy kéy 3am 'had you many girls in the school?'

Fath yāḥān 3am is also discussed, with the negative, fath yāḥān 3am, the latter certainly being joined from āná Arabic where the negative has discontinuous morpheme structure as French or German.

The perfect thiếthān 3am in the past conjugation of *nān is presented (p. 69) also its imperfect thiếthān
calls the infinitive, i.e., other persons or future and its imperfect negative.

Chapter XVI-The past of the 'strong' triliteral verb

(p. 60-2)

Note that the verb 'return' without raised u (p. 63) in the light of the preceding remarks on this subject of raised vowels and anaptyxis. In 1, p. 63, is particularly noteworthy (also for other Arabic dialects). "Perfectives are often placed by the word m2b3 since it can mean 'I am ready' as well as 'It doesn't matter'."

The perfects suffixes are listed in Form 5 verbs of the two basic types (67c and 67d) (prefix 'the he' and suffix 'the room'). See the discussion in 1.65 under (77). Taking 'they come' (p. 64) is certainly a clause for them (67c), i.e., elision of anatematic L. See 1.65 quoting p. 63, fin. 2.

Point 4, p. 63, is interesting in the light of Hildesheim

(203) x(x) (see 1.36).

Most students will be advised not to waste their time learning the Combining plural forms of the verb since the man usually use the masculine plural when speaking of women. It is, however, always used by the women themselves. 88

Chapter XVII-Syntactically and Imperative of the 'strong' triliteral verb (p. 64-75)
Again note kūlā yōmn 'every day' (p. 63) with kūlā yōmn 'every day' (p. 72). This seems to suggest that there is free variation among anaptyctic vowels in Na (see earlier remarks). Similarly kūlā yōmn 'every day' (p. 63). Why Trithamkā writes kūlā yōmn 'everything' (p. 67) for kūlā yōmn 'every day', kūlā yōmn 'everything' (Mitchell 1956: 120) kūlā yōmn 'every thing', 'the lot' remains to be explained. Similarly kūlā yōmn 'daily' (p. 71), but kūlā yōmn (p. 75). Similarly kūlā yōmn 'everyone' (p. 67), but kūlā yōmn (p. 72), quita 'I said' (p. 71) should certainly not be written quita as Trithamkā does, for the -a is the same -a of its non-anaptyctic form, quita 'I said'.

The b- and non-b-imperfect are explained (see Flaimenca 1964 for a good discussion of these features in Jerusalem Arabic).

Paradigms are then presented (see Mitchell 1960: 53–5, 80–60, see 1.62 under (8). The b-imperfect with pronominal suffixes are listed in table form on p. 74 (Trithamkā writes 81–44 Calvogue) [p. 74, line 1].

Trithamkā says about the imperfect form (point 4, p. 72):

There are various phonetic modifications in conjugation, but the student need not worry about them. If he knows the form well, he will drop into the variations by lis
tening and imitating.

(En. 1, p. 72)
Such modifications are: (1) where etymologically a syllable is closed by b, ñ, or ñ, a helping vowel is inserted, e.g. ṭabytir for ṭabytir, he diges; (2) euphonic change in 2nd fem. sing. and 2nd masc. plur. Imper. ammišta for ammištä, tasmibti for tasmibti, tasaʃuʃu for tasaʃuʃu.

Most people who do not need to get very close to the people should stick to the unmodified forms. 91

Notes on the positive and negative imperative are also given. See Mitchell (1956: 36-8, 46-8). I do not know why Teklibhanu violates his own word boundaries by writing bbn tansa  (don't you hear?) (p. 72) since the b is part of the imperfect. The i of bi- eʃkane, i.e., [i- iibtaʃuʃu] /i-i/, as it does in Cairo Arabic (see Mitchell 1956: 114). 92

Chapter XVIII—The numerals, seasons, and months (pp. 74-83)

The numerals are presented by means of illustrative sentences, as well as common fractions (pp. 74-77). Note bbtu 10 kali 'every season' twice in line 1, p. 77; also bbtu 10 abad 'each month' (p. 77), and bbtu 10 haxir 'every fraction' (p. 77) [see earlier remarks]. A short text called 'At the post office' (p. 80) illustrates the usage of the numerals, cardinal only. 93 Basic term for 'time' and 'season' are presented on p. 81. It is important to contrast two terms with Galtenun (1) SCA which 'yesterday' and Galtenun
Chapter XIX—Ordinal numbers, colours, demonstra

(pp. 82-7)

Ordinal numbers are presented in a set of illustrative sen-
tences. Color and demonstrity forms, as Tringham says (p.
84) "are perfectly constant." Consider four examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arvaq</td>
<td>zarqa</td>
<td>ezurq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>špar</td>
<td>švara</td>
<td>šheru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>štar</td>
<td>šarda</td>
<td>šardu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>švar</td>
<td>švara</td>
<td>šwur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abstract noun gloss

šurqa | "blue"

šurra | "red"

šaraf | "deaf"

šawar | "cone, ycp"

Chapter XX—Compound tenses (pp. 86-9)

bám + b-ilperfect, ban + perfect, bilaq (literally 'to become')
'to begin to' + imperfect (also qeṣed and qanneb, e.g., qeṣed
yāṣah jamā'il 'he kept on playing') are all illustrated, yet
no grammatical statements are included. Note the number 5CA

383; but kull qat 'every state (condition); and qayy wa
'there' (p. 92) [see earlier remarks].

Chapter XXII—'Reduplicated verb' (with second and third
radicals the same) (pp. 94-7)

Amplification is an important matter concerning so-called 122
verbs (quotative verbs). Tringham is terribly confused
here. For example, consider line 1, p. 95, regarding a form
such as lqupo2 en 'sleep with me'. In states:

For explant that etymologically a doubled consonant
stands at the end of a word and the next word begins with
with 'to do', vis., nausea. Imperfect past. Note also  |
quel ² ainda 'before' (see earlier remarks).

Chapter XII—Oods (pp. 90-1)

This chapter deals with the use of the non-b-imperfect (see

There are no 'moods' in Arabic. ⁹⁶ The English moods it
will be seen can only be expressed by using auxiliary verbs
with the Indefinite.

In sequence, one uses the non-b-imperfect after 'subjunctive-
type-causing' verbs, familiar enough from Romance lan-
guages, i.e., can could, ought to, may perhaps, it is possi-
ble, it is necessary, it is incumbent upon, etc. See Mll-
shel (1946 184-6). Note again the inconsistency of anthropo-
type vowel transcriptions: While gandam 'your very best' (p.
92), our haš¹ 'very good'. See many similar cases. (p. 93) [See earlier remarks].

Chapter XII—Reduplicated verb (with second and third
radicals the same) (pp. 94-7)

Amplification is an important matter concerning so-called 172
verbs (pronominal verbs). Trinlingual is terribly confused
here. For example, consider line 1, p. 95, regarding a form
such as teqal¹ as if 'weep with me'. In Arabic

For example: where etymologically a doubled consonant
stands at the end of a word and the next word begins with
which is the correct and usual S.O. formation, following the
same rules as proposed for Canaanite S.O. (144-45).
63. Also yə hələnu 'us, address.' (p. 123), but yə bəšīlnū
(p. 123),
Chapter XXVII—Verbs in the form yəklə (pp. 118-119)
The author's grammatical analysis are rather unclear here.
The states (pp. 122-123)
This common form is like the preceding ṣa comes form with
the prefixing of ụn. This ụn, which also appears in other
verbs, has a reflexive tone. The significations of the
yəklə form
(1) to be the action expressed in the yəklə form to one
self, e.g., ṣallū, to teach; ṣallū, to learn; ṣal-
ū, have oneself taught;
(2) and on, to make oneself good, e.g., ṣalādāh, to
make oneself good, i.e., 'to be purified',
(3) to 'present to be', 'to spot', e.g., ụn-ahūnān (by
expressive actualization of volitional), 'to pres-
tent to be a desert (idiomatically 'to be made
alone')
(4) a passive of yəklə, e.g., ṣalāgūm, to be filled.
The perfect and imperfect stems both have the same Canaan,
in which the perfect endings and imperfect suffixes are added.
A construction in a Ubaidid gada'a marriage illustrates the
one form very well. Note bold "qas‘ 'every thing" (p. 121) [see earlier remarks]. Also note as 'whore' (p. 121). A note should be given to explain iffaylū (p. 123) "pleased" and its plural masculine iffaylū (p. 121) in terms of the elision of ay: similarly for the reduction of the genitive yy in hawayyil 'good' and its masculine plural hawayya (both p. 221). Notice also that the i in ii- may slide, although not mentioned by the author, i.e., ma‘azzab 'I'm astonished' (p. 123). See Mitchell (1956: 75-6).

Chapter XXVIII—Verbs on the form iša‘ (pp. 124-9).
As with the grammatical statements in the previous chapter, those here too are rather bungled. Trumansham states (pp. 126-7):

1. The significations of the form iša‘al aces:
   (a) Reflexive of the triliteral, e.g., ligaman 'to gather oneself with' and as 'to obey'.
   (b) Subjective reflexive, e.g., littaf, 'to look from within oneself' and as 'to expect, wait for' (from naja‘, to see).

2. Past verbs are always a-ay: Note, a-.

3. Assimilations:
   (a) When the first radical is w in this iša‘al form, w is attached to i.e., littaf 'to unite; to tie together; to agree.'
(b) When the first radical in t, d, or s, the t is
attracted to the radical which is doubled: e.g.
štahan, to accuse; ṣitqam, to crowd; ṣana'a, to present.

Some morphophonemic statements follow including statements on
reduplicated verbs, second radical weak verbs, and third
radical weak verbs.

The text illustrating the forms is perhaps the most charac-
terizing one in the book, entitled "The children of the rich man."
The aspirating vowels (see earlier remarks) are particularly
confused and confusing. Note such as ḫayl 'every boy', and
hāl 'work in each one' (both on p. 125, the latter occurring
twice), as well as asy ṭaṣṣ (assy) 'sume' (p. 125 and p. 127).

About twenty common verbs in this form (p, 126) conclude
the chapter. See Mitchell (1996: 72-3).

Chapter XXIX—The passive (pp. 128-33)

Common variants of the internal passive (Part 2) with their
corresponding actives are the following. Note that the per-
fect forms are all CICIC (imperfect stem Qa'al with perform-
ative vowel i).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣillif</td>
<td>ṭalāf</td>
<td>to be destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣinim</td>
<td>ṭābas</td>
<td>&quot; inhabited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣinib</td>
<td>ṭalāb</td>
<td>&quot; conquered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Triaighman shaves (p. 180): "The accent does not try to make passives on this form but learn the verb separately."
Triaighman mentions other facts about passives (pp. 130-
131).

(a) The past participle is the one passive form which
admits of free use as conveying a passive sense.

han naajūn hē ṣa'ir ul, he was struck by a bull
on his hand.

būt ṣa'mīn yābū nū yū zīr al qā'im, everyone
who tells lies will be cursed on the day of judgement.

(b) The 3rd Pers. Plo. Active is very frequently used
where we should in English employ a passive...

(c) A very common form of the passive of the primitive
verb is that increased by -in or -in, e.g. infas'ul, ifta'sul. These two forms are interchangeable,
ityabas or itybabs (to be improved), itnaqak or it-
manak (to be arrested). In its verbalising this form
is precisely similar to that of isfā'āl of the preceding chapter...

(2) The 'inentive' form is -'i, isfā'āl, isfā'āl, isfā'āl, have a reflexive sense (cf. en verbs in French) which often conveys a passive meaning...

Finally, Tringham states (p. 132) a fact common to basically all kinds of Arabic:

The passive is never used when the true agent is apparent.

For 'the peasant was killed by this dog' simply say:

' al halib da ṭabā' al masīḥ.'

The fact illustrating the grammatical forms is again a very charming one about an angelic and a man be found beaten in the road.

Interesting anaphoric transcriptions occur such as māli(1) nas 'all the inhabitants' (p. 133) [see earlier reference], but note also again mali(6) 'each one' (p. 133).

Chapter XXX—Verbs on the form fasā'āl and fasā'āl (pp. 132–5)

Two texts illustrate verses III and VI (in parallel).

Tringham states (p. 132):

1. The significations of the form fasā'āl are:

(a) to perform on a person, directly and with intent, the action suggested by the trilliteral verb, or

by an adjective or by a noun, e.g., ...
(a) reflexive of ṣawāl, e.g. ʼeqṣala, he hit himself; and so

(b) In the third plural the reciprocal idea isent in the ️️al form is fully brought out, e.g. ʼeqṣala-qa, they faced together; ʾeqṣala-qi, they quarreled together.

(c) The combination of the passive sense of ️️al with the reflexive produces the significations of ʕeqṣala:

e.g. ʾeqṣala, he feigned ignorance; ʿeqṣala, he pretended to forget; ʿeqṣala, he pretended to be ill.

Chapter XXII—Verbs of the form ️️al (pp. 134-135)

A short conversation between a peasant and a medical doctor illustrates this "not particularly common form" in 3Cl (p.
The author states (p. 153):

Its (šašā'āl) significations are:

(a) to consider a thing or person thus or thus, e.g. šašā'āl, 'to regard as strange', therefore 'to be astonished at';

(b) to ask for the doing of such an action, e.g. šašā'āl, to ask for permission. In this case it may be intransitive. Thus šašā'āl may mean 'I asked myself to hurry', i.e. 'I hurried'; or transitive, e.g. 'I asked so-and-so to hurry'; šašā'āl all 'I hurried All up'.

Certain morphophonemic facts about this form for weak verbs are also presented (p. 155).

Telford states a peculiarity of SCA by saying (p. 156, point 4, and fn. 1):

Some Arabic has a peculiar form šašā'āl (šašā'āl) derived from nouns, which is expressive and vivid but will rarely be used in speaking to strangers. The only common word in šašā'āl, he added...

The only other words likely to be heard are šarāb, fasten; for slaughter, šobār, heap up (grain); afūn, the hussy (bride), ṣadāb, make a man of. But also šerāb, to sow.

Chapter XXII—The relative pronoun (p. 163)

A story about mermaids illustrates the relative pronoun.
It is used for all genders and numbers and is subject to the definite article assimilation rules. For instances:

al bidur bi‘ala ‘the who studies leisure’
al hamic al tib al ‘the donkey which drinks’
al kharsid al yemen ‘the women who sing’

The ills are never used with an indefinite antecedent. SCA and Chadian Arabic are the only two Arabic dialects which do not have the particle ‘illī. See Mitchell (1966: 57-8). This will be discussed in great detail in following chapters, especially Ch. 3.

Chapter XXXIII—The conditional sentence (pp. 141-5)

The subject of this chapter is probably the most inadequately created of all the chapters, which is possibly the reason for which it occurs last in the work. This is really very understandable because the subject is the most difficult in all Arabic colloquial to mention, of course, classical Arabic. Mitchell (1966: 267) has a rather good treatment for Cairene Arabic. The subject is treated (along with hypothetical sentences) in Wright (1958: 364-9). See also Schamberger (1971: 483-516). Such sentences presumably would require a tremendous amount of analysis in SCA. Consider:

‘If I had been a king I should have been happy’

Pw. 3 and pp. 145, also exemplify that SCA works quite
differently from other colloquial regarding conditional sentences:

(5) It will be noted that in Sudan Arabic the conditional particle may be followed by the indefinite.

(6) use in Sudan Colloquial, does not refer only to an impossibility as in other dialects. One can say, "law ga soh, if he come I will go.

Part II of the work contains two parts: (1) conversations and dialogues, and (2) stories and dialogues. It begins with four conversations all dealing with normal situations (e.g., a conversation between a housewife and a cook).

Raised (angstye) vowels occur in abundance in a confusing manner, as we have seen in Part I of the volume. Transcriptions such as trahalek "God willing" (twice on p. 155 above) probably indicate that the texts were written before the author decided to use the IPA symbol for ą as he does throughout the work, viz., ı. The texts (pp. 146-57) are much more illustrative of SCA than the ed has ones in the grammatical sections. See 1.78.

P. 156-67 are a collection of common vocabulary items having to do with the harem (e.g., clothing, the kitchen, the bathroom, and sewing). There are no grammatical explanations in the footnotes up to this point.

Pp. 152-5 deal with political situations, text 1 being
called "Verbal process," text 2 "Gentleman Life with a child," and text 3 "Tax-collection."

Pp. 164-70 contain a story called "The fox and the grapes," known also from other Arabic dialects. Then follows "A miracle of Sahl al-Khu$	ext{i}$li," reproduced with slight changes from the $j$afar of Wad al-Dahhakh. See 1.7 ff. and 1.81.

Text 3 in this section is a translation of Luke XV.11-32, which is not classified at all, as opposed to the translation of the Bible into Chadian Arabic (see Ch. 2 for the details).

Two conversations conclude the book. The first (pp. 170-73) is about the meeting of a Jesuit peasant and his relative in Wad Nefani. The second (pp. 174-80) is called "The last Wednesday of the month."

L.A. Morley 1935

The title page reads: Sudanese Grammar by Allan Morley, M.R.C., Ch.O. Medical Officer, C.M.S. Hospital, Churchman, London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, printed in Great Britain, 1920. We learn from the page facing it that Morley had planned two other works. It stated: "In preparation-Exercises on this Grammar with Vocabulary-or 4 Sudanese Arabic Reader," neither of these has ever appeared.

From the preface we learn:
This little work is a first attempt to record and classify the rules of spoken Sudanese Arabic. In my hospital work among Sudanese women I have had unrivalled opportunities of studying Sudanese in its purest form.

Warley's prescriptive style is evident as he continues:

The speech of the "raw" and illiterate women is devoid of the Egyptian abbreviations, or classical technical words, so often heard in "office Arabic." In addition to its purity it is full of rich idiom and folklore, which will gradually die out under the advance of education.

It is for those whose work lies amongst the illiterate masses, especially amongst women, that this book is primarily intended.

It was originally compiled to provide a teaching system for missionaries engaged in medical work; for the reason stated it can find little place for those engaged on educational work. Later it was felt that by adopting the transliteration of the Sudan Government, and publishing the work in book-form, an opportunity would be offered to others as well as missionaries to share its benefits.

Illustrating what was printed on the page opposite the title page, the author continues (see p. 104):

Such a work would have been more complete with Exercises and Vocabularies, but pressure of other work has rendered
this not possible. I hope, however, to publish Exercit.
and Vocabulary separately in the near future, with a
reader of short stories, etc.

The preface was written at Selskull, Northumberland, in May
1925. We thank W.R.T. Galt and for arranging some of the
book including the grammatical rules (see Galt, 1927), as
well as his first Arabic teacher, Sadiq Effendi Shahab, and
his informant who rechecked all of the material. Sirs Samer
Hassine, and L.T. Kalka (see Kalka, 1925) "for some sugges-
tions and criticisms before going to press."

There is an excellent map of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan pre-
senting the work. It goes from Kenya and the Belgian Congo
in the south to Egypt in the north and Arabia to the east,
and French Equatorial Africa (Chad) to the west. The area
for the Sudan in 1925 is stated as 1,008,100 square miles,
with a population of 5,405,445.

The introductory chapter on phonetics is based on Galt's
1925, quoted in E.A. J. E. (which had been published not
earlier than five months previous to the writing of the pre-
face by Horsey 1925). It deals basically with six peculi-
larities for the author design (p. 14).

For the general phonetic principles of all Arabic are the
same and especially in this the case as between the Arabic
spoken in the Sudan and the Arabic (whether literary or
Colloquial) that is spoken in Egypt, which was the basis chosen for the work referred to [Cuthbert 1925].

The peculiarities of Coptic Arabic are matters of detail. A comparative chart of Arabic phonemes is given on pp. 7-
8: the first column gives the letter of the Arabic alphabet, the second the transliteration of the book (following the
Ibnud government), and the third the IPA symbol as used by
Cuthbert 1925. 7, 3 is a chart of QCA phonemes (consonants
and vowels) which are classified according to their articu-
latory features. The extra-
dermica 2, 6, 7, and 3 are called
"palatal with back of tongue raised."

The English discussion (pp. 4-6) of the Jaa in QCA and the
of is interesting. See Laye [1971, p. 55] for all the rami-
fications and details.

It should be noted that Morley uses the <o> (Kumis),
Arabic script 7, as his symbol for 7, which himself (i.e.,
<o>) derived from the grapheme marking Arabic 7aayn it is,
In actuality, a small 7aayn 7 will be substituted in all
cases [1].

The discussion of vowels (see 1:56 for Thringham 1946
and the reference to this section of Morley 1925) is worth
considering with the other sections of literature (pp. 5-7):

Though only one sign for 7aayn (the "a"-vowel) is used in
this book, the student must not expect to hear the sole
vowel in all cases. At least four "a" vowels may be distinguished, (it is because the differences are automatically irrelevant that) it has been thought best not to attempt to give separate symbols for these phonetically different vowels—fn. 1, p. 5156. The distinctions being caused by the proximity of the consonants $qgt; f$ and $j$, and to a lesser degree by the vowel $l$ and $r$ (occasionally $w$—fn. 2, p. 5). The twisting of the back of the tongue required by all these consonants (except $r$) occasions a slight sympathetic "back-tongue raising" in articulating neighbouring "a"-sounds, the result being a perceptible modification of the sound of the vowel. The International Phonetic Association takes the low-front "a" as the fatal symbol for Arabic fatihat $a$ because it is associated with about two-thirds of the Arabic consonants...

If we call this "the unmodified a," and distinguished it as $\text{a}^1$, then we may distinguish the modified "a"-sounds as follows:

$\text{a}^2$ (always long) and practically identical with the a in "father" (I.P.A. "a"). Ex.—أبيَ.

$\text{a}^3$ (always short), very near the obscure A sound in the English word "bad" (I.P.A. "A"). Ex.—بِجَلَة.

$\text{a}^4$ (with back of the tongue slightly raised, as in the English word "well" (I.P.A. "e"). Ex.—بِجَال (short);
 Though the same sign "u" is used for all these variations in this book, those who desire to pronounce Arabic acceptably, or even intelligently, must be prepared to listen for and initiate, the slight modifications as heard in a native’s pronunciation.

The rules for the modifications of the four a--types follow, as well as a short discussion of accent, which he states “means (naturally) the raising of the musical pitch of one vowel in a word, as compared with its neighbors.” It is marked as ‘, placed before the syllable whose vowel is accentuated.

Nowley then discusses acrocyclic (he calls it “inversion of a phonetic vowel,” p. 9). It was probably not read very carefully by Trench (see the numerous comments in L.85 on acrocyclic vowels). The rules are very similar to those of Calcone (see Mitchell (1956: 112-3)). Nowley states (p. 9):

(1) These consonants can never stand together. When there is a danger of this occurring, a euphonic "a" is always inserted: ad-ka-ba (the truth is against you) = you are wrong, garb-tanga-bun (you (mpl.) across them (mpl.).

Normally the euphonic vowel is pronounced long as mod-
All these are of course written without the brackets, ḫāṣṭa, ḫaṣṣa, etc.

(2) Owing to the dislike of the Sudanese to ending a sentence or clause with two closed consonants, a euphonic vowel is inserted. Ex. -ḥabāl (Arab) becomes ḥabāl, ḥabāl becomes ḥabur. Or the vowel may be suffixed; qasīb (I struck) becoming qasībat; madj (he stretched) becoming madjū.

Muxley briefly compares Coelho Arabic and SCA by saying (p. 10):

Those wishing to compare Egyptian and Sudanese Arabic should note that, in Sudanese, allusion between two different words does not take place as in the Egyptian da klīb (that is a book).

Another surprising difference is that, whereas in Egyptian it is impossible to have two long vowels in one word, the unaccented one being deprived of its length (e.g. meṣuṣū), in Sudanese both long vowels remain, as meṣuṣū.

Again, in Egyptian all loss of accent causes loss of length, but not so in Sudanese; one consonant becomes in Egyptian hayz, but in Sudanese it remains haya. Again, in Egyptian two consonants cannot succeed a long
aynabile, and when this is in danger of happening by assimilation the long vowel is shortened; e.g., in Egypt, "shouting" becomes ḥartīn, but as already mentioned, the Sudanese equivalent retains ʾī ḥartīn. And lastly, Egyptian Arabic has an even more marked penchant for accenting the penultimate than Sudanese. Compare—

Egypt.  
Sudan.  
madrīsa (school)  
madrīsa  
garabtaha (you (masc. s.) struck her)  
garabtaha

P. 110-9 discuss masculine and feminine nouns. The section on masculine nouns deals with the dual, advent and broken plurals (the latter only in passing), and the pedagogical nature of the presentation is seen by (p. 121): "The plural of these words must be learnt. It is here that aoundemonic (memorized by hearing) will be found to be of much great assistance." The section on feminine nouns deals with the ʾīn masculine (-at or -t), called ṭīn masculine by (p. 121), words masculine in form but feminine in use, parts of the body occurring in pairs, 108 place names, and words of common gender (i.e., both masculine and feminine) such as waṭāʿ 'ground, floor'. 109 Notes on the dual, plural (advent and broken), and collectives follow with a discussion of the noun unit, etc.
L.c., Baita 'a syn. (of a female marker), plural Baita.  

Section 3 is a discussion of broken plurals (p. 16), with examples but with no rules. Indeed Baita states (p. 16): "There are no rules..." See Mchawe 1964 for a discussion of the origin and development of the system.  

Section 4 discusses the definite article, written al-*, subject to the assimilation rules already mentioned several times (pp. 17-18). Section 5 discusses the demonstrative pronouns (p. 19). Note an apparent violation of Baita's own anagptic rule, i.e., as-sitt di 'this lady' (three consonants occurring in a row), followed many times by Tributsch 1966.  

Section 6 (pp. 20-21) discusses the genitive. It contains three sub-chapters:  

(1) Genitive formed by auxiliary words, viz., Illa, Alla, Bita, and Tabi. Three examples in this section violate the anagptic rule, viz., all-eriyah Illa mawrad 'Mohamed's slave girl (servant)', all-eriyah Alla mawrad, and all-eriyah Bita mawrad.  

(2) Genitive suppressed by construct state (what Baita calls 'the simple genitive, by assimilation'), viz., Bita mawrad 'Mohamed's house'.  

(3) Association of adjectives with the simple genitive, i.e.,
kiṣwa al-ṣaḥabah an-nāṣir which might mean either "the useful doctor's book" or "the doctor's useful book". The ambiguity may be resolved quite easily by using class (1), i.e., al-kiṣwa an-nāṣir tabī al-ṣaḥab "the doctor's useful book".

Particular genitive constructions such as al-ṣānīr waṣāṣīrī 'the man who wears glasses', al-ṣānīr waṣāṣīrī 'the desert sand', and qaṣṣīr al-ṣānīr 'beauty' (literally "little of sandgrass/culture") are mentioned briefly.

Section 7 (pp. 25-30) is called "The adjective." There are four headings:

1. A listing of types of adjectives, with singulars and plurals; also how the elative is formed from each type. Some of the grammatical remarks are quite remarkable.

For instance, regarding the elative (comparative and superlative), Kenawy states (p. 29): "Comparative and superlative are formed by prefixing an ә to removing first vowel, and changing second vowel to a. Thus, ә-samāḥ → ә-samāḥ."

It would have been much simpler to state that the elative pattern is ә-әә.

2. Adjectives in attributing. Kenawy states (p. 27): "An adjective agrees with the noun which it qualifies in gender, number, case and definitely not indefinite..." While SAÚ does not have categories or sub-categories of case,
I must assume that case refers here to intensification; a point of
MHS. Examples of instances (frequent) are given. Concerning
the dual and concrete (concrete plural), Mackley under-
takes quite incorrectly p. 115: "But the dual number is
not very commonly used; one would more frequently say
*est[el] anitzi (as opposed to *est[el] aniti)."

(1) Adjectives in numeral sentences (Hiealey calls it "prede-
cral") concord is explained.

The section concludes itself with grammatical statements
about the comparative and superlative with illustrative exam-
plcs.

Section 6 (pp. 31-32) is called "The verb." It begins by
saying that there are three forms to the static verb: (2)
the complete (perfect), (2) the incomplete (imperfect), and
(3) the imperative. For complete and incomplete, respectively,
Hiealey substitutes the tense past and present-future with a
note explaining the convenience and distinctness (interpenetra-
tion) of the forms.

The substantive role of the imperfect with the particle en is in
certainty not EPA (p. 32), but rather EPA on (grammatical) entity,
e.g., qvela lehe en yamish "I told him to cook.

The major part of the section has three sub-sections.

1. The fundamental verb
(1) Simple verbal verb
As opposed to Tringham and Hillion both, Worsey maintains the second a in Aramaic, for instance, my affine, i.e., sarbat 'the ork' (p. 34 and paradigm, p. 33). This is erroneous.

Worsey also mentions (p. 34) the fact that -כ may be heard the third masculine plural may sometimes be heard as -כ, especially before pronominal suffixes (both in the perfect and the imperfect), e.g., referred 'they killed me'.

Worsey states (p. 36) that the 1 of the B imperfets (actually bii- עידכ after verbs, e.g., inta bitamq 'you are going out', but I cannot explain the apparent anomaly of intu bitamq 'you make, pl. are going out', unless Worsey recorded intu bitamq, in which case the environment would not be post-vocalic.

The specialized DCA jussive (-בכ, -ככ, -ככ, -ככ) is mentioned (pp. 34 et seq.). The forms of the active participle are then discussed (from the addition of 1 before suffixes, e.g., לבכ 'lying' (masc. pl.)) as well as some uses thereof. The
use of qu'd as an auxiliary (p. 36) is mentioned. 116

Horsley then turns to a discussion of the passive participle. 117 As seen elsewhere, none of his remarks are rather cumbersome. For example, he states (p. 36): "It is formed by prefixing ma, and reversing the first vowel, changing the second vowel to u (lengthened)." It would have been much more effective to state that the passive participle has the form maCQU.

A few remarks follow (pp. 36-38) concerning the passive voice and the remnants on the internal passive (by vocalic change). Horsley states quite correctly (as does Tringham 1966): "The passive) must never be used when the agent is mentioned; e.g. "He was struck by 2A'id" becomes 2A'id garabu (2A'id struck him)."

The particulars of class (2) are discussed with full paradigms. Note the apparent non-distinction for a form like sa'da; it can either be active participle masx, e.g., or active participle fem. e.g. —in the first case, the 'a is anaptyctic, in the second, it is a feminine marker (pp. 39-44).

Class (1) verbs are then discussed (pp. 41-2). There are three things worth noting. (1) yO → yE or yI (2) the verb yuDim 'to stand' has an irregular imperfect, yuDim; and (3) yO in a form such as yuO he falls' has "most probably I.R.A. yO" (fn. 3, p. 41) for yO.
Class (d) verbs are then discussed (pp. 42-3). Paradigms are given. Note that the roots have passive participles in y.

Class (5) verbs are then discussed (pp. 43-4). Full paradigms are given. It is interesting to note some double formations (p. 44).

Before leaving this class, it should be noted that the sixth type is often conjugated in its future tense as māl, tālīb, ... etc. (instead of mālī, tālī, etc.). Similarly, one frequently hears the noun alīg. alī needs no article.

This use is common with the Arab tribes that have the people of Omdurman, Khartoum, etc.

P. 43 discusses class (6) verbs. Note the root a'ī 'to ask' (see L.10).

P. 43 also discusses class (7) verbs. A few examples are given.

A discussion of class (8) verbs occurs (pp. 45-6) directly following class (7). Worley states that there is only one irregular verb of any importance, viz., ḫa 'to come'. The paradigms are listed.

II. The derived forms

Basic meanings and functions of the derived forms are presented, although very briefly. Worley states that SCA only uses nine of the classical Arabic ten forms of the verb. He says that Form IX is lacking in SCA, but lists Form IV as
occurring, which is not the case. It exists only in forms from classical Arabic or Ḥaḍīṣ. Classical Arabic has fifteen forms of the verb (see Wright 1955), although only the first ten are very common, to be more (especially in post-classical literature).

Paradigms (pp. 46-50) of the derived forms are then presented for the seven basic types of verbs (see preceding under 1.).

III. Compound tenses and moods

(a) kān hidhna 'he was beating', 'he used to beat'
(b) yahdīna mara 'he will have gone out'
(c) kān yarag 'he had gone out'

As opposed to Tristram 1946, Wensley states about moods (p. 51):

The "Moods" are expressed in Arabic by various auxiliaries combined with the Present-Future [have-o-imperfect].

1. "Can."...qidīr, mushān
2. "Want to."...tawā'īn, 
3. "Must."...lāmā (undecidable)
4. "Must have."...lāmā + Perfect

Section 9 (pp. 51-9) is called "Pronouns." The independent personal pronouns are listed, as well as the pronominal suffixes attached to nouns and verbs, with illustrations from
nation nominal and verbal elements. See the discussion in the
appropriate parts of 2.15. One thing in one sense at all:
now is it that an original unvoiced vowel (except the accent)
acquires length and stress before another, also, do not it the
attract me. See Rap (1970s 7.9 fr.) for the pertinent exp-
tates.

