

THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF BASRA, IRAQ

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF
PHONOLOGY, MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Submitted by

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I certify that all material in this
thesis which is not my own work has
been identified and that no material
is included for which a degree has
previously been conferred upon me.

Signature.. 

This Thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a preliminary descriptive survey of the spoken Arabic of the city of Baṣra in southern Iraq.

The study is based on the researcher's own speech (being a native of the area) and field work among a cross section of the urban community, including all social classes. As this dialect has received comparatively little attention from scholars, copious examples have been cited. Although it is not the concern of this thesis, these should be of considerable interest to students of semantics.

Phonology is discussed first and an attempt made to isolate and describe the phonemes of the dialect with attention to the unstable phonemes. This is followed by sections dealing with morphology and syntax.

The conclusion attempts to place Baṣra Arabic in the general scheme of Arabic dialects by pointing out features in which this colloquial differs from or is similar to the dialects of surrounding areas - mainly those of the Baghdad area to the north, and the Arabian Gulf dialects to the south.

INTRODUCTION

Aim and Scope of this Study

The aim of this study is to give a descriptive analysis of BA at the present time. Comparatively little has been written about BA, mainly the notes and observations on certain aspects of the dialect by Ingham.⁽¹⁾ This comprehensive study concentrates on the sound system, morphology and syntax. The area under investigation comprises urban Basrah and the suburbs, districts, (nawāḥī) outskirts and provinces (aqḍiya) around it, namely from al-Fāu at the head of the Shaṭṭ al-^ᶜArab to al-Hārtha, when the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates now meet (the Euphrates having changed its course from where it used to meet the Tigris at al-Qurna).⁽²⁾ Only Iraqi territories on the bank of Shaṭṭ al-^ᶜArab are included in this study.

Some exceptional areas have been excluded for certain reasons. These are al-Zubair in the desert some 25 km south-west of central Basrah, and al-Qurna and its surrounding marshlands. While it is true that al-Zubair is geographically part of Basrah, linguistically it shows a similarity to the speech of Kuwait and the Eastern Arabian dialects.⁽³⁾ Therefore it was felt that this town needs a careful investigation alongside its counterparts outside the area under investigation. The speech of the Marshlands shows considerable dissimilarity to that of Basrah on the levels of sound system and vocabulary, and because al-Qurna is mostly surrounded by marshlands, investigation showed that it is best regarded as

being characteristic of Marshland more than Basrah speech.

In studying BA, I found no justification for dividing BA into two groups, i.e. urban and rural, as done by many linguists in their studies of Arabic dialects from other areas. The linguistic boundaries between the town and the surrounding countrysides are simply not apparent, and any slight differences which have been observed usually are the lexical and semantic planes rather than phonological, morphological or synthetic, mainly because the town society is rural in origin and the towns depend basically on the surrounding villages and countryside for filling the needs and manpower. Those who live in the town are most of them originally villagers or cultivators who moved to the town for various reasons.⁽⁴⁾

Data and Informants

The present study is the result of data collected in Basrah from a large number of native speakers, and the author is also a native speaker of BA. Use has also been made of notes made from direct observation, and conversation with native speakers during visits to the most of the areas under investigation, and for verification of matters of pronunciation and other related aspects, reference has been made to numerous recordings of educated and uneducated speakers from most locations under investigation.

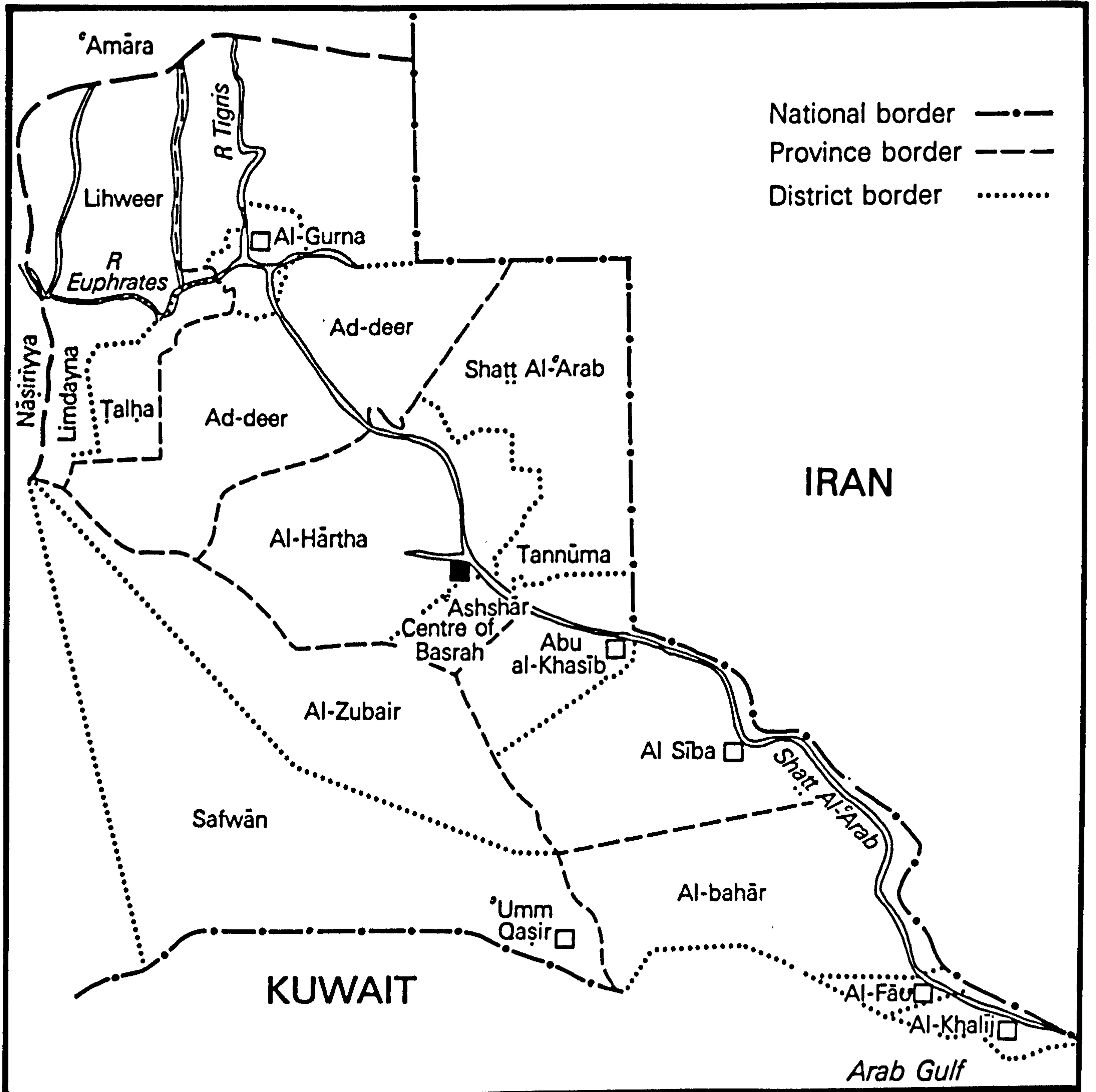
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. See his article (1973, pp.533-53) and (1976, pp.62-82).
Also his book (1982).
2. For more details see al-Siraih, Abdul hussain
(1977, p.32).
3. See Ingham (1976, pp.80-81); also Johnstone,
(1967, pp. 70-92).
4. This has also been noted by al-Sāmarrā'ī with
regard to the dialect of Southern Iraq. For
more details see his book, (1968, p.235).

ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Classical Arabic
BA	Basrah Dialect
VB	Verb
Im.	Imperfect
Imp.	Imperative
F.	Feminine
M.	Masculine
C.	Consonant
V.	Vowel
Ap.	Active participle
pp.	Passive participle
Sing(s)	Singular
Pl.	Plural
V.n.	Verbal noun

Basrah map and its localities



PART ONE

PHONOLOGY

TABLE 11. SOUNDSCONSONANTS

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Interdental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	Voiceless	p			t		k	q	ʕ	ʔ
	Voiced	b			d		g			
Fricative	Voiceless		f	θ	s	ç	k		ħ	h
	Voiced			ð	z		g			
Affricates	Voiceless					tʃ				
	Voiced					dʒ				
Nasals		m			n					
Flap					ɾ					
Lateral					l					
Semi Vowel		w				y				
Pharyngealized	Stop	Voiceless	p̤		t̤					
		Voiced	b̤							
	Fricative	Voiceless			s̤					
		Voiced		ð̤	z̤					
	Nasal		m̤							
	Flap				ɾ̤					
	Lateral				l̤					

TABLE 2VOWELS

Short		Front	Central	Back
	high	i		u
	mid			o
	low		a	
Long	high	ii		uu
	mid	ee		oo
	low		aa	

1.1 CONSONANTS

There are 36 consonant phonemes in the BA⁽¹⁾. For the sake of simplification of description of these consonants, I have classified them into groups according to their places and manner of articulation as listed in Table (1).

1.1.1 Stop Consonants

- A. /p/. Voiceless bilabial stop. The two lips come together with complete closure, then the breath stream is released. It occurs only in loan words ⁽²⁾ and does not occur in CA. In BA /p/ and /b/ are (in foreign words) usually interchangeable, for instance, parda (curtain) can be pronounced in two ways, with /p/ or with /b/; also braawa or praawa (tailor's fitting).

However, I agree with Al-Toma's view that:-

There are two facts which seem to justify the treatment of /p/ as a colloquial phoneme:

1. Its occurrence in a considerable number of words.
2. The existence of minimal pairs of /p/ and /b/
/ʃoopa/ heating stove: /ʃooba/ his side: /parda/
curtain: /barda/ cold, a wave of cold ⁽³⁾.

- B. /b/. This phoneme is a voiced bilabial stop, similar to English /b/ in buy, bad.

bint	girl
liban	yogurt drink
baab	door
ktaab	book

- C. /t/. A voiceless dental stop⁽⁴⁾ similar to English /t/ as in take, table, tie. The only difference is that described by Erwin.

In the production of the Iraqi sound the tip of the tongue touches the upper gum at the point where the teeth emerge, also touching the rear surface of the teeth whereas in the English sound the point of the tongue is somewhat farther back on the gum ridge⁽⁵⁾.

tamur	dates
ktaab	a book
tufrat	she jumped

- D. /d/. A voiced dental stop, the voiced counterpart of /t/. Similar to English /d/ as in door, desk, food.

darub	road
şadir	chest
masduud	closed

- E. /k/. Voiceless velar stop. This phoneme is produced when the back part of the tongue touches the back part of the roof of the mouth, in the area of the soft palate⁽⁶⁾. The English equivalent of this phoneme is /k/ as in kick, kid.

kaatib	clerk
kaafir	infidel, unbeliever
markab	ship
şariik	partner

- F. /g/. This phoneme is the voiced counterpart of /k/ similar to English /g/ as in big, give.

gaal	he said
gaam	he stood up
digma	button
ṭagga	he hit him

- G. /q/. An uvular voiceless stop (7). The production of this sound is in the area of the uvula, when the back part of the tongue touches the soft palate (8).

qalam	pencil
qamiis	shirt
^c aaqil	polite, quiet
ṭariiq	road
qalaq	worry

- H. /^c/. This phoneme has been described in all previous works on Arabic, classical as well as dialectical, as a voiced pharyngeal fricative (9), but according to Al-Ani's investigation, it is a voiceless stop (10).