Section 10 (pp. 60–63) is called "Prepositions, with some
adverbs."
Tanner five very common prepositions are listed.\textsuperscript{119}

Section 11 (pp. 67–69) is called "Conjunctions, with other
adverbs."
Twenty-five common conjunctions are listed and il-
lustrative sentences given.\textsuperscript{120}

Section 12 (pp. 70–73) deals with the numerals. This in per-
haps the weakest section of the grammar; there are no geo-
metrical explanations (except that between 'one' and 'two'
inclusive the noun is in the singular, over that always sin-
gerlar (p. 71b). There are many errors in the citation of the
numbers also. The next section one which will have bearing
in terms of the usable legal (see Ch. 17) is that the numbers
from 11 to 19 do not have explanation, which of course they
should.

Section 13 (pp. 71–73) is called "The relative." The treat-
ment is just as inadequate as was that of Trimingham 1936.
Perhaps this will become clear if one consider the following
statement concerning at- "the relative pronoun". He states
(p. 71) "Nothing could be more logical or simple than this construction."

The final section (less than half a page on p. 76) is on the conditional. It is extremely weaker. In fact it is much weaker than the final chapter in Pristings 1964 (see comments thence in p. 55).

The work ends with an excellent index with references to pages and paragraphs (op. p. 75-86).{121}

In conclusion, I must say that what is needed most concerning SIA studies is a linguistic survey of the type already in existence in Ethiopia, viz., the linguistic survey of the Sudan, with well-trained linguists collecting data from all over the country. This makes very good sense, especially in the light of Sulzber (1969, pp. 61-63).{122}
1 See Percival 1929 for a brief history of the Sudan and area of the ‘Fulani’ language.

2 I use the term Sudanese (Ar Sudanic Goluquish Arabic, 6th by location) rather than the term Sudanese in its adjective sense because the latter two terms have an established African rather than a Middle-Eastern (Arab- selects) connotation. For the African connotation, see, for instance, Dusheh 1948, and Hountsou 1961. The two are about 50% rather than Sudan Arabic or Dusheh Arabic, and Sudanese languages rather than Dusheh language (the latter being a geographical and a geographical and a geographical area) or Sudan languages. The reason for my choice is that the terminology here is tied to colonial expansion of terms (geographical vs. genetic).

3 I intend this chapter to be very comprehensive with a number of the art paper similar to those presented in Percival 1929.

Six major dialect areas are covered in this volume. The first four, i.e., Ferguson’s Syrian, Marsh’s Egyptian, Godwin’s Arabic Peninsula, and Bosanquet’s Levant prepared provisionally in HCA between 1953 and 1959. The last two articles, i.e., T. H. Irving’s North African and D.T. Sykes’ Middle Eastern (see Kaya 1990, no 26 and Kaya 1991a, no 21 in the bibliography of this book) are recently conceived and somewhat connected without written especially for this volume. As Charles J. Ferguson wrote in the intex-
duction to the volume (p. vi) when he was still Director of
the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., in
April 1962: "The present collection of articles covers most
of the Arabic-speaking world but several areas are not treated,
in particular the Arabic of the Sudan, Eastern and Western,
and the Arabic of Central Asia." Of course there are other
Arabic-speaking areas not covered in the volume nor elsewhere
too, i.e., non-Arabic-speaking linguistic areas. See Kaye
(1972b: 1.1) for particulars. Let us hope that this chapter
fills the much needed gap in the literature.

In the forty-two page article on the "Arabija ("The Arabic
language")" in the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam
(1, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960) written by several outstanding
Arabists, a whole paragraph is devoted (p. 575) to the Arabic
dialects of the Sudan and the area around Lake Chad. The fol-
lowing sources are mentioned for Chad: Horsley 1925, Hillelson
1925, and Hillelson 1935. Four sources are also listed for
Chadian Arabic, which will be discussed in the following
chapter.

Cantlieau (1955: 157-8) discusses the Sudan and Central
Africa under VI. He states (p. 157): "Il faut distinguer
deux groupes dialectaux principaux, d'ailleurs apparentes:
les parler du Soudan egypitien et les parler de la region du
lac Tchad." He quotes Horsley 1925, Ansar 1940, Hillelson
1922, and Hillenius 1925. Then he states (p. 158): "Il est évident qu'on n'a pas encore qu'on doit de la recherche dialecologique."

Blanc forthcoming in a discussion of the state of the art for Arabic linguistic studies of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Chad, the Sudan, and Tanzania. Of course I do not follow Blanc's terminology (fn. 1, p. 381): "...the term 'Sudanic' will be used to refer to a type of Arabic spoken both in the Sudan and beyond its political borders..." See n. 2.

Concerning his 'Sudanic' Blanc states (2.1, p. 383):

The dialect types that extend from the west bank of Lake Chad to the Red Sea coast of the Sudan may provisionally be classified together as 'Sudanic'. They do not constitute a compact Arabic-speaking area, but rather a chain of Arabic islands in a sea of African languages. The picture that emerges from the literature (practically none of which speaks in precise geographic and dialectological terms) is that of the three main subdivisions: the so-called 'Three' Arabic in Kanem, perhaps also in Kamer and Fellata; the Hausa-Bourou dialects; and the Bahrar, the North Sudan dialects. Some of the dialects show marked African influence, and the group as a whole seems to have some affinities with some Upper Egyptian and Saharan Desert varieties, but until more is known of the latter, 'Sudanic' may
be considered as forming a separate dialect area. It does not, moreover, fit too neatly into either the East-West or the nomadic-sedentary dichotomy, though on the whole it is more Eastern than Western and more nomadic than sedentary.

The 1st person preformative of the imperfect is ə for the singular, ə̊ for the plural, except in some ill-defined areas. The form of the 1st person singular, however, ə̊ (ies) is used, as is the case in many other languages.

The regular verb of ə̊ is ə̊, but the interconsonants have been replaced by stops and the diphthongs are long vowels.

Open syllables are preserved in a high degree (kām 'speech', kāb 'dance', kān 'law, notes', kātām 'the notes') and final clusters are separated (kāb 'dog', kāsām 'meet', kābī 'before').

There is a maximum preservation of the masculine/feminine distinction in verbs and pronouns: typical -a (alternating with each under unclear conditions) occurs in morphemes from which they are absent in other dialects: gāla 'gait of', gāla (mass, pl.) gāla, wālā 'a man, father'), dāgā 'dog, the hit' (cf., dāgā 'to hit me'); a recount of the mutation in -an occurs, a part of the region, as an optional apopen-
dage of the indeclinable nouns under certain conditions.
(balban ka‘īn), 'a big dog' [lit.], the article and sole relative pronoun is al-; possessive markers are han, hul, ści; the demonstratives are without hā-, e.g., dā, dī, dīna, dīna; for 'work', Western xath means more common than Eastern sītī for 'fish', there is Western ḥūn and Eastern samāk. Other characteristic lexical items include jamīl 'horse'; ṭilla 'village'; sālim 'nice'; kāh and fāsīl 'bad'; ḡa‘l 'hard'; da‘ār, yadda 'to want', sa‘ād, yawn 'to go out', sattān 'again', bīlīl (bīlīma) 'very', etc.

Plane continues his thoughts on SGA (3.3, p. 364):

On the Sudan proper, we are somewhat better off [i.e., than for Chadian Arabic], though here again nothing has been done in recent years. There are four basic works that complement each other rather neatly: a concise reference grammar (Morley 1925), a medium size (xxvi + 341 pp.) but adequate English-Arabic dictionary (Hillson 1925), (it appropriately supersedes the older dictionary by Amery (1905) - fn. 6, p. 364) a collection of varied texts in transcription (except for a few, which are in Arabic characters) with translation and notes (Hillson 1925), and a very useful textbook with exercises and a number of fine texts (Tringham [lit.] 1919, but ed. 1946, reprinted 1953).

[Other textbooks (Burton 1934; Juba Publications 1949) are hardly worth looking at, and the same may be said for
Bell’s findings on ‘Alang’ (1953); the earlier publications by Hillelson (1920, 1929) were incorporated into his 1935 volume.—Cf. 9, p. 304.) Except for Horsley, whose work is explicitly based on a specific dialect (Mudurani, largely women), these present a dialectologically composite picture, and it is often difficult to tell what part of the Sudan a given form represents: only some of the texts in Hillelson and Tringham [etc.] are explicitly localized, and in Hillelson’s dictionary, only some of the entries or remarks refer to theBaggha of the Darfur area.

For occasional references to SCA and Sudan Arabic materials, see the excellent 451-item bibliography in Fischer 1959 (pp. 7-28).

What is desperately needed in addition to Place forthcoming, is an article of the type of Ziemeckoff 1955, Judge forthcoming, Pohetsky 1964, and Lassau 1958. Hopefully, this chapter will meet some urgent and crucial needs.

It is obvious that this chapter is organized into two basic parts, 1-69 being the introduction. I am not following the pattern of the papers in Sobelman 1962, but rather intend those sections before 1-69 to be introductory to the whole field of SCA studies whereas the sections after 1-69 deal with grammatical differences and appearance of the various, usually prolific, writers on SCA.
Michael (1972, 111: 210). This work is an extensive survey of Arab history in the Sudan. The second volume of the work deals exclusively with the native manuscripts of the area (mainly the Sudan). Most of these, unfortunately, conform to literary Arabic practice, not evidence of the spoken language (SCA) at different periods in Sudanese history is found throughout. He often describes documents only, rather than quoting from them. See 1.49 and 1.83. This limits the usefulness of the volume for our purposes here. Arabic characters also impede its utilization for our purposes.

As related supplementary information, see Al-Fayz and Hishett 1963, and Institute of Arabic Studies, University of Ghana, 1965.

Of great importance for Sudanese vernacular literature is Clutton 1969. It is a state of the art paper. He states (p. 261):

The number of languages encountered is bewildering. In the small area of the Juba Mountains there are ten language groups; fourteen distinct languages are encountered along a sixteenth of road two hundred miles from Wau to the West. The dialects are even more numerous, Dinka alone having four principal dialects differing not merely in vocabulary but also in construction. Before there can be any production of literature in those languages there are many ques-
tion of orthography and spelling which have to be settled
and this involves careful and arduous research.

He concludes the article with some remarks on Arabic (p.
364): "Bound up with the whole intricacy of language dif-
ficences in the southern Sudan is the necessity for an
adequate Lingua franca for the purposes of administration,
commerce and higher education. Past history has made a very
debased form of Arabic, poor in vocabulary, a medium for the
first two and English for the third. The concept of closer
relationship between north and south in a united Sudan
makes it most important that at least the better educated
should in a very short time become proficient in Arabic.

In July a working party in assembling at the Southern Pub-
ilications Bureau in Juba to study and initiate the produc-
tion of Arabic textbooks for the South. This will lay the
foundation for the extension of Arabic teaching into
schools of all grades, a formidable task in the provision
both of teachers and of textbooks. The reward however will
be great in providing a means of communication for every-
day affairs which should ensure greater sympathy of under-
standing and ability to cooperate between the peoples of
the northern and southern Sudan.

On the overwhelming Arabic influence of note of these
languages, see Moneil 1963."
(Our knowledge of Middle Arabic (both Judaeo-Arabic and Christian Arabic) is based solely on the study of manuscripts. See Sier (1965: 31-68) in particular, and Blau (1968: 21-36). For some general remarks concerning Middle Arabic dictionology, see Kays (1971a, n. 39, postscript, addenda to n. 39, and musals).

6 Hillelson (1935: 120). Note again the Ge'ez root $l Shakespeare's 'scorn here' is rather strange in this text.


8 It is evident that anyone recognizes that such conjunction exists by a footnote (p. 7): Many who have spent years in the Sudan maintain that the $l$ is always pronounced as "z", many again that it is always pronounced a "y" [sic.] and only a practised ear can catch its true sound described above, which is the sound given to $l$ in many parts of Africa and Arabia. As an example of the difficulty of appreciating the actual pronunciation of this letter, it may be stated that as a result of careful tests at which natives of the Sudan were made to repeat words containing the letter $l$ before large audiences, the vowels were invariably nearly equally divided as to whether these words were being pronounced with a "z" or "y". In the vocabulary it has been repra-
sented as "<i>u</i>" in accordance with the "rules of other"
glyphs."  
9 See Kaye (1971a, under 9.0) where the symbol <i>dy</i> is used,
and n. 25.
10 There is no opposition phonemically between final
geminate and semigeminate consonants in any dialect of Arabic, in-
ssofar as I am aware. This is an important point not recog-
nized in much of the literature. See Kaye (1971a, n. 51) for
a discussion of the issues involved.
11 For example, Bedouins doze off all final <i>sa</i>. See
Kaye (1971a, n. 59, and 9.0 under 12).
12 See Furgues 1959a and 1959b, and Kaye 1970 for reac-
tions to this type of statement.
13 See Kaye (1971a, n. 58) and its addenda under n. 58
quoting Mitchell 1969 and other literature as well.
14 The <i>y</i> in <i>â</i> (<i>y</i>) see Kaye (1971a, n. 58) for some remarks
on Täkic Arabic, and 9.0 under 111 for a discussion of Jugurli
Arabic <i>Îg</i> > <i>y</i> with 'sime' and JAU <i>Îg</i> > <i>y</i> sub-, <i>y</i> sub-
15 Also published in the same year (1972) was N. Hilles-
son, Draft for the guidance of the Sudan government in the
study of the Arabic language (Khartoum). I have seen many
revisions to this work, but have been unable to ever get my
hands on it.
16 See Kaye 1970 for some of the highlights.
17 This should be transcribed /sam/'a always written as /sw/) in Morris 1973 (as Coptic Arabic). On the value of just this one terribly interesting lemma, see Cape (1971a, n. 16 and n. 17 and passim) (\textsc{Heb} 'sw) and Say (1972b, under 6.3).

18 See Davies 1926 and 1927, as well as Shaw 1925, Owen 1935, and Nicholson 1935.

19 Broadhat 1936 highly commends the present work. But then he goes on to say that he prefers Hillelson's change in symbols. He states that the new symbols are too cumbersome and cannot be reproduced on a typewriter.

20 See the discussion in 1.87 of this play, performed about 1910 (Hillelson 1955: 94 ff.).

21 Hillelson (1915: 22) states in a footnote that "An anecdote of ḫwšnuw is translated from the Egyptian version in Caldoors 1917.

22 Holt worked in the Ministry of Education and later published Holt 1952. The book is listed in Abd al-Rahman el Marr, A bibliography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1936-1954, but I have never been able to obtain a copy of this work.

23 Burton states (p. 122) that the definite article \textit{sūl} is a "duplicated initial mater of the following word only in pronunciation."
26 The word occurs one of the few times in the book in an Egyptian, not a Meroitic, inscription. It must be a misprint for Burton's "y."

27 Cf. also the note on "elephant" (p. 160), and "nails" (p. 171), not "gates." (singular, not plural).

28 I have used a copy of this work, belonging to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, which belonged to G. Woodhouse-Taylor, dated 23/8/56, Sudan, with a few handwritten notes under "Notes" at the back of the book.

29 This is typical of the kind of "Sudan" English, and the same kind of transliteration elsewhere. I have not altered the transliterations or other quotations from the English.

30 Cf. my earlier remark concerning the spiritus latus in the text of 1.13 under "note 11, El-galilas.

31 I have not come across this name in connection with the literature available on SCA.

32 "Sudan" in the Frenchized spelling for Sudan ( Sudan), of course, yet many non-French use it consistently, even as late as Kirkland 1977.

In this connection see Hause (1968: 11) who states "West Africa, and here I shall use the term to include the western Sudan as well as the coastal area, has long been exposed to foreign cultures, first to the Islamic and later to the European." This work basically follows the classification of Winklermann 1911, revised slightly in Winklermann 1927.
It should be mentioned here that the following are fairly common in Arabic linguistic studies for the representation of long vowels: ְ, ְ, ְ, and ְ. See Kaye (1972a, n. 1).  
31 See Field 1940.  
32 See also Greenberg 1949.  
33 There are two references to Hildebrand 1925 in references. I have never been able to obtain a copy of the latter. Hasted. Therefore Hildebrand 1925 refers only to the former.  
34 On the inadequacies of the term "velarization" (and also "pharyngealization") to refer to the Arabic emphatics, see references in n. 11.  
35 See references in n. 11.  
36 The following are the statistics for 1921 and 1935/6 of the population by ethnic group of Odzlaran (figures taken from Town Planners Supplement, I, Table 9.15, reproduced in ERA (1965) 46,393):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1935/6 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muba</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Southerners</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Southerners</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Southerners</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Hassänitce 2.4 a/o
Miscellaneous (unclassified) 22.8 a/o
Foreigners 2.9 a/o

37 See 1.37.
38 On the mirror-image convention used in generative phonology, see Kaye (1971a, n. 45).
39 I would expect universal phonological processes to have produced this sound change primarily in intervocalic position.
Cf. classical Hebrew /q/ $\rightarrow$ [q]. See Kaye (1971a, n. 27) for some details. This I would regard as one clear aspect of Semitic 'drift'. See Kaye (1972a, n. 7), quoting Sapir (1921: 349-50) and Reinhart (cited 500).
40 Bloch (1971: 57, fn. 2) would deem many of these as possible doublets.
41 For a good parallel, see the situation in Israeli Hebrew with Se- and $\mathfrak{s}$- discussed at great length in Bar-Adon 1966.
42 There is, according to Hillelson (1953), a second edition of this work, London, 1950, but I have not been able to see this work, and thus compare it and see how different it is (if any) from the 1925 version. I suspect it was basically merely reprinted due to a demand.
43 I do not know why Hillelson abandons his own earlier term, viz., Sudan Arabic, in favor of the now appropriate...
term Sudanic Arabic. See n. 2, and Kaye (1973a, appendix to n. 257).

44 I also do not know why Hilleman has deviated from his own earlier terminology and does not call it the kalii.

45 Lampen (1933: 116) calls the Bagara "a people with active intelligence and a rich language." He continues "...they have developed the art of conversation to a high level. Speakers...are obviously proud of their command over the language."

The best anthropological study of the Bagara Arabs is Gunson 1966.

46 See Emeneau 1966a for a discussion of a good parallel case, Wiru, the Todas of the Nilgiri plateau in South India (Dravidian speakers). Emeneau's field work was done, as he states, at intervals from 1935 to 1938. See also Emeneau 1965a.

47 This will be discussed in detail in Ch. 3. See Ferguson (1958a: 230).

48 Under the influence of Verbeke 1929, I presume, many of Hilleman's former transcriptions with a are now transcribed, more correctly, with a, this being one good example.

I have occasionally deviated from an author's transcription and revised it in the light of more accuracy (especially in the writing of glottal stops, primarily in initial posi-
tion, as is seen here with the definite article(s).


51 I will discuss in the texts of 1:73.

52 These forms are listed (p. 22) as tanurum (tanurum) with t- for y- which must be erroneous, although Hebrew uses t- in parallel formations, e.g., tizkuna 'they (masc. pl.) will utter.' Cf. his listing also with y- v., yipp'ān, yaddiša (yaddiša).

53 Cf. the Akanic internal passive, G/F/G. The normal passive in SCA is, of course, Form VII, viz., 'ingarāb 'he saw fit' as in other dialects.

54 In 'genitive' for an 'acquisative' is the problem, however. See Blanc's remarks in n. 2 on the preservation of -en.

55 As he says (p. 411) it is "not attested in any other dialects." I have no contradictory evidence.

56 Cf. Moroccan Arabic and general Berber (Kabyle) 'type 35'.

57 Mitchell (1966: 100-n) translates "the best-told schema of nice and sexy."
57 and is the SCA form for welat (classical Arabic) walet (poetic Arabic) ‘child, boy, son’. For a parallel development, cf. Hamitic buu and Amharic had ( Heb ) ‘liver, belly’ (J. Arabic Studies and Hebrew known), i.e., triconsonantals becoming bi-consonantal.

58 That is to say, SGA as read by an educated SCA speaker. See Kaye 1970 for a discussion of some of the problems involved.

59 See Bianca’s remark on this form in n. 2. I have changed Millhom’s gho 4 for obvious reasons.

60 The reason I have chosen this text is that the opening two words are early attestation of the elision of a in SCA (similarly in Cairene, although not recognized). The SCA form for ‘Mohammed’ is mahamed, written not only as mohamed (Tribingham 1966: 20), but also as mohammad (Tribingham 1966: 99). On this elision, see Kaye (1937b, n. 14 and n. 15).

61 *insd ‘ayd(s) bnu also occurs in Cadián Arabic and is a case you don for both of these micro-dialects. The other two phrases can be found in almost any modern Arabic dialect with appropriate morphophonemic correspondences. SCA and Cadián Arabic are the only two dialects that use the cited expression.

62 I do not know when Millhom died, or even if he has died. He might still be alive today, although, to be sure,
quite an old man by now.

63 On the loss of emphatic in Maltese, see Kaye (1971, p. 41), and none of the literature mentioned therein. Maltese, Cypriot Maronite Arabic, Chadian Arabic are the only three 'Arabic' dialects which have lost emphasis totally, although there are remnant caustications in them. See Cowan 1970 on Maltese and Kaye 1971 on Cypriot Maronite Arabic, spoken in Formakli only (1,500 speakers), for conflicting arguments as to the existence of emphasis.

64 Note that Hiljibeh states (p. 89): "The weakening of the termination of the feminine noun to / (Cf. for qalila, etc.) should also be noted, though this peculiarity is by no means confined to this particular dialect."

65 Jaspen (1953: 115) relates that he saw three men pay huge bribes to women who were attempting to ruin his stature by stabling against him in this manner.

66 This is known as qurüja among the Dargara Arabs. See Jaspen 1953.

67 The term qurüja is from the Persian ٨٥۰ 'quatrefoil', with the interpretation of 'as the character, i.e., > š /

68 Here is 'native bread made of millet'. It is known as qar in Chadian Arabic (٨٥۰ 'life') since it is eaten three times daily. Cf. Calma "as qatit."
I have not seen any of the original manuscripts. That is to say, SCA speakers. I have not seen the first edition (1939).
The preface to the second edition was written in Omdurman, August 1945. The book was proofread by a native SCA speaker, Midhat efendi Moula. See Kaye (1971a, n. 55).
Triblingham actually uses the IPA convention of the wavy bar indicating pharyngealized and velarized segments, viz., $\text{q}$, $\text{gh}$, $\text{ch}$, $\text{g}$. Read $\text{w}$ for $\text{x}$ in this footnote, since it is obviously a printing error. See n. 60.
See Mitchell (1954: 113-4) for an excellent discussion of parallel phenomena in Cairene.
Mitchell (1954: 261 and passim) is erroneous in listing this as $\text{ʕouli}$.
This is more proof that SCA was originally an Egyptian dialect. See Kaye (1971a, under 5.09, quoting Birkeland 1952.) Note also SCA $\text{gi}t\text{en}$ 'two rooms' and garitten 'two newspapers'. Cf. Cairene $\text{ʔaʔi}t\text{en}$, etc. Doublet forms $\text{ʔi}g\text{a}t\text{en}$, zaridi $\text{en}$, etc., also occur.
See the discussion in Kaye (1972a: 7.0 ff.).
$\text{wit}$ occurs after verbs and with the negative only.
Certain allomorphs, as will be noted, are identical.
See Nida (1963: 16) for a discussion of these suffixes based on Tringham 1966. In fact there is a very famous problem (problem 92a) in Nida 1963, which he wrote based on these set of allomorphs (1963: 412).

83 See n. 60.
85 Cf. Caicrean adizilil.
86 See n. 17.
87 Note allathapa 'Wednesday' (p. 37). See n. 35.
88 This is more evidence in favor of a dichotomy of men's and women's speech in SDA. See Saleh 1964.
89 Read (p. 69) subjunctive 'conversation of' for the author's subjunctive, which must be a misprint.
90 Note hisem 'clothes' (p. 69), but also its apparent free variant (as in Caicrean) hisam, two lines preceding on the same page. This is but, instance of one of Tringham's favorite practices, i.e., listing free alternants in the same text, which, needless to say, would be very confusing to the student.
91 Read huf 'taflaj (p. 69) 'don't open!' for hif 'tablaj. Also read sem saudan for sim sudan 'in the Sudan', occurring twice on p. 67.
92 Note also that the us of wawya 'a little' elicits across word boundaries. See Tringham 1966: 7, fn. 11. The other forms are lama wawya (which is correct) 'not a bit!' (p. 67).
The new subjunctive (jussive) imperative, based on the imperfect, is probably derived by loss of Ь and compensatory lengthening with the loss of the initial syllable (morphology) from a variant ἤπειρον, ἤπειροι, ἤπειρον > ἤπειρον, ἤπειρον, ἤπειρον, respectively. Thus ἤπειρον 'let us go out', ἤπειρος (to a woman), and ἤπειρον (to several).

The full b-imperfect paradigm is as follows:

| 1st common sg. | bēseir | bēseir
| 1st masc. pl.   | bēsēsēn | bēsēsēn
| 1st fem. pl.    | bēsēsēn | bēsēsēn
| 2nd masc.      | bēsēm | bēsēm
| 2nd fem.       | bēsēm | bēsēm

Read ταξιάνα for ταξιάνα 'right' (p. 60). This is obviously a misprint.

Note also at λέα ὁ 'today' for the day only at sunset (similarly in Chadian Arabic). Cf. Calabrese "illuminati 'tonight' < îλα 'night'.

96 This holds true depending on a certain set of linguistic assumptions, which need not be discussed here.
97 John is a very common Middle Eastern hero.
98 Historically, this is a third radical 'root. Cf. classical Arabic qara'a, imperfect qarā'a.
99 Cf. classical Arabic ḥiṣā. See Kaye (1971a, p. 31), and most recently, Braun 1971.
100 He means passive participle obviously. This term follows Hertley (1925: 27), presumably.
101 Doubtless he means in- or it-.
102 I find fa. 4 (p. 135) highly dubious. "mulk (plur. mukhlūb) is an indigenous word for king. It has no connexion with the Arab. mulk."
103 al- of course is the definite article, and indicates that the adjective-inversion transformation in English working on relative clauses (sentences) has some universal implications as seen in SCA. Note that 'al-šīr al-madhī can mean either (1) the big house or (2) the house which is big. In other words, they not only have the same deep structure as to English, but they also have the same surface structure.
104 I do not know all the reasons/details here.
105 As is well-known, the source of Roman πείρα (used exclusively in Kaye 1970 and Kaye 1971a) is the Greek spirē̂s or πείρα, which has developed from Demotic Gwm (originally as meaning
an eye), and ə has developed from the Greek aspirates lambda, its having developed from Semitic əleph (originally ח, an oxhead). 106 *The differences are phonetically irrelevant," he means they belong to the same morphophoneme.

107 Morphophonetically it is [ban] phonemically it is, as Gallen, Jnana.

108 These are traditionally seminal in Semitic. Exceptions in SCA are ka'ab 'ankle', qazr 'arm', qaqun 'cheek', ḫuṣr 'elbow', qadun 'foot', and qatīf 'shoulder'.

109 Worley actually transcribes waŋ, the " being his transcription for "all nasal" as well as a tone marking (a rather ambiguous transcription). See 1.11.

110 All of these mean the same thing (stylistic variant).

111 The possessive suffixes are discussed at this point, and quite rightly so. Some of the remarks are erroneous. For instance, fn. 2, p. 22 and fn. 1, p. 23, remark concerning the tz in qabiti 'my coffee' (and other forms as well) "Note tz is sounded as the German t." 112 This was my semi-official name in Chad and in the Sudan, not surprisingly. In Chadian Arabic it comes out as ['ap dah].
See Worley's transcription of regimen (p. 28) 'two men.' Following the automatic morphophonemic rules of Cairene Arabic rather than those of SQA, in which the form should be regimen.

sometimes the b-imperfect occurs here, e.g., ana hadar bati and hadar anta 'I can go out' (p. 157).

It is annoyingly inconsistent for Worley to write masa 'with' (p. 63), 'half' yet write 'ala 'on' (p. 64), 'half'.

There are traces of Cairene influence on Worley's part. One good example is the fact that 'and' is written wa, but 'but' (both on p. 67) is wala, the n- being the Cairene equivalent of SQA wa. The form should be wala.

Interesting to note also here is bii 'how', but bii 'how—women only' (p. 67) confining other's contetions. See Ras 1944.

Also I now confess that it is difficult to know whether the SQA doubles lafi' and afna 'in order to' (p. 47) are Cairene loanwords or normal SQA developments. 'SQA' is liq-
ted as μ-stat, which is not Catrène (p. 66) with its doublets mas, but apparently its Catrène doublet mis does not occur in SCA. This is very strange.

121 It must be pointed out that with any kind of state of the art paper, one must realize that an attempt was made to find all materials for which I have found references anywhere in the literature. As Esonne (1962a 13) says concerning his analytical bibliography: "It can only be selective, since not everything that has been published is available to me."

122 On Kuipers see Kaye 1970c and Kaye (1972b, p. 15).

As indicative of the kind of research called for, see Hare-
lay 1964, which is a cultural anthropological (ethnographic) study of a village located on the banks of the Blue Nile about five miles from the central market of Khartoum. There are about 2,000 SCA speakers in this village. Of course, Hare-
lay 1964 refers the reader to Tringtham 1948 for details of SCA pronunciation. In fact, Appendix A, Appendix B, and the glossary are largely based on it.
I. Chadian Arabic: The State of the Art

1.1 As we learn from Carboy (1921: 1): "Les Arabes ont exercé une influence considérable dans l'Afrique centrale par la diffusion de leur religion, de leurs mœurs et de leur langue." This chapter will present a critical review of the last-mentioned item of Carboy. Carboy sums up concerning Central African Arabic (1921: 1, fn. 17):

La langue de la langue arabe s'étend surtout à l'est du lac Tchad; mais elle est également employée au Nordou, et ce que rapporte Elisée Sekou, d'après Hohlf, se correspond plus à la réalité: "L'Arabe est un langage morte, ressuscité, mais hors d'usage. De même que le peuple qui le parle, il a perdu de son influence dans la partie du monde saoudien dont le lac Tchad occupe la dépression centrale. À la cour de Souka, l'arabe n'est plus le langage officiel et même ceux qui le savent affectent de se le faire traduire par un interprète." (Tome XII, p. 706) Il est certain que, depuis lors, l'arrivée, sur le pays, de Fathal et de ses Arabes Dallin et Téliké a beaucoup contribué à élargir le champ de la langue arabe, laquelle continue vraisemblablement à gagner du terrain. D'une façon générale, d'ailleurs, l'arabe est très répandu en Afrique, surtout..."
dans la latérite septentrionale. Pour donner une idée de l'extension de cet idiome, nous ne saurions mieux faire que de citer les lignes suivantes de Robert Coet:

Alors que les autres langues sont souvent localisées, "l'arabe divise son influence bien au-delà des limites des divers royaumes. C'est le véhicule de la pensée à travers la plus grande partie de l'Afrique, qu'il soit parlé par les Bédouins nomades qui surprennent les voyageurs par leur apparence imminente, ou par les conquérants enflammez comme le sultan de Jambeur, par des trafiquants entreprenants comme les marchands d'esclaves qui sont généralement des Arabes avilis, ou bien par les races dominatrices du centre de l'Afrique..." (p. 66). L'instrument de la propagation du mondialisme et de toute civilisation quelconque en dehors de celle qui résulte de contact des Européens", Robert Coet, Les Langues d'Afrique, p. 46.

Central African varieties of Arabic have been noted as being of great value to know for commercial reasons as far back as Purchard 1819. It is also a major subject in Barth 1853-64 and Barth 1859-64. It is recognized as such by Henri Labouret, who wrote the Introduction to Tréma 1946 (p. v). It is, therefore, a great pity that as little scholarly linguistic interest has been paid to the subject.
Blaise forthcoming sums up the state of the art (under 3.2, pp. 365–46).

The dialects of Bormu and Waday came to light at the same time and in the same manner as those of Nactinda, but they have called forth much less research. For Bormu, we have a 'practical' grammar without linguistic pretensions (Lethen 1925) etc., which, nevertheless, a careful piece of work with much useful material and a good glossary. The texts published by Patterson (1930) are in unvocalized Arabic script and an intentionally elisionizing spelling, hence of very limited value. For Waday, the situation is comparable, though the available material is even less linguistically sophisticated than Lethen's.

Carhu (1913), in his 'practical' as to require the greatest caution in its use, and the same may be said of Deeming (1922); in effect, Lethen's work is best about the only available material for the Chad region as a whole (emphasis mine). In particular, Carhu and Deeming do not seem (unlike Lethen) to distinguish clearly between native Arabic and the pidginized varieties that are used as a trade language. Work (1962), is a small, nicely graphed textbook that seems to add nothing new. Information on Darfour, no better as available, is to be found on works on the Sudan... though an anthropological work
(Cunnison 1966) contains a brief but rather good text, and several pages of linguistic interest dispersed throughout the pages. Recently, a team of scholars headed by J. Tubiana and including D. Cohen, Mrs. N.-J. Tubiana, A. Roth and J.-F. Fourcade, all of Paris, have been preparing a dictionary of the Maba-Harari dialect, a study of the dialect of Alwaha (Sudan), and the publication of Arabic documents relative to the history of the area.