However, after a careful acoustical examination of /^c/ it was surprisingly noticeable that the most common allophone of the /^c/ is actually a voiceless stop and not a voiced fricative (11).

The most common allophone of the /^c/ for all the Iraqi informants is a voiceless stop (12).

To enter into this argument lies outside the scope of this general description of BA, but it does seem that this phoneme is in need of further intensive physiological investigation and careful acoustic analysis.

^c ali	proper name
s ^c aal	cough
ybi ⁱ c	he sells
^v sami ^c	candles

- I. /'/. Glottal stop. The glottal stop is produced by the action of the vocal cords which close together completely then release. There is no equivalent of this sound in Standard English, but speakers of certain dialects (especially Cockney and some Scottish dialects) often substitute it for non-initial /t/, e.g. in button, bottle ⁽¹³⁾. It is by its nature voiceless.

'amal	hope
'awwal	first
si'al	he asked
'asmaa'	names; proper names

1.1.2 Fricatives

- A. /f/. Voiceless labio-dental fricative. This phoneme is produced when the lower lip slightly touches the upper teeth, the air stream passing with some friction⁽¹⁴⁾. Similar to English /f/ as in food, fan.

fariiq	team
ʃariif	honourable
ʕariif	serjeant
faqlir	poor

/f/ is usually substituted for /v/ in loanwords, although the original sound is sometimes retained by educated speakers.

tilfizyoon	television
fiitaamiin	
or	
viitaamiin	vitamin
fiiza or viiza	visa

- B. /t̪/. Voiceless interdental fricative. This phoneme is produced when the tip of the tongue is between the upper teeth and the lower teeth, and the airstream goes with friction through and around the partial obstruction⁽¹⁵⁾. Similar to English /th/ as in thief, through.

<u>t</u> aliɟ	ice
ʕi <u>t̪</u> ig	bunch of dates
<u>t̪</u> ili <u>t̪</u>	one third

C. /d/. Voiced interdental fricative. This phoneme is the voiced counterpart of /t/. The English equivalent of this phomeme is the sound of th, in that, this.

<u>d</u> ibb	throw (imperative)
<u>d</u> ahab	gold
<u>k</u> <u>i</u> <u>d</u> a	he took
<u>k</u> uw <u>a</u> d	helmets

D. /s/. Voiceless dental fricative. This sound is produced when the tip and the blade of the tongue slightly touch the gum (where the upper teeth emerge), the air passes through the narrow gap, producing audible friction. The English equivalent of this sound is /s/ as in see, swear, snake, square.

sima	sky
suug	market
qisma	part
šamis	sun

E. /z/. Voiced dental fricative. This phoneme is the voiced counterpart of /s/. The English equivalent of this sound is /z/ as in breeze, zinc.

zuuliyya	carpet
bazzuuna	cat
looz	almonds

F. /š/. Voiceless palatal fricative ⁽¹⁶⁾. This sound is produced when

... the upper surface of the front part of the tongue approaches the roof of the mouth in the area just behind the gum-ridge (17).

and the air passes with friction, similar to English sh, as in sheep, bishop, dish.

Ŷaṭṭ	river
Ŷuuf	look (imperative)
Ŷirad	he escaped
hooŶ	courtyard, house
beeŶ	how much?
^c aŶra	ten

G. /k/. Voiceless velar fricative. This phoneme is produced when the back part of the tongue approaches the roof of the mouth in the area of the soft palate (18), and the air stream passes through a narrow passage with friction.

<u>ka</u> ṭar	danger
na <u>ka</u> ṭ	palm trees
<u>ko</u> <u>o</u> <u>k</u>	peaches

H. /g/. Voiced velar fricative. This phoneme is the voiced counterpart of /k/.

gaali	expensive
gbaar	dust
Ŷiḡil	work, job
faraag	emptiness

I. /ħ/. Voiceless pharyngeal fricative. This sound is produced with the root of the tongue retracted towards the back wall of the pharynx, the air stream passing through the narrow passage, with friction⁽¹⁹⁾.

ħaṭab	firewood
ħaliib	milk
laḥam	meat
ṭaah	he fell

J. /h/. Voiceless glottal fricative. In producing this sound, the air stream passes through the glottis, with a slight friction.

'ahli	my family
haada	this
muhandis	engineer
dihin	oil
wayih	face

1.1.3 Affricates

A. /č/. Voiceless palatal affricate. This sound is produced when the tip and the blade of the tongue make complete contact with the roof of the mouth in the area just behind the upper teeth, and then the tongue releases its contact slowly, causing slight friction in the air stream. (English equivalent ch, as in chips).

ȳalib	dog
hīč ^v a	he spoke
ȳaff	hand
čīlīč ^v	chewing gum

B. /j/. This sound is the voiced counterpart of /č^v/ similar to English /j/ as in judge, object.

jibin	cheese
šij ^v ra	tree
zawaaj	marriage

1.1.4. Nasals

A. /m/. Voiced bilabial nasal. This sound is produced when the lips completely close, and the air stream passes through the nose. Similar to English /m/ as in move, simple, meat.

marīīd ₊	ill, sick
simiin	fat
damm	blood

B. /n/. Voiced dental nasal. This sound is produced when the front part of the tongue touches the upper gum where the teeth emerge, blocking the oral passage, and the air stream passes through the nose. Similar to English /n/ as in name, snake.

nahar	river
banaat	girls
ween	where
ṭilyaan	sheep

1.1.5 Flap

/r/. Voiced dental flap. This sound is produced when the tip of the tongue touches the gum behind the upper teeth, while the air stream passes over the centre part of the tongue causing it to vibrate.

raah	he went
^v saari ^c	street
hmaar	donkey

1.1.6 Lateral

/l/. Voiced lateral. This sound is produced when the front part of the tongue touches the upper gum at the point when the teeth emerge just a little further back than /n/ the air stream passes out of the sides of the tongue.

laham	meat
hilim	dream
<u>ka</u> ali	empty
qaliil	a little

1.1.7 Semi-Vowels

Semi-vowels are the sounds which are phonetically similar to vowels, but which function in the phonology of a given language as consonants. There are two semi-vowels in BA.

A. /w/. High back bilabial semi-vowel. In producing this sound, the back part of the tongue is high and the lips are rounded, it is phonetically similar to the high

back rounded vowel /u/ (20). Similar to English /w/ as in work, well.

walad	boy
^v suwa	he roasted
yaraawi	puppies
waahid	one
hīlu	sweet

B. /y/. High front unrounded, palatal semi-vowel. In producing this sound, the front part of the tongue is high, and touches the area behind the gum, and the lips are unrounded. Phonetically similar to the high front unrounded vowel /i/ and similar to the English /y/ as in yes, beyond.

yaab	he brought
yaahil	child
^c aayla	family
yaay	coming; having come

1.1.8 Pharyngealized Consonants

Ten of the consonants described above (p, b, t, f, d, s, z, m, l, r) have pharyngealized counterparts (written dotted, p̣, ḅ, ṭ, f̣, ḍ, ẓ, ṣ, ṃ, ḷ, ṛ).

In accordance with modern research, I prefer the term pharyngealized to "emphatic" or "velarized"(21). In producing these pharyngealized consonants,

The palatine dorsum moved inferiorly, and the pharyngeal dorsum moved toward the posterior pharyngeal wall (22).

Also we notice in the production of pharyngealized consonants, in addition to the activity of tongue and lips, some features which distinguish them from their plain counterparts. These features are (23):

1. The central part of the tongue is slightly depressed and the back part raised, so that the upper surface of the tongue is concave;
 2. The tongue as a whole is tense and somewhat retracted;
 3. There is some constriction of the pharynx walls.
- A. /p/. Voiceless bilabial stop, pharyngealized. This phoneme is the pharyngealized counterpart of /p/ but with only a little, or without aspiration. In producing this sound, the central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part relatively raised. There is some labialization (24).

The following examples show the contrast between the pharyngealized and the plain consonant.

Plain:

pan ^v car	puncture
parda	curtain
piip	barrel

Pharyngealized:

lamp̣a	lamp
paạča	stew made of lamb's head etc.
paṇka	fan

- B. /ḅ/. Voiced bilabial stop, pharyngealized. This sound is the pharyngealized counterpart of /b/. In producing this sound the lips come together, the central part of the tongue is depressed, and the back part is raised. The following examples give minimal and near minimal pairs with /b/ and /ḅ/.

baaba	his door	baaba	daddy
rabba	he brought up	raḅba	his lord
barda	a cold spell	bạrda	make it colder
ṭibb	medicine	ṭaḅb	he entered
laabid	he hid	laaḅudd	must
rikba	knee	raḳba	mount him on an animal or vehicle
ṭaalib	student	ṭaaḷub	he ordered, requested

The following examples show the contrast between the pharyngealized and the plain consonant.

baṭṭ	he tore	bass	enough
baag	he stole	bint	girl
baṅg	bank	beet	house

- C. /ṭ/. Voiceless dental stop, pharyngealized, the counterpart of /t/. In producing this sound, the

front part of the tongue touches the gum just behind the upper teeth, the central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part is relatively raised (25).

The following examples show the contrast between the pharyngealized and plain consonant.

ṭiin	clay	tiin	figs
ṭeer	bird	teel	wire
ḥaṭṭat	she put	ḥattat	it lost its leaves (tree)
ṭooḇa	ball	tooba	forgiveness

- D. /ḥ/. Voiceless labio-dental fricative, pharyngealized; the pharyngealized counterpart of /f/. In producing this sound, the upper lip touches the lower teeth, the air passes with friction, the central part of the tongue being depressed and the back part raised. The following examples show minimal and near minimal pairs with /f/ and /ḥ/.

raḥḥ	shelf	raff	fluttered
saḥra	yellow (fem)	safra	journey
'iṣḥarḥ	his face became yellow	'aṣfar	yellow
ḥakk	he opened	faḥḥ	jaw

- E. /ḍ/. Voiced interdental fricative, pharyngealized⁽²⁶⁾; the pharyngealized counterpart of /d/. In producing this sound, the tip of the tongue is between the teeth, while the air passes through the partial obstruction.