3.2 As was the case with the Sudan, Chad¹⁰ is the homeland of many peoples and languages, the best-known of which are the Sara (they are in political power now), the Baging (Baghirmi), the Maba and the Tubu (Toubou).¹¹ As was the case also with writers on SCA, most of the authors concerning Chadian Arabic were government officials, military men, or military officers/medical doctors, such as Henri Cathou, who held the title of Administrateur-adjoint des Colonies. The Sudan, however, is comparatively well-known and well-researched as compared with its neighbor, Chad. Both countries are predominantly Muslim, black, and have civil wars with which to contend.¹²

Arabic is, moreover, spreading in both countries, both as a native language (in its SCA and Chadian Arabic varieties) and as a language of culture. Thus forthcoming again sum up the state of the art concerning Arabic as a language of culture (under 7, p. 367).
Another and quite different aspect of the use of Arabic for intercommunication among Africans is its use in correspondence, official documents and literature, which seems to have been fairly widespread before the cultivation of European or African languages. Literary Arabic in one form or another is also occasionally used as an oral contact language between educated Muslims.\(^{13}\) Investigations of the literary activity in Arabic have, in recent years, received increasing attention, and is, at present, at the gathering and collating stage.\(^{14}\) Arabic is at present the official language of Mauritania (side-by-side with French) and the Sudan. It was also declared an official language, along with Wolof, of Gambia, in 1991.\(^{15}\) Elements of literary Arabic are taught in honoured Qur’ān schools in all the Muslim regions, and it has also been introduced into the public school system of Senegal, Mali, Guinea (in addition to Mauritania and Sudan [sic]) and there is at least one school for Arabic Studies, that of Kano in Northern Nigeria.\(^{16}\)

2.3 Before presenting a picture of Chadian Arabic grammar, a few words must be devoted to what we may label ‘immigrant’ and ‘original Arabic of Central Africa. Briefer for the moment upon the state of our knowledge for both (under 5 and 6, pp. 385-6).
5. MOROCCAN
Smaller communities of Arabic speakers, apparently im-
igrants from other parts of Africa, from the Near East or
from Arabia, have been reported in several countries, nota-
ably Nigeria, Chad and Ethiopia-Djibouti. Nothing much seems
to be known about the form of Arabic spoken by them, or
the extent to which they are instrumental in spreading the
use of Arabic; at this writing, the whole problem is far
as it concerns Ethiopia is being investigated by Mrs. M.
Schneider from her base in Addis Ababa. 17
6. Sudan Arabic
A question that has not yet been investigated is the exist-
ence of a simplified form of Arabic, presumably Bedouin,
as a trade language or lingua franca. Explicit indications
in the literature are meager; Lethen (1925: 11f.) [sic.] 19
says only this: 'There is a barack and market lexicon
spoken by people of all sorts of races, especially in Fort
Lamy, 16 Dima, and Kaidougou', and a score of years earlier,
Gaudrej-Dumezhy, in introducing the texts collected by
Denver, notes that they are in a language 'telle que la
parlent les cafres, en adoptant le morphologie arabe a
leur syntaxe et a leur phonétique maternelle', and supposes
that this must be different from 'un dialecte bedawini
vivant encore employé par des tribus du Soudan.' 21 In Can
dox and Berendtiger, native Arabic and the non-native, Arabic-based, trade language, are hard to tell apart, though there are occasional hints, such as this one of the reduction of all verbal inflection to a single invariant form 'allaux, mont encore très couramment employées par la plupart des Arabes, mais que l'on aborde les populations métisses ou noires, ces formes deviennent à se simplifier singulièrement'. This is followed by a sample instance in 'arabe pur' and its counterpart in 'langue vulgaire' (Berendtiger 1923: 24-5; 1912: 256). Moreau, on the other hand, sticks to the 'patois', or which he collected extensive samples in the Sara-speaking region of the Middle Shari, and which strongly resembles the idiom of Deorge's texts and Berendtiger's 'langue vulgaire'. Moreau tries his hand at a characterization of this 'arabe très simplifié' (pp. 8-9), which he calls 'patois', a term he explains as meaning 'soldier's language' (p. 8). Though he does not quite say so explicitly, it is fairly clear that this is a non-native trade language used by speakers of Sara in contacts with Franchom and, no doubt, other outsiders as well.22

Needless to say, I agree wholeheartedly with Moreau's claim and assertions. Therefore, by Chadian Arabic I do not refer to Central-African (or Chadian)pidgin Arabic, nor do I refer to Central-African (or Chadian) immigrant Arabic, but rather...
to the colloquial Chadian Arabic (hereafter just Chadian Arabic) of nomadically based, who can neither read nor write any kind of Arabic, living as my basis the Chadian Arabic of the largest city (town—village, Chadian Arabic ville) of native speakers, viz., Abéché.23 Thus by Chadian Arabic I mean, to a great extent, Abelé Arabic.24

2.4 The tremendous Arabic influence on African languages is well-known for languages like Songhay, Hausa, Tigré, and Hausa, not to mention relatively obscure ones such as Songhay, and Fulani. The reader is referred to Blanc forthcoming (under 8, p. 386) for ample references.

2.5 Continua in his state of the art paper for Arabic dialectology (1955: 153) refers the reader to the following publications ("Dans la région du lac Tchad, où des parlers arabes sont attestés au Wadi", au Bornou, et sur le Charfi"): Haug (Beyer 1899, Guadet—Bouchère 1905, Decroix15 and Guadet—Bouchère 1905, Derendsinger 1912, Carles 1913, Lesch 1920, Derendsinger 1923, Howard 1923, Patterson 1919,27 and Duran 1932.28 Continua concludes by saying (1955:159):

Malgré cette relative abondance de travaux préliminaires sur deux régions linguistiques du Soudan égyptien et du lac Tchad offrent un dialectologie un vaste territoire, d'enquête presque vierge, où en particulier la pléniérate
linguistique permettrait de clarifier bien des choses.

2.6 The article in the new edition of the Encyclopædia of Islam (this part written by H. Fiehler) devotes a few lines to Chadian Arabic (Leuten; E.J. Brill 1964; 575) mentioning Leuten 1920, Carleson 1919,19 Howard 1929,30 and Patterson 1930. Thus, as was stated for Ch. 1, it is hoped that this chapter also fills a much needed gap in the literature.

2.7 The following sources have not been seen (or at least I assume such) by Blanc forthcoming: Abu Abiel and Sioud 1964, Abu Abiel and Sioud 1968a, Abu Abiel and Sioud 1968b, Abu Abiel and Sioud 1968c.31 the Tertiaristan Bible Society’s translations of the New Testament into Chadian Arabic (highly stylized and thus not suitable as a corpus for Chadian Arabic per se), Pace 1967,32 Fourcade 1969, Roth 1969a, Roth 1969b, and Roth-Lal 1969,33 and Morche 1964.34 Stress in this chapter will largely be placed on these works, since they are all relatively recent works and are more reliable than much of the older literature.

2.8 Following Blanc’s suggestion (forthcoming—see 2.1) that Leuten 1920 is just about the only reliable source for Chadian Arabic as a whole, the purpose of this chapter is to present a concise outline of the grammar of Chadian Arabic following the organization of Leuten’s work itself, bringing it up to date, factually and otherwise, based on my own field
work and later sources. Examples will be kept to a minimum.
The great advantage of presenting this material will clearly be seen in Ch. V. 35

2.9 The title page of Lachen 1920 reads as follows:
Gallooal Arabic, Shawa dialect of Barma, Nigeria and of the region of Lake Chad. Grammar and vocabulary, with some proverbs and songs—by G.J. Lachen, M.A., LL.B. Assistant District Officer, Political Department, Nigeria. Published for the government of Nigeria by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, London, S.W.—1920. 36

2.10 Lachen relates the purposes of the volume in the pro-
face of the work (pp. 11–19):
This book is published primarily for the use of those who wish to learn to speak the dialect of Arabic spoken in Barma in Nigeria, and in the other countries of the Sudan near Lake Chad, such as Kano, Bagirmi, and Chad. At the same time it is hoped that it is not without some other value as throwing light on a very little known corner of the Arabic-speaking world (emphasis mine).
It is compiled from materials collected at first hand in Barma at various times in 1917, 1918, and 1919. In addition, for Part I, very extensive use has been made of a partially completed grammar of the dialect by Mr. G.J.F.
Tomlinson, 37 First Class District Officer, Nigeria, who
most generously resigned all his material for incorporation
in this book. Part I follows more or less the lines of a
regular Arabic grammar, simplified as much as possible;
in particular in Chapters II and III an attempt has been
made to give the learner enough elementary points to enable
him to begin conversation from the outset.

Part II contains a collection of very short sayings, pro-
verbs, riddles, and songs which are mostly rhymed and easy
to remember: they are introduced to give life to the dull
job of language learning and to aid the setting up of a
vocabulary, but they may also be worth, for their own sake,
the attention of those who take an interest in the life of
the people of this part of Africa.

Part III contains practically all the vocabulary notion-
collected, both from actual converse with natives and from
the reading of numerous manuscripts. An Arabic-English
vocabulary would have been a better form for the explana-
tion of words but would have demanded far more time than
the chances of Nigerian service allow. On the other hand
the English-Arabic form provides a ready-made framework,
has facilitated the introduction of many useful lists of
words for common objects, such as trees, grasses, animals,
etc., and should help the beginner quickly to find words
for what he wants to say.
Bilingual has prohibited the use of the Arabic characters except in Chapter I. But a system of transliteration has been adopted which is intended not only to show the colloquial pronunciation but also to indicate the correct Arabic spelling, in the Arabic characters, of any word given where known. For this purpose, every word has been checked by reference to Arabic dictionaries, and words for which no Arabic root or etymon has yet been found are indicated in the vocabulary by an asterisk. The vagaries of both pronunciation and spelling have made this an excessively laborious task, but it is hoped that it has been worth while as it facilitates comparison with classical Arabic. It has at least proved that the number of words taken from Sudanese languages is surprisingly small.

It is therefore hoped that numerous as the faults of this book may be, as little material has been provided for any who wish to do further and better work on the dialect.

It only remains to acknowledge the obligations of the author again to Dr. Tomlinson, for the material already mentioned; to Mr. H.R. Faurer,43 Resident of Asella, to whose interest in Arabic he owes the fact that it is now a language which Mission officials are encouraged to study; and to the Nigerian Government at whose direction and expense this book is printed.
2.11 An excellent table of contents begins the volume (pp. cxxviii). Before going on to Chadian Arabic grammar per se, I wish to consider some important aspects of Leethen’s introductory note (pp. ix-xiv), written in Bornu on the 21st of February, 1919 (p. xiv). It still contains some of the most valuable remarks anywhere in the literature. 

2.12 Leethen begins by telling the reader that the district dealt with in his book "may be most briefly described as that variety of Sudanese Arabic which is spoken in the region of Lake Chad." Its study has received "singularly little attention," although the public should have been aware of it by reading Barth 1859-61, and Barth 1862-66. "This is to be regretted," he goes on, "for not only is Arabic the native language of the Bornu (Nigeria) coastward, but any knowledge of Arabic could not fail to be useful, to political and educational officers at least, in most parts of Nigeria."

Leethen then turns his attention to a discussion of the showa Arabic and Shown Arabic. He states:

Showa is a term applied by the other natives of Bornu to the Arab tribes which have settled in that country during the last three hundred years, and especially to thirty tribes arriving in about 1850 at the command of the Sheik Mohamer; al Jun Al Harbi, great-grandfather of the present Sheik "Shawa," to assist him in repelling the Fulani invaders.
and restoring the Sultanate of Berriu. In its original sense the word probably simply meant "pastoral"; it is a term not used by the Arabs of themselves but serves as a convenient designation for these tribes and for their dialect of Arabic.

There are in Berriu several communities of earlier Arab origin now merged with the Berber or Kasasch as the Bogaiid inhabitants of Berriu are generally styled, but the Shemas alone have preserved the language, character, and physical traits of the Arabs, and they have done that in quite a remarkable degree. Further, in the nineteenth century they became in several respects the dominant race, and furnished the Sheikh al Kasasch and his successors with nearly all their leading councillors.

2.13 Concerning their origin Kedem states:

Broadly speaking they fall into two principal groups, according to origin. Of these the greater in numbers, though not in wealth or prestige, appear to have migrated with the North-Sudan, and the southern part of Maudit. The genealogies of the tribes in this group in Berriu are almost identical with those given for a large number of the Kordofan tribes in "The Tribes of Central and Northern Kordofan," by Mr. R.A. Macnichol. The names of the principal tribes composing this group in Berriu are: The Souk Hillat,
Salum, Khour, Jofelne, Jofelne, and He'lin, Joheh. In
Asmali they are classified by H. Guerri Carbon in his "La
Région du Tchad et du Darfour" [Carbon 1912] as Jofelnh,
indicating a common descent from a patriarch Abdallah al
Jofelnh, and this patriarch also figures largely in the
Borno and Kordofan genealogies.

The other group is smaller, but embraces the tribes of much
of the greater wealth in stock and of much the greater
prestige. They do not appear to have reached Kordofan but
to have followed a much more northerly route, and were cer-
tainly in the northern part of Asmali about A.D. 1600, and
from thence spread into Kanem. 49 They are known in Asmali
as the Kailas, and in Asmali, according to H. Carbon, as
the "Hassanaoua." 50

The name Kailas is taken from their common ancestor [sic.]
Ghulry, who flourished in Asmali about A.D. 1600, and the
individual tribes are called after various grandchildren of
his viz., Wlad Salam, Wlad Sarah, Wlad Chalta, Wlad
Salih, Wlad Abu Jal, Wlad Abu Khadi, Wlad Abdi, Bent
Nayil and Dagana (I.e., from Ali Abu Digay, Ali with the
Beard). "Hassanaoua" indicates their traditional descent
either from an ancestor of Chalta's called Hamou, who
flourished about A.D. 1600, or from another Hamou, the
son of Ali and Farhon, and grandson of the Prophet. For
the Khulna claim to be Sherifs, and, true or not, their claim is supported by a mass of genealogical tradition, both oral and written, and their belief in its truth is in itself an important fact from the political point of view, and explains the racial pride with which they claim and are generally accorded. A tribe which does not fall into these two categories is the Touf. There is some doubt if they are Arabs at all, though Arabic speaking. Their traditions and songs point to an origin in Tunisia, and they appear in Sudan history at a very early date as the founders of an empire in the region of Oor (Darfur).

2.14 Leiden continues with a discussion of Shona Arabic, Shona, is a colloquial dialect and should not be considered from any other point of view, for in correspondence an Arabic move or less regular is almost always used. On the other hand, owing to the isolation of the Chad countries and the exclusive life led by some of the pastoral tribes, Shona is a number of respects adheres more closely to the classical language than do the dialects of some more civilized countries, e.g., Syria and Egypt. This is a feature which characterizes in a greater or less degree all the Arabic dialects of the Sudan, of which Shona is the westernmost.

Irregular and corrupt forms, pronunciations, and meanings,
Inevitable in the speech of a semi-literate people, are of course very common.\textsuperscript{55} Further, while on the one hand there are in daily use in Shawa words which would only be known to lettered persons, e.g., in Egypt or Syria, or the other a number of words have come in from Sudanese\textsuperscript{56} and Nuer tongues, a number which, however, is much more limited than would be expected.\textsuperscript{57} These will be found to be mostly nouns, while it is the verb which is, perhaps more than in any language, the kernel of Arabic\textsuperscript{58} and it is by means of the verb that the Shawa whatever possible expression himself.\textsuperscript{59} In the use of the verb by the Shawa, Barth remarked in 1851 on the purity of the terminal vowels in the inflections\textsuperscript{60} while the use of the forms for the feminine plurals in the verb, which are quite ignored both in speech and in writing in most Arabic speaking countries, is characteristic of the speech of the Shawa.

Another trait natural to the dialect of people of simple life and manners is the simplicity of phrase and expression.\textsuperscript{51} There in more developed countries novel and foreign terms are in use, in Shawa a phrase or expression composed of common words will suffice—a fact which once grasped will greatly help the student. Grammatical construction, too, is greatly simplified.\textsuperscript{62}
Generally speaking, members of the Kordofan tribes living in the country, not in towns, speak with such a soft accent, idiom, and vocabulary. The speech of the large Malawer and Kordofan tribes which are more strongly represented in towns is much less pure.

The conquest of Bornu by Aisha, coming from the Egyptian Sudan in 1879, while it introduced a large number of Egyptian words and phrases and extended the general use of Arabic, has probably on the whole vulgarized the standard of Shuwa. Words and phrases from this origin are generally known as "kufa," this being the term applied in Bornu to Aisha's non-Arab Sudanese troops, but indicating further east in the Sudan the "Turkicisms" of Egyptian Arabic.

Another influence and one likely to have an increasingly rapid effect on Bornu Arabic is that due to the growing facilities of communication with the Eastern Sudan. Jellaba merchants from Kordofan and natives of Kordofan and Meilha are already common in Bornu towns and are likely to become numerous.

The Hamarli Arabs from Tripoli found in Birna, Mawgatei, Mangwa, and Odei speak, of course, the Tripolitan distinc-
tinctly from Borno and Maidunse Arabic, but little practice
renders the speakers of either reciprocally intelligible.70

Lastly, there is a barrack and market jargon spoken by
people of all sorts of races, especially in Fort-Lamy.

These differences in local dialects are interesting, but
no local certain words and phrases as "not seen" would
amount of pedantry. The man who wants "to speak" must take
things as he finds them...71

### Consonantal segments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lab.</th>
<th>dent.</th>
<th>alv.</th>
<th>pal.</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
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<td>m</td>
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### Vowelic segments

<table>
<thead>
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<th>u</th>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>soma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - <em>mita</em>, <em>mista</em> (masc.)</td>
<td>- <em>mita</em>, <em>mista</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - <em>minta</em>, <em>mitta</em> (fem.)</td>
<td>- <em>minta</em> (he/him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - <em>nina</em>, <em>bona</em> (masc.)</td>
<td>- <em>nina</em>, <em>bona</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - <em>nina</em>, <em>binia</em> (fem.)</td>
<td>- <em>nina</em> (her/hers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.18</th>
<th>Pronounal suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - <em>-1, -y</em> <em>(after verbs)</em></td>
<td>- <em>na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - <em>-1k, -1</em> (masc.)</td>
<td>- <em>-ka, -bu, -bam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - <em>-1k</em>, -hi* (fem.)</td>
<td>- <em>-ban</em> (her/hers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - <em>-a</em>, -hu* (masc.)</td>
<td>- <em>-ham, -tom, -sham, -lin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - <em>-ba</em>, -ha* (fem.)</td>
<td>- <em>-hin, -him</em> (her/hers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A.19 The verb 'to be'

There is no verb 'to be' in the present tense. The copula is never expressed as a verb, e.g., as 


The verb bagā 'to become' is almost used with the value of the copula, e.g., bagā halārī 'he is (has become) great.'

The passive meaning of 'is' in the sense of 'exist' is expressed by the proposition îli, e.g., wa lā il ûn 'there is a house.'

A.20 The verb 'to have'

The commonest way of expressing 'have' is by la and 'and (the difference being comparable to that between French 'and' and 'or'). 'And' is declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 laq</td>
<td>lādin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 laqī (mas.)</td>
<td>lādīnī, lādīnīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 laqī (neut.)</td>
<td>lādīnīm, līnm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 laqī (fem.)</td>
<td>lādī́nī̀, lādī́nī̀n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.71 The negation of nominal possessors is expressed by


1.21 Interrogation is indicated by (1) intonation, and
(2) Walla 'the question marker (few are questions only)’ 46
At the end of the sentence.
Walla, Walla ‘is he great?’
Sultan (I walla ‘is there a sultan?’
‘Al-jawd sana walla ‘is it a good horse?’
2.23 Perfect (*to write*)

Singular  | Plural
--- | ---
1 | hattaya | hattaya
2 | hattaya (mas.) | hattaya
3 | hattaya (fem.) | hattaya (broadm)
3 | hattaya (mas.) | hattaya
2, 34 | Imperfect
1 | taktib | taktub
2 | taktib (mas.) | taktub
3 | taktib (fem.) | taktub (broadm)
2 | taktib (mas.) | taktub
3 | taktib (fem.) | taktub (broadm)

2.25 Imperative

The imperative, as in the case for other Semitic languages, is derived from the imperfect (con vowel). The forms are:

Singular  | Plural
--- | ---
2 | taktib | taktib
2 | taktib (fem.) | taktib (broadm)
2.26 Passive imperative

The passive imperative, as in other-Semitic languages, uses
the imperfect, not the imperative (affirmative). Thus it tells "do not write". The b-imperfect forms are never used here.

2.27 Active participle

The form is -كع, e.g., من "write". For uses of the
active participle, see Leeden (1920: 54) and Abu Abd and Si-
naid (1968b: 36-43). 90

2.28 Passive participle

The form is -كع, e.g., من "letter". For uses of the
passive participle, see Leeden (1920: 54) and Abu Abd and Si-
naid (1968b: 107-11). 91

2.29 The use of the perfect and imperfect
Leeden states the situation in very concise terms (1920:
54-5):

1. The use of the tense is quite easy. It has only to
be remembered that the perfect tense is used only of an
action spoken of as quite completed; and that consequently
the Arabic imperfect tense (denoting incomplete action)
has a rather wide range of equivalents in English.

Thus it can express not only English present and future but
also incomplete action in the past, as well as other Eng-
lish grammatical forms such as the subjunctive, etc.
2. There is further simplification that in compound sentences, i.e., containing several verbs of which some are dependent on another, the dependent verbs are put in the appropriate tense just as if they were principal verbs in a simple sentence and without being affected by the tense of the governing verb.

Some of the examples listed include:

*حُرْبَهُ يُحْرِبُ* "I wish to write"
*سَلَّمَ بِهِ نَعَمَهُ* "He said he wrote"
*سَلَّمَ يَطَأُ بِهِ* "He said he will write"

It goes on:

It will be noticed in the above examples that the imperfect tense can quite well be used after and when dependent on a verb in the perfect tense, i.e., it can express an incomplete action whether past, present or future.

2.79 The particle huna 'of'

The use of this possessive particle (مَهْنَمْنَم ٌ 'thing', pl. مَهْنَمْنَم) is particularly Chadic Arabic. It is declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 مَهْنَمْنَم</td>
<td>مَهْنَمْنَمْنَم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 مَهْنَمْنَمْنَم (mas.)</td>
<td>مَهْنَمْنَمْنَمْنَم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
The demonstrative pronouns are the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>āhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>āni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative pronoun is 'a| as 'the definite article', which does not inflect for number and gender. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Pronoun</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>āhā, āhā, āhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>āni, āni, āni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the 1 of the article never assimilates to the fol-
locally common (Abu Abal and Sinaw 1938: 501a) as is seen in the third example listed above. This is a significant difference from SCA.

2.23 The definite article

The most common form of the definite article is /al-/. It appears in the following conjunctions (so-called 'some' letters): /, a, ə, s, ʃ, z, t, n, and occasionally m. Following a vowel, the article may become (Abu Abal and Sinaw 1938: 52). Thus /a-\'l\-\'in\-\'ar\-\'in\-\'ar\-\'in\-\'ar/ what is the re-arrangement?102 The plural stem of /al-\-/ slides in non-initial position.103

2.24 Gender

The form of the article has masculine and feminine genders (see next section). Thus /a-\'l\-\'in\-\'ar\-\'in\-\'ar/ is a nice boy and /a-\'l\-\'in\-\'ar\-\'in\-\'ar/ is a nice girl. As Abu Abal and Sinaw (1938: 1) mention: "The masculine-feminine distinction applies to adjectives only when they modify animate nouns. Inanimate nouns generally take the masculine form of the adjective."

The feminine ending for singular is either -a or -a, sometimes occurring in some variation, sometimes not.104

103 Of course, the feminine form is /a-\'l\-\'in\-\'ar/ a nice boy, feminine /a-\'l\-\'in\-\'ar/ a nice girl.

104 If the masculine stem ends in a vowel (e.g., same), the feminine is marked by -a.106
2.35 The dual

The dual suffixes are -in (mascul.) and -in (feminine) after
deletion of final -a or -u (fem.). Thus:

tal 'fish' (mas.), 107 *two fishes*,
bar 'ashes' (mas.), 107 *two ashes*;
marz 'goose (male)' [twice],
benzy 'girl' [twice] *two girls*. 108

Alu dal and Shnaw (1969: 10) are partially right in saying:

"The dual form in that Arabic is optional. Notice from the
above example 107 that one can use either the dual form or the
plural form followed by the number 'two'..." The exception is
for things which naturally occur in pairs such as parts of the
body, e.g., 'two (two) hands'. This is a significant dif-
ference from SgA, i.e., the 'two' part occurs before the
plural noun.

2.36 Sound plural

The sound plural ending for masculine nouns is -in; for
feminine nouns -in after the deletion of -a or -u.

For instance:

khal 'scribe', plural khaliin

sayyid 'master', plural sayyidin

saqf 'carpenter', plural saqifin

hlab 'litch', plural halbe

za'ul 'snake', plural za'uliin.
3.57 Broken plural

On the intricate particulars of broken plural numerals, see

3.58 Collective names

There is a small number of collective nouns which denote
the idea of species (groupe). Some common ones are:

begar 'cattle'
wanan 'sheep
inasts' (sheep, cattle)

The singular of these collective nouns is formed with

2.59 Cardinal numbers

1 indi 'one'
2 inanimation 'two'
3 ina
4 ina
5 ina
6 ina
7 mub'a
8 inainta, canmes
9 ina
10 ina
11 inain

213
For the cardinal numbers shown "whence", see Alu Athl and Simson (1968: 290), Alu Athl and Simson (1968: 67), see Louw (1970: 96-5).

2.40 Arabic numbers

1 One
2 two
3 three
4 four
5 five
6 six
7 seven
8 eight
9 nine
10 ten

Original numbers shown "whence" are not found (Alu Athl and Simson 1968: 63). The cardinal numbers (with "Ta") are used.
2.41 122 verb (nu'da 'to extend')

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>nu'dala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>nu'da'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>nu'da</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nu'dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>nu'dal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>nu'dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nu'dal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.42 Huzzated verb 'azal 'to set', 'azal 'to ask'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'azala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'azalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'azal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'azalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>'azalu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>'azalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>'azalu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 yūnih, tēhū (fem.)
Imperative
yūnīh
tēhū
yūnhū
Perfect
plural
1 mānīh
2 mānīhi, mānīhi (fem.)
3 mānīhi, mānīhi (fem.)
Imperfect
2 mānīh
2 mānīhi, mānīhi (fem.)
3 mānīhi, mānīhi (fem.)
Imperative
mānīh
mānīhi
mānīhi
2.43 nōd yēhū (shout 'to silence')
Imperfect
1. wīlīka
2 wīlīka, wīlīka (fem.)
3 wīlīka, wīlīka (fem.)
Imperfect
wīlīka
wīlīka
wīlīka
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>1st pl. subj.</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>2nd pl. subj.</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>3rd pl. subj.</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>1st pl. obj.</td>
<td>'to walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>2nd pl. obj.</td>
<td>'to walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamal</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>3rd pl. obj.</td>
<td>'to walk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs:

- **amal**: 'to say', 'to walk'
3. 310: aše

Imperfect

1. inašu1,2

2. taši, taši (fem.)

3. tašaš, tašaš (fem.)

Imperative

ašu

šiši

šišu

These 17 verbs (ends 'to go', and 'light, to shine').

Perfect

Sing. Plural

1. māšu

māšišu

2. mašišu, mašiši (fem.)

mašišu

3. māšaš, māšaš (fem.)

māšaš

Imperfect

1. māšišu

māšišu

2. māšišišu, māšišiši (fem.)

māšišu

3. māšiš, māšiš (fem.)

māšiš

Imperative

"māšišu" 1,2

"māšišu"

1. ligāšu

ligāšu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.41.1</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>roll up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.42.1</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>to roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.43.1</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.44.1</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.44.1 Doubly weak verbs

These are extremely uncommon in Canaanite, see below.

(1970) 13a-13b for verbs "to return" and "to go" and 

and also "to roll up".

2.47.1 The "to come" and go to exact 1st

singuler

Perfect

1.48.1

1.49.1

1.50.1

2.51.1

2.52.1

2.53.1

2.54.1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.67 Form II (Same as locutus) 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>haseran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>haseran, hasero (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>haseran, hasero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>talaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>talaer, talari (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>talaver, taliari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>talaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>talaer, talari (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>talaer, taliari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Also form II (i.e. 'to be opposed to')</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>haseran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>haseran, hasero (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>haseran, hasero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperfect</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>talaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>talaer, talari (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>talaer, taliari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>talaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>talaer, talari (com.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>talaer, taliari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
222

3 šlāfš, šlāfš (mas.)
Imperative
šlāf
šlāf
šlāf

2.34 Form IV ("name to give")

Perfect

1 šanāš

2 šanāš, šanāšī (mas.)

3 šanā, šanāt (mas.)

Imperfect

1 šanā

2 šanā, šanā (mas.)

3 šanā, šanāt (mas.)

Imperative

šanā

šanāt

šanā

šanā

šanāt

šanāt

šanāt


2.33 Forms V and VI

Note: Forms are not very common in Classical Arabic. The

perfect is "alakuma (v) 'we await', 527 Imperfect bilādom, 528

perfect "alakāt (v) 'we exchange with someone', 529 Imperfect

bilādom, 530 In Middle Arabic, in particular, Form II is used

also for Form V (contract 1994 A. 17)." 531 The 1- may assimilate
Form VIII (the Infinitive)

This form is used in Classical Arabic for future and conditional clauses, e.g., "أَنتَ تَحْضِرُ الطَّفْرَةَ؟ "You expect the dinner", does not occur in Classical Arabic. It is replaced by Form II.
This form is aro mit productive and exists only in noun
nouns, e.g., 'inter'ti time'.

2.57 Common prepositions with suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 fi</td>
<td>fịna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fi, fiká (fem.)</td>
<td>fịũna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fi</td>
<td>fịumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fiká, fiká 165 (fem.)</td>
<td>fịmumég</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 min 'from'

| 1 minók | minóká 164 |
| 2 minók, minóká (fem.) | minókamá |
| 3 minók, minóká (fem.) | minókamá |

1 ma'ay | ma'ayá |
2 lān | lāná |
3 lān, lāñ (fem.) | lāñá, lāñó, lāñó 162 |
3 lān (fem.) | lāñamá, lāñón |

1 ma'ák, ma'áká 165 | ma'ákámá |
2 ma'ák | ma'ákámá |
and you don’t believe me myself? Do you (mean to) say that what I told you was a lie? You are a bad neighbor."


All of these, with the exception of Roth-Laly 1969, are from English or French into Arabic. Hopefully when Roth-Laly 1969 is completed, it will prove to be very useful for SCA and Chadian Arabic studies.

2.42 As an illustration of literacy in Chad for Arabic, I reproduce a text in Ahidé Arabic (Roth 1966b: 25) with the French translation. The author of the text is Mahamat Takaou, who is still a student studying French and Arabic.
(literary) at the only "high school" in Abuqir. On my way back, 
as can readily be seen, has emphasis, due to the author's 
knowledge of literary Arabic and other factors as well (see 
Gale 1970). A written version of the text was sought by me 
in Egypt, and I found an Arabic teacher, Ahmadu Abdullahi, 
who volunteered to transcribe the text, and wrote the following 
for me in Arabic characters so he could read it for me.

Transcription:

کلماتا راحتا، وا لاسیتة. ناخن یحاب 
کنی فمکبک وکه باب حبسی ال کیاسیتی، 
ناشانی ای 
ناکیمکا الیمچی نادت. 

Translation:

Son main était rose et elle semblait être huileuse. Elle partit 
contre à coupe et elle l'attaqua avec une cuillère 
et elle était trop sèche pour le ramasser. Son père 
venait dans son ventre lui parler: "Ici, je viens, je 
vaux ramasser pour toi". Je fais éveille un homme à l'extérieur, 
voir l'aam, pour voir celui qui lui parlait. Elle en vit 
et, absolument rien. Alors, il perdu un fils il dit 
"Jour, je suis dans ton ventre, à l'intérieur, je veux
المرا رايتا ناترأت العزب
في العزب. تانت 159 ختم كثير
و 150 ود علق بالبل 167 وعرض لي ستالر.
صبر 152 الذي 157 مسع يلب 162
اي شيء للباب ليكي. المرا مساتنات
رغب صبي 155 اثنا. تذن الفات م.
ألفاد تيا ما خافت نتلي. ما
تشنت نتلي. بتان مضت رهد نتالي
لبار 167 يا أبي الأنا. تباتي في بلغي
دمن ودهر تمر اتال تا 169 ركي.
تزال من نين 166.
The wording should be devoted to the translation Bible Society's translations of the New Testament into Chadian Arabic. The language is highly stylized (not conversational), and not suitable for making grammatical statements about Chadian Arabic as a spoken language.

The 1964 translation of the Book of John begins

אָלֹהִים אֶלָּא אֱלֹהִים, וְאָלֹהִים_BO Allāh,
우_에 BO Allāh.

The English reads:

The Authorized Version

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shone in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.
...In the book 1971...1965 is in Arabic characters only with partial vocalization, and is an attempt to render Chadian Arabic into Arabic characters, as in the text by Abdullahi in 2.04.

2.06 In conclusion, I can only agree with David Cohen, who wrote in the preface to Ruth-Lily 1959, that Arabic dialects spoken in Africa will provide much useful information for the study of Arabic Materia. As already stated in 1.02 for the Sudan, a Linguistic Survey of Chadian would be the ideal thing for a comprehensive look at all Chadian languages.105

2.07 Finally a word should be devoted to my informants in both the Sudan and Chad. In the Sudan I came in contact with many SCA speakers just walking around the streets of Khartoum. Particular help was afforded me by Muhammad M. Al Hakim, a student at the University of Khartoum. I did not concentrate on the elicitation of SCA data because there are great amounts already in comparison to Chadian Arabic, and also because I spent that of my time in Chad.

Field-linguistic problems in Chad are very similar to ones encountered by Samarin's experience working on large in the central African Republic (see Samarin 1962). Mention must be made of the fact that most often when I asked for an informer's biographical facts, he would respond that his name was
Mahanat, and that he didn’t know how old he was (many of them, I presume, just did not know). Samarini 1967 reports that he used sixty-seven informants on Sango. Although I used about twenty-five altogether, our problems were about the same. I, like Samarini, learned to speak the language rather well.

I base my information on Chadian Arabic on the speech of monolinguals in particular of Abché. I must single out attention to Sanga (also known as Fatúa) of Abché, an unmarried girl of about twenty, who spent hours going over materials with me. She was born in Abché, has never been out of the town, and knows no other language but Chadian Arabic.

I must also thank Edward L. Lowe, who was the sole Peace-Corps volunteer in Abché (teaching English) 1966-70, for enormous efforts on my behalf. I have corresponded often with Mr. Lowe since summer 1970, who has kindly re-checked a lot of my data. He spent 1970-71 in Léché (Sara-speaking, for the most part), and is presently (1971-72) at Abché (still with the Peace Corps).
At this point Blanc remarks in fn. 4: "I have not seen the Shaw texts published by Howard (1922)," I too have not seen those texts. See Ch. 1, n. 121.

I agree wholeheartedly with Blanc's assessment of the field.

Here Blanc mentions (fn. 5) that Decors and Guenfoyr-Demouyenne 1907 and Nicas 1937 deal exclusively with the "pragmatised" Arabic.

Here Blanc remarks (fn. 6) that he bases this judgment on the review by David Cohen in Cahiers de l'Oranie Centrale.
Abéché is known today by its more modern name, viz.,
Abéché, also spelled Abodche. Its etymology seems to be ul-
timately from Arabic ‘abd habir ‘the father of habir’. In
Chadian Arabic it has several forms: Abènette, Abenne, Abédè.
It used to be located twenty miles north of its present loca-
tion, but due to a lack of water, it moved southwards to its
present position. See Ferrandi 1912 for a history of the town.

It is speculated today by many Chadians that the water supply
will exhaust itself in another ten years, thus causing the
end of the capital of Naday. One of the Chadians holding this
opinion is the present Sultan of Naday, whom I interviewed
twice at his residence in Abéché, July 1976. He refused to be
named and to have his photograph taken. He is still a respec-
ted man in the community, especially by the older generations,
yet politically, he is more or less impotent. His only lan-
guage is Chadian Arabic, although he does have some knowldege
of classical Arabic, having been on the staff in the late 60s
(by plane).

Blanc states (fn. 7) that the source of this information
is M. Levion, Research Bulletin No. 1 (January, 1967) of the
Centre of Arabic Documentation, Institute of African Studies,
University of Zululand, p. 48.

10 I use the conventional English spelling Chad for Le
Tchad, or officially, la République du Tchad. Compare in English 'The Lebanon' being a direct translation from the French, now commonly known in English nowadays as Lebanon, without the definite article.

A few words are apropos about Chad in general, since it is one of the least-assisted countries in the modern world. I feel that the following information will be useful for any field linguist planning a trip to Chad (see Rawlin 1967).

The information for what follows is taken partly from an official Chadian governmental publication in English, called Republic of Chad 1967, which was sent to me compliments of the Chadian Embassy in Washington D.C.

**Geography**

Chad has an area of 495,068 square miles extending over 5,926 miles between the eightieth and twenty-fourth degrees north latitude and over 730 miles between the fourteenth and twenty-fourth degrees east longitude. The entire area is almost totally flat, and begins in the south where the equatorial forest ends, to become part of the Sahara in the north (Fornou, Emoto, Tibesti). The country's size and its distance from the sea (550 miles from Douala, 1,253 miles from Portuguese-Sao, and 1,865 miles from Pointe-Noire) make Chad one of the most land-locked countries in the world. Transportation is hence one of its major problems.
Several companies have been hoping to find oil in the country, especially around Lake Chad, yet getting in and out of the country would still be a task. The Libyan government, under the leadership of Qaddafi, has offered to build a road connecting Chad with Libyan ports gratis if the Chadian government would expel the Israeli ambassador in Port-Louis, yet the Chadian government has turned down the offer. The rebels are being backed by several Arab countries (more on the Chadian Civil War later), and the Chadian government does not want to make too many close friends with "Arab countries" per se.

The Chad basin is deficient in waterways too. The only river system consists of the Chari and the Logone; other water courses such as the Bahr and the Uah el Chari are not permanent. Lake Chad, long a landmark of Central Africa, is shallow (average depth 13 feet) and varies in size from 3,260 square miles to 9,650 square miles, depending on the fluctuation of the Chari River. Lake Chad is an important source for fish, and some areas surrounding the north-eastern part make very rich fertile land. It is becoming polluted, however, according to Peace Corps volunteers working around the area.

Population

In 1965 the population was estimated at 3,500,000, include-
The population is mostly French, with a density of about seven inhabitants per square mile. It is, however, very unevenly divided with forty-four inhabitants to the square mile in the cotton-growing area of the south. The population rate of increase is 2 per cent per annum.

Religion and ethnic groups

About 45 per cent of the population is Muslim, 50 per cent Animist, and 5 per cent Christian (100,000 Catholics and 50,000 Protestants). Islam is, however, the fastest growing religion among the Animists, many of whom converting daily. The reason for this is mainly economic, since the Muslims are the people who "have things."

The ethnic variety is accompanied by economic specialization. For example, among the Muslims, the Belegue are herders, the Raha, traders and barbers, and the Wadayja, farmers, while among the Animists, the Sara—the largest group in the country and those in power politically—have oil palm plantations. François Tombalbaye, the President of the Republic, born in 1938 at Tombali in a Sara family, is a farmer, and the Betako are fishermen.

The urban population accounts for only 5 per cent of the total population, with only four towns numbering more than 5,000 inhabitants: Fort-Lamy (150,000), Fort-Mahault (30,000), Nounda (20,000), and Abdéché (15,000).

History
Chad has always been a crossroads of routes between the Sahara and 'tropical' Africa. In the northern part of Chad, the beds of palaeolithic and neolithic objects still bear witness to the period when hunters and gatherers lived along the banks of the Saharan rivers now dried up. In the lower valleys of the Chari River, the first traces of the Sun civilisation have been found. It is thought that the Saxe survived until the end of the 16th century.

From the 9th century onwards, Chad has been the homeland of many empires, the most important being the Kingdom of Kanem, the Empire of Bornou, the Sultanate of Baguirmi, and the Empire of Hadjer.

In 1913 the incorporation of Bornou made Chad the largest and most populated of the territories comprising French Equatorial Africa. On August 16, 1960, upon the initiative of its Governor, Félix Houphouët, Chad was the first of the territories of Black Africa to join the Union of 'Free France'. After the war, Chad became an Overseas Territory of the French Republic under the French constitution of 1946. In 1958 Chad became a member of the French Community, and on August 11, 1960, proclaimed its independence. It was admitted to membership in the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

Miscellaneous

The official language of the country is French, although
only a small fraction of the total population can claim fluency in the language. The climate during the dry season (six months) is very hot with temperatures of 120°F. and being unusual, the Chujian national flag consists of three vertical stripes of blue, gold, and red. The motto of the country is

United-Travelling-People.

But is not a country that one reads about all the time.

In fact during the last two years I have only seen two major articles about the country. I reproduce both here since both contain valuable 'anthropological' (i.e., field-linguistic) information. It would be almost virtually impossible to do any kind of field work in that without knowing something about the country—its history and its current problems. Thus the relevance of including both of these newspaper articles lies in the 'theory' behind field linguistics. The story is by

Jun Nagao of the Washington Post, who wrote an article called "What Unlikely Resorts, Except for Smoking," which appeared in The Sunday Denver Post, Sunday, May 1, 1993, p. 35. I reproduce nearly all of its contents:

"But don't, Chujlan—the sun makes the dusty streets so sultry. In a town on a high plateau in four parts usually, a plate of lamma gung for 3.50 and a three-year-old atom rebellion continues to signal out on the desert that covers most of this unlikely country."
Send tips just the place for your next vacation? Then you're after Gassain's kind of tourist.

"You have to love sun and great empty spaces to make a successful visit to Chad," concludes Gassain, who holds the job of director of tourism in one of the world's least improbable tourist resorts, this destitute former French colony located at the center of Africa and on the edge of the Sahara.

Like many countries in Africa, Chad has dreams of tapping a new source of badly needed foreign exchange by luring tourists, as Kenya and Uganda have done.

Chad, with its considerable liabilities and natural wonders, is in fact an excellent case in point of both the lack of realism and adventurous spirit that run through the efforts of the economically underdeveloped world to muscle in on the market.

For the individualist who feels a fascination for the original north gate country of desert-dotted by green bits of pools, Foreign legion forts and rugged mountains, northern Chad is the place to go.

This country is also blessed with some of the last great herds of elephants, and some of the best, if most difficult, big game hunting in Africa.

The Chad government is perhaps the most blatant in
Aside in setting high-skill limits for hunters, except for disappearing animals like leopards and the great bums. But you can shoot just about all the elephants you can carry away because of the current surplus.

Most of the 1,000 hardy souls who did come to Chad last year as tourists came either to shoot at or to photograph the game, Chaswin told.

Predicting that Chad would greatly augment the number of tourists it draws, Chaswin asserted that Chad "is one of the richest countries in the world in fauna."

It's also one of the poorest in just about everything else. Air Chad's four-airplane fleet is headed by a rusty DC-4 flagship. There's almost no paved roadway in the country, and no railroad at all.

The French (there are still 10,000 here) did almost nothing to develop this country during their colonial days. Everyday items still have to be flown in from France, greatly increasing their cost and further inhibiting tourism.

This has a drastic inflationary effect on the few locally produced items that foreigners might need or use. Chad's plentiful and good beef costs as much in restaurants as if it had been imported.

Recently, according to Chaswin, an American tourist
visiting here was intrigued when he was charged 7½ for an
omelette.

"Is this omelette so expensive because eggs are rare in
your country?" the tourist asked a Chadian waiter. "No,
Ronald, eggs are not rare here. It's American tourists
who are rare here."

ALMOST as annoying for prospective tourists is the armed
insurgency carried out against the government of President
Francisco Tombalbaye by bands of northern and eastern tribes-
men.

Rabbs invaded Chad's greatest tourist attraction, Educación
National Park last year and are still operating in the
area. But the government hopes to get the park's attractive
bodge back in operation.

At N'gouy, a small village that used to be the departure
point for safaris, local spots once used by tourists have
been taken over by the French Air Force, which houses heli-
copters here.

That good Chadian beef comes from the four million head
of cattle roving round the parched plains.

The government and French military authorities have begun
to assess the much publicized civil war, in a report publ-
This but about cattle.

"More than one million head of cattle have been stolen and driven across the border" of the Sudan and the Central African Republic, in the past three years, Jacques Bertaux, a boy official in Chad's Ministry of the Interior, said recently (Ref). "Once un grand nocturne," commented a senior French officer. Before independence in 1960, the French Army "was the sheriff." When the sheriff left, the cattle rustlers started shooting up the villages. Now that the sheriff is back, they don't do it any more. "C'est la vie."

For the second newspaper article, see n. 12.


12 See n. 10. The second article is by Stanley Kaeler, who wrote the Fore-Camp, of the L.A. Times and Washington Post News Service, which appeared in the Boulder Daily Camera, September 13, 1979, p. 10. The title of the article is "Chad War Is a Pity War." I do not agree with Kaeler that the Chadian Civil War is a pity war, as he makes it out to be.

Neither would many Chadians. I witnessed many 'rebels' being buried by the Chadian Army and French police. Most of the atrocities are, for instance, due to the 'rebels', at least in Wira. This is my own personal observation.
I reproduce here the article in its entirety so that nothing is dissected, as with the article mentioned in no. 10, this one too has many interesting observations, valuable especially for the field linguist planning a field in Chad. Needless to say, information contained in both the newspaper articles is rather difficult to come by, thus I have chosen to include this information here. The article reads as follows:

The war in Chad is a sorry one. The French have only 1,000 soldiers here and the rebel area is probably about the same. The country is on post that a recent UN report ranked it 48th on a list of 99 developing countries.

Yet the war can’t be ignored. In a dramatic way it lays bare two great failures. First, in a half century of colonial rule, the French failed to bring any real government to most of the tribes of this vast, land-locked country. Second, in a decade of independent rule, Chad’s African leaders failed in a similar way.

These failures brought on a rebellion by people resentful of a remote government that taxed them too much and gave them too little. In early 1969, President François Tombalbaye desperately called on the French for help.

Since then, the French and Tombalbaye have been better at quelling the rebellion than at imposing an administration.
A recent incident about 500 miles east of the capital of Py, Bany illustrates the problem of Chad and of the war. It was, for this war, an unusually large battle.

One night, a band of 150 rebels, sent armed with light arms but perhaps a很少 with rifles, attacked a militia post. The band killed nine militiamen and two government-appointed village chiefs.

After the rebels withdrew, the survivors sent for help. It was the early season [exact in Chad is Arabic?] and there are no paved roads in Chad. Since no car or truck could pass, the message had to travel through the night with the message. It took all night to reach the town of about 60 miles north.

Although the army was in battle in Chad, the officers who count are French. They received word of the rebel attack the next morning. But, as usual, they did not act immediately. They simply do not trust Intelligence reports from Chad. They sent out a French pilot in a light plane to look around.

The pilot returned with a report that he had spotted a group of men who could have been part of the band of rebels. The French ordered for commandos and helicopters. By that night, 40 commandos had flown in from Py, and one of the helicopters had arrived from their base at N'gor in south
neutral psychiatrist. On the following morning, superior-level French commanders began looking for the rebels.

The French were nearly ready to give up when a group of the rebels, near a creek about 20 miles southwest of the military post, suddenly opened fire on a helicopter.

At the end of the battle, there were a few wounded French commandos and 25 dead rebels. The French took no prisoners.

It was, like most battles in this little war, a military victory for the French.

But the political results were not as clear. Had the hand of rebels already done the job by dislocating villagers from existing and appointments from the government?

The politics behind the rebels drove to keep the government out of the bush are rooted in the past.

When the French conquered Chad early in this century, the territory was divided into two areas known as the Land of the Futaba and a small one to the southwest known as the Land of the Massa. In this was below the Chari River lived the Sara people, who made up a fifth of the population and served as the slaves of their Muslim overlords.

THE FUTURE promised continued French administration and education. But the Sara, with a fragile culture, reverted whenever the French allowed them. They had the fruits of
The little education there was in colonial Chad.

When the French left in 1960, the Bonoles found that almost all the civil service and top political jobs involved the presidency, were in the hands of the educated few. In independent Chad, the Bonoles would be culled by their former masters.

To make matters worse, the new administrators proved inefficient and corrupt. There was much abuse in taxation. People found themselves taxed two and three times a year. Not only did they get little in exchange.

As the government over taxed, discrimination, tax abuse increased, thefts and rebellion cases. This weakened the administration even more. rape government officials, afraid they would be unceremoniously executed by the majoramat. The government no longer existed in most of the tuwa.

Against this background, the rebellion took several forms. First, the Tshokaby tribe in the north, always independent, rebelled against the government's attempt to take power away from traditional rulers.

Second, the Bonole tribes of the center and the east produced rebels against tax abuse and race domination.

Finally, bandits and cattle rustlers moved into the vacuum left by the flight of government officials.
Dr. Abba Sidibe, an exiled political opponent of Toumbaye, tried to weld all these rebellion forces into a single revolutionary opposition called Toubalma (Front for the National Liberation of Chad).

But he faced the same problem as the Sara Administration. It is just as hard to establish a rival government. Most rebels believe he has lost control over only a small proportion of the rebel bands.

With all their decentralization, the rebels seem to have three goals: to overthrow the Toumbaye government, to create general disorder and to prevent the government from administrating the country.

According to the French, the rebels have lost more than 2,000 men in the fighting, while the French have counted only 14 dead and the Chadians only 50. The rebels have little hope now of overthrowing Toumbaye.

At the same time, the rebels have prevented the government from putting such an administration in the towns, though the situation is far better than it was.

The French troops and the Chadian government may be winning some of the battles. But they have failed so far in establishing a real administration in the countryside.

Until that happens, the war is not really over.
on that he sometimes found, during his course in West Africa, "literary ability to be the simplest native language between himself and the local people."

13 New Block refers the reader to Al'bid'gi 1931 (for early aspects of Yoruba-Ibo-Afikpo), Ono and Akinwale 1964, Bufoteck 1965, Motsie 1964 (see), which would be Motsie 1963, South...1963, and Southon 1967, especially the latter for the references listed in the extensive bibliographies.

15 See Wolfrum 1962, misstated and misprinted as Wolfrum 1962 (v. 12), and misprinted in the bibliographies (p. 260) as Wolfrum 1962.

16 On p. 10, Block refers the reader to Motsie (1964: 221-3), a reference not contained in the bibliography. Perhaps he meant Motsie 1963, but the page reference would be a problem. Hopefully, this (and other errors) will be corrected in the published form of Block forthcoming.

See Ferranti 1930.

17 New Block says (p. 13): "Note is reserved in the "Indian of Sierra Leone." The amount of the "Indian of

18 See Ch. 2, 3 and 4 for the term 'Gudari' and its manifestations.
The official name of the capital of Chad is Fort-Lamy (founded about 1900; present population 50,000).

Duret and Guéthary-Dupont (1905: 20-1).

Plant remarks (fn. 12): "A number of details of this sort of Arabic were kindly given to me orally by A. Levy, former Israeli chargé d'affaires at Fort Lamy (etc.), and by some Chadian visitors to whom he introduced me in Jerusalem."

As is very obvious and similar to the case with SCa, so too there are many dialects of Chadian Arabic, and many remarks about SCa multilingualism (Ch. III pane1) also apply to Chadian Arabic cases.

Fort-Lamy Arabic is not a good representative dialect for Chadian Arabic as a whole because of (1) Fort-Lamy is the capital, and as a result, many Chadians there have some French since it is the official language of the country; (2) there are few monolingual Chadian Arabic speakers there; and (3) Chadian Arabic broadcasts over Radio Chad (from Fort-Lamy) are in intentionally simplified and stylized varieties of the language, making a normal natural spoken pattern difficult to obtain. Furthermore, all Chadian Arabic broadcasts are read; none are off-the-cuff 'normal' speech. Radio Chad Arabic is, in many ways, quite similar to the Chadian Arabic of the Trinitarian Bible Society's translations of the few
Treatman. See 2.65. As an anthropologist I am not
meant to be advertised in就这样 he was doing field
work with the Nagas. “The way he stuff the real Omen.”
This is true, in many ways.

Beckendorf, the term "Chadian Arabic" per se as I used it
here, has contained in it, so to speak, the word "secondary", unless otherwise stated explicitly. Arabic (nomadic) dialects
are quite different, especially in terms of phonology, since
they preserve nasals and pharyngeals (g and ʁ). See Beckendorf 1967 for a discussion of pastoral nomads and pastoral
languages. Between Chadian Arabic dialects also preserve q
(the velar voiceless phoneme), sometimes r (the voiced
voiceless phoneme), and y (which also occurs in most Sah dialects), which
becomes u in the secondary dialects. On Chadian Arabic
phonology in general, see Beckendorf 1967.

It is important to keep in mind the general Arabic dialect-
ological dichotomy of "nomadic" vs. "secondary" (which in some
dialects the Eastern vs. Western and of course it is not
said that the nomadic varieties of Chadian Arabic can in any
way be said to come from the classical Arabic varieties of the
Arabian peninsula. The subgrouping of the modern Arabic
nomadic dialects remains to be worked out. The reason for the
scholarly neglect of this entire area is that there are literally
thousands of separate and distinct dialects, the very
great dialects of which have never been described at all. The crucial point, however, which has been known for quite some time now, is that Semitic talk differently from their sedentary counterparts. This is to say, Kibon dialects of Arabic are opposed to the sedentary ones of the same area.

We do not know the exact details regarding Arabic in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era.

On the term Chadian Arabic as opposed to Chad Arabic, see Roy (1971a, addenda, n. 13).

For mention of Ahdé Arabic, literacy problems, and bi-

Singulism and MLA, see Roy (1971a, n. 40). 24 I spent six weeks in Ahdé, and journeyed east with the Chadian army to Aksi (about 150 kilometers), the last stop before Al-Ademha and the Sudanese border, spending three days there. Ahdé Arabic and Aksi Arabic are basically the same. I also spent about three weeks in the general vicinity of Port-Luzy. It is on first-hand knowledge that I make my re-
makes.

25 This appears almost literally on occasion.

26 This is entitled by Canengo as Diabota enke pere-

affine, the same as Tchad du Kour (some grammatical, vocablete français-style et kour-français), which is not the title of the work, but does appear (as a sub-title) as the first page of the work.
27 The citation of Patterson 1930 has Shina Arabic in the title for the correct Shuna Arabic. I do not know whether this spelling was intentional or an error in Patterson's typewriting.

28 I follow Cantacuzène's ordering in listing the works.

29 Fiebach refers to it as Carlucci 1911, which is erroneous.

30 Fiebach refers to it as Hood 1921, which is also a mistake.

31 I met André Sinou in Porto-Galé, who was working at the time (summer 1970) for the USA. I have also corresponded with Sandi Abu Ali occasionally, now at the University of Toledo, Ohio, of English. He once remarked in a letter (May 1965) that he did not fully "trust" Sinou's knowledge of Chadian Arabic. Presumably he meant that his knowledge of Chadian Arabic was proficient in one point or another. As far as I know, Sinou is a native speaker of Chadian Arabic from the north of Chad. Sinou also speaks French and English, but does not know other Arabic dialects or any kind of literary Arabic, and can not write a word of Arabic in Arabic characters.

I wish to thank Professor Elizabeth J. Hodge, Dept. of Linguistics, Indiana University, Bloomington, for sending me copies of Abu Ali and Sinou (1966, 1968a, 1968b, and 1968c).
as well as for sending me a copy of his forthcoming. I also
wish to thank him for sending me other photographical refer-
ences.
32 I also met with Mr. Fawcett several times in Abydh.
33 I met several people (Inhabitants) in Abydh who re-
membered Mr. Rushby-Lacy (Miss Rush, then), for she spent six
for the details of her field work. I have never met her
personally, although we have corresponded infrequently.
One of the persons remembering her very well was Mr. Che-
chatli, the oldest man in Abydh (and perhaps in all of Chad),
who was born in Aleppo. It is interesting to note that he
still speaks with the native accent (Aleppo Arabic), although
he was Chadian Arabic morphology and syntax (to a great ex-
tent), having married a native Chadian. He knows no other
language, and we spent many hours together comparing general
Syro-Lebanese Arabic and the local Chadian dialects, the latter
of which he had only concepts, although he understood them
perfectly well. (See this article in Rubin 1962 and
Peremson 1953b.)
Mr. Chechatli also introduced me to the oldest inhabitant
of Abydh, a man about eighty who was raised upon four
Armenian born in Turkey, who also spoke French, English (he
went to an American School in Turkey, so he claims), Chadian
Arabic, 9th, modern literary Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, and Armenian. He has lived more than forty years in Abdelch, and before that, twenty years in Damascus. His Chaldean Arabic was also Syrian, and he had adopted to the phonology of the language, i.e., no emphatics and pharyngals.

I mention Chachal in this here to show the different ways in which the non-native speakers of Chaldean Arabic have assimilated to the language. Also, there were other native speakers of Syro-Palestinian Arabic dialects who spoke Chaldean Arabic with emphatics and pharyngals in Abdelch. All of them were rather rich merchants or given social/business events. Among themselves, however, they spoke colloquial Syro-Palestinian Arabic. Their children were bilingual in colloquial Syro-Palestinian Arabic and Chaldean Arabic, but seemed to prefer Chaldean Arabic for all occasions.

People have never met or have I corresponded with here before. I searched for him in Fort-Lamy, but apparently he was not there.

In my without saying that I regard Leston 1920 as a first-class (and glowing) effort. Unfortunately, it has never been replaced nor has it ever been revised. Let us hope that this chapter brings many parts of it up-to-date.

Leston, ManCHARm and Son, Ltd., Printers in Ordinary to His Majesty, 52, Warwick Lane, W.C. 2.
The book is very difficult to come by. I obtained a microcopy from the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute Library.

50 I have not come across any reference to anything published by Yousifian anywhere in the literature.

51 By 'regular' Arabic grammar, I presume Lachen meant the likes of Wright 1955.

52 'Surprisingly small', of course, depends on how small 'small' is. On the term 'gudamaz' see Th. 7, n. 2.

53 See n. 37.

54 H. Palmer wrote the preface (pp. 1-12) of Fatimian 1995. It is here that we learn that 'even probably A.D. 800 onwards, Arabs in small parties began to penetrate to the banks of Lake Chad, and as time went on they settled in the Chad region in numbers (p. 1)'. I do not know the sources/sources of Palmer's statement. The date 800 A.D. seems too early for any major Arab migration to the area around Lake Chad.

Palmer continues (p. 11): 'With them, and in still larger numbers after them, came groups of the great Saharan Berber confederations who, as early as the days when the Kanjians ruled in Egypt, forged for themselves Arab patrons, so that in some cases the Berber tribes are indistinguishable from the Arab tribes.'

The Maitun does report the existence of Chiriga which 800
A.D. in Persia, Susa, Assyria, and Dar Foo (Patterson 1930: 11).

Palmer concludes about Patterson's text (Cp. II-2):

"...Under these circumstances, there would appear to be little doubt that the Mass of the 42nd Regiment (Intelligence) of whom the field legends are the Slaves of the House, the flier rooms who about A.D. 450 yielded the Kharga Oasis west of the Nile, to which the Patriarch, Mesopotamia had been sailed. The location of his capture by the Slaves is thus described by Arretius:"

"...The Mikado. In this passage, see, it would seem, the "ino- shaga" or noble cause of the Fis (Kharga), the captives presumably being "sarcos" or "servile class". I have not come across the name H.R. Palmer in the literature available on Chinese textual studies. He is not to be confused with H.R. Palmer, a contemporary (perhaps a relative), See Bloomfield (1930: 557-6) for some of H.R. Palmer's writings. At first, I thought that they might be one and the same person.

H.R. Palmer, C.H.G., C.S.I., was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. J.B. Patterson was Electric Officer, Benin Expedition, Nigeria (information from the title page of Patterson 1930)."
42 The preface is dated London, 1970.
43 This is surprising since it was written fifty three years ago. Many of Leubner's statements are still valid today.
44 Similarly for many parts of Central Africa, i.e., Chad, the Central African Republic, Kivu, Cameroon, etc.
45 Notice the spelling of final vocalic a's (e.g., characteristic of Hadran Arabic as a whole), even present in the English spelling for 'Mohammed'.
46 How easily we are not told.
47 The last point is very much up for grabs, of course.
48 See for more information Archbold 1921.
49 I would also agree with the dating here, although a little later might be more accurate. This would support Richland's (1952: 26) contention of Arab immigration into the Sudan in the fourteenth century.
50 See Cross (1915: 38-65), but the term there is 'Kordofana'.
51 This distinction is an important one to keep in mind. See p. 70.
52 Presumably he means 'written Arabic'. See Keye (1970) 2661 for the term 'graphemic Arabic'.
53 This is not unusual.
54 This, in part, is the subject matter of Ch. V.
55 The prescriptiveness of this statement is obvious. See
There is still a lot of truth in this kind of "linguistic philosophy."

Parece (1962: 33) reports "omax, "omax, which are unknown tree variants also for Faculty, Yom'a. Abu Kabl and Sone (1962: 21) report "omax as well as "omax.

Woots (1962: 33) lists "omax, which is also heard, but not very common.

Woots (1962: 33) lists "maha for Yom'a, so does Parece (1963: 33) as variant forms. This is in the Chadian Arabic of the Benin. Swadeshinger, strangely enough (1952: 41) has "maha. Compare Arabic "maha (maha) < PG migga, see Von Gall (1952: 11, fn. 12). This is clearly an aspect of 'drift' in Semitic. See Ture 1952: 10 for other aspects of 'drift' in Semitic.
Warne (1962: 11) lists 'anunu, 'nenmu, and 'nenmu. The first is clearly R2a. Dependinger (1925: 9) lists male
jenis (f'ast-alap), viz. 'nenmu, 'bultum, as well as 'bultum,
'blamu. Abu Abal and Simand (1960: 21) lists 'blamu.
On the nasal assimilation in the personal pronouns, compare
similiar happenings in Atalitian (Van Soden 1951: 41). This
too is an aspect of 'drift'.

Ehrenberg (1931: 19) is confining with listings such as
'mensu and 'malsu 'aen (f'enda), or s'angu, 'rengru, s'apruu,
and 'ruanrua for 'sanru'.

Ehrhw (1931: 10) reports for the same forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 = Indis</th>
<th>2 = Indes</th>
<th>3 = Indis (fem.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 = Indis</td>
<td>2 = Indes</td>
<td>3 = Indis (fem.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abu Abal and Simand (1960: 60) report 'Indis for 'Indisi.
That is not very common, but does occur. Similarly Abu Abal
and Simand (1960: 19).

This vowel may shorten, viz., no, depending on the
rapidity of speech, emphasis, or pronunci.

Many recent words, such as Warne 1962, are patterned
after the organisational format of Lathum 1950. Cf. Warne
81 Precedently listed as (1920s: 32) kātaḥ (by missprint), and currently listed elsewhere (e.g., 1950s: 31).
82 Listed as kāta(a) by both (1950s: 33). Other forms listed are: kāsh(a) 'kiss', kāta(a) 'boat', kāf(a) 'nowlopot (an engram)', cāta(a) 'cootie', gāl(a) 'earache', and gāta(a) 'couple'. The final -a is rare, and seems to be purely euphonic (and originally analytical) rather than a seament of the classical Arabic -a, viz., kāta'h 'he wrote'.

In other words, the -a, optional in strong verbs, has the same function and origin as the -a in nouns 'he extended' in Classical Arabic and SDA. SDA, of course, does not have the final -a for strong verbs (Form I, i.e.). Classical Arabic is the only Arabic dialect (ancient, modern, or otherwise) which has this -a for Form I verbs for the third person masculine singular perfect, but, although it is optional.

It is important to note also that no Gothic (active) verbs of Form I (both 1960s: 15), e.g., affidavit 'to become big' have optional final -a.

Both (1960s: 17-9) thinks this -a is perhaps the prenominal suffix for the third masculine (or feminine) singular, -i and -ei, respectively, in SDA. She states

(1) l'absence de la suffixe -a que j'ai ajouté après parenthèses à l'accolé d'un certain nombre de verbes
une / la bataille / prête / "il s’est tué"

comme une / ét-elle / "il y avait l’éléphant"

une / cette / "voici un pain, prends-
un en la main"

le parler d'Abbechou connaît une partie d'usage facultatif. Il que précède le complément d'objet direct et qui est fort employé. Or l'usage de la particule -y paraît obligatoire lorsque le complément est introduit par ce la.

Ex. 1 / bu léte le biz / "il a trouvé un potin"

Bu léte léte / le-elle / -y / ny-yth-éh-bé / "j'ai
posé le pain sur la table"

Bu-naco hi-bato (ou ba-s en bato / ny-yth-éh-bé / "la
femme a vu le fait"

L'hypothèse de -y pronom suffise utilisé comme pronon de rappel permettrait d'expliquer des exemples relevés par Mote dont j'ai pu vérifier quelques autres. Ils concernent les verbes qui peuvent s'utiliser dans un sens transitif comme les verbes marac "sortir ou faire sortir";

dias "descendre ou faire descendre".

Ex. 2 / bu marac min boya / "il sortit de sa maison"

Bu marar est utilisé ici avec le sens
intransitif.

bu marac min boya / "il fit sortir son
À son de sa maïson

décler : "je suis descendu"
décler : "j'ai fait descendre"

Cet exemple est semblable au précédent : dalle est un verbe défectue à la deuxième forme. Or, dans le parler d'abédéché, la deuxième forme a la same faculté ou frêcheur, mais elle a aussi la same réitérée, car elle a remplacé la même forme qui a disparu.

Ex. 1 barroc : "laver quelque chose ou quelqu'un"

"As laver"

L'hypothèse par A. Verbe, selon laquelle la particule a serait le pronom suffisant de la 3ème personne du singulier des deux genres utilisés comme pronom de rapport avec les verbes transitifs directs et indirects doit encore subir de nombreuses vérifications. Des comparaisons avec les syntèmes des parlers savants où le genre et le nombre sont respectés pourraient aussi bien en supplément. En effet, selon certains informateurs, elle serait la marque du futur.

Les exemples qui n'ont été donnés que les suivantes

hu barroc el babel : "Il lit la corde"

hu barbec (alt babel) : "Il lit la corde"

J'ai également entendu hu barbec l'babel, sans que je puisse savoir avec précision si le changement dans la distribution syllabique était une variante facultative ou si l'env-
Étudiez une modélisation de sens. Ce point que je ne lerner
à crier si vulgaire encore de nombreuses et simultanées
 vérifications ; il sera peut-être bon de l'étudier en rap-
port avec l'examen de la place de l'accent.