The central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part relatively raised (27). The following examples show the contrast between the plain consonant /d/ and the pharyngealized.

ḥaddar	he warned	ḥaddar	he prepared
daa ^c	it spread; he broadcast	ḍaa ^c	it got lost
damm	he criticized	ḍamm	he hid

- F. /ṣ/. Voiceless dental fricative, pharyngealized: the pharyngealized counterpart of /s/. In producing this sound, the front part of the tongue touches the upper gum ridge, but farther back than for /s/. The central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part is relatively raised (27). The following examples show the contrast between /s/ and /ṣ/.

ṣeef	summer	seef	sword
naaṣi	low	naasi	having forgotten
ṣaayih	shouting	saayih	tourist
ṣill (28)	snake	sill	tuberculosis
ṣafra	yellow (fem)	safra	trip
kṣṣ	reed wall	kass	lettuce
kaṣṣ	private	kaas	it rotted

- G. /z/. Voiced dental fricative, pharyngealized; the pharyngealized counterpart of /z/. In producing it, the blade of the tongue touches slightly the gum just behind the upper teeth, the air passing with friction. The central

part of the tongue is depressed and the back part relatively raised (29).

ṣayyat	it creaked
ṣaḡar	it became smaller
ṣḡayyir	small

- H. /ḷ/. Voiced pharyngealized lateral; the pharyngealized counterpart of /l/. In producing this sound, the tip of the tongue touches the upper gum ridge, farther back than /l/. The central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part relatively raised, there is a little vibration of the vocal cords (30).

Ferguson explained the environment of the occurrence of /ḷ/ in Iraqi as follows:

In the examples cited from Iraqi Arabic the story must have been as follows: after /q/ and /ḡ/, short /a/ and long /aa/ had the emphatic allophone, and /ḷ/ after this vowel was accordingly velarized. When the /ḷ/ was in turn following by /i/ or /ii/ however, it was not velarized (31).

He gives the following examples:

<u>kaḷḷ</u>	vinegar		<u>kaal</u>	mother's brother
<u>kalli</u>	my vinegar		<u>kaali</u>	my uncle
<u>kalli</u>	leave, let		<u>kaali</u>	empty, deserted

More or less following Ferguson's idea, Al-Ani mentions that it occurs "only next to /a/ and /aa/" (32), while Erwin describes the environments of /ḷ/ as

... next to another emphatic ... preceding another emphatic though separated from it by a short vowel; following g, x [i.e. kh], or ġ; or following a labial when the latter is preceded by g, x, ġ or an emphatic, or r. (33).

Ferguson regarded /l̥/ as

... an independent phoneme in classical Arabic and in most if not all the modern dialects (34).

His treatment of /l̥/ seems quite satisfactory because the existence of minimal pairs both in classical and in BA, justify the treatment of the /l̥/ as an independent phoneme.

The environment for the occurrence of /l̥/ in BA are the following:

1. Immediately after k, g, ġ or separated from them by by a short or long vowel.

k̥laal	unripe dates
nak̥la	palm tree
baġla	mule (female)
ġluub	hearts
ġilab	he won
gaḷub	heart
mink̥il	sieve
k̥aal	maternal uncle
daġal	thicket
nguula	bastards

2. Immediately after pharyngealized ṣ , ṭ , ḍ , ḃ , ṁ , ḥ , or separated by a long or short vowel.

ḃaalṭu	coat
ṭallag	he divorced
faḍul	favour
ḍall	he stayed
ṣalla	he prayed
gamul	lice
gaḥul	lock
ṁkabḃal	crazy
gaḃla	before him
gaṁla	louse
ṭall	he looked curiously.
'aḃṭaal	heroes
faḍla	his favour
ṭaḃla	drum
'ciṭla	holiday
'aṣla^c	bald

/l/ also occurs in loanwords,

glaas	glass
laṁpa	lamp
doolma	stuffed vine leaves

Some speakers use either /l/ or /ḥ/ in certain words with no distinction in meaning:

dikal dikal he entered
 bukil bukil stinginess
 ʕaaṭla ʕaaṭla broken down

However, the following minimal pairs show the contrast between /ḷ/ and /l/.

<u>ka</u> ḷfa	offspring		<u>ka</u> lfa	builder
ṭa <u>ḷ</u> la	drum		ṭa <u>l</u> la	he entered unto him
<u>ka</u> ḷḷ	vinegar		<u>ka</u> ll	let (imperative)
wa <u>ḷ</u> la	by God		walla	he sent
<u>ka</u> ḷi	my uncle		<u>ka</u> li	empty

- I. /ṁ/. Bilabial nasal voiced, pharyngealized; the pharyngealized counterpart of /m/. It is produced when the lips close, blocking the mouth and causing the air stream to go through the nose. The central part of the tongue is depressed and the back part relatively raised. (35) It usually occurs before /a/ or /aa/ and the following examples show the contrast between the plain consonant and its pharyngealized counterpart.

ma <u>ṁ</u> s	he sucked		mass	ladle
yu <u>ṁ</u> ma	mummy!		yamma	beside him
ma <u>ṁ</u> y	water		mayy	proper name
ma <u>ṁ</u> rag	stew		murag	he passed
ma <u>ṁ</u> ma	mother		mamma	teat or baby bottle

- J. /ṛ/. Voiced dental flap, pharyngealized. This sound is produced when the tip of the tongue makes a trill against

the gum behind the upper teeth, further back than the non-pharyngealized /r/. The airstream passes without friction. "It is limited in occurrence and is mostly found initially before /a/ and /aa/" (36).

The following minimal pairs show the contrast between plain and pharyngealized /r/ and /r̥/.

ṛabḇa	his lord	rabba	he brought up, raised
ṛabḇ	lord	rabb	father of the family
marṛ	he passed	murr	bitter

1.2 VOWELS

BA has five long vowels and four short vowels, which means that it does not differ much in this respect from Baghdadi dialect, which has eight vowels (37).

In order to give a general idea about vowels in Iraqi Arabic it will be useful to discuss the points of view of the authors who have written about the subject.

Erwin considered that Iraqi Arabic had nine vowels, four short and five long, the short vowels being /i/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ (38). Al-Toma indicates that

There are five long vowels which can be identified. They are /ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, /ū/. The two vowels /ē/ and /ō/ correspond in most instances to the classical diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ respectively. The short vowels are more difficult to identify. There

are at least four short vowels, a, i, o, u and possibly a fifth involving contrast between two varieties of /i/ (symbolized by a and i)⁽³⁹⁾.

Van Wagoner recognized eight vowels in Iraqi, three single /i/, /u/, /a/, and five geminate, /ii/, /uu/, /aa/, /ee/, /oo/ ⁽⁴⁰⁾. McCarthy mentions that there are ten vowels in the spoken Arabic of Baghdad ⁽⁴¹⁾, and Blanc indicates that there are nine vowels in the same dialect, short vowels /i/, /u/, /e/, /a/, long vowels /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/, /ā/ ⁽⁴²⁾.

Al-Ani considered that Iraqi Arabic has four short vowels, /i/, /u/, /a/, /o/ and five long vowels, /ii/, /uu/, /ee/, /oo/, /aa/ ⁽⁴³⁾.

Ferguson says that

Baghdadi Arabic has five vowel phonemes, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, all of which occur short and long (double) except that short /e/ and /o/ are extremely rare ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

and mentions also that many modern dialects have five long vowels ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, and varying numbers of short vowel phonemes, three to six in dialects he has studied ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Ingham recognizes a vowel /ie/ in Mesopotamian Arabic, saying

The Mesopotamian type is recorded for the core of the Mesopotamian dialects area, namely the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-^cArab up to Gurna, Shādīgān, Ahwāz, Huwaiza and Khorramshahr in

Kuzistan, the settlements of the Southern Euphrates near Sūq al-Shuyūkh Nāṣiriyya and Samāwa, Dīwāniyya, Najaf, Karbala and Baghdad and also for Mi^cdān informants in the area of Chibāyish, Fuhūd and Butaiha (46).

I disagree with Ingham because in my own experience this vowel does not exist on the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-^cArab (47), and centres of settlements in Basrah which are the scope of my study. Among the people who live on the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-^cArab, in addition to central parts of Basrah, I did not hear this vowel, though, as Ingham says, it does exist among Mi^cdān who live in the marshes.

Ossani recognized nine vowels in Baghdadi Arabic:

In the Arabic writing only three vowels are expressed a, i, u, or ā, ī, ū ... In the Baghdadi dialect, however, as well as in all the other modern Arabic, we find three additional vowels ȡ, ē, e, (48).

Woodhead and Wayne Beene (49), recognized nine vowels in Baghdadi dialect, four short, a, o, u, i, five long aa, oo, uu, ii, ee.

Distribution of the Vowels

As stated, BA has nine vowels, four short vowels and five long vowels. These vowels occur freely in all positions, but at the beginning of an utterance all are more commonly preceded by the glottal stop. (50)

1.2.1 Short Vowels

The four short vowels in BA are a, u, i, o, except that the vowel o is rare. The vowels (except o) do not differ much phonetically from the vowels in classical Arabic.

A. /i/. Short high front unrounded vowel. There are four major allophones of /i/, and an articulatory description of each of them and their environments will be given below.

1. This allophone is produced with part of the tongue nearer to the centre than to the front, raised to a position similar to that of a slightly lowered half closed vowel. There is a slight contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper molars. The lips are spread (51).

This allophone occurs when /i/ is between /h/ or /^c/ and /r/ or is followed by /h/ or /^c/ (52), as in the following examples:

^c iraf	he knew
hiram	it was forbidden
si ^c al	he coughed
'ihlib	milk (imperative)

2. This allophone is articulated with the front of the tongue closely approximating the closed front position. The lips are spread and the tongue is relatively

relatively tense (53).

This allophone occurs when /i/ is in a final position,

maali	mine
<u>ka</u> ali	empty
^c iraqi	Iraqi

3. This allophone is produced with the centre of the tongue raised to a position slightly above the half closed position. The tongue has more tension than that associated with Number 2. The lips tend to be neutral.

This allophone is produced when /i/ occurs next to pharyngealized consonants or between r and a labial or a velar (54).

<u>di</u> dda	against him
ʃir <u>a</u> k	he shouted
ri <u>k</u> ʃa	permission
gi <u>r</u> ag	he sank
ti <u>f</u> la	child (female)
ri <u>f</u> aɖ	he refused
ri <u>g</u> ba	neck
ri <u>k</u> ba	knee

4. This allophone occurs in all environments not described above. It is produced with the front of the tongue retracted towards the centre and slightly raised above the half closed position. The tongue has less tension than that associated with Number 2.

The lips are spread with a light contact between the tongue and the upper molars (55).

limm	collect (imperative)
siyyaara	car
yisbah	he swims
^v šijra	tree
yil ^c ab	he plays
zibid	butter

B. /a/. Low short central unrounded vowel. There are three major allophones of /a/.

1. This allophone is produced with the tongue nearer to the front than to the centre, assuming a fully open position. The lips are neutrally open. The contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper teeth is very slight. The tongue is in tension (56).

This allophone occurs next to /h/ and /^c/.

^c ali	proper name
sab ^c a	seven
^v šaham	fat
hall	solution
^c arka	fighting
faham	coal

2. This allophone is produced with the tongue nearer to the back than to centre, raised to a height between the half open and fully open positions. The lips are

slightly rounded and the air-stream escapes centrally through the mouth without friction. The tongue is tense (57).

This allophone occurs next to pharyngealized consonants, as in the following example shown below:

ṣadiiq	friend
nak <u>ḷ</u> a	palm tree
ṛaḇḇa	his lord
ṭabiib	a doctor
ḍa <u>ḷ</u> ḷ	he stayed
ma <u>ṛ</u> ag	stew

3. This allophone is produced with the front of the tongue raised to a height slightly below the half open position with the lips neutrally spread. There is a slight contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper teeth (58).

This allophone occurs in all other environments except those described above.

'isma	his name
'ahal	family
badla	suit
ṽcalib	dog

- C. /u/. Short high back rounded vowel. It has three major allophones:

1. Produced with the part of the tongue nearer to the back than to the centre, raised to a position slightly below the fully closed position. The tongue is tense. No contact is made between the rims of the tongue and upper molars (59).

This allophone occurs when the vowel is in a final position and not next to a pharyngealized consonant.

ykitbu	they write
'iklu	eat (pl. imperative)
^c ilu	height

2. This allophone of /u/ is articulated with the back of the tongue slightly fronted and raised to a height just under the half close position. The lips are rounded but not so closely as for /u/ (60). The tongue has more tension than in /u/, Number 1.

This allophone occurs next to pharyngealized consonants or next to /^c/ or /ḥ/, or followed by /w/ and next to r and velars.

ṭuma ^c	greed
ṣubag̣	he painted
murag̣	he passed
ḥuwa	he picked up (fruit)
^c ubar	he crossed
bukaḷ	stingy
kufur	unbelief

ṣubar	he is patient
ḍumm	hide (imperative)
rubu ^c	quarter
ḥubb	love
luwa	he twisted
rugḃa	neck

3. This allophone is articulated with the part of the tongue nearer to the centre than to the back, raised to a height slightly above the fully closed position. The tongue is tense (61). The lips are slightly more rounded than in Number 1.

This allophone occurs in most environments other than those described above.

mumtaaz	excellent
lubnaan	Lebanon
muslim	moslem
beetkum	your (pl.) house

- D. /o/. Short mid back rounded vowel. This vowel occurs in a limited number of words, mostly loan words. It is similar in quality to the long vowel /oo/ but shorter in length (62). I have found no examples in contiguity with pharyngealized consonants.

yo	expression of dislike, disapproval (used only by women)
radio ⁽⁶³⁾	radio
saanyo ⁽⁶⁴⁾	sanyo

mobii11iyyaat	furniture
lo (65)	if

1.2.2 Long Vowels

Five long vowels are recognized in BA. These vowels are:

A. /ii/. Long high front unrounded vowel (66). The most common allophones of /ii/ are:

1. This allophone is articulated with the front of the tongue closely approximating the close front position. The tongue is tense and there is a firm contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper side teeth (67).

This allophone occurs in all environments not in contiguity with pharyngealized consonants.

tiin	figs
sniin	years
^v suufii	see him (2fs imp.)
haliib	milk
simiin	fat
kitlii	hit him (2fs imp.)

2. This allophone of /ii/ is articulated with the centre of the tongue raised to a position slightly above the half closed position. The tongue has more tension than that associated with Number 1 (68).

This allophone occurs in contiguity with pharyngealized consonants and sometimes with /k/.

ṭiin	clay
baṭṭiik	melon
maɾiɪd	ill
yintii	he gives him
baṣiit	easy
kaṭiib	speaker
ḥaṣiir	mat
ḥaḳiil	mean

B. /aa/. Long low central unrounded vowel. There are two major allophones of /aa/:

1. This allophone is articulated with the part of the tongue nearer to the back than to the centre, raised to a height just above the fully open position with a relatively wide opening between the jaws. There is no contact between the sides of the tongue and the upper teeth. The lips are slightly rounded and the tongue is relatively tense (69).

This allophone occurs in contiguity with pharyngealized consonants and /k/.

kayyaat	tailor
ḥgaal	mules
ḥṣaat	carpet
kaadhūm	he has held them

<u>k</u> aala	maternal aunt
ṭamaaṭa	tomato
rṣaasa	bullet

2. This allophone is articulated with the front of the tongue somewhat retracted and raised to a level slightly above the fully open position. There is a slight contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper teeth. The air-stream escapes centrally through the mouth without any friction (70).

This allophone occurs in all other environments.

ktaab	book
maal	it inclined
gaa ^c	land
jaar	neighbour
laa	no, not
gaal	he said
naam	he slept
^v saab	young man
maa	not
' <u>i</u> daa	if (with prolonged final vowel)

- C. /ee/. Long mid-front unrounded vowel (71). This vowel does not occur finally, but only medially.

There are two major allophones of /ee/:

1. This allophone of /ee/ is articulated with the front

of the tongue raised to a level just below the half closed position. The lips are neutrally spread throughout. There is a slight contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper molars (72).

This allophone occurs in the vicinity of pharyngealized, uvular, velar and pharyngeal consonants.

be <u>ed</u>	eggs
ṭeer	bird
^v se <u>ek</u>	head of the tribe
ḡeem	cloud
ḥeel	strength
ḍeem	misfortune, problem
ṭeef	proper name
<u>keel</u>	horses
ṣeef	summer
^c eeb	shame
qees	proper name
<u>keet</u>	thread

2. This allophone tends to be slightly diphthongised. It is articulated with the front of the tongue raised to a level just below the half closed position, with a slight glide towards a /y/ (73).

This allophone occurs in all environments not in the vicinity of pharyngealized, pharyngeal, velar or uvular consonants.

bee ^y	how much?
lee ^y	why?
leol	night
<u>de</u> el	tail
beet	house
ween	where
zeen	good
^c alee	on him

D. /oo/. Long mid back rounded vowel. This vowel occurs medially and finally. There are two major allophones of /oo/ listed below.

1. This allophone is articulated with the back of the tongue raised to a height between half open and half closed. There is no contact between the tongue and the upper back teeth. The lips are slightly protruded with slight lip rounding. The tongue is tense (74).

This allophone occurs next to pharyngealized consonants and k.

ṭooḃa	ball
ḍooja	depression
ṣoom	fasting
<u>kook</u>	peach
ṛooḃa	youghurt

2. This allophone is pronounced with part of the tongue nearer to the back than to the centre, raised to a position between half open and half closed. There is contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper back teeth. The tongue has less tension than that associated with Number 1. The lips have medium lip rounding (75).

This allophone occurs in all environments other than those described above.

foog	on, above
<u>t</u> oom	garlic
^v sook	thorns
<u>k</u> alloo	they let him
noom	sleep
mooz	bananas
daaynoo	they lent him

- E. /uu/. Long high back, rounded vowel. There are two major allophones of /uu/, these are given below:

1. This allophone is articulated with the back of the tongue raised to a level just above the half closed position. The tongue is relatively tense. There is no contact between the tongue and the upper teeth. The lips are closely rounded with slight protrusion.

This allophone occurs next to a pharyngealized consonant.

<u>ḍ</u> uug	taste!	ḅṭuut	ducks
ṣuura	picture	ṣuum	fast (imp)
<u>k</u> iṣuuṣi	especially		

2. This allophone is articulated with the back of the tongue considerably fronted and raised to a height somewhat below the closed position. The tongue has less tension than that associated with Number 1. There is no firm contact between the rims of the tongue and the upper teeth. The tongue position is higher than that for Number 1.

This allophone occurs in all environments other than those described above.

^v suuf	look
ḥassuun	proper name
druub	roads
^c yuun	eyes
fuut	foot (unit of measurement)

The following examples give minimal pairs with /oo/-/uu/:

loom	blame	luum	blame (2ms imp)
ṣoom	fasting	ṣuum	fast (2ms imp)
<u>ḍ</u> oog	taste	<u>ḍ</u> uug	taste (2ms imp)
<u>k</u> oot	stirring	<u>k</u> uut	stir (2ms imp)
boog	stealing	buug	steal (2ms imp)

2. SOUNDS IN COMBINATION

2.1 The Diphthongs

The diphthongs are described as

... sequences of vocalic elements which form a glide within one syllable (76).

Erwin considered diphthongs in Iraqi as sequences of a short or long vowel and a semi-vowel (w or y) in the same syllable (77). He recognized four common diphthongs in Baghdadi Arabic, aw, aaw, ay, aay, and two other diphthongs, iw and eew, occurring much less commonly (78). Later he adds /ooy/, then says that /eew/, /ooy/ and /iiw/ are less common than the rest of the diphthongs (79).

McCarthy distinguishes ten diphthongs in Baghdadi Arabic, but admits that it is perhaps not quite correct to call some of them diphthongs (80), (ay, ay, ai, ay, aw, aw, oy, oy, iw, yū).

In BA, I recognized eight diphthongs. Seven diphthongs are similar to Baghdadi diphthongs, and the additional diphthong in BA is /iy/.

The following examples show the BA diphthongs:

A. /aw/

yaw, jaw	they came
saafraw	they travelled
naamaw	they slept

B. /aaw/. It is longer than /aw/.

qaawmat	she resisted
t ^c aawnat	she co-operated

C. /ay/

'ayy	which
ḥayy	alive
mayy	proper name
ṣayṭana	naughtiness
waajib bayti	homework

D. /ooy/

booy	waiter
'ik <u>o</u> oy	my brother

E. /aay/. It is longer than /ay/.

raay	opinion, idea
dyaay	chickens
hwaay	much
haay	this
haayṣa	cow

F. /iy/. This diphthong occurs less than those mentioned above.

li-yhuud	the Jews
li-yluud	skins
niyy	uncooked (for meat); raw
ḥiyy	awake
miyy	unpurified water

G. /iw/

<u>kiw</u> tatni	she confused me
ṭiwlat	it became long (f)

<u>t</u> iwla	confuse him (imp)
^c iwjatta	she twisted it

H. /eew). This diphthong occurs commonly in the diminutive names in Basrah dialect.

meew)	mew
neew)	
jreew, yreew	a little dog, puppy
hleew	sweet, good-looking

2.2 Geminated Consonants

"Gemination involves prolongation of the continuants and a longer closure of the stop" (81).