The -", which is optional in all imperfect (imparfait) forms which do not already end in a vowel, i.e., all plural forms and the second person feminine singular, is certainly not a remnant of classical accusative -a marking the subjunctive (all colloquial verbs have lost this feature, if they ever had it). Hyper-correction (a branch of pseudo-correction—see Blau 1970) may also be a factor here. See also Kaye (1970: 366, n. 14), which also cites Blau's latest book.

83 Abu Abal and Sinead (1968b: 92) list the perfect con-
jugation for CIGIC verbs (stress 'me climb'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abu Abal and Sinead (1968) 368 differ in two respects:
(1) the first person singular ending is -u or -u, and (2) the third person plural ending is -u. They also state (1968: 65): "Two of the above suffixes may have variations which you
should be able to recognize, even if you don’t use them. The
first person singular suffix can be /-u/ or /-ul/, and the
third person masculine singular suffix can be /-u/ “here” or
/-ul/.

These variant forms are not listed in Loretzinger (1924)
29-400) called the ‘préfet’). Similarly Caron (1963: 73-6)
called the ‘préfet du pays’. Similarly Verbe (1962: 12-3).
36 The imperfect stem has 1, yet note the vowel harmony
with final /u/, marking plurality. For the arguments, Koch
(1968: 14-9) states: “La conjugaison de l’imparfait du
verbe baséfyl met en évidence la force de l’influence vocale.
En: Mune makhmīl, baséfyl pmn l’influence du /u/ sauf
sous le pluriel, le 3 de l’imparfait devient y.”

Note that some Chad Arabic dialects have preterite
3 for /u/ (the former characteristic of most modern Arabic
dialects outside of North Africa, which is famous for its A.
37 The /u/ of the stem is by vowel harmony. See preceding
notes. Similarly in Arabic “may inshallah write”.
38 Loretzinger (1924: 31) require that the /u/ “may be used with
all cases.” Koch (1968: 19-20) discusses the functions of
the list Mwanza 1964)
Dans le parler d’Abéché, la particule /l/ a l’imparfait
exprime trois fonctions:
(1) Il est la cardinal de la zone autour des repartitions
La forme de la Non pres. du féminin avec à se rencontre également, mais plus rarement ; elle caractérisait le parler des femmes et des jeunes enfants. La forme évidente avec la particule à affecte surtout les verbes à action dites anciennes

Ex. 1 : 

* Il va 

* Elle va

* Elle vient

* Elle accompagne

(2) La particule à utilisée à toutes les personnes de l'inaccompli, surtout aux formes interrogatives et négatives et parfait à la forme affirmative, est une sorte de particule d'incertitude :

Ex. 1 :

* Elle dit : "Elle a vu ?"

* Elle dit : "Elle va ?"

* Elle dit : "Elle est allée ?"

* Elle dit : "Elle a vu ?"

* Elle dit : "Elle va ?"

* Elle dit : "Elle est allée ?"

(3) La particule à est utilisée comme élément verbal à
Le thème paraît uniquement conseillé en rapport avec le précédent; il souligne la réalité d'un fait et s'oppose à y qui est la particule de manière ou de "non-sens".

Mais, si mes conclusions étaient sensibles à la distinction théorique, l'interprétation de la "tête" est tout sauf simple et je n'ai trouvé que quelques cas où l'on pouvait toujours y ou toujours non.

Ex. 1. **dieu**, particule acte du verbe qu'il est, être à former le duratif qui est toujours suivi du verbe à l'imparfait introduit par le verbe plus.

**ne pas habiter** "il est en train de manquer"

Il en est de même pour l'auxiliaire **passer** en même 
(vient probablement du verbe **sui** "se suivre").

Ex. 1. **ne... ne... ne...** "il est à plaire"

L'auxiliaire **passer** (équivalent du verbe **passer** "passer") est toujours suivi de l'imparfait introduit par le préfixe y.

Ex. 1. **se... se... se...** "qu'il il mourra"

Mais sur cet exemple, il y a une faute d'exemple où l'on emporte aussi bien la forme avec y que la forme avec ne.
"elle serra l'autre jusqu'à ce que la grenade sucre".

Pour certains informateurs le y avait la marque de "l'indicatif présent" alors que le y avait la marque du "futur". Mais cette distinction n'eut guère observée dans les faits.

On note cependant à 1200 c., un usage classique de la forme avec y. Les informateurs qui avaient quelques techniques d'arabe littéraire emploient volontiers la norme avec y par une forme avec y.

Pour (1961) par le 6-7, exprimé

La forme ya s'emploie pour le présent d'un verbe ou là où en français un verbe à l'infinitif suit un verbe au présent.

Ex. ُبَيْنَ الْهَيْلِ لَمْ يَعْتَصِمْ لَهُمْ

La forme ya est plutôt employée dans une future ou dans une proposition subordonnée.

Ex. َبَيْنَ الْهَيْلِ لَمْ يَعْتَصِمْ لَهُمْ

Nous avons des informations sur le français de l'arabe dialectes (g., Sumatra).
Arabic), the b before the first person singular with n may
realize and become m. Thus minakatb and minakatab.

Kutsch (1948: 16) reports a final optional -u for
mightily, vastly, vastly. See the discussion in n. 62.

Leclercq (1970: 32-3) has the same vowel in a, which I have
not heard, although it might be the norm in Nigerian Arabic
dialects. Hoede (1967: 19) has the same vowel in a and u,
which is more common in Fonu-Igbo than elsewhere in Chad.

Carbo (1913: 77) has the first person singular performat-
ive in and the same vowel in a, i.e., his "uaccate ou
futur". No further notes concerning the b (1913: 78): "Le
précédent devrait être relevé à la première personne pour toutes
ses autres personnes."

Berdendinger (1953: 20) talking about the 'accate ou futur'
has the first singular performatives with ?, i.e., akin to this
transcription) and u. The b alternates strongly, as noted, occur-
with the third person singular and plural forms only.

Abu Ahid and Siyad (1964: 40) record the imperfect para-
digm for 'to drink' with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 makrib</td>
<td>makribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 takrib</td>
<td>takribu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tafrīn (fem.)</td>
<td>tafrīnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yāfrīn</td>
<td>yāfrīnu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similarly in Abu Abdi and Sinaud (1966b: 94-9), except tafrabi is written tafrabu—both forms occurring (via metathesis).

88 The first a vowel is very characteristically Chadian Arabic and SCA (as opposed to classical Arabic and other dialects).

89 See n. 79.

90 See also Weche (1962: 41), Grotou (1913: 84-5), and Derendinger (1923: 23).

91 See also Weche (1962: 41), Grotou (1913: 85), and Derendinger (1923: 23). Active and passive participles are treated in Abu Abdi and Sinaud (1966a: 100-6).

92 I have changed all forms to conform to Abéché Arabic.

93 The controversy of aspect vs. tense for Arabic (and Semitic in general) is still controversial. See Kaye (1972a, n. 22) whom argues for aspect rather than tense for the 'classical' Semitic languages.


95 See Abu Abdi and Sinaud (1966a: 32).

96 Final long vowels may shorten. See n. 79.

lying phonological structure of many Semitic Ethiopian languages, in particular Geʾhu, demonstrated (but never published by Gene H. Schermer, now at the University of Michigan).

Thus, Geʾhu has two monophthongic vowels, [e] and [c] (i.e., non-[e]),

102 Abé Abé and Gloum (1966, 1966a, 1966b, and 1967c) write for 'what'. I have only heard Abé (as SCC) to letters 1920. See preceding note on 1 and u vs. u.

103 A case of hyper-correction (pseudo-correction) is worth noting (Gloum 1970). The 'water' (cf. Classical Arabic
'al-zi) in Arabic with the definite article 'al- and 'al-
'salim 'the water' occurs, i.e., 'the the water'. In other
words, the 'al- in salim has lost its function as marking
definiteness (actually the genitive), such the same way as
Mississippi River actually means 'this river river'.

104 As shown by and cited (1966: 107) remarks: "There is
no simple rule for predicting the feminine form of the adjec-
tive from its masculine form." In Modern Arabic, both suf-
fices occur, the -a although occurring only after masculine
and dharraqa. 'Tulza is also a factor to be considered in
the Qadian Arabic data, to be sure.

105 Note the automatic phonological change of the stem
before -a. Cf. Calvate handiya (masculine) but huniyda
(feminine) 'goat'.

106 Actually the form 'aamu/ is [aunni] (cf. classical
Arabic and SNAG authors). A more abstract phonological re-
presentation is [aunni]. Consider the following rules:
(1) [aunni] → aani (n ≠ h / f)
(2) aani → aat (n ≠ h / f)
(3) aani → uma (vowel change (compensatory) after
h ≠ h / f)
(4) uma → uma (vowel harmony)
The feminine ending is thus (diachronically) -a, with deletion
of a /a/ of. Thus phonemically [a] or [u] is preserved in
Abu Abel and Sinai (1966: 63) note quite correctly: "The numbers 'one' and 'two' distinguish between the feminine even though the distinction is not always used." They note, however, that in Arabic, which may be heard in rapid speech, there is no distinction between masculine and feminine, which is evident in rapid speech. See n. 79.

Abu Abel and Sinai (1966: 65) note a feminine form, yet they do not hear it. Foure (1969: part III: 33) also reports feminine forms, with 'ten' as a free variant. "Feminine forms do occur. He correctly states almost "...le nombre étant indifférent."

Few short forms for the numerals exist. Lachlan (1920: 252) lists short forms, e.g., of them "little used." See Bloch (1971: 53-47) in particular for details in other Arabic dialects (not Chadian Arabic or SCAr), especially Cypriot Maronite Arabic, which has only the following cardinal numbers from three to ten. See also Egsy 1971. It is important to note that Chadian Arabic and Cypriot Maronite Arabic retains only polyvalent forms.

Some of the numerals may end in 'n', e.g., 'five', but all sources agree on 'six' (see above) 'six'—not eight,
Except Latham (1920: 95), we little elate as a free variant of elate. The endings are those of the feminine singular noun or adjective (including participles), i.e., -w or -u.

For 'polarity' see Spieser 1938 and Metson 1967, with some emerging parallels for Cushitic languages (in particular Southern Agaw).

There are two ways to form numerals from eleven to twenty. A common way (especially prevalent in Market Arabic observable, say, at the end of Chadian Arabic for 'market') in Fasa-Dama, and in the pidginized and immigrant varieties of Central African Arabic is to follow the lexeme for 'ten' with the lexemes for 'one', 'two', 'three', etc. This type must be due to African influence.

Latham (1920: 96) says of the forms in 2.39 that "... but they are little used save in recently imported words, e.g., names of some familiar objects." This might still be true for Nigerian Arabic dialects, but it is not true for any dialect of Chadian Arabic.

Ace Abaj and Stead (1966: 66) list the numerals from eleven to twenty as follows:

11 Wanda 'yer
12 'Attar 'yer
13 'Attar 'yer
14 'Ardita 'yer
They revise them, however, in 1960a, 1960b, and later (as those given in 2.139). I have not heard the JPS form, i.e., with the glottal stop, in any dialect of Chaldean Aramaic.

228 modicas does occur (cf. Kataba in 2.23). I list here (as well as in other paradigms of the 'weak' verb) the statistically-favored forms. See n. 82 for -a.

229 I shall not mention the bapian (narrative) forms, since even the Semitists are now tending to neutralize gender with 'weak' verbs and use the corresponding narrative forms (morphological neutralization).

230 Le&ben (1930: 113) does not mention final -a in this form. Cf. KCB with and adds in the discussion of marked verbs in 1.85.

232 Final -a is characteristic of the imperfect and is not optional (as in the case of the imperfect of strong verbs). It occurs with 122 verb forms not already ending in a vowel, which marks either number or gender.

233 The preservative vowel should be a ('a), yet + by vowel harmony of 1 in the stem. See 2.24.
Lehman (1900: 111) does not note this, but rather has a
(whether or not the stem vowel is u or i). Stem vowels in
a do not exist. Even for SCA, there is only one verb which is
an a stem (in the imperfect). See the discussion in §125.
If the stem vowel is u, the performativé vowel also has u
throughout.

126 Main is the Arabic word for glottal stop (actually
meaning 'compression', i.e., the vocal folds compress). Thus
a hamzeed verb is one in which ۸ is one of the radicals of
the root.

127 verbs merge with ۸2 verbs, e.g., be’ ‘to begin’

128 ‘akal’ does occur. See n. 82, and Abu Aiel and Sinan

129 verbs also occur. See n. 82.

127 [na’akal] → na’akal (deletion of glottal stop)
→ na’akal (ruval contraction), and similarly throughout the
paradigm.

130 na’al also occurs. See n. 128.

131 ۸2 verbs do not exist in Chaldean Arabic except for
۸bi‘ to be dry’s, imperfect yahhana. See Lehman (1900: 221–
23), who remarks: 'This type of verb is quite uncommon.’

130 màšil, tassil, etc., also occur as alternate forms (cf.
classical Arabic màsöl, tassil, tasíll, etc.),

131 Lehman’s paradigm (1900: 118) has ۸ as the stem vowel.
I have not heard it in Chadian Arabic, although it may be common in Nigerian Arabic dialects.

132 The second radical in Arabic is well-known in Comparative Semitic grammar.

133 Also occurs. See n. 82.

134 The second radical also points to u as the second radical of the root. See n. 132.


136 See n. 86.

137 Sinqua is perhaps the more common form. See Both (1966a: 19).

138 The vowel may shorten, i.e., u in (Latham 1976: 133), in accordance with classical Arabic (as opposed to modern
colloquial and other Semitic languages such as Hebrew). Before suffixes beginning with a consonant, 'al is more frequent than 'al, i.e., either 'al in 'al or 'al in 'tell him'.

129 As the 'al in qulta told us that the second radical of the root is 'al, so too the 'al in nisra tells us that the second radical is 'al.

140 Also occurs. See n. 135.

141 'al, imperfect yi'e (yye'ë) 'to see' belongs to this class. In all other colloquial forms of Arabic, it belongs to the 1st class of verbs. 'al, imperfect yamë 'to sleep' (as 309, but opposed to other colloquial and classical Arabic: 'al, imperfect yamë, belongs to the 1st class as 'al, imperfect yugë 'to say', not 'al, yasse 'to feast'. See the discussion of Trubingen (1961: 102-7) in 1.35. See also Kaye (1972a, p. 51).

142 The 'al in mi'ë also confirms the second radical 'a nature of this type of verb. The preservative a --> a by vowel harmony with the root vowel. See n. 135. Again, Leathan (1928: 123) has a (zë) as the preservative vowel throughout the paradigm. Wobst (1962: 65) and Faure (1959: part 3e 12) agree with my form.

143 There are no bila verbs in Hijazi Arabic. See Cha, III and V for this particular feature of the Nohé.

144 The forms here are the same due to morphological neu-
Utilization.

145 'and is also common (as in SCA), which reserves the form 'antt for the feminine (i.e., -t marking the feminine). This may be called morphological discentralization. Similarly 'antt for tanji in the imperfect (second feminine singular).

146 'liga also occurs ('ilig also occurs according to both 1960s: 17). Similarly 'ilig for 'iligat, and 'liga for 'iligay.

147 See 2.07. 'az'a is listed by Kershen (1972: 124-5) as 'to see'. Also Kersben 'a, imperfect yeru (1913: 127). I have not heard this root with this meaning. It means rather 'to regard'. The root 'to see' is Yrf. For the details see Ches. III and V. See also Kaye (1972: n. 31) and Kaye, 1971c. Cf. Maltese raftu 'I saw him'.

148 Rather than regard these as doubly weak verbs, I follow Faure (1969a: part 3: 74) and consider them 'special conjugations'.

149 See n. 148.

150 The verb is suppletive (as in SCA and in other dialects as well) in its imperative.

151 See n. 144.

152 'aql jada also occurs. See n. 82.

153 Form II follows the same paradigm.

154 Transitive and intransitive (Abd Alabi and Shauq 1968b: 144), as opposed to other Arabic dialects and classi-
Form IV is not productive. There are only remnants. For the importance of 'inta 'to give', see Sapu 1572, n. 36.
156 See n. 144. Similarly from in the imperfect.
157 taballan may also be heard. This is the classical Arabic fifth form, perfect, pauser from (taballam).
158 yataballam is also heard (classical) Arabic fifth form, imperfect, pauser from of yataballan). See the discussion of Form V in L.G.
159 taba'il also occurs (classical Arabic sixth form, perfect, pauser form of taba'il).
160 yataba'il also occurs (classical Arabic sixth form, imperfect, pauser form of yataba'il).
161 See n. 154. This also applies to the Chadian Arabic spoken in Fout-Lamp, but to a lesser extent.
162 This form is the past 'common' passive.
163 The à after ñaw (as opposed to classical Arabic ñaw) is almost probably the result of vowel harmony, I.A., "Înawar ñaw ñaw.
164 I do not find the boudar forms for any of the preceding discussed in L.G.
165 Classical Arabic fill 'in his' < ñfil (by vowel harmony). Chadian Arabic fill 'in her' is also by vowel harmony < ñfil, which is its free equivalent.
The first is by vocal harmony.

The second one contains /CC/. See preceding note for 1.

Such second vowels were originally aspirated (to break up the final consonant cluster), and are vowel harmonic.

I have also neglected basic materials such as a discussion of particles, i.e., conjunctions and conjunctive (Letham 1920a: 139-43); diminutives and forms (Letham 1920a: 161-77); morphological sections such as verbal nouns (Letham 1920a: 105), and the concretes state (called 'concrete pharse' by the Abel and Hubbard 1968: 34-35, etc.

Comparison with corresponding (and of course very similar) features of SCA (Ch. 1) is intended.

By 'nomadic' she refers to the Chaldean Arabic spoken by people from the 'bush' (Chaldean Arabic dialect); by 'sedentary' she refers to the more Arabic spoken by inhabitants of that city (town). See also n. 22.

For the phonological characteristics of such a distinction, see Roth (1968b: 114-4) in which phonological correspondences are set up (mainly aspiration and pharyngation), and Kuhn 1959. Note that it is found into Chaldean Arabic even from Sabia, Baban, etc. Words such as these 'endure de petite' and other 'extract' are clearly of Manuri origin. Similarly very common phrases
themselves in Ahdab, 267.

For the background and history of Ruth's ancestry, see Appendix I (1969b, 56-67) and (1969b, 10-11). Ahmad Sa‘eed
165 Maraj, Amin el-Sabir, Khadijah Muhammad Sabir, Ahmad el-Sabir, and
172 Ali el-Sabir, Salamat.

172 It can be seen that Semitic speakers have euphonic and classical-ideomatic type concepts, i.e., 'lār (lard) in
166 feminine (as in more other dialects and other Semitic lan-
166 guages too, e.g., Hebrew), thus the feminine ending in -n
166 (Arabic 'big').
I do not refer to almanacs or word-lists, but rather to dictionaries or encyclopedias.

Smith 1939 is a list of Charlie-Charms and their effects. This list is a compilation of the above-mentioned works, but only from Arabic into either French or English, depending on the language in which the source was originally written. I have only seen volume I, but I understand that volume II is now available. I do not know how many volumes are planned altogether. On the nature of the sources as a whole, see Smith 1939.

A comparative table of different transcriptional systems is given (1967: 11). Volume I contains entries for A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, and Z. A map of the area is given (1967: 11). It is a valuable work in that it is the only dictionary for Charlie Arabic and from Arabic into English. Unfortunately, however, it does not contain any new data.


1968 I have changed the translation slightly.

1970 I reproduce the description where Abdullah has given them.

This word never appeared in the text. We put it in
Because he thought it made better sense.

179 He changed mârîz to màlîz because he thought it made better sense.

180 He supplied the "and".

181 He changed it back to màlîz (màlîz).

182 He left out the "a" in writing. Note that the ending in either "às" or "às.

183 He inserted "et" (the relative pronoun).

184 I do not know why he wrote "na".

185 He did not write "hâ.

186 He wrote the text quickly and read it off several times, very proud of the fact that he could do this with no problem.

For innovating philological aspects of GA and Chadian Arabic manuscripts (in ecumenical Arabic mainly), see Foutzadeh 1966. There are two phonotopes of the different transcriptions (1969). Other manuscripts of this kind (containing dialectical paraphrases) are available at the Chadian National Museum in Port-Louis (Colonial Chapelle, Administration).

187 By writing in the Tchadecic Bible Society in 1969, I found out that Mr. E.H. Martin examined all fart manuscripts in the world in 1964, saving "fart" manuscripts...1905, and Even all millwrights 1967.

By correspondence with Mr. Korsh, I learned to open many
years in Central Africa, mainly in Chad.

193 * I use the term Chadic and not Chadic because Chadic has an established usage as a subbranch of Afroasiatic, of which Haud is the most important representative. What I have abandoned in earlier (Kay 1972a) usage of the term Chad for what I now call Chadic.

The question of Haud being a Chadic language has recently been refuted by R.E. Parson of the University of London (unpublished manuscript, "Protolanguages on the status of Haud," presented at the Colloquium on Hamito-Semitic comparative linguistics held by the historical linguistics section of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, 18-20 March 1970, at SOAS, University of London). At any rate, almost all scholars recognize a Chadic branch of Afroasiatic.
III. The Arabic Variety

3.1 It has long been known (but only recently appreciated)\(^1\) that the modern Arabic dialects have a number of common features (grammatical and lexicographical, for the most part) which unite them as a whole as opposed to Classical Arabic. Some of these features are obvious to anyone who has studied Classical Arabic and a number of colloquial, e.g., the lack of case and mood endings, or the loss of the dual in the adjective and verb in colloquial Arabic dialects, whereas Classical Arabic preserves these features. This chapter concerns itself with the hypothesis of the Arabic noti\(^2\) Blais (1970: 42\(n. 1\)) comments on Ferguson 1959c. He states

Ferguson analysed fourteen features shared by many dialects as compared with Classical Arabic, namely in order to pre-

Ferguson presents the thesis that 'most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia' and excluding 'generally' the Bedouin
dialects, are continuations of 'a relatively homogeneous 

Ferguson (1959c) in its own right. Ferguson's ideas for the noti were initiated when he was working on a review of Kirkland
1952, which has appeared as Ferguson 1954. Ferguson reacted to the generally-held views of Arabic historiographical linguists...
that the modern Arabic dialects are linear descendants of classical Arabic, or, as Ferguson states (1955: 616) "a variety very similar to this," as Ferguson mentions, this is the view of Behnstedt 1916, Berger 1928, O'Leary 1923, and Kramer 1969. 3

3.3 Ferguson introduces the hypothesis by saying (1955: 616):

...this assumption holds that apart from borrowings and innovations the linguistic substance of the modern dialects is a direct continuation of an earlier stage of Arabic substantially identical with the Classical Arabic of the grammarians, with only a few isolated instances in which one or more of the modern dialects seem to preserve archaisms antedating the codification of the Classical language. Until clear contradictory evidence is produced, this assumption will have to stand as the most reasonable working hypothesis. The purpose of the present study is to offer one important refinement to this hypothesis, namely that most modern Arabic dialects descended from the earlier language through a form of Arabic, called here the koine, which was not identical with any of the earlier dialects and which differed in many significant respects from Classical Arabic but was used side by side with the Classical language during early centuries of the Hellenistic era.
3.4 After discounting pre-Islamic Arabic dialectical differences, Ferguson mentions that it is widely accepted that classical Arabic (\"Arabiyya\") was based on a \"standard poetic language\" not necessarily identical with any one dialect, but in oral use by poets and authors of many dialects and known to us fairly directly from the contents of pre-Islamic poetry and from the Qur'an.

Slowly the \"Arabiyya\" became accepted throughout the Muslim world and became the subject of the Arab grammarians (many of whom were Iranian, e.g., al-Bayhaki, and the like). It became modified (similarly to the canonization of the classical Hebrew of the Old Testament), and it remains essentially the same (in its graphic version more than its grammatical), but is rather known as isi today (see Kaye 1970).

3.5 Ferguson introduces his thesis and offers an analogy with ancient Greek (p. 174).

It is a priori quite likely that some dialect differences in Arabic today continue the early dialect differences mentioned above, but on the whole there is little evidence of such continuation on any large scale. It is the thesis of this article (1) that a relatively homogeneous core, not based on the dialect of a single center, developed as a conventional form of Arabic and was spread over most of the Islamic world in the first centuries of the Muslim era,
(2) that this koine existed side by side with the Ḥabashiyah although it was rarely used for written purposes, and
(3) that most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia, are continuations of this koine, so that their differences are chiefly borrowings or innovations which took place subsequent to the spread of the koine. The situation is thus partly analogous to the frequently cited case of Greek, in which the modern dialects are not descendants of the early dialects but derive from the koine, and the present dialect differences are generally innovations which took place subsequent to the spread of the koine. The major differences between the two cases are the persistence of Classical Arabic virtually unchanged through the entire time span of this series of developments, and the fact that the Greek koine was based to a large extent on the spoken Greek of a single center.

3.6 Before considering the fourteen features shared by the dialects, attributable to the koine, but not present in classical Arabic, Ferguson comments on the circumstances of the origin of the koine, and on the nature of 'drift' in Arabic.

Concerning the former he states (1959c: 617-8):

It seems highly probable that the beginnings of the koine already existed before the great expansion of Arabic with the spread of Islam, but it also seems probable that the
full development of the hokum coincided with this expansion, which brought about mingling of the original dialects, caused large numbers of speakers of other languages to adopt Arabic, and required intercommunication throughout the whole world of Islam. Also, it seems highly probable that the hokum developed chiefly in the cities and in the villages and that its spread coincided roughly with the spread of urban Muslim-Islamic culture. In some cases small pockets of spoken Arabic doubled, isolated relatively unaffected by the hokum, and in certain instances even fairly large-sized migrations (e.g. Band Nila in North Africa) established in certain areas a variation of Arabic quite distinct from the main mass of hokum-based Arabic dialects. Generally, modern bedouin dialects are not descended directly from the hokum, and some secondary dialects have been "bedouinized" by the incorporation of certain elements. But all these communities are only a small fraction of the total Arabic speech communities in the dialects of the overwhelming majority — chiefly the sedentary populations outside the Peninsula — which are under discussion in this study.

It must be noted that no attempt is made here to date the formation of the hokum with any precision or to locate its boundaries at any period; the validity of the study does not depend on any historical verification of the time...
OF PLACE at which the house existed, much though historical
documentation of the FACT of the house's existence is wel-
come as a confirmation of the thesis.

2.7 The substance of the hypothesis is simple. Ferguson
goes on (1954: 618-9):

The modern dialects agree with one another & against
Classical Arabic in a striking number of features. If
these features can plausibly be interpreted as a natural
development of "drift" which continues early trends (e.g.
loss of gender, simplification of inflectional categories,
increase of symmetry in the grammar) the agreement along
the dialects as against Classical Arabic proves nothing,
because it is perfectly possible that parallel changes of
this sort could have taken place independently in the
various dialects. But if some of these features are com-
plicated, systemically isolated, then difficult to account
for by drift, and if there is a sizable number of such
features, then the agreement among the dialects as against
Classical shows that these dialects come from a common,
non-Classical source. Once again it may be noted that no
assumption is made here that all the features developed or
became widespread at the same TIME (normal way have
appeared very early, before the full development of the
house), but the FACT of their existence is sufficient for
the argument. It may even be true that a few of the features of the halām contained an original state while the corresponding form of the Classical were the innovations. 7

Fourteen features in which modern dialects agree as against the 'Arabiyyah will be described here. Each 'feature' is in fact a constellation of minimal linguistic elements which, taken together, seems likely to have functioned as a unit in the historical development of Arabic. Most of the features are morphological, but three lexical features and one phonological feature are included. The features selected for description are those which seem most convincing to me. Many other features could be added as possible supporting evidence which are not as fully satisfying for the basic argument as the ones chosen. On the other hand, once the thesis is accepted, we may proceed with somewhat more confidence to a reconstruction of the halām, making judicious use of features of agreement which may not be the basis of the original argument. Subsequent studies will do this, offering a fairly full outline of the sounds and form of the halām so far as they can be inferred from the modern dialects or other evidence.

The assumption is made here that the halām came into existence through a complex process of mutual borrowing and leveling among various dialects and not as a result of
diffusion from a single source. The reason for making this
assumption is that the history of the Arabic-speaking world
shows no evidence of long-continued linguistic predominance
of a single center of prestige and communication. Great
respect has always been accorded to Bedouin Arabic as op-
posed to the language of the settled populations; since
the 2nd century of the Hijrah era 346 AD, lip-service has been
paid to the superiority of the Persian or the Gouraphal dia-
lects; and a great deal of discussion has always taken
place about which spoken variety is the 'best' kind of
Arabic, i.e. closest to the Classical. But there is no
evidence of continuous or unconnected normative influence on
the whole spoken language from a single center over a long
period of time. In this respect the Modern Arab world re-
mains unchanged. No variety of spoken Arabic is accepted
as the norm or standard for the whole speech community,
although of course important centers of prestige and com-
munication may exert a considerable linguistic influence
over a certain region (e.g. Cairo Arabic in Egypt).

5.8 Concerning 'drift' in Arabic Ferguson writes (1951; 619-20):

Before listing the features themselves it may be useful to
give some indication of the nature of drift of Arabic.

It is assumed here that a language or group of related lan-

geography (i.e., continuation of a single language) often shows
a 'drift' or general direction of development consisting of
a number of specific trends more or less integrated into a
total pattern. Arabic is a good example of this; certain
trends continue or recur throughout the history of the
Arabic language. Several of these trends are found also in
other Semitic languages and may be regarded as a part of
the drift of the Semitic family as a whole; others are more
particularistic Arabic.

The phonological drift of Arabic includes the following
trends: loss of glottal stop, loss of final -h, increase
in number and symmetry of 'emphatic' components, as > ː
d and aw > ː, loss of unstressed short i and y (or phonemes
derived from them) in open syllables, shortening of un-
stressed long vowels, and vowel assimilation (e.g. כטיל >
כטיל). Some of these phonological trends have had mor-
phological consequences; thus, loss of glottal stop leads
to merger of final-harsh and final-weak verbs. Some of
the more specialized phonological developments of particu-
lar dialects have had even more far-reaching morphological
corollaries; thus, merger of לָה and לָה in Najd dialects
leads to disappearance of the active/passive distinction
in participles of derivative verbs.

An important trend on the border of phonology and rem-
Phonology has been the development of a difference between pause forms and context forms of words and these generally cut not always shorter than the corresponding context forms, which in earlier Arabic often had final inflectional material lacking in the pause forms.

Morphological trends include development of suffix alterations conditioned by the componental or variable nature of the preceding phoneme, reduction in the number of inflectional categories, and co-formation of non-inflectional forms into the inflectional norm.

All these trends appeared way early in the history of Arabic and are still in force today. They have worked at varying speeds and with great variation in detail at different times and places. But they tend to continue or to recur, and they are generally irreversible. Accordingly, features of subject agreement as against Classical which seem to fit in with or exemplify these trends will not be used here as direct evidence for the existence of the being.

2.9 We shall consider in the following pages the fourteen features per se as proposed by Feghmani. Counter-explanations for these features will also be stated. The standard or objective approach to the theory is summed up by Chitt (1971: 56-5).

2. In his important article "The Arabic Helen", 14. Fer-
gurnon (F.) mentions the loss of the *th* and the *dth* 12 as one of the fourteen linguistic features in which the modern sedentary dialects agree with one another as against Classical Athenian. According to F., these features cannot be plausibly interpreted as having emerged in each of these dialects separately, i.e., as a result of natural development or "drift," because they "are complicated systematically by isolated features difficult to account for by drift". Consequently, F. concludes, the agreement of the dialects with one another in these features shows that these dialects stem from a common, non-Classical source which he terms a "holon." 12 This theory raises many problems which cannot be discussed here. We should, however, point out, as Blau and Cohen have already done, that most of the fourteen features—such as the restriction of the dual, the loss of the verbs *th*—, *méro* and *méth*—> *nav*—to mention only a few—are, in fact, plausibly explained as results of natural development taking place along parallel lines, and do not, therefore, necessarily point to a common origin of the dialects...

3,10 Before discussing the fourteen features, it is important to keep in mind that I reproduce Ferguson's prime vocabulary at length for one basic reason, viz., the arguments have often been misquoted or misrepresented, sometimes
even by major authorities, e.g., Blau (1951: 16-38). Explanatory comments are to be found in the notes.

3.11 I retain Ferguson's notation of the features for easy reference to that article, and I also retain the original naming of the features for similar purposes and for easy reference and documentation in Chs. IV and V. The names of the features are in capital letters. The transcription has been changed to conform with the synchronization rather than the standard Semitological (and Arabic) practice, e.g., $h$ for Ferguson's $H$, $Y$ for $Y$, etc.

3.12 The ultimate goal of this chapter is twofold: (1) to examine critically the hypothesis of Ferguson 1954; and (2) to see how SCA and Chadian Arabic fit into the picture of the proposed whole. Neither SCA nor Chadian Arabic have ever been taken into consideration in this connection previously. The value of this work, of course, will be seen in Chs. IV and V.