BA geminated consonants occur initially, medially and finally.

2.2.1 Initial Geminated Consonants

Geminated consonants occur initially as a result of a combination of sun letters and

"... a combination of certain one-consonant prefixes, and stems which happen to begin with the same consonant" (82).

t-taajir (83)	the merchant
d-darub	the road
r-riṭab	the ripe dates
^v s- ^v saari ^c	the street
n-nahar	the river
<u>t</u> - <u>t</u> igil	the load

<u>d</u> -danib	the sin
s-sima	the sky
m-maddad	stretched out

2.2.2 Medial Geminated Consonants

Medial geminated consonants occur between vowels, as in the following examples:

ṣarraf	he changed (money)
sallim	say hello (2ms imp)
haddim	destroy (2ms imp)
daggam	he buttoned
ḥatṭeet	I put
rayyaal	man
dannag	he bent, bowed
ṣammuun	a kind of bread
ḥubbi	my love
rayyis	head
<u>k</u> awwar	he wandered
ṣabḥuura	blackboard
daffa	he warmed
ḥasseet	I felt
ḥibbi	pour (2fs imp)

Medial geminates are pronounced as single consonants by most speakers if, for any reason, the vowel following them is omitted, for example:

kassir	break (2ms imp)
kasra or (kassíra)	break it (2ms imp)

ṣarṣab	he gave a drink
ṣarḃa	
(ṣarṣiḃa)	he gave him a drink

2.2.3 Final Geminated Consonants

Final geminated consonants are characterized by tenseness of articulation.

In monosyllabic words:

ḥubb	love
ṣadd	he tied
ṣaff	row, class
ṣakk	he closed

In bisyllabic words there is also a regression of stress, e.g.:

nīḥat	he sculpted
nīṭar	he guarded
ḥāmar	red
tāmur	dates
'inhāṭṭ	it was put
'inṭūrṛ	we take a short cut
'ihmārṛ	he became red
'itmūrṛ	she passes

In word junction, final geminates are pronounced as single consonants (c.F. medial geminates above) when the second word begins with a consonant.

'umm	mother
'umḥasan	Hasan's mother
kill il-'akil	all the food
kil waahid	everyone

Also with pronoun suffixes with initial consonant:

digg	drive (a stake etc.), pound
digha	drive it
^c amm	uncle
^c amhum	their uncle

2.3. ASSIMILATION

"When two different consonants come together in a cluster, one may assimilate to - that is become more like - the other. The assimilation may be complete, in which case one consonant becomes identical to the other and the result is a double consonant; or it may be partial in which case one consonant becomes more like the other in one or more respects but not in all". (84)

For convenience assimilation non-pharyngealised - pharyngealised is treated as a separate phenomenon. Assimilations not involving this feature are:

2.3.1 Non-Pharyngealised:

A. Voiced /j/ may become voiceless /^vs/ before /t/.

mujtama ^c	→	mu ^v stama ^c	society
jtima ^a	→	^v stima ^a	assembly

B. Voiceless /t/ may become voiced /z/ before /z/.

mitzawwij	→	mizzawwij	married
tzawwigat	→	zzawwigat	she put on make up.
tzaa ^c law	→	zzaa ^c law	they fell out with each other.

C. Voiceless /t/ may become voiceless /t/ before /l/.

<u>t</u> laata	→	tla <u>a</u> t	three
<u>t</u> laatiin	→	tlaati <u>n</u>	thirty
<u>t</u> liṭṭa ^c aṣ̣	→	tliṭṭa ^c aṣ̣	thirteen

D. Voiced /d/ may become voiceless /t/ before /t/.

mi ^c idti	→	mi ^c itti	my stomach
ga ^{cc} adta	→	ga ^c atta	I woke him up
saa ^c adtak	→	saa ^c attak	I helped you
ridtak	→	rittak	I wanted you

E. Voiced /g/ may become voiceless /k/ in a very few limited examples.

'istag̣fur → 'istaḳfur ask forgiveness (imp)

F. Voiceless /t/ may become voiced /d/ before /d/.

mitdarrub	→	middarrub	trained
mitdayyin	→	middayyin	religious

Or may become voiceless /ṣ̣/ before /ṣ̣/.

tṣ̣irdiin (2 f.s) → ṣ̣ṣ̣irdiin ('iṣ̣ṣ̣irdiin)

Or may become voiceless /s/ before /s/.

tsiktiin (2 f.s) → ssikitiin ('issikitiin)

G. The consonant /l/ may become /n/ before /n/.

si'ilna	→	si'inna	we asked
maalna	→	maanna	ours
gilna	→	ginna	we said
ṣ̣ilna	→	ṣ̣inna	we moved (house)

H. The consonant /n/ may become /r/ before /r/.

nriid ('inriid)	→	rriid ('irriid)	we want
nrakkubhin ('inrakkubhin)	→	'irrakkubhin	we make them ride
nruuḥla ('inruuḥla)	→	rruuḥla ('irruuḥla)	we go to him

I. Also the consonant /n/ may become /m/ before /b/.

yimbaag	→	yimbaag	it is burgled
nbaa ^c	→	mbaa ^c	it was sold
yimburiṣ	→	yimburiṣ	it becomes slack
nbugar	→	mbugar	it is pierced, holed

2.3.2 Assimilations Involving Pharyngealisation

Non-pharyngealised consonants may become pharyngealised under the influence of certain consonants (usually pharyngeals) either in contiguity or in more remote positions in the word.

A. Voiced /d/ may become /ḍ/ before /k/ or /r/.

maḍkuur	→	maḍkuur	mentioned
tiḍkaar	→	tiḍkaar	keepsake
ḍruug	→	ḍruug	excrement (of a bird, chicken etc)
ḍraa ^c	→	ḍraa ^c	arm
yiḍra ^c	→	yiḍra ^c	he measures

B. Voiceless /t/ may become pharyngealised /ṭ/ before /ḍ/.

yitṭajjar	→	yidḍajjar	he becomes annoyed
mitṭa ^c ḍi ^c	→	midḍa ^c ḍi ^c	unstable, insecure

ṭdaaygat	→	ḏdaaygat	she got upset
miṭdammin	→	miḏdammin	including

C. Voiceless /s/ may become pharyngealised /ṣ/ under the influence of pharyngealised consonants /ṭ/, /r/ or the consonant /k/.

smaaṭ	→	ṣmaaṭ	tablecloth
maṣṭara	→	maṣṭara	ruler
bṣaaṭ	→	bṣaaṭ	rug
ṣsaḳkin	→	ṣṣaḳkin	fevered
siḳra	→	ṣiḳra	forced labour

D. The pharyngealised consonant /ṣ/ is replaced by /z/ before /g/ in one word and its derivatives:

ṣaghīr (CA)	zḡayyir (zḡiir)	small
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2.4. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

"A consonant cluster is a group of two or more different consonants not separated by any vowels". (85)

Clusters of three and even four consonants occasionally occur in BA in combinations of words. (86) I disagree with Erwin, who says:

"In Iraqi, clusters of more than three different consonants do not occur". (87)

There are three types of consonant clusters, illustrated below.

2.4.1. Two Consonant Clusters

Three types of two consonant clusters occur in BA, initial, medial and final. (88) The first two types are very common, while the final consonant cluster is rare.

2.4.1.1 Initial Consonant Cluster

There are quite common, but clusters with hamza (ʾ) do not occur at all. (89)

lsaan	tongue
lhaaf	bedcover
n ^c aal	sandals
yriid	he wants
hmaar	donkey
wlaad	boys
bṣaat	carpet
ṣfuuf	classes
ṣhuun	plates
ḡraab	crow
zruur	legs
ṭbuul	drums
qfuula	locks
jduura	pots

2.4.1.2 Medial Consonant Clusters

These are very common before vowels, short or long.

<u>k</u> irda	change
di <u>g</u> ma	button

sim ^v ca	fish
dam ^c a	tear
sitra	coat
kitla	hit him (Imp)
'aswad	black
'ahli	my family
ydik _. luun	they are entering
tlibsuun	you (pl.) wear

2.4.1.3 Final Consonant Cluster

Two final consonant clusters occur mostly in foreign words or classical -borrowings. (20) Many of these classical borrowings occur among educated people. However, there is a common alternative pronunciation in which a vowel is inserted between the two consonants.

bang	bank
barq (barg)	lightning
čaans (čans)	chance
šbint	dillweed
jahl	ignorance
kalb	dog (when used in cursing; usually /čalib/)
talj	ice
kamr	drink
jibn	cheese
čard	dismissal

(Alternative pronunciations with vowel: jahil, talij, kamur, jibin, čarid. The remainder of the examples do not admit of the vowelised pronunciation).

2.4.2. Three Consonant Clusters

Three consonant clusters occur usually with combinations involving two words, the last consonant of one word and the beginning two consonants of another word. The last consonant of the first word in the combinations is usually preceded by a long vowel. Occasionally such combinations are pronounced with a vowel (usually /i/) between the first and second consonants in the second word.

ḥzaam dī ^c iif	a thin belt
ḥoos nīdīif	a clean house
meez zīgīir	a small table
leel ṭīwiil	a long night
rayyaal giṣīir	a short man

However, the more common pronunciation shows the three consonant clusters.

ḥzaam dī ^c iif
ḥooš nīdīif
meez zīgīir
leel ṭwiil
rayyaal gṣīir

2.4.3. Four Consonant Clusters

Four consonant clusters occur occasionally, again in combinations involving two words: the last two consonants of one word and the initial two consonants of the other word, but in this case the more common pronunciation is

with a vowel between the two consonants in both words in the combination.

nahr ^c riiḍ	a wide river
kamshmiir	five donkeys
sab ^c şfuuf	seven classes
qaşr ^ç biir	a big house
farḳ dyaay	a baby chick
hablmtiin	thick rope

The alternative (more common) pronunciation of these examples is:

nahar ^c iriiḍ	(^c arriiḍ)
kamis ħimiir	
sabi ^c şufuut	
qaşir ^ç iibiir	
fariḳ diyaay	(dijaaʃ)
habil mitiin	

3. PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES IN BA

In this section we shall investigate the phonological changes in BA at the present time with reference to CA forms.

3.1. /y/ as a Reflex of /j/ (91)

This feature is the changing of CA jīm to yā' (/y/). It occurs also in other dialects ⁽⁹²⁾ and the /j/ → /y/ shift is usually general, unlinked with any specific phonetic environment.

nyuum	stars
yaddi	my grandfather
yidi ^c	stump
wayih	face
waayid	much
na ^c ya	ewe
yimal	camel
yaay	having come
yaahil	child
ydiid, yidiid	new
^c ayuuz	old woman
yamur	embers
yoo ^c aan	hungry
yiiba	bring it (2ms Imp)
yeeb	pocket

On the other hand, /j/ is retained in BA, occasionally in neologisms and cultural words, and in some classical contexts.

'ijjaww	the weather
jee ^v s	army
mujtama ^c , mu ^v stama ^c	society
jabaan	coward
jamiila	beautiful, proper name
jazma	boot
mujrim	criminal
jaasuus	spy
<u>k</u> ajal	shame

jadwal	timetable
zawaaj	marriage
jisim	body
jawaab	answer
jaami ^c a	university
jayyid	good
jam ^c iyya	association
jamaal	beauty, proper name
jariima	crime
waajib	duty
'ajnabi	foreigner
<u>kajuul</u>	shy
jnuud	soldiers
zawja	wife

3.2. THE OCCURRENCE OF /g/, /j/, ETC. AS A REFLEX OF q. (93)

This feature occurs in Basrah as well as in other parts of Iraq (94) and also Kuwait (95) and Bahrain (96) and other parts of the Arabian Pensinsula (97).

Having a sample of just over a hundred words in BA, I found that /g/, /j/ and /k/ as reflexes of q occur as follows:

q	→	g	51
q	→	j	11
q	→	j or g	8
q	→	k	5
q	→	q	26
q	→	q or g	<u>5</u>
			106

In recent years the influence of educated speech has tended to reduce this feature in the dialect, with people inclining to retain /j/ in their speech perhaps to avoid being thought "regional" or plain vulgar.

The occurrence of /y/ as a reflex of /j/ occurs, as has been said, freely in the vicinity of front and back vowels and in all positions. The following examples should demonstrate this.

fayir	dawn
rooy	waves
ciyil	young bull
^c iyiin, ^c yiin	dough
yibal	mountain
yaamuus	water buffalo
dyaaya	hen
yarr	he pulled
mista ^c yil	in a hurry
^c away	crooked
yizar	carrots
yaa	he came
hyaar	stones
yaab	he brought
yilid	skin
ynaah	wing
wiya ^c	pain
^c ayiz	lazy
rayil	husband
rayyaal	man

From the table above, we can see that /g/ is more common than /q/ itself, which means that BA differs in this respect from the Baghdadi dialect, which tends to retain /q/ in a very large number of words (98).

3.2.1 /g/ As a Reflex of /q/

The occurrence of /g/ as a reflex of /q/ takes place in contiguity with both front and back vowels, as the following examples show:

ᶜagil	brain
giᶜad	he sat down
marag	stew
ḍaag	he tasted
gabul	before
ṣagır	eagle
tagṭaga	bang, clap, crack
giṣiir	short
gaḷub	heart
ᶜarag	sweat, drink
foog	above, on
rugba	neck
ṣagg	he tore
ḍayyig, ḍayyij	narrow, tight
gaṣṣaab	butcher
ᶜagrab	scorpion
giraṣ	he nipped
ryoog or riyooḡ	breakfast
baag	he stole

‘atiig or ‘atiij	old
şidig	truth
ħagg or ħaqq	right
yṭigg	he hits
gumar	moon
giṭin	cotton
gahwa	coffee, or coffee shop
laglag	stork
ṭaḷḷag	he divorced
ṭigiil, ṭgiil	heavy
ṣanduug	box
gubba	collar
mungaar	beak
gṣuur	peal or skin
gabur	grave
‘agra ^c	bald
girin	horn
mugaṣṣ, muqṣṣ	scissors
gaḥaṭ or qaḥaṭ	drought, starvation
siḥaq	ran over
warga or warqa	leaf of tree, sheet of paper
yimzig	make a hole, drill
gamar	cream
moogad	fireplace
gaṃḷa	lice
suug	market
gaal	he said

gaṣṣ	he cut
giṣba	reed
gaḅḅaan	scales
lugma	handful of food
rizig or riziḡ	income
^c iṣagha	he loved her
yirga ^c	to patch
giṭra	a medicine drop
ragṣa	a dance
ḥaliḡ	mouth
^c gaal	headband
bawwaag	thief

3.2.2 The Occurrence of /k/ as a Reflex of /q/

/k/ as a reflex of /q/ occurs in BA in a very limited number of examples, as in Baghdadi, while it is common in the dialect of Bahrain, (99). The following words and their derivations give the /k/ reflex of /q/:

wakit	time
maktuul	killed
wkaaha	naughtiness
kufak (100)	he slapped
kital	he killed
wakiḥ	naughty, mischievous
kahkaha	guffaw

3.2.3 /j/ as a Reflex of /q/ (101)

The occurrence of /j/ as a reflex of /q/ usually takes place in contiguity with the front vowels (i, iḥ),

less commonly with back vowels. The following examples show the commonest words with /j/ (102):

jirba	waterskin
ʒarji	the eastern wind
jiriib, giriib	near
jibla	the direction of prayer
jidir; gidir	pot
hiriija, hariiga	fire
ˢatiij, ˢatiig	old
riij or riig	saliva
jiir	tar
gimiij	deep
yikfiij	to throb
baajilla	broad beans
ˢirij	vein
ɖaayij	depressed
jiddaam; giddaam	in front, before
siliij	spinach
jassam	he divided (something)

3.2.4 q Retains q

Most of the words in BA which retain /q/ appear to be cultural words, neologisms or personal names, as the following examples show:

qaasim (103)	proper name
qadiim	old
qiṭaar	train
qmaas ^v	material

qadar	fate, destiny
manṭaqa	area
buṭaaqa	ticket
findiq	hotel
qaayma	list, bill
qaliil	a little
qaat	suit
ṭaqaafa	culture
^c aqiida	doctrine
qaanuun	law
qarya	village
qalam	pen
qamiis	shirt
fariiq	team
daqiiqa	minute
^v siqqa	flat
qaawam	he resisted
qadir	dirty
qaalab	mould
qandira	shoe
ḥaqiir	vulgar
^c aqiila	proper name

3.2.5 The Changes CA /q/ → BA, /ġ/ and CA
/gh/ → BA /q/. (104)

This phonological feature occurs mainly in Basrah especially in Abūal-Khasīb (105), and the Shatt-al-Arab area (106). During my visit to Abū-al-Khasīb, I found that this feature usually occurs among uneducated people.

It also occurs in Kuwait (107) and other dialects (108).
The following examples with /q/ in CA change to /ġ/ in BA.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
qabala	ġibal	he accepted
qarīb	ġariib	near
qalam	ġalam	pen
qamīṣ	ġamiis	shirt
qimār	ġmaar	gambling
qādī	ġaadi	judge
qaṣr ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾	ġaṣir	palace

The following examples with /gh/ in classical change to /q/ in Basrah:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
ghamaza	qumaz	to wink
ghaym	qeem	cloud
ghalaṭ	qalaṭ	wrong
ghinā'	qina	singing
'aghānī	'aqaani	songs
ṣibgh	ṣibuq	paint
ṣamgh	ṣumuq	glue
ghita'	qita	cover, wrap
ghuṣn	qiṣin	branch

3.3. THE OCCURRENCE OF /s/ AS A REFLEX OF /s/ (110)

This phonological feature is very common in Iraq⁽¹¹¹⁾ and other dialects (112). It occurs in Basrah, among both educated and uneducated people. The occurrence of ṣ as a

reflex of s takes place, in certain environments, notably before /t/ and /k/.

The following examples with /s/ in classical Arabic, change to /ş/ in BA.

şaṭal	bucket
şmaat	cloth on which food is served
waşaṭ	middle
şılṭaan	ruler
maştara	ruler
waşik	dirty
şakla	nanny-goat
maşqaṭ	birthplace
şiraṭ (113)	he swallowed
şaraṭaan	cancer
şabḅuura	blackboard
şilak	to skin, flay
şoot	whip
bşaat	rug
şaṭih	roof
şaṭir	line
şubak	salty ground
şakal	billy-goat
ṃşakkin	fevered
şaṭuur	cleaver
şikra	forced labour
'işqaat	miscarriage

The change $s \rightarrow /s/$ does not appear to take place after $/k/$, $/g/$ and $/c/$ as the following examples show:

<u>k</u> ass	lettuce
gi <u>t</u> as	it sank
<u>k</u> amsa	five
<u>k</u> aanis	quiet
^c a <u>t</u> sa	sneeze
<u>k</u> aras	dumb
<u>k</u> asaara	loss

s remains stable in other phonetic environments:

sabb	to curse
sab ^c a	seven
sijad	to worship
sraab	mirage
si ^c ir	price
sirib	burrow
sa ^Y ciin (si ^Y ciin)	knife
s ^c aal	cough
sim ^Y a	fish
slaah	weapon
mismaar	nail
sibḥa	beads of muslim rosary
sitra	jacket
musajjal	recorder
siḥir	magic
saa ^c a	watch
sari ⁱ c	fast

sa ^c iid	happy, proper name
sakṛaan	drunk
saaha	pitch
samm	poison

3.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /'/, THE GLOTTAL STOP

The glottal stop /'/ occurs in BA in all positions as will be explained below:

3.4.1 The Occurrence of Initial /'v/

Initial /'v/, as required by CA counterpart words, is often omitted in BA, especially when it is followed by /h/, /k/, /^c/ and /ḥ/. After examining more than sixty items having initial /'v/, I found 33 without /'v/ and 21 of these came under the influence of /h/, /k/, /^c/ and /ḥ/ consonants.

The following examples show the influence of /h/, /k/, /^c/ and /ḥ/ consonants on initial /'v/, and the resulting altered word shapes.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
'ahmar	ḥamar	red
'akhḍar	<u>k</u> aḍar	green, wet
'a ^c waj	^c away, ^c awaj	twisted
'a ^c raj	^c aray, ^c araj	lame
'a ^c war	^c awar	one-eyed
'ahwal	ḥawal	cross-eyed
'akhawāt	<u>k</u> awaat	sisters
'akhwāl	<u>k</u> awaal	uncles, mother's brothers

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
'ikhwān	kwaan	brothers
'ahlan	hala	welcome
'akhbār	kbaar	news
'aḥzāb	ḥzaab	political parties
'akhlāq	klaaq	manners
'ahwār	hwaar	marshes
'ahdāb	hdaab	eyelash
'aḥḍab	ḥadab	hunchback
'iḥsās	ḥsaas	feeling
'i ^c taraf	^c tiraf	he confessed
'a ^c zab	^c azab	unmarried
'a ^c ḍab	^c aḍab	having an injured arm
'i ^c lān	^c laan	advertisement

The following examples also show dropped /'v/, but not under the influence of /the above/ consonants.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
'aṣābi ^c	ṣaabii ^c	fingers
'ibrīq	brīig	day
'arbā ^c	ṛbaa ^c	quarters
'ashjār	šjaar	trees
'asnān	snaan	teeth
'indār	ndaar	warning
'ashrāf	šraaf	nobles
'anhār	nhaar	rivers
'is ^c āf	s ^c aaf	ambulance
'azāfir	ḍaafiir	nails
'ithnayn	tneen	two
'amlāk ⁽¹¹⁴⁾	mlaak	possessions

The following examples show retained /'/:

'aswad	black
'abyaḍ	white
'aṣfar	yellow
'azrag	blue
'atraṣ	deaf
'ataat	furniture
'isim	name
'akil	food
'umm	mother
'amiin	honest
'insaān	human
'ubra	needle
'itim	sin
'atar	trace
'ajaanib	foreigners
'asmar	dark skinned
'alam	pain

3.4.2 The Occurrence of /'/' in the Medial Position

There are various possibilities when the /'/' is in the medial position and these are given below.