3.13. Feature 1—Lose Of The Dual (1954: 620-3)

Gradual loss of dual form is a familiar story in the history of Indo-European and Semitic languages, while good examples of the formation of a new dual are hard to find in the history of these languages. Also, the reduction of inflectional categories is part of the drift of Arabic. Accordingly, the absence of dual forms in the dialects in
contrast with their presence in the Ḥabība is not in itself an argument for our thesis. One might expect that all dialects would show fewer dual forms than Classical, with regional variation in the degree of retention and in the exact details. This is the case, however, only in the dual of nouns, which is regular and may be formed from almost any singular noun in Classical Arabic but shows considerable variation in the dialects. Thus, Moroccan has special dual forms only for nouns of measure and a few others—and even these are probably Classical—and while Syrian has a regular and highly productive dual of nouns.

But there are two striking omissions in the details of the use of the dual in the dialects. One is that the dual form of adjectives, pronouns, and verbs have disappeared everywhere without a trace. If this were a natural development or a part of the drift of the language one would expect the same kind of differences as those found in the dual of nouns, with dialects varying in the amount of retention and with some dialects preserving some instances and others dialects preserving others. Such an argument from silence, however, is not completely convincing. The other element in the nature of the noun with the dual, in Classical Arabic a verb, pronoun, or adjective which refers to a preceding dual noun is also dual. On the other hand, in Classical Arabic as well as
In the dialects, a verb, pronoun, or adjective which refers to a preceding plural noun is either plural or feminine singular, the plural generally being used if the noun refers to human beings, the feminine singular if it refers to animals or objects. Accordingly, with the gradual disappearance of the dual form one would expect that the same kind of concord would be found with dual nouns as with plural nouns. But this is not the case; the dual noun wherever it occurs in the dialects requires plural, not feminine singular agreement, whether it refers to persons or things. Thus Classical bāzār kāhirān "two large houses" and bāzār kāhirān (f eg.) "large houses" contrasts with Syrian 20 lēṣer n bāzār (pl) "two large houses" and byt n bāzār (f eg) "large house".

These two details in the development of the dual category in the dialects seem a good piece of evidence for a common non-Classical origin; complete loss of the dual in the adjective, the pronoun, and the verb: obligatory plural concord with dual nouns.

3.14 Skene (336-3) has recently written concerning Ferguson and the dual. He states (1940: 69):

We owe to Ferguson (310-1) the observation that, though dual concord as such no longer exists, dual nouns nevertheless differ from plural nouns with respect to concord,
Sect, verb, and pronoun, whether attributive or predicative.

3.15 Concerning the diachronic aspects of the fracture, Blau has written (1970b: 53-6):
The historical question raised by Ferguson...involves some matters of fact and one matter of judgment. The matters of fact can now be summed up as follows: the loss of the dual as a syntactic category is pan-dialectal; and so is its retention as a numeral surrogate: the split into a true dual and a pseudo-dual is very nearly pan-dialectal, as are the attendant formal differences between the two; features relating to concord are widespread, but pose some problem that remain to be investigated. Some of these facts point to a differentiation between everyday and inidigic dialects as a whole. The matter of judgment, then, is how to account for the great similarities observed over such a vast area. Could they have developed independently in so many dialects? Could they, at least in some cases, be due to borrowing? Are they descended from a common proto-dialectal Aramaic antedating the present dialect splits? On the basis of the evidence adduced above, no indisputable conclusion can be drawn.

3.16 The dual could have developed as it did by means of *irrit* and the parallel with hitting has been noted by Blau.
Utilizing the works of Blau (see under references), Blant says that the loss of dual concord and the loss of the dual ending in pronouns, adjectives, and verbs was well on its way to completion (if not already completed) by the ninth century.

3.17 Blant sums up concerning Middle Arabic dialects in general (based on Blau 1965 and Blau 1966-7 (1970: 35)):

The medieval informants, then, tell us that the loss of dual concord and the split into true dual and pseudo-dual were not particularly recent phenomena; but, strictly speaking, they tell us little else on the question of consonant descent vs. convergent development. In PC for dual nouns, however, they do not indicate quite clearly, as has been pointed out repeatedly by Blau...that its preference over PBC is not an ad hoc common feature of the secondary dialects. Of borrowing, which I mentioned as a theoretically possible explanation of areavo-dialectal similarities, I see neither evidence nor likelihood.

3.18 Blant concludes (1970: 35):

The grammatical status and function of the dual further -awn are characteristic of vernacular Arabic as a whole and different from their counterparts in Classical Arabic. In particular, -awn is, with a few marginal exceptions, prefixed only to nouns, and has split into two semantically,
morphologically, and sometimes phonetically different suffixes. There is an invariant morpheme shaped -yam, *-yam, *-yan, or *-an for the true dual, i.e. essentially an equivalent of the plural 'two'; and a variable morpheme with a pre-suffixed base of the 3n for the pseudo-dual, which in some dialects also has a phonetic shape differing from the true dual. The true dual behaves, notably in matters of concord, like other enumerative expressions (though this has been shown only for some dialects) while the pseudo-dual is equivalent to, and behaves like, an unenumerated plural noun. Some of these features are probably old and common to several ancient dialects; others, mostly those relating to concord, seem to have become fixed more recently. Within this general framework, there is a good deal of regional variation, but the investigation reveals no overall sedentary vs. nomadic split.22

3.19 Feature li-*talalay (1554es 631-2)

A number of inflectional affixes which contain /a/ in Classical Arabic have in the modern dialects the prefixed of /a/ (including zero) instead of /a/ whenever the distict in question has retained the a-1 contrast. The use of /a/ for /a/ in some of these affixes (the prefix of the Imperfect) was noted as dialectal even by the grammarians, who gave to this phenomenon, regared as a defect, the name
If the modern dialects to a considerable extent continued the earlier dialects one would expect either that some dialects should have reflexes of /fi/ and others those of /fi/, or that there should be variation in this respect in single dialects. Instead, all dialects outside Arabia seem to have the reflexes of /fi/ instead of those of /fi/ in the following affixes:

Subject prefix of the imperfect:
- in tafsīh 'you open', tifsīh
- in yafsīh 'he opens', yifsīh
- in mafsīh 'we open', mifsīh

Intransitive prefix tā-

tā'allum: 'be learnt', tī'allum

Context form of the feminine suffix -ā:`
- yīrfu'uka 'your room', yīrfī'uhum

Connective prefix wa- 'and'

wadhibu 'and the girl', wādhibu

Alternant -al- of the definite article prefix after min 'from':

min 'from the house', mulūbāt

Prefixed -al- of the plural of pacity:

'ilāma 'tongues', ilāma

Artificial 'loves', ilīsā
In his succinct and necessarily simplified statement, he pointed out that dual nouns take plural concord (bicên nūjëg 'two big houses'), whereas plural nouns take feminine singular concord (bicên nūje 'big houses'). Ferguson thought this applied to a large, though limited, group of dialects (all sedentary dialects outside Arabia); but Cohen (1965: 133, fn. 1) points out that the phenomenon is not restricted to these dialects. In what follows, I will try to show that, although plural concord (PC) is indeed the norm for dual nouns, it is also the norm for plural nouns in some dialects, and is a frequent alternative to feminine singular concord (FSC) in other dialects: what we really have is not bicên nūjëg vs. bicên nūje, but bicên nūjëg (and rarer variants, q.v. below) vs. bicên nūjëg – bicên nūje. Furthermore, it can be shown that in at least several of the dialects where the alternation PC – FSC does occur, PC applies to other 'enumerative' expressions that go together with the dual, while FSC applies to 'non-interactive' plurals, which include the pseudo-dual bicên nūje 'a big house and garage', but bicên nūje 'long hand, arm'. In the following discussion, NOUS is to be understood as excluding nouns of personal reference, and CONCORD refers, unless otherwise specified, to the concord of ad-
It could be suggested that this /l/ for /h/ is either a general phonetic change or a morphologically conditioned change of some kind affecting all affixes. In either case the dialect agreement would not then be an argument for the assumption of a holism. But initial /x/-sessions in the vast majority of instances apart from vowel qualities of the type (C)X > CX (e.g. mukha 'the mouth', mukhli 'I want', kasha 'the understood', filhiq; fahimti 'I understood', fahim). Also, there are some affixes with /l/ in Classical which have the expected /h/ affixes in the dialects. For example, the first-person subject prefix of the imperfect 'a-ta' has generally remained, except where it has been replaced by the analogical /m- or maghribi/. Also, the me- and in prefixes of Classical pace, time, and instrument nouns have survived in the dialects, and in fact even with an increase in the proportion of /a/ to /u/ and /e/. Also, the prefix /l- 'la- 'the, for' of Classical la- or even la-71 allomorphs in various dialects.

Rice 1967 has dealt with this feature in great detail. He states (1967: 27) that 'paradigm of the relationship between the modern Arabic dialects and Classical Arabic is consistent, an agreement now exists that the dialects are not
to be considered descendent of classical Arabic but rather its contemporaries throughout history. He goes on:

This implies that not only Classical Arabic which is acknowledged to be highly conservative, but also the dialects can reflect the older stage of development of a given linguistic feature. The dialects, therefore, must be considered just as important for linguistic reconstruction as is the Classical language.

3.21 Blach concludes even that a discovery that “the modern Arabic dialects” 32 have I as the preformative vowel of the imperatives as opposed to a й in classical Arabic, and cites modern Syrian (Hamahini) Arabic 탐합, 탐합, respectively “I write,” “you write,” “he writes,” respectively. 33

3.22 Blach (1967: 125-3) does not present a convincing argument 34 for maintaining that Despagnet’s “argumentation is not conclusive because the idea of the existence of a bright /ou/ was shown to be applicable.” 35 Blach concludes that the older stage of the dialects is not reflected by classical Arabic with its й-imperatives, but rather by other dialects having both й and й as preformative vowels, in accordance with Hurth’s Law. Classical Arabic has only one clear instance of an й-imperative (preformative), i.e., “I write” of others (Blach 1967: 17 and fn. 18).

3.23 If one looks at the other classical Semitic languages,
one immediately is misled with the fact that Arabic and classical Arabic are the only two languages with a at all in the imperfect preservative. Arabic (East Semitic) has a proleptic conjugation (corresponding to the Indo and South Semitic imperfect) which is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ta'bur</td>
<td>mabur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ta'bur</td>
<td>mabur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ta'bur (mas.)</td>
<td>mabur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ta'bur</td>
<td>lebur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ta'bur</td>
<td>lebura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Arabic present has a throughout except the third masculine singular, the third masculine and feminine plural, and the first person plural.

3.20 Syriac, with the exception of 1, 2, and 3 after the second, are, i.e., three separate graphic signs would seem to be unadvisable here, since vowels are not written. First person singular stems, however, have confirmed that Syriac has both 1 and 3 in preservative, i.e., similar to the conclusion reached by Masson 1927 for all Arabic dialects, etc. Hebrew 1927.

3.22 Syriac the imperfect paradigm for western, eastern, and Ethiope with regard to the vowel of the preservative marker, as of the root 4th.
The Gúš, indication (with gemination of the second radical inter vocally only) corresponds to the Akkadian present (gemination of the second radical throughout the paradigm, also /ʕ-/) The paradigm above is that of the subjunctive (transitive). Even the indicative paradigm has a throughout as the preformative vowel.
with Levin when he states (1971: 6): "Eventually a new era in semantic grammar must begin..."

3.27 The next two features are central to the development of the weak verb. They concern 125 and 152 roots respectively.

3.28 Feature III—LOSS OF FINAL-MÚN VERBS (152 roots: 622-3)

Classical Arabic has five kinds of primary verbs with a 'weak' final root-consonant (e.g. râmû, yâmû, sâ'âmû, bâlûmû, mûrûmû). Of these the first two are by far the most common, followed in frequency by the fourth; the third is relatively rare and the fifth so rare as to be negligible. That the fifth type (sârûmû) should vanish is not surprising, but that the second type (yâmûmû) should disappear in the dialect is a significant feature of dialect agreement as against classical. The only apparent vestiges are either obvious Classicalisms such as the politeness formula "râjû '<please' [i.e. I beg you'] or marginal phenomena such as the Galilatian baby weed lûmu 'he goes on all fours'. Otherwise, the verbs of the second type have merged completely with those of the first type (râmû). Examples:

râmû 'he throws', râmû-mû
mûmû 'I throw', râmû
yâmû 'he throws', yâmû
yâmû 'he raided', yâmû
yâmû 'I raided', yâmû (expected *yâmû)

yâmû 'he raided', yâmû (expected *yâmû)
This seems like a striking feature on first glance, yet when one looks at the other classical Semitic languages, one immediately sees that the root merge with 127 roots, especially within Northwest Semitic. Hebrew ygdhT looks just like ygdhT (sky); in other words given just Hebrew ygdhT, it is impossible to tell whether the root is di or dw (i.e., neutralization). Similarly Syriac mddT (perfect dwd). On the other hand, the classical Arabic (and IE type, dltT, yldT, imperfect) remain in Arabic dialects, yldT, Akkadian ldlT, and Syriac dltT. Thus it can clearly be appreciated that the loss of the root in Arabic dialects is in an aspect of 'drift', because exactly the same things have happened in Hebrew and Syriac. This feature is perhaps Ferguson's weakest argument for the common ancestral bond of the dialects.

In all varieties of Arabic the verbs of which the second and third root-components are identical ('giranate roots') have certain forms which differ from those of verbs with 'sound' roots. Classical Arabic showed some fluctuation in the imperfect (and imperative) of these giranate verbs, and it is of some general interest to note which of the alternative forms survived in the dialects, but this does not really advance the argument here. Also, in the dia-
doubled second root-consonant: ḫallān 'I united; we united'
lar' 'I let' (cf. the third-person forms ḫalī ḫ 3 l, xalī ḫ 4 l
yv). This formation is mentioned by the grammarians as
one of various dialect formations but is regarded as non-
standard in Classical Arabic. It is the only formation in
the modern non-Arabic dialects, which seem to have no
vestiges of the standard Classical form.

5.31 This is a striking feature because the other Semitic
languages do not merge 122 roots and 126 roots in this manner. Akkadian treats these so-called verbs rather genitive as regular strong verbs. In Hebrew the perfect of the simple ater (qal) is integrated with the regular strong verb pattern, e.g., אָסָחָב, but stative verbs have bidental formations. The imperfect (and of course the imperative, since the two are mutually derivable one from the other) are also bidental (pōsh, mom). The imperfect, however, does offer interesting parallels with the development of the modern Aramaic dialects, i.e., the merger with like roots, e.g., הָשֵׁב תַּקְנָה like תַּקְנָה. The Hiphil also shows the curious merger with 123 roots, e.g., הָבֹשׁ like בֹּשׁ. In Syriac bidental forms are widely attested. The imperfect shows merger with 123 roots (elision of the first radical). The masculine singular active participle merges with 123 roots. In Ethiopic 122 roots merge with regular ones.

3.32 Thus it can be seen that the overall tendency within Semitic is to merge 122 roots with some other class of verbs, i.e., what is usually called the "squaring" (Systemwandel) of original bidental roots into the predominant trisemantional system (Lassau 1921: 3). The particular happenings in Aramaic dialects are, however, a good proof for the postulation of a similar.

3.33 Feature VI—THE VERB SUFFIX -10, FOR (1959a)
In Classical Arabic there is a relational prefix of *labba* (corresponding to *labba* in Aramaic dialects), which is used to indicate a variety of ways in which the modern dialects differ. However, in the context of the prefix *labba*, when a pronoun ending is added directly to verbs, it is often shortened or omitted in certain contexts. For example, some dialects show this shortening of the final syllable of the verb in which the *-la* is attached and have special *heuristic* alterations of the suffix such as *-il-, -all-* after certain verb forms. Irpal has shortening in the case of only one verb *gall* 'my'. Egyptian may add to this same verb in the same form both *-la* with pronoun ending and another pronoun ending on a direct object. But all agree in having the *-la* suffix as an integral part of the verb phonologically and morphologically. There seems to be no trace of this in Classical Arabic, where the *la* (or *-la* plus pronoun ending) is an independent word, in no way attached to the verb and often repeated from it by several following verbs. If we look for the possible developments in the other...
3.35 The next two features deal with perhaps the sinistrals part of Classical Arabic grammar, i.e., the numerals. All the dialects agree in the simplification of the system, but this is largely due to the loss of inflectional categories, etc., case, and so an aspect of "drift", we shall also consider feature VI as a general aspect of "drift" (Bloch 1971: 55). 35

3.36 Feature VII—CARDINAL NUMBERS 3-10 (1959: 424-6):
In Classical Arabic the numbers 3-10 occur in two forms—a form with the feminine ending -ah—v. a—v. av—which is used with masculine nouns, and an apparently masculine form without the feminine ending which is used with feminine nouns.

Kawilin

Kawilin (a) "house"  Kaf kawilin "how many houses?"

Kawilin "five houses"  kawilin "five"
It is hardly surprising that this "strange" feature of the Senitic number system should come to disappear, even it has no support elsewhere in the grammatical structure.

It is much more surprising that it exists in the first place, but the exact nature of the disappearance is of interest. In the modern dialects the long form (the form with the feminine ending) is used when there is no following noun at all, and the short, apparently masculine form is used before any noun, regardless of the gender. Examples:

*dhē (m) "house"  
*xwē "how many houses?"

*xwēmū "five houses"  
xwē "five"

*pē (f) "room"  
*xwē "how many rooms?"

*xwēmu "five rooms"  
xwē "five"

Since this is only one of the possible ways of eliminating the gender polarity of 20, the fact that all dialects agree in this point is significant in Senitic. Even more significant, however, is the nature of the one vestige of the use of the long form with following nouns which has survived in the modern dialects, with residual variation in the extent of the retention. In the modern dialects there
is a handful of high-frequency masculine nouns with plural
beginning with a glottal stop (Arabic hamazah) which replace
the hamazah with a t- when one of the numbers 3-10 precede.
This t-, while unstably pronounced as part of the noun
plural, is clearly a vestige of the feminine ending of the
preceding number. There is some variation from dialect to
dialect in the number of instances of this construction.
Two nouns, yam ‘day’ (xamm yamn ‘five days’) and ‘alf
’thousand’ (xamm ‘alft ‘5000’) are apparently found in this
construction in all dialects which preserve the feature at
all (many Nakhlahi dialects have lost even this vestige),
while the number of other nouns rarely exceeds fifteen in
any given dialect. Examples

yamn ‘day’, yam
‘alft ‘days’, tyyamn
xamm ‘five days’, xamm tyyamn

It is interesting to note that all the instances of this
t- involve reflexes of plural patterns referred to in Clas-
sical Arabic as ‘plural of purity’ (jumma ‘al-‘illah).
The classical patterns are *t̂allam, *t̂allam. The gram-
narians assert that when a given noun has several plurals
in use of which one has one of these patterns, this plural
is preferred when a small number of items (3-10) is re-
fereed to. Such an assertion has a ring of artificiality
about it, and in fact it does not seem to be suggested by
earliest texts; yet if the thesis of this study is correct,
the statement was not just a meaningful creation of the
grammarians but probably reflected a special construction
of the spoken language ancestral to the construction des-
cribed above. In any case, the notion of 'purity' is
misleading, since the association was probably with the
actual cardinal numbers 3-10, and the so-called 'plurals
of purity' say just as well occur with, say, 103-110 or
507-510.

3.97 The classical Arabic system of 'polarity' is the
cardinal number from three to ten is shared by other Semitic
languages and seems to be PS (Hetton 1917). Classical Arabic
apparently knew the system, at least according to work done
in the last century.64 Kuwaiti Arabic also apparently has
preserved the 'polarity' situation (Johnson 1963: 63), but
it also has the standard colloquial system too, which is
calling the classical Arabic-type situation. All the modern
dialects, however, agree on one point, viz., the short forms
of the numerals are never used in isolation, i.e., _f_.

3.98 Ritch 1971 is a recent investigation into the whole
matter. According to him (1971: 55) the interesting question
concerning the short and long forms and the Arabic koine is to
be formulated as follows:
How can it be explained that all modern Arabic dialects that have given up the old numeral distribution—i.e., the great majority—agree with one another in using the LIf as 2LIf and LIf as LIf? The answer, I believe, has to be sought in the fact that (a) the LIs are never monosyllabic, while (b) the majority of the short forms are...

5.09 Which explains the situation for the Eastern dialects, for which he claims that the ratio between monosyllabic and polysyllabic LIs is 7 to 1. Consider the Damascene Arabic short forms of the numerals from three to ten:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 tahi</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 hām</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nūn</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mīn</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 nis</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ṭaw</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 lām</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ṭā</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.40 The corresponding forms in Moroccan Arabic (Utan) are as follows (representative of the Western dialects):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 tari</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ṭaš</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ṭaš</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ṭaš</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ṭaš</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ṭaš</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ṭaš</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ṭaš</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.41 Flach (1971:57-6) expresses the major thesis:

It has been observed, mainly by Muller and Wackernagel, that many languages show a tendency to avoid monosyllables in isolation and prefer to attenuate them in surrounding
Form. The correspondence in that if a language possesses two propposum forms of which one is monosyllabic, this form would most probably be used in close contact with surrounding forms, and the polysyllabic form as its independent counterpart. This is precisely what happened with the suffixes from three to ten in Arabic. After the old system of distribution collapsed, the LFs and the Ss became free for distribution according to the principle just mentioned, i.e., the LFs were used as independent forms, and the Ss as their dependent counterparts.

3.41 The Wackernagel-Hilliard principle, if we can call it that, is also applicable to personal pronouns, corresponding perfect suffixes, imperfect perfectives (§2.06), and personal suffixes, discussed by Pick (1973: 74-9). Only considerations as they relate to the cardinal numbers from three to ten interest us here.

3.42 Pick (1973: 71) gives examples to our Arabic case here using hamzah (orthographically), in which one notes that bifurcated forms with the same core occur in isolation, e.g., delays for plural 'these', and vice versa for their 'those', etc.

Pick also suggests that these types of pronouns are "tendencially" not loan. He concludes (1973: 71):

Future research might reveal that this tendency is operative in numerous and completely unrelated languages. Indeed
Hellet suggests... that it can be found "dans plusieurs
touches les langues". It should, however, be emphasized
that, widespread as this tendency may be, it does not fol-
low that it is a universal phenomenon. It may prove that it
depends upon the morphological type of the language in
question, and is therefore not found except in certain lan-
guages.

In Classical Arabic the cardinal numbers 1-10 consist of
two parts, a form of the number '10' and a digit part cor-
responding to 1-9. The noun which follows is in the accusa-
tive singular, and the 'ten' part of the number always
agrees in gender with the following noun (i.e., the long
form of '10', with the feminine ending, goes with feminine
nouns), as do the digit parts '1' and '2'; the digit parts
'3'- '9', like the independent numbers '3'- '10', disagree
in gender (i.e., the long form with the feminine ending goes
with masculine nouns). The numbers '11'- '19' themselves
remain invariant in case inflection (always accusative
without indefinite -u).

جمعاء 'Αριστή τεσσεράκοντα tvon
ζωή λύπαι τεσσεράκοντα χίλια θύρα

In the dialects, forms originally associated with a
following masculine noun have been generalized, meaning
(if they did not have that accent in Classical Arabic) compound word of a kind rare in Arabic, usually with double accent, completely invariable internally, and showing no trace of gender (des)-gender eventually. All this could be attributed to drift, even though other ways of simplifying the system could be imagined. The unexpected feature here is the presence of 'emphatic' (vocalization, tafsīr) in the numbers '10', '11', '12' on even to '12' and '11'. The equal point of the emphatic is the -v, which is apparently the continuation of the -v of the feminine ending in the digit half of the Classical number. These numbers differ in certain factual details from dialect to dialect; some dialects have lost the /v/ of the '10', others not; some dialects have the final -v of the '10' only when followed by a noun, others have it always, and so on. But all agree in having an emphatic /v/ in those numbers, a phenomenon for which no convincing explanation has ever been found. It is sometimes suggested that the emphatic in some way reflects the loss of the /v/ of the '10' and there may very well be some connection between the /v/ and the emphatic; but there are two puzzling bleats: /v/ does not come emphatic elsewhere in the language, and the emphatic /v/ appears even in dialects which have lost the /v/.
The compound nature of the numerals 19-19 is already present in Middle Arabic. In ancient South Arabian (Khāramite Arabic), the eight terminus in 6 and the 'ten' has the curious form ٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩, i.e., ٠٩٠٩٠٩ (Blau 1962: 371), thus proving that the two numerals were pronounced as a compound. This spelling does not occur in modern Arabic, since Middle Arabic in general uses many types of phonetic letters. Spelling conventions (Blau 1970), however, ٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩, is difficult to explain, but perhaps it indicates the original nature of the /ṣ-ṣ/. Spellings with ٠٩ do not occur, but this fact in itself does not prove anything.

Thus it can be seen that this evidence is certainly not a recent innovation. Until more facts are known and analyzed, this will remain as a striking feature attributable only to the Arabic body.

The Classical Arabic comparative ٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩ (e.g., مَعْلَمٌ 'latter, lastest') has a special formation form associated with it, ٠٩٠٩٠٩. The modern plural have a comparative form derivable from a personal noun form ٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩٠٩
just as might be expected (e.g., Syrian *šubá*, Modern *báq* with regular loss of initial hamzah). In modern dialect, however, seems to show any trace of the feminine except for and phrasal clearly borrowed from the classical.

Since the feminine of the comparative was already of limited use in Classical Arabic and was a special formation, its loss might seem to be a natural instance of drift. But the feminine of ordinal numbers was similarly limited in use in Classical Arabic and is preserved in the dialects, and the feminine of ‘color’ words of pattern *žubā*, which was also a special formation, is also preserved. The following ten examples illustrate these points:76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Colloquial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>'akhbár báyín</em></td>
<td><em>'akbar báq</em></td>
<td>'The largest house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'almáyú š'akbar</em></td>
<td><em>lubáy š'akbar</em></td>
<td>'The largest room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'kábar yuřá</em></td>
<td><em>'ákbar yurřa</em></td>
<td>'The largest room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>’alparrášu šuhár</em></td>
<td><em>yurřa š'akbar</em></td>
<td>'The largest room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>máníšu báyín</em></td>
<td><em>máin báq</em></td>
<td>'The fifth house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>‘almáyú mašár</em></td>
<td><em>lubáy míasár</em></td>
<td>'The longest house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
elattal  
\textit{thalaq} (\textit{Thalaq}n)  
\textit{khalıla}  
\textit{Adna}  
\textit{khalıla  wa  \textit{halfa} (\textit{Hafsa})  
\textit{the fifth room}  
\textit{\textit{thila}}  
\textit{\textit{the red room}}

3.48 There does not seem to be a trace of the feminine comparative in Middle Arabic dialects, but Bliss (1969 ii, fn. 2) refers to it as the imperative feminine, not the comparative feminine. See Kaveh 1970 for a general discussion of the 'relative'.

3.49 It seems rather conclusive, therefore, that the classical Arabic feminine 'relative' formation \textit{(\textit{qatālab})} as exemplified by \textit{kulā} in 3.47, does not occur in Arabic dialects from Middle Arabic ones down to the present. Patwardhan's argument, on this point, seems entirely convincing, and thus perhaps even the \textit{kulā} (not having this feature) represents the original state of things for \textit{Nezār-\textit{Arabic}} (certainly it does for FCA) and that the classical Arabic form is secondary, possibly even being a codification of the grammarian, i.e., \textit{kulā} (\textit{Kulā}) 'the greatest of the cities' is possibly the result of the codification processes (\textit{\textit{qulūb}}) of the Arab grammarian. 

76
Morphological doubling in terms of block 1874 are present in classical Arabic texts and are described as "repeated, doubled." Later in the text, the discussion focuses on "Penultimate Plural" and mentions "Classical Arabic," indicating a shift in the focus to grammatical structures. The text also refers to "Adjuncts of the pattern Hādī (خ)" and mentions "plurals of this kind have a singular form, namely, جنس, and a plural form, which is often omitted." The text further elaborates on "the loss of the short vowel near a consonant", noting that this process is often influenced by "unexpected complications." It is stated that "generally it is impossible to pull, apart from the evidence of Classical, whether the last vowel is a modern dialect form in which a short vowel has been dropped or whether it is a plural form, or whether there is a vowel there.

In cases such as these, the author mentions "a dialect that does not have a short vowel near a consonant", which is "less frequently tolerated conditions." The text discusses the "loss of the final short vowel" and notes that "it is noteworthy that all dialects which show one or two of these changes, give evidence for a loss of the final short vowel near a consonant plural form, with modern plural forms such as مَكْرِي, etc., etc.

"Accordingly, we are probably justified in positing a plural form in the base, a fact that is supported by the presence of a singular form, which shows no trace of a plural form."
3.51 This is indeed a striking feature distinct in any
account for unless one assumes an Arabic root. We do not know
of Kinds of Arabic dialects to the way of the modern Arabic
language because the short vowels (in this case a) are not written
unless in Christian Arabic (mutlif South Palestinian Arabic, for instance) or in Egyptian Arabic. One can argue that the u
in this pattern seems under environments of labials and conso-
lants (i.e. [fllat] according to Jacobson 1977), or firstly
obtain then spreading to capitular, then spreading elsewhere
due to analogy (e.g. Caucasian ghim 'new (pl.)'), but this does
not seem very probable. In short the 'break' is a far better
explanation and a far simpler one too.

2.12 Pressure 2- maintain SUFIX (key) = -tu (759/75 627-63) In Classical Arabic words forms three consonants between
terminal-i and final -i, e.g. 'ablaya 'heavens', pilla
cumayy 'to sow', cumayy 'to judge', cumayy 'to drink', cumayy
'write' (I say?) A very common occurrence of the final -i in
the middle spoken to a noun to form a relative adjective (double al)... The distinct way to their treatment of
final vowel and semi-vowel consonants, but all agree with
having the nshaib suffix identical with the reflex of final
-i. This is especially surprising for two reasons. First, the functional load of this construct is fairly heavy. These are several suffixes and several regular ones form...
ending in -t as opposed to the nakhb -iyh, and rather or near-minimal roots are fairly numerous (e.g., næhāy {financial} næhā 'my property'). Second, there is strong support for the construct from the feminine forms of the adjectives: the feminine of a nakhb in Classical Arabic ends in -iyh, while that of an adjective with stem-final -t ends in -iyh, a contrast continued in the modern dialects and reinforced by shift of stress.

Several examples will clarify this:

*jā'and* 'the second 1st', jā'and

*jā'andiyah* 'the second 1st', jā'andīya

*jā'andiyah* 'the Arabic 1st', jā'andīya

*jā'andiyah* 'the Arabic 1st', jā'andīya

*wa'il* 'my mind', wa'il

*takfir* 'you (pl sg) write', takfir

3.53 This feature is not terribly convincing, it must be admitted, because Arabic dialects have gone the way of Hebrew and Aramaic as against Classical Arabic. Dillow (1964: 230-1) states concerning the nakhb in Classical Arabic:

Owing to the omission of the case endings... the nakhb ending -iyh, etc. developed into -iyh, and this again, in the strength of the shortening of final double consonants... into -iyh, which preserved into -t (pronounced -t, because final long vowels were shortened... this
feature can also be explained as «by» [through distilla-
tion]. I > ... 1).

3.54 Blau (1955: 12) states (convincingly) that often
Arabic dialects (Middle Arabic dialects as well as modern
Arabic dialects) repeat tendencies seen in older Semitic lan-
guages (e.g., Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian) being "transformed
many hundreds of years before." He goes on: "The fact that
the Middle Arabic dialects were affected by the same changes
as other Semitic languages in prehistoric periods clearly indi-
cates the existence of a general tendency that transformed
different languages independently."

3.55 Concerning Indo-European and general parallels, Blau
maintains (1955: 13, fn. 1):
The problem of parallel development for comparative Indo-
European grammar was treated by A. Meillet in his famous
paper "Note sur une difficulté générale de la grammaire
compromise, included in his Linguistique historique et lin-
guistique générale, 1, Collection linguistique publiée par
la Société de Linguistique de Paris, viii, Nouveau tirage,
Paris, 1904, pp. 30-63. Meillet emphasizes that one must
not lose sight of this fundamental difficulty, which par-
tains to the very essence of comparative linguistics...
Blau also chooses to explain many subdivision problems of
Semitic as being due to common tendencies rather than lin-
galactic diffusion. He does not believe, furthermore, in general substrate theories, maintaining that "realistic substrate research boils down to the effects of bilingualism and parallel development."

3.16 The next three features (Features XI, XII, and XIII) are lexicographical and extremely convincing. Recognizing lexicographical differences between classical Arabic and the dialects is difficult, since, as the popular belief goes, Arabic has an astronomically large vocabulary from which to choose. One very striking feature of difference between classical Arabic and the dialects is the replacement of high-frequency (and very common) words, such as the following:

ъū 'what'
laynū 'it is not'
qad, sawfa, as- 'time markers'
ح- 'like'
'hayjūn 'also'
'ānā, 'ānnā 'that'
lil'ānnā 'because'
qatīnū 'never'

3.17 To be sure, the loss of various particles has to do with the disappearance of the classical Arabic mood distinctions (i.e., -ān 'subjunctive', -am 'imperfect', and -a 'indicative), the functions of which are re-applied to other syntactic
categories (e.g., the hand non-o-imperfect). But, as Ferguson correctly maintains, unless we wish to say "ayyin have various equivalence in the dialects and there has never been a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon. Ferguson emphasizes (1959c: 628-9) "If there were indications of the classical form in certain dialects this would constitute evidence against the thesis, but in fact the disappearance is universal, and the varied requirements must be accepted as instances in which the holoors was not fully homogeneous." 3.58 This fact that the point was not fully homogeneous is quite an important one to realize. Thus when one goes out to reconstruct various lexical items shared by many colloquial but not common to classical Arabic, one runs into trouble pretty quickly. As Ferguson states (1959c: 627, fn. 77):

certain preliminary reconstructions can of course be made for the various items but they do not lead very far. For example, it seems likely (a) that "ah what" was very early replaced by *ây" ëy "I (ayy ay'ayin), which led to the modern dialect form such as Syr. *ay and Modern "ay, and (b) that side by side with this "ây" ëy in certain areas an extended form *ây'ayiïna (ayy ay'ayin hude) was used, which resulted in forms like Iraq ëyn and Syr. *ay, but this still leaves unanswered such questions as the reason for the loss of *ay, the origin of
Egyptian 𓊩𓊨, and many points of detail. Reconstructions of other lines present similar problems.