1. When hamza comes between two short vowels. A few examples exist in BA.

si'al	he asked
ru'asañ'	presidents

<u>ta</u> 'ar	he revenged
ri'as	he headed

2.A. Original unvowelled hamza, preceded by /a/ → /aa/
as in the following examples:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
fa's	faas	axe
ra's	raas	head
ta'rīkh	taariik	history
na'kulu	naakil	we eat
ra'y	raay	idea
fa'r	faar	rat, mouse
tha'r	taar	revenge
fa'l	faal	omen

B. Similarly /i'/ → ii. This occurs in a very
limited number of examples:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
bi'r	biir	well
dhi'b	diib	wolf

C. As in practically all Arabic dialects original
third hamza verbs reduce to /ee/ in the parts of the
perfect tense, whose suffix begins with a consonant.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
qara'tu	qareet	I read
^c abba'nā	^c abbeena	we filled
baṭṭa'ta	baṭṭeet	you slowed down

D. /u'/ does not occur.

3.A. Hamza with a long vowel and preceded by either an unvowelled consonant or a dissimilar short vowel.

mas'uul	responsible
ra'uuf	proper name; kind
su'aal	question
maš'uum	inauspicious, bringing bad luck
šī'uun	affairs

B. There are a few examples of /u'uu/ → /uu/.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
ru'ūs	ruus	heads
fu'ūs	fuus	axes

4.A. Hamza preceded by /aa/ and followed by short /i/ becomes /y/.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
khā'if	kaayif	afraid
hasā'ir	kaayaayir	losses
maṣā'ib	maṣaayib	disasters
khā'in	kaayin	traitor
nā'im	naayim	asleep
ghā'ib	gaayib	absent
rasā'il	rasaayil	letters
qaṣā'id	qaṣaayid	poems
hā'iṭ	haayit	wall

^c azā'im	^c azaayim	invitations
jarā'im	jaraayim	crimes

There is one exception, the proper name taa'ir.
If the consonant after the original hamza has a vowel,
the short /i/ after /y/ is dropped as in the following
examples.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
malā'ika	malaayka	angels
^c ā'ila	^c aayla	family

4.B. There are a few examples of /aa'a/ → /aaya/

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
^c abāa'a	^c abaaya	cloak
badaa'a	badaaya	beginning
danaa'a	dinaaya	bad table manners

3.4.3 The Occurrence of /'/ in the Final Position

The final /'/, after original ā, usually disappears
in BA except in personal names, and some clear classical
borrowings, such as:

nisaa'	women
qudamaa'	old (plural)
ru'asaa'	heads
zu ^c amaa'	leaders
sanaa'	proper name
ṣafaa'	proper name

Apart from the above, there are two possibilities.

1. The long vowel /aa/ before /'/ is shortened and /'/ is dropped.

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
hawaa'	hawa	air
samaa'	sima	sky
^c ashaa'	^c ašā or ^c išā	dinner
zarqaa'	zarga	blue (feminine)
sawdaa'	sooda	black
ḥamrā'	ḥamra	red (feminine)
^c amyā'	^c amya	blind (feminine)
^c arjā'	^c arja or ^c arya	lame (feminine)
kharsā'	<u>k</u> arsa	deaf (feminine)
ghadā'	qada (ḡida)	lunch
dawā'	duwa	medicine
wafā'	wifa	faith
ghurabā'	ḡurba	strangers
ghitā'	qita (ḡita)	cover
ghalā'	ḡala (qala)	cosiness
fuqarā'	fuqra	pours
ḥayā'	ḥaya	shame
balā'	bala	disaster, problems

2. The final /'/ may be replaced by /y/ (115).

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
sharrā'	šarraay	buyer
bannā'	bannaay	builder
mashshā'	maššāay	walker
bakkā'	baččāay	cryer

du ^c ā'	di ^c aay	prayer
mā'	maay	water

3. Original final hamza preceded by short /i/ is lost and produces the final /i/ vowel as defined in Section 4.A above, e.g:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
dāfi'	daafi	warm
maṭāfi'	maṭaafi	fire brigade
qāri'	qaari	reader; orator (at festival of Ashura)

4. Exceptional forms:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
shay'	sii	thing
ḥasā'	ḥisu	special soup
wuḍū'	wuḍu	ritual ablution
barī'	biri	innocent

3.5. THE OCCURRENCE OF /w/ AS A REFLEX OF /'/'

/w/ occurs in BA as a reflex of /'/' in isolated examples. Thus:

<u>CA</u>	<u>BA</u>	
ya'inn	ywinn	he moans
'akkada	waččad	he was sure
'ayna	ween	where
'alam	walam	pain (old colloquial)

Note also the unique

taw'am	toom	twin
--------	------	------

3.6. THE OCCURRENCE OF /č/ AS A REFLEX
OF /k/ (AL KAŠKAŠA). (116)

The pronoun suffix /ik/ (/ -k/ of 2.f.s. regularly changes to /ič/ (/ -č/)) in Basrah. This aspect also occurs in other dialects (117).

'abuuč ('ibuuč)	your father
ša ^c rič	your hair
ħalgič	your mouth
^c yuunič	your eyes
qalamič (qalmič)	your pen
ħoošič	your house
druusič	your lessons
'ikuuč ('akuuč)	your brother
kašmič	your nose
wayhič (wajhič)	your face
kitabič	your book
siyyaartič	your car
raylič, rajlič	your husband

/č/ for /k/ also occurs frequently in all positions, more especially in contiguity with the front vowels.

čalib	dog
čanna	like
čibiir	big
saččiin	knife
čilma	word
biča	he cried

di ^Y ič	cock
h ^Y inič	jaw
č ^Y aan	he was (mid vowel)
baač ^Y ir	tomorrow (mid vowel)
č ^Y iis	bag
č ^Y ad ^Y daab	liar
sim ^Y ča	fish
h ^Y iča	he spoke
č ^Y it ^Y if	shoulder
š ^Y ib ^Y ča	net
č ^Y ifan	windsheet, address for grave
č ^Y aif	palm of hand

The /k/ is, however, often inexplicably retained, e.g.

kariim	proper name, generous
kaslaan	lazy
kafiil	guarantor
kafiif	blind
raakib	passenger, rider
haakim	judge
kaatib	clerk
sakraan	drunk
hakka	itching
kaafuur	camphor
miskiin	poor person

The change to /č̣/ also does not appear to take place when /k/ has no following vowel (except in certain broken plurals mentioned below:

maktaba	library
maktuub	letter
miknaasa	brush
bakra	bobbin

/k/ is also frequently retained in the contiguity of the back vowels:

kuuk	reed hut
kufur	unbelief
kubur	bigness, old
mabruuk	congratulations
kuffaar	infidels
kuub	mug
kutub	books

However, as in Kuwaiti (118) /č̣/ can occur in the contiguity of the back vowels when a singular form has the /č̣/ variant.

ḥinič̣	hnuuč̣a	jaws
č̣itif	č̣tuufa	shoulders
č̣aif	č̣fuuf	palms, gloves
č̣abid	č̣buud	livers
fač̣č̣	fč̣uuc̣	jaws

3.7. THE OCCURRENCE OF ḍ and ḍ (119)

There is no distinction between Arabic ḍ and ḍ, even among educated speakers (120). Both ḍ and ḍ being realised as ḍ (121).

marīḍ	ill
ḍaḍuṭ	officer
ḍa ^c iif	weak
ḍakim	huge
ḍeef	guest
ḍayyij (ḍayyig)	narrow

3.8. THE OCCURRENCE OF ḍ AS A REFLEX OF ḍ (122)

Original /ḍ/ is replaced by /ḍ/ in a number of words, mainly containing pharyngealised /ʕ/.

ḍraa ^c	arm
'aḍkir	I remember
ḍarig	to drop excrement(bird)
ṣaḍra	tiny piece
ḍaag	he tasted
ḍakar	male
ḍikir	guarantee, protection
ṣaḍar, maḍar	scattered here and there

3.9. THE OCCURRENCE OF /n/ AS A REFLEX OF
/c/ (AL-'ISTINTAA'). (123)

This phonological feature occurs in BA in one word 'anṭa (he gave) and its derivations, perhaps under the influence of /ṭ/ when the /c/ is vowelless. Rabin does not agree with this, saying that:

"The whole situation in Arabic suggests that here 'anṭa, the causative of naṭa was the older word, which was in the East replaced by a new formation from caṭā, the synonym of naṭā, perhaps after the meaning naṭa had become too specialised". (124)

4. STRESS

Stress may be described "as the degree of force with which a sound or syllable is uttered". (125)

With certain exceptions noted below the stressed vowel in a word may be identified by looking for the following features:

1. vv (long or geminate vowel).
2. vcc (two consonant cluster or geminate consonant usually preceded by a short vowel).

The rules of stress may then be summarised as follows:

4.1.

If vv or vcc or both occur in a word, then the stress falls on the syllable containing either of these features nearest the end of the word.

4.1.1 vv Once Only

ʕáalim	=	scholar
šaríf	=	noble
kaníisa	=	church
qaréet	=	I read
šúufu	=	see (2 m.pl)
sáayiq	=	driver

4.1.2 vcc Once Only

šíjra	tree
sálla	basket
šámʕa	candle
maháll	place, shop
mádrasa	school
tíštiri	you buy (2 m.s)
míktílif	different
yíndiʕim	he is run over

4.1.3 vv More Than Once

dakaakíin	shop
mafaatíih	keys
šuuufúu	see him (2 m.pl imp)
kaabrúu	phone him (2 m.pl imp)
'iidée	his arms

4.1.4 vcc More Than Once

tarjámta	I translated it
sallámtum	you (m.pl) delivered
kitbáтта	she wrote it

4.1.5 Both vv and vcc

šaafátta	she saw him
kaabrátha	she phoned her
sindáana	vase
mal ^c uún	cursed
'iṭmi'náan	contentment

4.1.6

If neither vv nor vcc occurs, then the stress falls on the first syllable.

qálam	pen
kálima	word
kítab	he wrote
náhar	river
šígil	job

4.2. EXCEPTIONS4.2.1

All sound radical verbs which insert anaptyctic vowel between the final radical and the -t suffix in the first singular and second singular masculine perfect tense. Regardless of the occurrence or non-occurrence of vv/vcc these are stressed on the penultimate syllable.

kitábit	I/you wrote
darrásit	I/you taught
kaabárit	I/you phoned

4.2.2

When the /-a/ suffix of the third-person singular masculine pronoun is added to sound radical⁽¹²⁶⁾ verbs, the stress is on the penultimate, regardless of the occurrence or non-occurrence of vv/vcc.