3.59  Feature XI—THE VERB ‘TO COME’ (15660C 6.39)

Classical Arabic had two verbs ‘to come’, َذَكَرَ and َذَكَرَةً; both of these could be used with َذَكَرَ which is a sense roughly equivalent to English ‘voluntary’. The verb َذَكَرَ has disappeared from non-Arabian dialects, a reflex of َذَكَرَ being in the dialects the usual word for ‘come’. The exact formation of this word ‘to come’ varies from one dialect to another, since with the loss of final hamza this verb has too little resemblance to fit any normal pattern of Arabic verbs.

The modern reflex of َذَكَرَ is not used with َذَكَرَ to mean ‘voluntary’. The regular verb for ‘coming’ in the dialects is a verb with َذَكَرَ (correctly َذَكَرَةً), which clearly has arisen from a fusion at some early date, of َذَكَرَ and َذَكَرَ. This verb behaves like a middle-weak verb (\(y f\)) with full regularity of form and no evidence of any morphemic boundary remaining between the original َذَكَرَ part and the original َذَكَرَ part. In the Classical language there is no trace of the fused verb. That such a fusion could take place at some point in the development of Arabic is perfectly conceivable, but this is the only clear-cut case of such fusion in the language, and the exact pattern extends to the dialects of writings lose of َذَكَرَ, retention (and varied
re-journalling of it in, no one of the reflexes of it's and 12" 1 2 in 'being' s sound very it's 'being'. To explain
the persistence of this pattern throughout the Arab world
one would have to assume that this unique idiom was
made at many places and times and always outlined the other
forms. The common origin of the dialects is a much simpler
explanation.80

3.60 This feature is very striking and also old. It occurs
in Middle Arabic, both Judeo-Arabic and Christian Arabic. In
fact (1966: 86) Christian Arabic has jāb ḍīl 'to bring',
certainly due to pseudo-correction. Ayu (1965: 165, fn. 2)
regards jāb as having spread to intercommunication, yet the
halel remains a far better and simpler explanation.

3.61 feature 3.60: the verb 'to see' in Classical Arabic in
cal (inforntnto, etc.) does not in the ordinary word in all
written and oral use of the Classical Languages today. On
the other hand, as the ordinary word 'to see' the dialects
have lāt (inforntnto, etc.). The verb lāt only appears in the
dialects only in derivative forms e.g.ArgumentNullException
'there is' or in marginal words such as the Maghreb and 1
only for 'you are', etc. (e.g. 'are only', 'you soul', etc.).86
The verb lāt occurs in Classical Arabic, but not with the
meaning 'see'. It might be argued that with the loss of
final though the verb َدَتَ would lack substance to fit the Arabic verb system, but this was not to have prevented َدَتَ from continuing in the dialects, and parallel evolutions to those of َدَتَ could have been expected.

3631 Blau (1965) 19, H. 2) thinks that َدَتَ spread to intercommunication, and says that the dispersal of this word can be seen in the dialect of Paratuit in which َدَتَ occurs only in nom's speech, not in the vernacular of some (this 1944), 37 in the case with other features, as, too َدَتَ already occurs in Midle Arabic dialects. Manifestations of َدَتَ occur in Christian Arabic, where it is spelled either as َدَتَ or َدَتَ (classical Arabic َدَتَ).

3.69 Features XIII.-THE RELATIVE َتَلَٰلَٰلَ (Josh 1:1): The relative pronoun of Classical Arabic, َتَلَٰلَ, with its feminine, dual, and plural forms, has disappeared in the modern dialects. The forms of َتَلَٰلَ in Classical Arabic are debased, having no support elsewhere in the grammatical structure, and there was already great dialectal variation in Arabic in the form of the relative. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the Classical form should have vanished, but it is significant that throughout the non-Arabic dialects the only forms found are those which may be derived from a preasent َتَلَٰلَ, invariant for gender and number, occasionally retained or in- or expanded.
to harîl or kalîl.

3.64 ...thinks (1963: 14, fn. 2) that 'llîl is "perhaps" (his wording) due to intercommunication, but seems to prefer its derivation from classical Arabic *illâli* by an exceptional consonant shift of *l* > *r*. Further illustrating this sound shift, he mentions that (Regalla 1957: 154) the imperative of *fîl* ('farâ) is say in Iraq, as in Tunisia and Tunis, to which class also belongs the "anomalous" (his wording) sound shift of har < classical Arabic harîl to 'harîl'. He states: "Both are subject to anomalous sound shifts owing to their extraordinary frequency."

3.65 The situation in Judeo-Arabic is interesting in its own right. Judeo-Arabic writers respelled from forms, which were common in spoken vernaculars (even their own), that were unknown in classical Arabic. This feeling on the part of these writers is the reason for the almost non-occurrence of 'llîl in Judeo-Arabic.' It does occur, however, in the author rather used the classical Arabic *illâli*, but rather like his own dialects 'llîl, while 'llîl and 'llallî in the text occur irrespective of number and gender."
rare occurrence of the bytagon is now probably due to the (similar) authors feeling that it was not a classical Arabic feature.

3.46 Classical Arabic uses more pseudo-correct spellings than does Judaeo-Arabic. Quite often the texts use derived forms of "allāh" whereas, according to classical usage, other derived forms of "allāh" are raised for. 91 Will occur only once in classical Arabic. "Allāh" is the definite article, is not fully developed (Khan 1905: 352-5) but is quite frequent. 91 It is important to keep in mind that "allāh" like "illī" is not variable, as is the case with modern Arabic dialects.

3.47 "Allāh" is the name of the relative particle in classical Arabic. 92 It is also the only relative pronoun in classical Arabic ( "Allāh" does not exist), and on the basis of the age and area hypothesis, we must also speculate on the general use of the definite article as a relative pronoun as well as "allāh". The important point here is that no dialect continues "Allāh", and a sound shift of ɔ > ɔ
is rather difficult to accept as an intercommunication (see 3.6).

When Ferguson states that 'illî is occasionally reduced to by, it is not 'illî that is being reduced, but rather the prenominal 'al- 'the definite article' being used as 'the re-

3.6.1 The last feature which Ferguson attributes to the

3.6.2 The last features which Ferguson attributes to the

3.6.3 The last feature which Ferguson attributes to the

3.6.4 The last features which Ferguson attributes to the

3.6.5 Ferguson states (1955: 620) that only one phono-

3.6.6 The long vowels (v, l, and r) have been stable in the
diacritics, but the short vowels have gone many different ways. Thus reconstruction of early texts with short vowels raises many problems, and even those in late 19th, for instance, involving short vowels rarely have $\dd$ and the reconstruction due to the contradictory evidence. Changes $\{\text{ay} \rightarrow \dd\}$ and $\{\text{uy} \rightarrow \dd\}$, which may further shorten and merge with other short vowels under automatic morphophonemic rules (say Calmer), Ferguson's feature (see 3.71) is, however, difficult to refute.

5.71 Feature XIX—THE NOISE OF $\dd$ AND $\dd$ (Compare §30).

The sound system of the *abjads* as described by the early grammarians included two *phatic* interdental phonemes, those represented by the letters $\dd$ and $\dd$. This feature was presumably velarized, voiced, interdental (apical) of the kind found in dialects such as Iraq today. The other apparently had all the distinctive features of the $\dd$ and in addition was lateral or laterialized and probably a stop or affricate. Whatever the phonetic details, the two were separate phonemes. Minimal pairs have been listed by Cantalamusa and others, and these are equivalent correspondences with other South Semitic languages. In no non-Arabic dialects today are these phonetically independent reflexes of these two phonemes. In dialects which preserve the interdental aspirate ($\dd$), the reflexes of
the interdental emphatics is phonetically the sound described above for $\hat{\eta}$. In dialects which have lost the interdentals ($\hat{\eta} > \eta$), the reflex $\hat{\eta}$ of the interdental emphatic is a velarized voiced stop, now the voiced counterpart of the reflex $\hat{\eta}$ of Classical $\hat{\eta}$. This clearly suggests that $\hat{\eta}$ and $\eta$ had merged in the koiné and that the interdentals were lost subsequently in various dialects.\textsuperscript{96}

3.72 Middle Arabic dialects have already merged $\hat{\eta}$ and $\eta$.\textsuperscript{97} Spelling with $\hat{\eta}$ for $\eta$ (atypical) occur frequently in every kind of Judeo-Arabic text, and the first instance of its occurrence is in an early Hebraic Middle Arabic text dated 820 C.E., $\hat{\eta}$ for $\eta$ (Stern 1965: 124).\textsuperscript{98}

3.73 It is true that both these phenomena, $\hat{\eta} > \eta$ and $\hat{\eta} > \hat{\eta}$, are problematic everywhere in Semitic, both having merged, say, in Hebrew and Akkadian both to $\eta$, and to $\hat{\eta}$ and $\hat{\eta}$, respectively, in Syrian, so the tendency to get rid of these sounds seems to be an aspect of the general Semitic 'drift', yet it also seems that the postulation of this peculiarity in Arabic dialects is a far simpler explanation.

3.74 Visa 1965 and Cohen 1967 are the two major works written to refute Ferguson's bold hypothesis. Visa 1965 argues that one should not underestimate the general 'drift' or the convergent lines of development, independent of mutual
Influence or common origin. Cited Blau is correct (as Ferguson also mentions) viewing such features as the loss of the glottal stop, and the reduction of inflectional categories (e.g., loss of case and mood endings), i.e., the shift from synthetic to (more) analytic types of structure, etc. Yet Blau would also add the loss of the dual, the disappearance of the root, the merger of ɣ and ɣ, and theAtlas suffix. Cohen 1962 argues along similar lines and reaches rather similar conclusions as those expressed in Blau 1961, yet his argument, say, of the loss of the roots as being due to morphological neutralization is not fully convincing, because the same thing has happened elsewhere in Semitic.

3.75 Blau 1965 also argues that the ancient dialects were rather closely involved due to mutual contact among their speakers. For Middle Arabic times he states (1961: 13):

"The interrelation of the various Arabic idioms was presumably rather involved, not only contact being established between the various Middle Arabic dialects and the different Bedouin speech to Middle Arabic and vice versa." Blau offers an analogy based on Bain Blac's personal (unpublished) observations that in modern times the Amilah or Baghdaidi dialect came into being by 'salvation', but Jewish Baghdaidi and Christian Baghdaidi Arabic continue ancient sedimentary features of an old Iraqi prototype language. Thus Blau continues
his argument by stating that the Egyptian Jewish Arabic dialect of the twelfth century was a dialect of general Highler Black Arabic (Rasch Accidio). Furthermore, no the argument says, many of the shared features may have originated in one dialect (or dialect area) and spread by intercommunication to many others. Yet Blau never really says why this dialect could not have been the Arabic bound, i.e., a later form of the Ḥajj Ālīṣīs having existed alongside it from pre-Islamic times (Christian), or more probably, a dialect occurring among many tribes before the actual advent of the Ḥajj Ālīṣīs.

3.76 Blau (1965: 167-6) explicitly maintains

Thus, owing to the common basic structure of the Old Arabic dialects, the general 'drift', and mutual contact, it is no wonder that, despite strong centrifugal forces, the dialects are not too greatly differentiated and now exhibit a somewhat homogeneous character. Due to their common features, we may even speak of complete identity of all Arabic dialects, but we must bear in mind that this term applies only to the results of their linguistic development, but not to the development itself. Despite the common basic structure of Old Arabic that existed in the beginning as Arabic dialects from which, in all cases, the modern dialects are descended. It emerged only as a consequence of a long and intricate process, involving the above-mentioned unifying
features. 301 This is the only way to account for the facts.

The astonishing fact, that stable dialects, though

a single center of linguistic activity, nevertheless have a
discrepant homogeneous character. 302 Any explanation which

defines these dialects from one more or less homogeneous

language, viz. the so-called Arabic, does not take into

account the basic facts of Arabic linguistic development:

the complete lack of any outstanding linguistic center. 303

Our interpretation of the facts, viz. that the Arabic emerged

as the result of local developments, 304 also tallies with

modern linguistic conception as reflected in the wave-theory.

Wave-theory, as distinct from the family-tree theory, does

not divide the dividing process that affects a homogeneous

language as the only impelling power from which new dialects

arise. According to this theory, similarities between

two languages may exist not only because of their common

dialects, but also because of linguistic changes, which

spread like waves over a speech-area. Similarly, we do not

think that their common origin alone accounts for the com-

mon features in the various dialects. Some of these fea-

tures developed as a result of the spread of the linguistic

changes, i.e. by contact between the dialects, while others

are due to parallel developments, the general 'drift'.

Accordingly, the Arabic, in our opinion, is not the for-
Some of the linguistic processes, with the various dialects splitting off from a more or less uniform speech (viz. the Arabic), but itself emerged only as the consequence of linguistic development... 105

5.17 Fought and fourteen linguistic features of the Arable

...
As I have stated in June 1971, the Arabic kabsa is to be equated very practically with Proto-Spoken Arabic or PSA.
NOTES TO CH. XXI

1 The first major linguistic article bringing these facts together from both synchronic and diachronic points of view is Ferguson 1954a. Ferguson (1959a: 426, fn. 5) himself admits "This essay is, however, the first attempt, how to me to establish these ideas by a full linguistic argument."

2 Classical Arabic, or MSA, is, in my opinion, ill-defined. See Kaye 1972, and Kaye 1974c.

3 See Ferguson (1959a: 419, fn. 22) for the specific page referencing to which he refers.

4 Here he refers to Rubin 1965, Blumberg 1972, and the article on Arabic ('Arabiyah) in the Encyclopedia of Islam (standard views). He also notes correctly states (1959a: 417, fn. 4):

Unfortunately, the term 'Arab' (see 'racist haqiq') has been used to refer to the pre-Islamic standard (firen","langen 1952) which was the basis of the 'Arabiyah. Rubin (1952) has pointed out the inappropriateness of this term. For a language essentially used little if at all for ordinary conversation. It was less 'Arab' however generally accepted in this writing, the Arabic 'Arab' which is the subject of the present article will have to be called 'Arab' as or something at the best in different classes, that is, lOOg of 'Arabiyah' 1976, where both kinds of Arabic occur in the same
paragraph.

The term 'holon', insofar as Arabic studies are concerned today, refers, by and large, to Ireland's 1952 usage of the term, not to Ferguson's 1939 usage. It is used in this chapter in Ferguson's sense of the term as well as in its own (Feay 1974a), Sec. 3.77.

It should also be pointed out that Ferguson 1939 has been...
7 This is an extremely rich thought and worthy of mono-
graphic exploration.

8 Kaye 1971a works under the assumption that the scribe
made equals PCA and Proto-Syched Arable (see 3.7), and at-
ttempts to prove that classical arabit 5 was in the hand.
Both PCA and Classical Arable were taken into consideration in
that reconstruction. See, in particular, Kaye (1971a, fn. 3
and 6-7).

9 Kaye 1971a is such a study.

10 At this point Ferguson refers the reader to Birkeland

11 This is as true today in 1971 as it was in 1959 when
the article appeared.

12 This is Bleich's abbreviation for 'short form' and 'long
form' for the cardinal numerals. See Ch. 11, n. 115.

13 Ferguson wrote 'systematically' and not 'systematically'.
See 3.7 for the whole statement. Bleich's statement should of
course be revised since both terms convey different meanings.

14 Bleich (1965: 21) calls it 'the house' rather than 'a
house'. I do not know why Bleich changes the article from de-
finite to indefinite, except perhaps that 'a house' evades fur-
ther doubt on the theory than 'the house'.

15 See Kaye (1971a, fn. 3 and 6-7) for more details.

16 This is, of course, true for many other languages, and
In general a linguistic universal regarding "duals." For example, languages with case endings (souf) tend to lose these. Instances of this are too well-known to mention here.

17 As this point Ferguson mentions (sect. 8) that it is more than probable that the dual for verbs and pronouns as well as dual agreement in the adjective are formed by analogy to Syntax-Arabic ("dualization") from the dual of the noun, which was a stress (cf. Mohammed). "Dua" he goes on to say "those additional duals were apparently well established, although with regional variations in detail, in the dialects of Arabia at the time of Muhammad, and were lost again in the development of the modern dialects."

It would be noteworthy to prove Ferguson's point to the satisfaction of all scholars, i.e., the dual markings in the verb, adjective, and pronoun in classical Arabic would be "innovations," and that the whole would represent the continuation of the FS state of affairs, not classical Arabic. It seems to me that analogy works very well as the explanation here, although, to be sure, historical linguists trained through prescriptive-transformational eyes prefer other solutions and would reject "analogies" as a solution or analysis for anything.

18 System refers to "nonstandard" Syrian (nominally Israeli) Arabic (cf. Guthrie's 1958 Eastern Mediterranean Arabic, etc.)
Lect. Sam Ferguson (1954a: 622, fn. 3).
15 Blair (1970) deals almost exclusively with Copts Arabic
data, to which the cited texts in 3.16 refer.
16 This should read rather *madīna qatālina*.
17 For a similar conclusion, see Cohen (1975: 413-4).
18 I interpret these features as belonging to the house.
19 It is important to keep in mind that there was one of the three linguists thanked by Ferguson for "helpful suggestions" of his 1953 article, Sam Ferguson (1954a: 626, fn. 17).
20 At this point Ferguson quotes Ralph (1951a: 80-2).
21 Ferguson was unaware of the Coptic Arabic texts here, which will be discussed in Ch. 6.
22 Coptic Arabic is an exception. So, for that matter.
23 32a. The latter case is surprising in the light of Fergu-son 1953.
24 Here Ferguson refers the reader to Gathill (1958: 313), which claims Arabic influence, making reference to Paget (1919: 101, fn. 2), "when the non-assimilated form already existed in one of the old Arabic dialects."
25 Here Ferguson refers the reader to Habib (1951c 11-13) and Gathill (1958: 314).
26 It should be noticed that reference to Gathill 1958 by Ferguson were added after Ferguson 1954 was in press.
27 This should read faucal.
Ferguson remarks quite correctly at this point (fn. 17) in some parts of the Syrian dialects area (e.g., Damascus, most of the Lebanon) the *i*-grade has followed the analogy of the other grades of the imperfect; but this is clearly a subsequent development, since the *i*-grade in Iran, Egypt, and much of the Syrian area, having even spread to Form II and III verbs where the grade was *u*—in Classical...

61 Chaldean Arabic [12].
62 Bloch too was unaware of Chaldean Arabic and SCA data.
63 Schuren represents *u*, where there is a general rule of
64 that *u* > *u* under certain conditions.
65 Bloch states (fn. 27) that he plans to discuss the kind
66 in 1965, but to my knowledge, this article has never appeared.
67 Bloch (fn. 27) refers to Cohën 1961 and Veld 1965, but
68 neither source mentions the "improved" aspect of Bloch's
69 argument. He states again later in the article (1961: 20)
70 that this kind is "improved."
71 I omit any reference to the dual since it is not rele-
72 vant here.
73 The "to bury" is a good example of a strong root (in/
74 or little consonantal alternation) and is quite often used
75 in comparative Semitic grammar.
76 Morphological neutralization, as we have seen elsewhere,
in common to all Semitic languages.

We shall not deal here with the intricate problem of
Semitic (Hebraica) vocabulary and its relation to Anu
and meaning to West and South Semitic.

This has been re-named the Barth-Ginsberg Law, since
R.L. Ginsberg proved its existence in ORIENTALIA 8 (1937).
Barth's Law was formulated originally in 1906 (ZUG 4, 34-4).
It states that the prefix or $d$-syll for Form I (e.g.) active
(not passive) is $b$ when the thematic vowel was $a$, otherwise
it is $p$. There are cases in Aramaic and Hebrew which point
to a preformative, but it is preformative (Ps) marked the
passive (e.g. classical Arabic jumaha 'it will be written'),
the problem needs thorough investigation, however.

See n. 33.

47 The $o$-sakh the third persons in Syrian, not $y$- (except
the third persons feminine singular, which is identical in form
all over Semitic to the second person masculine singular,
imperfect). Biblical Arabic $l$- for $u$ is peculiar, but it is,
nevertheless, a trademark of this language.

48 Also commonly known as $o$-class (classical Egyptian).

49 $a$ and $u$ (not $e$) > $a$ in Cu $9$. Thus the preformative
vowel, when we judge on the basis of comparative-historic
(genetic) methodology, is $a$.

50 Hebrew we 'and,' also clearly points to put the any
syllables are stressed), not classical Arabic. Similar
ly, ta- > t in the htkps (Syriac t̚ep̚s). 49
a > i in the preterite in verses 15.-
47 See preceding note.
48 This is one of the proofs used to demonstrate the bi-
radical origin of the two system in Semitic.
49 Jewish Aramaic and Mandelite do not work this way. The
feminine and plural participles also do not work this way in
Syriac.
50 This should rather be lnhu.
51 Syriac has similar developments, e.g., matas 'to give'.
52 As this points Ferguson remarks (fn. 135):
The suffixed nature of the -i- is shown incontrovertibly
by the position of word stress, the lengthening of a short
vowel before -i-, and the existence of allomorphs of -i-
conditioned by the preceding emphatic. Cf. hbrb 'they
hit', ẖbáli 'they hit you (pl.)', ẖáliš 'they hit
for you'. With this meaning we would have to agree.
53 The construction is already found in Middle Arabic,
Ferguson refers the author (fn. 145) at this point to Graf
(1905: 11).
54 We do not know the vocalization.
55 The vocal form is *m'j* (m'jyy), which corresponds to
classical Arabic *m'j*/*m'jyy*.
56 See n. 51.
57 Classical Hebrew does not have categories of case (only remnants of case endings), and has gone in the same general direction as a modern Arabic dialect better in amplification of the system is concerned.
58 Bloch's wording is 'it reflects a general linguistic tendency known to exist in many languages.'
60 At this point Ferguson remarks (fn. 15): The long form is used before a noun under the special conditions (a) in ordering or listing items, where the following noun may be collective, singular, or plural depending on circumstance (e.g. names 'seven five coffee' in ordering at a restaurant, cf. names 'five cafes'); and (b) with ethnic collectives having no proper plural (e.g. names 'bedu five beduines').
61 The facts of names 'five and names 'five cafes' are not very well known in the literature, and are certainly absent from the standard textbooks.
62 I doubt that an informant of Colton, Ray, would give 'Ijābīn in isolation as the gloss for 'days'. He would rather give 'Ija'bin or 'Ija'bin in a classifying style. Similarly for other 'months' (i.e., without t). See Kaye [1931a 1:9, under (g)].
62 See preceding note.
63 At this point Fargues remarks (fn. 17) that the pattern
64 Scryballa, commonly discussed under \^mum al-wah\^a (plural of
65 qwaita), does not fit well into the discussion.
66 See Schneidert (1944: 63). Regrettably, there is nothing
67 substantial which is new recent.
68 Wagnerform
69 H\^awajj form
70 Undependent form
71 H\^aindependent form
72 I have changed a number of points in Riedt's transcrip-
73 tions of these manuscripts.
74 See preceding note.
75 Warchen (circa 1563).
76 Similarly the distribution of the "the 'i'.
77 Many scholars still prefer this explanation for this
78 feature.
79 Chadian Arabic is, of course, a major exception. This
80 will be discussed in Ch. V.
81 See n. 11.
82 When all the facts are in and a complete analysis pro-
83 posed, the " will almost certainly be a factor for the g.
84 See Prochallain (1960: 267) for information in modern
85 Arabic dialects. Note, the tone, the non-emphatic t in
A spelling with ș occurs once, however, in Judeo-Arabic, which obviously reflects the spoken Arabic of the times (Blau 1951: 102; viz., șōnā 'eighteen'. Blau comments (fn. 31): 'This form exhibits ș > ș, presumably in partial assimilation to ș.' Garthoff (1959: 318) suggests the same thing. According to him: "As for the 'emphatic' dentals in general, their chief feature became during that state—possibly strengthened by the influence of Turcom..."

75 I have changed Ferguson's format of data presentation for pattern of ease of perception.

76 This does not seem to be the case of Cyclic forms (not speculative), e.g., ḫūna 'female', ḫūlū 'pregnant', etc.

77 ḫayrāt is of the same pattern as ḫayratu 'good', i.e., the feminine color term form.

78 At this point Ferguson remarks (fn. 19): For the singular name (e.g., τόπον 'land') the -n- throughout... some lose it completely, In areas where there is partial retention the -n- appears in adjectives of which ș or ș in a guttural (k ș ț) or assimilate of various periods. The loss of -n- is probably to be accounted for by vowel assimilation and loss of unaccented /l/ in open syllable (τόπος > τόπος > τόπος).

It should be noted that ḫayrāt has Cyclic at the normal
The reflex of this pattern, the glide under very variable (autonomic metathesization) conditions. Jerusalem Arabic (Green 1984: 221) has both a and ŋ as the reflex, e.g., ُغَنَّ 'whale' but ُغَنَّ 'run'.

79 This is well known in Slavonic (Cenotic) languages.

Turgonov (1984: 295) notes that the analysis of the initialization is uncertain, some scholars recognizing the initialized consonant as separate segments, others using a rounded schwa vowel apparently etymologically. However, as Turgonov also notes, whichever analysis one prefers, the initialization is distinctive.

80 Turgonov (1984: 21):

In this particular example, used here to keep the illustrative material as limited as possible, these apparent reflexes of /uf/ could have developed simply because of the presence of the initial /uf/, but other adjectives of the same pattern without initial consonants also show these reflexes (e.g., ُقَحَّلَ /قَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ). A striking piece of evidence for this /uf/ plural is supplied by some Arabic objects with second and third person ḥaḍāḍ (e.g., ḥesā/l, ḥasā/hi/l, ḥasā/hi/l). This verbal plural is regularly have ُهَّ or ُهَ in words derived from ُقَحَّلَ but have ُهَ in these adjective plurals. Examples: ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ, ُقَحَّلَ.
Simplicity is still an important criterion for the preference of one linguistic analysis over another.

In this context Ferguson mentions (ibid. 211):

The pause forms of Classical Arabic show a three-way final contrast in each of the high vowel/sound/number ranges viz. -<gu> -<gu> -<gu> and -<gu> -<gu> -<gu>. In many modern dialects this three-way contrast is replaced, the reflexes of the Classical -<gu> and -<gu>. In the /<gu>/ range the dia-
lects vary greatly, some even having a full four-way con-
tact, such as those varieties of Syrian Arabic which differ-
entiate the final morphemes of "also, them", ήδων "sweet", ἀλλοτά "they wrote", κατέχον "they wrote it". But this is zero; usually only a two- or at most three-way contrast obtains, with one reflex for both -<gu> and -<gu> and, in dia-
lects which have lost final -<gu>, one for both -<gu> and -<gu>. These show similar variation in the degree of re-
tention of final consonants in the /<gu>/ range, but even when a final -<gu>-<gu>-<gu> contrast has been preserved, the final vowel ending has always merged with the suffix of -<gu>, sometimes pulling along with it a few other sounds in -<gu>.

It should be mentioned that classical Arabic morphology -<gu>-<gu>-<gu>, e.g., ousura (from εύσυν, passive) and question (from εὖ, passive), and -<gu>-<gu>-<gu>. Both types of trans-
strictions merge and are very common,
Those items are mentioned by Ferguson [1959:637].
See n. 26.
Sennar Arabic is a major exception. This will be discussed in Ch. V.
The Chadian Arabic situation will be discussed in Ch. V.
Since Wolof is a hewul dialect, men's and women's speech (Kram 1940) are vastly more different from a modern colloquial. Thus Wolof is probably better to say that women, due to their social status, are less accessible to linguistic change.
The Nuer's dialect's use of /a/ in the aforementioned pattern (3.42) also proves nothing since the dialect is postulated as the ancestral language of the modern dialects, not the backshift one.
See Algeo [1964:46 and the inc.] for a detailed discussion.
The authors probably forget themselves for the account.
The authors knew that /lihi/ was not used in classical Arabic and was basically a colloquial feature.
The spelling /‘al/ for normal /‘an/ occurs about, and is expanded as a serial form.
This is difficult to account for because and Daffall Arabic. See also Peirce [1954:159-60].
Both these examples are from Latin (1912: 260). I have
translated the Greek characters.

See Pauhovitsch (1902: 56-56).

I follow Simpson (1977) and talk about proto-type
sounds rather than proto-words per se. Strong attention to
this principle has been shown upon by the late H. Suggia.

Characters in all his classes.

Ferguson concludes quite correctly (fn. 28) that characters
which have lost the intervocalic /g/ have instances of /g/ in
borrowings from classical Arabic or in re-borrowings of Arabic
sounds from Turkish, but not in the regular reflexes of earlier
/g/ in, for instance, al-Battani (1964: 200).

From Garbell's dating (1924: 308) it is much too early.

On the merger of /g/ and /g/ see already Brownlee (1908:
192).

See Cohen (1924: 154) for the details, and 1.29.

Egan (1953: 16) quotes Fleming's (1951: 111) well-
known instance of the spread of /g/ over vast geographical
areas.

Fleming (1951: 13, fn. 1). That this linguistic
development resembles closely the situation in Caucausa
(Cont'd from title) and perhaps the dominant linguistic type, i.e., Canaanite dialects grew close together with inter-
communication, which in turn was the basic thesis of Friedrich 
Hilf.

102. The argument of a linguistic center (which was the 
type with ancient Greek dialects, i.e., the emergence of the 
Greek lexicon in one linguistic center), although asserted by 
Kaye (see Kaye 1971, fn. 3) is not convincing at all, espe-
cially since Ferguson himself says (1954: 619) that the 
lexicon was not based on the dialect of a single center but 
rather arouse (probably) in many centers and the either which 
caught up around them. One primarily to their existence in the 
first place. It is very surprising that Kaye should have 
missed this point. See also Cohen (1969: 122) and Kaye 
(1971: 1:1). 

Ch. 19 and 2 will hope to demonstrate that none of the 
customs of the lexicon have to be modified slightly (or few 
even drastically) to take SCA and Chadian Arabic into account.

Since it is recognized that the lexicon was never a 
homogeneous (as proto-type language rather than a core-lang-

guage) one, the language, and not based on the dialect of a 
single center, certain differences are to be expected, e.g., 
the lexicon's having both ı and ı superfixes for the proforma-
itive vowel.
The various items, carefully selected by Ferguson to attest to the existence of the 
Ba'ite, even when it is 
alleged, the modern Arabic dialects have developed, do 
not, in our opinion prove that such a common language 
really existed [emphasis mine]. The notion stands, as we 
have tried to demonstrate, at the end of the linguistic 
process and not at the beginning. We have already shown 
that most of these items may really be explained by 
the general drift and natural influence... while others 
are not in fact common to all the modern dialects. It 
lies, however, beyond the scope of this article to ana-
l yse in detail the items alleged... Therefore, items such 
as those adduced by Ferguson must be interpreted as being 
due to convergent lines of development subject to inter-
relation.
It must be pointed out that the Arabic hand as a proto-type language has just as much validity (realty, to use Blau's term—see above) as, e.g., IE, proto-Indo-European, or any other proto-type language. The hand does stand at the end of certain linguistic processes but also at the beginning of some others (see above). Therefore, we must disagree with Blau's basic thesis, viz., the fourteen linguistic features are all due to "convergent lines of development and/or to interrelation."
4. Before actually beginning to discuss what the chapter title indicates, it must not be forgotten that diachronic grammars of SCA are completely lacking. Therefore, it now becomes our task to examine the fourteen main features in terms of what seems to be known and what is known about SCA.²

I take SCA to mean, for purposes of this chapter, a national common SCA—what the Germans would call ‘e Volkssprache.’²

References to features of the kind themselves will be listed according to the numbers in Ch. III, thus also keeping Ferguson’s 1959 original numbering. Reference to the SCA data will be given either to the discussion in Ch. 3 or to the source/source per se themselves. It should be remembered that all known sources (to me, at least) regarding SCA have been discussed in Ch. 1.

4.2 Feature ¹

SCA follows the feature exactly. There are no traces of the dual marked overtly in the adjective, pronoun, and verb. There is obligatory plural concord with dual nouns. Tringham (1966: 23) lists:

\[ \text{السَّمَّا} \quad \text{السَّمَّا} \quad \text{‘two intelligent men’} \]

\[ \text{السَّمَّا} \quad \text{السَّمَّا} \quad \text{‘two intelligent women’} \]

She can see that there is free variation in the plural.
between the use of the broken plural (ḥāṣāq) and the sound masculine or feminine plural (optional). The use of the broken plural is far more common.

4.3 Feature f′

As is known from the discussion in 1.82 and passim, SCA has a as the imperfect preformative vowel. As I have concluded in 3.28, I use the zero of the preformative vowel as representing tālaltān as a whole. The entire feature does not work very well in SCA.

(1) The suffix of ma in [m-ṭ-i, m-ṭ-i, m-ṭ-i, m-ṭ-i, m-ṭ-i]
(2) ṣ-at > [ṣ-ṭ-ṭ], ṣ-ḥt > [ṣ-ṭ-ṭ]
(3) wa > ḫaṭ
(4) al- > [z-ṭ-ṭ] = (a-ṭ-
(5) ʾanā, etc. > ḫaṭa, etc.

Thus some features of tālaltān follow the kūnād pattern; others do not. It is more difficult to offer a conclusion as to the diachronic facts. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that SCA descended from an Egyptian Arabic dialect which had a as the preformative vowel in the imperfect (as does classical Arabic but not the kūnād), where as the definite article (as classical Arabic but not the kūnād), wa ʾamīn (as does classical Arabic, but not the kūnād), etc. Calico Arabic, for instance, has i as the preformative vowel (except the first person singular, which is influenced by ′), i in the definite
Articulate, and use "and", and show no traces of the 3rd situational.

4.4 As is the main contribution of the age and area hypotheses, the diphthong of a given linguistic area would preserve the root-type feature much better than a consonant area. The Sudan is located on the corridor of the Arabic speaking world (centered due to the sound), so perhaps we should modify the root feature to include these aforementioned SCA deviations.

Thus regarding tantal in a proposed feature, it should be modified to include the SCA feature and perhaps the vowel (despite the non-homogeneity, at any rate) one close to a classical Arabic-type-dialect than Ferguson would have us believe.

4.5 It is difficult also to explain how SCA developed from an Egyptian Arabic dialect (Fitzgerald 1952: 36), when presumably the indications from Cairo Arabic, for instance, make the conclusion that they do not agree with each other on several points, such as talaha. This can be handled by revising some of the features and by admitting that the linguistic development was not perfectly direct, which would tie in hand to hand with Ferguson's non-homogeneity of the sound, see 4.6, and 5.22. Thus if these SCA contexts, SCA would be demonstrated of an old Arabic dialect (part of the propertypes being) which had both a and 1 imperfect pronunciations, whereas the clas-
tribution according to BACHMANN would no longer have been
operative by the time of SHA'AB'S beginning in the thirteenth
century, and the performance marker merged with a due to
some unknown reason, possibly being the result of the influence
of classical Arabic, which has only one clear-cut example of
an imperfect performance.

4.6 Perfect III

SHA'AB has no synchronic class of 122 root verbs, not even rem-
nants. TRIMBLE (1964: 108-117) deals with so-called final-
wa verbs, but also regarded in qua the root, which is
originally a 122 verb.

We have already concluded (see 3.26) that this is perhaps
FRANKEN'S evaluative point. SHA'AB does have synchronism with an
borrowings from classical Arabic or NES, yet authentic clas-
sical phenomena such as liha (see 3.26) are unknown.

4.7 Perfect IV

SHA'AB merges 122 roots with 122 verbs (observable in the per-
fect with 122 root endings, for instance—are TRIMBLE
(1964: 96)). SHA'AB, however, is peculiar in terms of other
syntactic dialects because of the analyticic vowel a in the
third person masculine singular of the perfect, e.g., liha (see the discussion to 3.26). The Arabic verb has had a form
like liha (for the realization of liha), and consequently we
must conclude that the development of the final a for 122
verba in ab-BA in innovation, which must have happened rather
Arabe). Consider Trinigaham (1963: 15)?

Translation: The guests are Indian, so don't forget the ice cold water before the tea.

Translation: We've put three pieces in your tea.
4.10 feminine
Note of the independent forms of the cardinal numerals from three to ten are unaffixable. The J.C. forms are:

three ita
four hawā'at
five kunās
six ṣitta

seven nasim
eight tamāraj
nine tāmās
ten ṣīrār

4.11 There are no short forms of the numeral in Ferguson's
1919 or Dieh's 1971 names. The distribution is as follows:
(1) If the noun counted begins with a consonant, the forms
listed in 4.10 are used; (2) if the noun counted begins with
a vowel, the following forms are used (+nu):

sāli'amat
sāli'am
sāli'amat
sāli'am

The -n is of course the historical feminine ending.

4.12 Thus it can be seen that Ferguson in agreement in
stating "that all dialects agree in this point." (See his
exact statement in 3.367) Kangaroo 1995 states only one form
very similar to the forms in 4.10 for the cardinal numbers
from three to ten; none of them are unaffixable. Steine
1996 also reports only historical long form for the Arabic
dialect of Tunis. Cypros Karotika Arabic has only one form
of the cardinal numbers. They are as follows (Talparea 1969; 56),

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Six</th>
<th>Seven</th>
<th>Ten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٣كم</td>
<td>٣هٰ</td>
<td>٣نم</td>
<td>٣نٰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13 SCA is unique among all Arabic dialects in its pecu-

liarity of the redistribution of the cardinal numbers from

three to ten and it is difficult not to suspect some kind of

Arabic influence by it originally substratum or superstratum.

4.14 It is difficult to speculate about the original state

of affixes in SCA. There is no evidence of a haj dull-like

situation, yet I would expect that when more information is

known about the history of SCA it will turn out that it had

the haj dull feature. 10

4.15 Feature VII 11

The numbers 17-19 in SCA are the following (Trinkingen-

that 19;}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eight</th>
<th>Nine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>٨بٰ</td>
<td>٩نبٰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

المالٰٰ: ٨بٰ ٩نبٰ
The numeral 'eleven' has not yet reached the emphatic stage, i.e., ١١٠ (ruqūṣ), but it is on the way, i.e., ١١٠ (maksūṣ). ١١٠ (maksūṣ) has already been used in Arabic literature, i.e., ١١٠ (maksūṣ). ١١٠ (maksūṣ) must be quite old since the spelling ١١٠ (ruqūṣ) does not occur in Middle Arabic (Bala 1965: 156). It was only rare (Early Muhāfa Middle). ١١٠ Then we conclude that ١١٠ follows the feature exactly, and as we have already maintained in ١١٠, it is a striking feature of the period.

١١٠ Arabic ١١٠

The 'arithmetical form' is extant (Strangman 1967: 63), and ١١٠ follows the feature exactly, i.e., there is no trace of a ġujār (notional relative) form. ١١٠ Arabic ١١٠

١١٠ has a final plural, most often for adjectives in ١١٠. There are some exceptions. Consider the following which are listed in the illustrative sentences of Tripolitania (1956: 23):

١١٠ ١١٠

١١٠ ١١٠

١١٠ ١١٠
376

The unit 'long'

giyār 'small'

ṣagār 'above'

īqār 'terror'

āqār 'charming'

3.19 Feature x

SCA follows this feature exactly. As is evident from the
excerpts in Part II of al-Ṭibrīzī 1965, final -ī in identical in
form with the same added to 'mašqīš', ḥilāšī 'my book', and ṣarāb
'sleep'.

4.20 As stated in 3.33, this feature is not certainly con-
scious. I am inclined to agree with Jīlī (see 3.33) in ex-
plaining the electrified of the situation in modern Arabic
dialects, including SCA, such in the same way as he has ex-
plained the facts for Christian Arabic.

4.21 Feature y

SCA follows this feature exactly. ṣāʿār, imperfect yāḥīm
occurs numerous times in al-Ṭibrīzī 1965, and is listed in
Amey (1905: 48) and Hillenbrand (1922: 40).

4.22 Feature z

Secondary SCA such as that against in Shattūn-i-īmaraja has
ṣāʿar, imperfect yāḥīm as the root 'to eat'. This is confirmed
by al-Ṭibrīzī 1965, in which it is the only root 'to eat'.
Amey (1905: 317) lists it also with ṣāʿ 'to eat'. Hillenbrand
(1922: 256) lists it as 'to eat', which he also is peculiar in
the western parts of the Sudan. He also states that ا再见 has merged with the لف ل of the Maghāra Arabs, thus the imperfect is رف.29

4.23 SCA does commonly use (although Tristram in 1861 l.l. xx. 1) dons say "it is somewhat vulgar"

derivatives of the root مم. as do other dialects, e.g., Moroccan raal, etc. (see Ferguson’s remarks in 5.4). Consider the following:

Faxa النذاح ‘hear is the door’

Faxa النذاح ‘there is the (prayer) carpet’

4.36 The use of لزا (لز) is well known in Iraqi Arabic. It is best glanced at ‘you see, and you’. Consider the following examples:

زہ دنا راتا. لزا (ز) راتا (ز) لزا (ز)

Translation:

If you don’t mean up, and you, we will not finish the job.

Alama contrasts the particular of Iraqi Arabic with those in classical Arabic. He states that [classical Arabic] لزا or its variant لزا differs in two respects: (1) it is restricted in interrogative sentences whereas in [Iraqi Arabic] it occurs mainly in non-interrogative sentences, and (2) it may precede a pronoun suffix (لزا) ‘as you think’, but such construction is lacking in [Iraqi Arabic].30

4.25 SCA uses, as does other dialects, various tongues also derivable from مم, but these are to be regarded as innovations.
from HBA. For instance, sa'y 'spitden', ciya 'huntsman, flag', nusatu 'hypecotis', etc. This point should of course have been noticed by Ferguson 1936c, in discussing this feature.  
4.26. Feature XIII  

The relative pronoun in SCA is not 'il-li', and thus Ferguson's point should be revised (see his exact statement in 3.67), but rather is identical with the definite article 'al-' and is used for all numbers and genders. There are no traces of 'illa-ti', etc.  

For the details, see our discussion in 1.45 of Ch. XXXII, Ch. I, n. 30 where 'il-li does occur in the text of 1.73  
(Middle Sogdian SCA), and n. 103.  

4.27. The SCA use of the definite article as the relative particle is characteristic of only SCA and of Chadian Arabic, but it must be remembered that its use is quite old, since, as we have mentioned in 3.66 and 3.67 (see the notes pertaining to these sections alone), its use occurs rather frequently in Middle Arabic, and there are even a few instances of it in Classical Arabic.  

4.28. As seen with some other features, the precise diachronic facts are very difficult to ascertain regarding this feature. It seems that the relative had two relative particles; one in the shape of 'il-li, which was lost or discontinued, thus causing a heavy reliance on the definite article 'al-',
which continued the classical usage of this morpheme, in many dialects, such as SCA and Chadian Arabic. Thus we can conclude that SCA originally discontinued the use of *šillī (except the fringes perhaps such as Meroitic Sudanic SCA), and kept only *šal-. At the opposite fringes of the Arabic-speaking world, we have already seen that Meroitic Arabic keeps both (see 3.66 quoting Barth 1913). SCA, however, developed independently some uses of *šal-, e.g., its collocative sense, viz., šal-γednūl ‘let him enter’ (Trimingham 1946: 133). 34

4.29 It is also possible to regard the instance of the Middle Sudanic SCA use of *šillī as having spread to intercommunication, or perhaps there is some free variation in its use vs. *šal-. In this function, not noted in the published texts, however. It is more probable to say that Proto-SCA had both *šillī and *šal-, and *šillī was already dying out. It is important to keep in mind too that SCA does not have *šillī35, etc., but developed the classical, Middle Arabic, and the kind use of *šal- as its exclusive relative particle.

4.20 Feature XIX

This feature was mentioned briefly in 1.02 (see Ch. I, p. 47). Since SCA was originally a dialect of an Egyptian Arabic dialect, we would not expect any interdental (as Calcar, say, does not have them), and we do not find any either. Both $ and $ have merged into $. This development is not to be cur-
...I sought to determine whether or not there are features specific to Gura Ge that would warrant including Gura Ge as an independent group and thus speaking about a Proto-Gura Ge.

In this endeavor I was interested in isolating features that are not found in the South Ethiopian languages other than Gura Ge, that is, Amharic, Harari, Argoba and Gafat. In a few instances I have included in the list of specifically Gura Ge features a feature that is found in one or another South Ethiopian language, but definitely not in Amharic. I considered as specifically Gura Ge a feature that occurs either in the three groups or in any of the
three groups. We have assumed hypotheses formed on SCA and Chadian Arabic, and we have seen how the theory has to be modified in several ways. We can accept the hypothesis with the reservations discussed here in the same way that Leslais attests a Proto-Ortage (1967: 171).

The features in the morphology found either exclusively in Ortage or, only sporadically, in one or another North
Ethiopian language (not never in Amharic), and the great number of roots common to Oromo and not occurring elsewhere, justify the conclusion that there is a Proto-Oromo.

4.34 To extend the analogy even further, what Leslau means by a Proto-Oromo is actually what we mean by the Arabic koine, i.e., Ko, bearing in mind that this term refers to the sedentary Arabic dialects only.

4.35 As mentioned previously, most scholars do not accept the postulation of an Arabic koine in terms of the fourteen features adopted by Ferguson 1959c. Similarly, most scholars do not accept the thesis of Leslau 1969. To date, as far as I know, there is nothing published to refute Leslau’s arguments, and I base my observation on personal contacts with specialists in Ethiopian Semitic.
1 It must be remembered that diachronic studies of modern Semitic dialects are rather scarce, the best-known examples being Nédelon 1952, and Garwell 1954, in addition to Ferguson 1956a. All of these works ignore SCA and Ethiopian Arabic data.

The reason for so few diachronic approaches in Arabic dialectology is that for centuries now, the study of Semitic languages was applied to 'prestigious' classical Semitic (dead) languages. Indo-Europeans have long realized (long before Semitists did) the importance of the investigation of the modern spoken languages as evidence for certain of their hypothesized themes. Specialists in Ethiopian Semitic (Lewal, Franchthi, Wandeloff, and others, for instance) were the first Semitists to disregard the Semitic linguistic tradition, and served as the impetus for the modern era for genetic studies of the currently spoken Semitic languages. Nonetheless, Arabic was more active spoken than all the other Semitic languages combined.

Blau (1968: 14) has recently stressed none of the points and many.

Nonetheless, the investigation of the Arabic dialects is of great significance for the study of the Old Semitic languages. The Semitists who explore into dead Semitic languages not seldom expose themselves to the risk of excessive
simplification and standardization of the facts, and no
divorce themselves from reality. Thus being the case,
Arabic dialects, being the most important living Semitic
idiom, may serve as a valuable corrective, rescuing the
study of the Semitic languages to actualities.

These points should have been very much in the background,
since it has long been recognized that Arabic, although appear-
ing on the verge of historic hundreds of years after Akkadian,
Assyrian and Hebrew, may, nevertheless in many respects has a
more archaic (OS) structure than those so-called old Semitic
languages, i.e., preservation of the 50 consonants and vocalic
inventories almost perfectly, and preservation of the 70
system of case and mood inflections, as opposed to classical
Hebrew and Syriac. Middle Arabic and modern Arabic dialects
exhibit many similar tendencies with older Semitic languages,
such as Hebrew and Aramaic. Why this important fact never
received the attention it deserved until very recently needs
further investigation. Even an outstanding Semitist, Theodor
Wirths, is reported to have become interested in Arabic dia-
lекта in his old age.

Аkkadian is an analogous case here, being the language
of a great power (thus so-called Assyro-Babylonian) such as
Sudan is the native language of most Sudanese government offi-
cials. Phoenician and Aramaic are also parallel cases, even
though it is not very clear how a language like Phoenician came
to be used for royal inscriptions as far north as Silicia
(see e.g. J. B. Pritchard), or how a language like Aramaic became the lingua
franca of the Achaemenian Empire.

3 It goes without saying that this chapter (also Ch. 7)
should not be read before having assimilated, in a rough man-
ner at least, the contents of the period as presented in Ch. 5.
It is also strongly advised that Chs. 10 & 11 be reviewed to get an
idea of some of the diachronic peculiarities of JCA as well as
to see what linguistic work has been done on the dialect.

4 See 3.15-3.18.
5 See 3.19-3.18.
6 See 1.2 and passim.
7 See 3.26 and 3.27.
8 See 3.30-3.32.
9 It goes hand in hand with Chadian Arabic on this point,
which will be discussed in Ch. 7.
10 It would also be the reflex of classical Arabic lama
with (1) loss of final vowels as katah > kathul 'the writer',
and (2) neutralization of geminated consonants in final
position.
11 See the discussion in Ch. 11, p. 82.
12 See 3.33 and 3.34.
13 The le particle is underlined. I have changed Trismeg-
transcription to fit with our general scheme of things.

14 See 3.36-3.43.

15 Trimingham (1964: 50) calls it "a mythical one."

16 The numbers after "ten" use the Cypriote Greek counterparts.

17 The only other source of information on Cypriote numbers

18 Arabic transcriptions all of the ten cardinal numbers (those are

19 Malati, 1969: 297f) for all the details.

20 Noteworthy about DGA are forms such as ḏag: ḏayb

21 "seven days", which is a better transcription for DGA (not
other dialects) than six ḏayb. See Ch. III, 6. 61 and n.

22, and Trimingham (1961: 77) for more details.

23 See 3.46-3.48.

24 "maggat" is a better transcription in accordance with

25 This view is unreported anywhere in the literature,

26 and is based on my own personal observation.

27 See 3.47-3.49.

28 See 3.50-3.51.

29 Many other examples could have been cited.

30 See 3.52-3.55.

31 See 3.59 and 3.60.

32 See 3.61 and 3.62.
I did not hear ye in El-Asm Safi.

This confirms that the feature must be quite old even in Chadian Arabic, because it only points to a y as the second radical of the root (cf. the imperfect root waav be S only).

This will be discussed in Ch. V.

This is taken from Altena (1969: 99).

The Chadian Arabic gabaaw is will be discussed in Ch. V.

See Ripe 1972 for some details on some of these points, as well as for references to Maltese and Cypriot Northern Arabic, which proves, here as it is to believe, the use of y as the normal root 'ac sam'. Cf. Maltese root 'I saw him'. It is not within the scope of our discussion here to comment on these facts, since both dialects descend from a common Syrian Arabic dialect, which itself has descended from the Arabic root. Nevertheless also, the problem is a very interesting and difficult one to solve.

See 3.53-3.67.

It also has an optative sense. See Brunner (1968: 143).

See 3.71-3.73.

Schaefer continually doubts the position of Gurage in Ethiopian Semitic as a whole as well as its internal subgroups, but it is largely accepted that the Gurage dialects belong to a general South Ethiopian type.
Argobba and Qifs are now virtually dead languages.

Lehul worked with the last four native speakers of Qifs, the results of which are published in Lehul 1956.

Three dialect groups have been posulated: East Garage including A'dali, Wilson, and Dawe; West Garage including Chabra, Altot, Etna, Dommool, and Dumby; and North Garage with Sadu as the only representative (also known as A'qｩl or A'dali). Robert Retzori has two articles and a monograph in press, which will present alternative classifications. His monograph was written in 1967, revised in 1969, and is, unfortunately, still awaiting publication in the JFS monograph series. See Payne (1971a, ch. 3, and addenda to ch. 3) for further details.

It is important to remember that Aragawa's lexical (lexicographical) features, i.e., šīr, šīr, šīr, were very strong arguments in favor of the populism of the Arabic bedu

Thus we may want to call, on the basis of our proposed analogy, Proto-Garage "the Garage bedu."
3.3 Feature 3

The dual has been discussed in 2.3(b). The usages in terms of the noun and the adjective in SCA almost exactly. There are no traces of the dual in the pronoun, noun, and verb. There is obligatory plural concord with dual nouns.

For instance, when noun 'two big women' (two plural and singular), in Kashgari Arabic one can use either the dual form or the plural form followed by the number 'two'. One also has the option of using the second plural or
the known plural, providing both exist and are free variation, as is the case with noun adjectives.3

5.3 Certain adjectives like noun 'good, nice' exist in the singular for dual and even plural subjects, e.g., locum nean
on baka'ene 'the nice house', 'nice houses', respectively, which indicates that some is rapidly becoming as potent and in
these non-inflected. I have noted it rarely, however, although it is fairly common with some speakers.

5.4 Feature \(2^{\text{a}}\)

The Chadic Arabic reports 1.260 preformative marker in clearly \(\text{j}a\), usually \(\text{j}a\), not sometimes \(\text{ja}\) or \(\text{j}a\) on vowel harmony. As I have already discussed in 4.3 and
5.26, I use the case of the imperfect preformative vowel to represent calais as a whole. The exact basic pairs of this
feature as a whole follow SCA development, as mentioned in
4.5, except that the feature of \(\text{j}a\) can also be (in addition to \(\text{j}a\) in 4.5 \(\text{j}a\), as mentioned in 5.52. This development
is also seen in some SCA dialects.6

5.5 Thus we can conclude that most calais features agree
with the corresponding features in classical, stable as opposed
to the bush. It is obvious that concerning the features (see
4.59) Chadic Arabic agrees with SCA, and thus must have orig-
inally been a SCA feature. The \(\text{c}^{\text{a}}\) i vowel harmonic variance
are clearly a secondary development in Chadic Arabic. Tho
conclusions expressed in 4.4 and 4.5 also apply to earlier
stages of Chadian Arabic.

3.6 Feature 139

Chadian Arabic (like SCA—see 4.6) does not have any traces of
12v verbs. Even lichten (1920: 100) passes this fact
“verbs with v as last radical do not need to be considered as
they are conjugated just like narr, i.e., as verbs with v as
last radical...” since almost all speakers of Chadian Arabic
do not know any classical Arabic or SCA at all, there are not
any synchronisms such as "bakṣa 'I bag of you' preserving the
route, which is an important synchronism between Chadian Arabic
and SCA. Synchrony dialectical forms such as these are unknown
also in Chadian Arabic. See 4.6.

3.7 Feature 140

The paradigm for 12v verbs in Chadian Arabic was presented
in 2.41. 12v verbs agree with 12v ones: the perfect endings
are identical with the nafa type (2.43) as well as the ligia type.

3.8 Chadian Arabic, like SCA, is peculiar in the develop-
ment of a final aspirctic vowel (ə) in the third person
masculine singular of the perfect, without also in the imper-
fect. See 2.41 and the notes pertaining to that section for
a discussion.

3.9 Thus we can conclude that for this feature, SCA and
Chadian Arabic agree overwhelmingly as opposed to all other
Arabic dialects (Semitic and Semitic), more proof for their common origin. See 4,31.

3,10 Feature 

This feature is present in Classical Arabic, although writing in "try for" as a separate independent word follows the practice of IRA. See 4,9. tahliyah seem sentence seen from

who both any Sinque at random

who asks the South wall? (18619: 41)

Did Moses need you a letter? 

He, he has not sent me (a letter) yet.

What was sent to me.

Kafirah al-nahal is defected (18619: 162)

Open the door for the guests.

Why do you write to me?

I ask you write to him.

Why don't you write him?

Because he does not write me.

Semakin is. Hay na nah paskia (18619: 162)
Sawil said an he did not sleep yesterday.

"You glued the wall during the night?"

I told you not to go out of the house.

"Yes, I told you to go to the house." What time shall I tell him you are coming?

"Good morning, say, say to you, Mr. Fifye.

"Tell him I am coming today in the evening.

"Good, I will tell him when I get home."

5.11 Interestingly enough, Kua Abal and Edward Vorks confirm the boxed feature (see 5.10) because it is not written as a separate lexical item. Consider the following sentence.12

"Kua Fifye et mooma. "Fakermun."

"Write me when you get to Accra."

Mr. Kua, we "tara samun "fiyene."

Mr. Kua, once kummarin "kuma we next di kaimin ting." I will write you half in Arabic and half in English.

"Reppen, we "nana yekki." Mr. Fifye:

"Good, and I will write you a little Arabic."

5.12 Feature 9.10

The Chadian Arabic digits numbers from three to ten have been presented in 5.35. None of them are monosyllabic. Cha-
Oman Arabic has gone its own way in the development of these features. There are no short forms for these minerals (as was seen for SCA in 4.113), but significantly different from SCA, there is not a single form with -3. The numerals are formed and used for either gender. In this instance, it agrees with Egyptian Semitic Arabic (see Ch. II, p. 555).

5.13 Again it must be said that Ferguson's point must be changed to fit the Chadian Arabic data (see 4.12). As I suspect in the case with SCA (see 4.13), i.e., African influence must be the reason for the peculiar development there, so too I suspect that African influence must be the reason for the development in Chadian Arabic.17

5.14 It was difficult to speculate about the original state of affixes in SCA (4.11) because there was no evidence of a root-like alteration, and Chadian Arabic agrees with SCA in this respect. However, I would not reject a proto-type Chadian Arabic to have the root-like feature; for the prototype SCA dialect on which Chadian Arabic was based probably lost the feature before we even nominally talk about Chadian Arabic per se.

5.15 It is entirely possible that Proto-Chadian Arabic had the feature, but then we have to assume that the SCA dialect from which Chadian Arabic grew also had the feature. It is then possible that Proto-SCA did not have the feature because
The Egyptian Arabic dialect on which SCA was based already had
\( \frac{13}{12} \). There is simply no way to determine the actual form
for each of the three dialects until more information is discov-
ered and becomes available.

5.16 Section 7.18

The numbers for thirteen through nineteen are presented in
\( \frac{13}{12} \). It is obviously recognized that Egyptian Arabic differs
from the Bedouin and all other Arabic dialects in this respect.
Since the language does not have enclitics, of course, we do not
expect them in the numbers 13-19. Interestingly enough, there
is no trace of enclitics in the numerals.

5.17 The forms listed in 5.16 (Ch. 7.17) with glotal
as, as I mention there, are non-existent in any dialect of
Chadian Arabic, as far as I know.

5.18 We must conclude, therefore, that/jinjar as the
Egyptian be considered Egyptian Arabic had it when (and \( \frac{13}{12} \) it had
enclitics. Namely Chadian Arabic, which of course still pro-
claims the enclitics, has none comparable with enclitics, and
consequently SCA forms very closely (see 4.15).

5.19 Section 7.21

Chadian Arabic agrees exactly with SCA (and all other en-
clitic Arabic dialects), i.e., it has only enclitic-type formations
for nouns (their part 4 23), there is no trace of the
enclitic enclitic formation Chadian.)
Chadian Arabic, as was the case with SDA, has a finite plural, basically of 8ب adjectives (see 4.1b). Consider

وضع 'large'

نهب 'large'

ورم 'man'

نور 'many'

Consider also the following singular and plural:

نام 'man'

أدا 'man'

نمر 'snake'

جر 'snake'

نور 'man'

نور 'man'

نور 'man'

As is evident from Appendix B (Table 1.1b) in Abu Abde and Siouche 1960b, Chadian Arabic agrees with SDA (and other Arabic dialects and Semitic languages) in this feature. See 4.19 and 4.20.

5.29 Feature 23

Chadian Arabic agrees with SDA (see 4.35) and follows the

Features exactly 500. Past tense is listed by all

sources, which is confirmed by Nitobe-lye (1964: 104).

5.35 Feature 212c

The Chadian Arabic verb أطع (equivalent to 212c) is conjugated
exactly like x-ac 'to wash' above in 2.06 (2nd root). The stem vowel /a/ is thus different from all other Arabic dialects except the SCA among the Hadrami Arabs. I have only heard /a/ as the root 'to see'. The form /y/ is likewise by section (1920c, 436) as one of the verbs 'to see', and this may have been true for the Hadram Arabic of half a century ago.

J. M. Reinecke (1923: 109) lists both /a/ and /e/ imperfect stem vowel in 179, and /e/ as 'to see'. /e/ does not exist in Hadram Arabic and means 'to regard'. See 2.47 for the conjunction, and Ch. 11, p. 147 for further details.

5.24 Then Hadram Arabic not only some derivatives of the root /a/, e.g., /a/ (lit.) common in the expression 'the case, (lit.) 'march one, be cautious', as other dialects do, but also some terms in /a/ per se but with a shift in meaning from the original 'to see'. Thus the facts of this feature should be modified to include these data.

5.25 The diachronics of the situation are again very difficult to establish in detail. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the root had both /a/ and /a/ with almost all dialects choosing the former as the normal root 'to see'. It is also possible, and in accordance with the age and area hypothesis, that Hadram Arabic preserves the original Western type affixes, i.e., /e/ means 'to see', and /a/ means 'to see again'. Of course, the Khaleeji and Copto-Phoenician Arabic
facts are impossible to states at the present moment. 10

5.26 Feature XII
As seen with other features, Qudaian Arabic goes hand in
good with DC or as opposed to the whole feature. The relative
pronoun in Qudaian Arabic is ‘al- the definite article’. The
morphophonology of the two different functions are signalled
differently, as discussed in 2.36, t.e., the assimilation of
12. The important point here is that there is no فيل, and
that this point should be revised. There are no traces of
ه للأف, which is the situation that one would expect. See
4.26-4.29 for more details.

5.27 It seems perfectly understandable to conclude that
Qudaian Arabic continues the DC (and classical Arabic) usage
of the definite article used as a relative particle. There
are no traces of فيل in Qudaian Arabic.

5.28 Feature XII
This feature is of course obscured by the fact that Qudaian
Arabic has no emphasis and no instrumental. د and د merge
with a (nominal Qudaian Arabic د) and thus the facts fit the
whole feature.

5.29 In conclusion, that many of
these features are subject to a better understanding as soon
as our knowledge about all the Arabic Dialects spoken in Qud
(Qudral Arabic as a whole) is considerably advanced.
There can be no doubt that SCA and Cusiat Arabic form one major macrodiallectal subgrouping since they share so many features not shared by any other secondary Arabic dialects. Emeneau (1953a) has stressed the importance of diffusion rather than genetic inheritance for the relatively unknown Dravidian family. Yet for the case of SCA and Cusiat Arabic dialects, we must wait and see if diffusion and "drift" will provide better answers and explanations than the old idea. It goes without saying that many (perhaps all) these features are subject to better understanding (and changes) when our information about all Thulûn and SCA dialects is well studied. Yet at the time being, we must conclude that both these dialects originally formed one more or less homogeneous macro-dialect, which descended from a more or less homogeneous Egyptian Arabic dialect, which must have descended from the Arabic hand.
1 See Ch. IV, n. 7.

2 As noted in 4.1 for SCA, so too we should remark that Ch. II deals with SCA and Classical Arabic together in this work. Another is that both of them happen to be the most neglected areas of major Arabic secondary dialectology.

3 Ch. II, in addition to being a state of the art paper, presents an outline of the structure of Classical Arabic, which is not available elsewhere anywhere in the literature.

4 Reference to the discussion of the particular issue feature will be in listing in the notes to Ch. IV, rather than starting the reference to Ch. III again, for the sake of convenience rather than anything else. See Ch. IV, n. 4.

5 See 4.5 and the notes pertaining to that section and 4.2.

6 See Ch. IV, n. 5.

7 See 4.44 and the notes pertaining to that section.

8 Only SCA and Classical Arabic, as far as I know, have this development, which I regard as another proof that both must have been developed from one and the same common dialect (prototype dialect).
9 See Ch. IV, n. 7.
10 See Ch. IV, n. 8.
11 See Ch. IV, n. 9.
12 I do not know why the authors changed their opinions regarding this point from 1966 to 1968, although Abu Ayyūb's knowledge of Egyptian Arabic [II] is never written together with the following word probably was the factor. André Stierst does not know any Egyptian Arabic at all: in fact, he does not even know the Arabic alphabet. See 6.9 for my similar reasoning with regard to Coptic in 1966.
13 WHICH is certainly more frequent than WHICH.
14 Akinleye [sic] for "Akinleye". The preceding note and sentence 1 in 5.11.
15 Nevertheless, I think the 1966 transcription is a better one.
16 See Ch. IV, n. 14.
17 Modern (Egyptian) Coptic has obviously been the fastest in Egyptian Mārkātī Arabic.

The facts in Mārkātī point to 'def' The Mārkātī number from three to ten may be used in either gender, i.e., even before nouns the numerical form does not necessarily have the 't' suffix. See Ioc Cincinnati 1969 for the Metalla and further literature added.

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are particularly
Figurative: the number ten in some compound series is written three different ways: (1) ʼeqt, (2) ʼeqt, and (3) ʼeqt.

As Lawrence (1969: 79):

Discussion of the three forms ʼeqt, ʼeqt, ʼeqt, to our regret, seriously handicapped by a blank in our knowledge. We are not in a position to point to even one clear example of these numbers in question with feminine sound they all occur in connection with nouns which are either clearly masculine or at least of doubtful gender.

10 See Ch. IV, n. 19.
19 See Ch. IV, n. 27.
20 See Ch. IV, n. 23.
21 Many other examples could be given demonstrating the productive nature of the final plural pattern.

22 See Ch. IV, n. 25.
23 See Ch. IV, n. 26.
24 See Ch. IV, n. 27.
25 See 4.22 and Ch. IV, n. 29.
26 I have not heard one, although it may exist with some speakers under the influence, most probably, of SCA or another dialect of Arabic (hardly HTA).

27 Perhaps it was (and is) still common in Nigerian Arabic.

Ethen lists 5 (1920: 466 and passing) as ʼeqt.

28 See 4.26 for similar happenings in Iraqi Arabic.
29 See also Kaye (1972, n. 31 and passim).
30 See Ch. 14, n. 31.
31 See Ch. 14, n. 33.
32 See Ch. 14, n. 34.
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