ʕiráfa	he recognised him
qaawáma	he resisted him
jarrába	he tried it

4.2.3

The negative and prohibitive particles /maa/, /laa/, /muu/ are usually stressed.

máa-yidris	he does not study
láa-tíji	don't come
múu truuh	don't go

4.2.4

In constructions containing one of the prepositional prefixes b- in, l- to and mn- from, the stress is usually on the first following vowel:

bíl-girfa	in the room
bíd-daa'ira	in the office
lís-sung	to the market
mnís-sayyaara	from the car

4.2.5

Words with the dual ending -een tend to be stressed on the first syllable, regardless of phonetic structure and total number of syllables.

baábeen	two doors
ǵírufteen	two rooms
nákalteen	two palm trees
ṭáyyaarteen	two aeroplanes

But note words like:

kitáabeen	two books
jaríidteen	two newspapers

4.2.6

When the interrogative prefix š- "what?" takes a following helping vowel in conjunction with parts of the imperfect tense, this vowel is usually stressed.

ší-yguul	what is he saying?
ší-tš ^v uuf	what do you see?

FOOTNOTES TO PART ONE

1. al-Toma, (1969, p.10) considers that there are not less than 31 consonants in Iraqi Arabic. He also says (1957, p.33) that "The colloquial phonological system includes all the classical consonants and in addition, the phonemes p - plain and emphatic .., ṣ and g. It has also emphatic labials b and m as in baḷḷah and mayy. If we count all the emphatic the total number of the colloquial consonant phonemes will be 34, in contrast to 29 in the classical". Erwin, (1963, p.3) considers that the Baghdadadi dialect has 36 consonants. While Muhammad, (1975, p.5) in his study about Baghdadadi vowels considers that there are 36 consonants in the Baghdadadi dialect. al-Ani, (1963, pp. 66-69) mentions that there are 32 consonants in the /qiltu/ or Moṣul dialect, spoken for the most part in the North and North-Western sections of Iraq, namely Moṣul, ʿAana, Hīt, Tikrīt and a number of other towns and villages. Variants of this dialect are also spoken by the Christians and Jews of Baghdad. He also counts 34 consonants in the /gilīt/ dialect, or the Baghdad and related varieties spoken throughout the rest of the country.
2. al-Toma, (1969, p.16). See also his thesis (1957, p.36) and al-Ani, (1963, p.71). Also Blanc, (1964, p.18).
3. al-Toma, (1969, p.16).
4. See al-Ani, (1963, p.73).
5. Erwin, (1963, p.5).
6. Erwin, (1963, p.6) and Muhammad, (1975, p.11).

7. See al-Ani, (1976, p.32). His description of q is based on a detailed study on the acoustic physiological and impressionistic. Also see his study of q (1978, p.104).
8. Erwin, (1963, p.6).
9. Erwin, (1963, p.9). In his study of Iraqi Arabic he describes it as a voiced pharyngeal fricative.
10. For more information see al-Ani, (1970 A, p.62) and (1970 B, p.89).
11. al-Ani, (1970 B, p.89).
12. al-Ani, (1970 B, p.89).
13. See Erwin, (1963, p.6).
14. See al-Ani, (1963, p.4) and Erwin, (1963, p.7); Muhammad, (1975, p.13).
15. See Erwin, (1963, p.7); Muhammad, (1975, p.14).
16. See al-Ani, (1970, B, p.34).
17. Erwin, (1963, p.8).
18. Erwin, (1963, p.8).
19. Muhammad, (1975, p.18).
20. Erwin, (1963, p.11).
21. See al-Ani, (1970 B, p.44) who says after examining this group of so-called velarized consonants both acoustically and physiologically, it appears that the area involved is not the velar but rather the pharyngeal.
22. Hassan, (1972, p.104).
23. Erwin, (1963, p.12).
24. Erwin, (1963, p.13).

25. See Muhammad, (1975, p.10); Erwin, (1963, p.13).
26. The classical pronunciation of $\dot{q}$ as a pharyngealised stop has disappeared in BA and this sound has merged in all cases with $\dot{d}$ (classical ($\dot{b}$)). For more information see al-Ani, (1963, p.74); al-Toma, (1969,p.13).
27. Erwin, (1963, p.14).
28. A colloquial name of a thin snake.
29. Erwin, (1963, p.14).
30. Erwin, (1963, p.15).
31. Ferguson, (1956, p.161).
32. al-Ani, (1963, p.8), also (1970 B, p.48).
33. Erwin, (1963, p.16).
34. Ferguson, (1956, pp. 157-166); al-Toma, (1969, pp.14-15).
35. Erwin, (1963, p.14).
36. al-Ani, (1963, p.83).
37. See Muhammad, (1975, p.30).
38. Erwin, (1963, p.17).
39. See al-Toma, (1957, pp.33-34). He also mentions (1969, p.20) that six vowels are generally recognised in classical Arabic three short a, i, u and three long ā, ī, ū. In addition to two diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/. Iraqi Arabic exhibits all these vowels and two additional long vowels ē, ō, which are regarded in most cases as reflexes of classical Arabic /ay/ and /aw/ respectively. The short vowels given above do not represent accurately all vowels heard.
40. Van Wagoner, (1944, p.4).
41. See McCarthy and Raffouli, (1964, p.7).

42. Blanc, (1964, p.30).
43. See al-Ani, (1963, p.69).
44. Ferguson, (1951, p.277).
45. Ferguson, (1957, p.462).
46. See Ingham, (1982, p.80).
47. I mean by the banks of Shaṭṭ al-^cArab, the area which is under Iraqi Sovereignty at the present time from Basrah to the Fāu at the head of the Arab Gulf.
48. Ossani, (1901, p.101).
49. Woodhead and Wayne Beene, (1967, Introduction).
50. However, the method adopted in this dissertation has been to leave initial glottal stop unmarked. In examples of continuous speech, the glottal stop at the beginning of words has only been marked when representing the more usual pronunciation. In CA examples initial radical hamza or hamzat al-qat^c are always shown.
51. Muhammad, (1975, p.41).
52. See Erwin, (1963, p.18) and Muhammad, (1975, p.41).
53. See Muhammad, (1975, p.40).
54. See Erwin, (1963, p.18) and Muhammad, (1975, p.41).
55. Muhammad, (1975, p.42).
56. Muhammad, (1975, p.48).
57. Muhammad, (1975, p.47).
58. Muhammad, (1975, p.47).
59. Muhammad, (1975, p.52).
60. Muhammad, (1975, p.54).
61. Muhammad, (1975, p.53).
62. Erwin, (1963, p.20).

63. Also with u; raadyu.
64. Also saanyu.
65. Sometimes Loo.
66. See al-Ani, (1970, p.23) and Erwin, (1963, p.21).
67. Muhammad, (1975, p.60).
68. Muhammad, (1975, p.60).
69. Muhammad, (1975, p.70).
70. Muhammad, (1975, p.71).
71. See al-Ani, (1963, p.90).
72. See Muhammad, (1975, p.66).
73. Muhammad, (1975, p.66).
74. Muhammad, (1975, p.75).
75. Muhammad, (1975, p.75).
76. See Gimson, (1980, p.128).
77. Erwin, (1963, p.26).
78. Erwin, (1963, pp. 26-27).
79. See Muhammad, (1975, p.89).
80. See McCarthy and Raffouli, (1964, Part 1, p.9).
81. Blanc, (1952, p.73).
82. See Erwin, (1963, p.28).
83. Any of these may also have initial vowels such as
it-taajir, etc.
84. See Erwin, (1963, p.35).
85. See Erwin, (1963, p.31).
86. Not used.
87. See Erwin, (1963, p.31).
88. See al-Ani, (1963, p.104).
89. al-Toma, (1969, p.18 and see Erwin, (1963, p.31).

90. See al-Toma, (1969, p.19).
91. y as a reflex of j in the ancient dialects, has been mentioned as a phonological aspect of Tamīm dialects. For more information see al-Muṭṭalibī, (1978, p.98); al-Lughawī al-ʿIbdāl, (Part 1, p.261); Ibn Sīda, Mukhaṣṣaṣ, (Part 14, p.34); al-Qālī, Amālī, (Part 2, p.214); al-jindī, (1978, Part 2, p.458); Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān. (Part 12, p.280); al-Azharī, (Part 13, p.275).
92. For more information about the occurrence of y as a reflex of j in other dialects, see Johnstone, (1967, p.9) also (1965, pp. 233-236); al-Tajir, (1982, p.50); Maṭar, (1969, pp.17-21) also (1980, pp. 25-38); Ingham, (1982, p.26).
93. The occurrence of g as a reflex of q in the ancient dialects has been mentioned by grammarians and Arab phonologists. They say that there was a sound between q and k among Tamīmī speakers. This sound was described by Ibn Durayd:

فأما بنو تميم فأنهم يلحقون القاف بالكاف فتغلظ جداً
فيقولون القوم - تكتب بالكاف النائية - فتكون القاف بين
الكاف والقاف، وهذه لغة مصرية في بني تميم.

As for the Banū Tamīm, they make the qāf close to the kāf, so that it is very coarse, saying al-gawm for al-qawm, so that the qāf is between kāf and qāf, and this is a well-known dialect peculiarity of Banū Tamīm.

From the above quotation, I can judge that the present usage of g in the Arabic dialects is the same sound which existed among the Tamīm tribe and Basrah dialect is one of the dialects which has been influenced by Tamīm speech. For more information see Rabin, (1951, p.125); Blanc, (1965, pp.7-37); al-jindī, (1978, Part 2, p.463); Ibn Durayd, Jamhara (Part 1, p.5); al-qālī, Amālī (Part 2, p.139); Ibn Sīda, Mukhaṣṣaṣ (Part 13, p.277); Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 2, p.253); Haffener, (1903, p.37); al-Muṭṭalibī, (1978, pp.103-104); al-lughawī (Part 2, p.253).

94. For more information about Baghdadi dialect, see Blanc, (1964, pp. 26-27); Oussani, (1901, p.98); al-Sāmarrā'ī, (1968, p.172).
95. Maṭar, (1969, pp. 26-33).
96. See al-Tājir, (1982, p.48); Maṭar, (1980, p.40).
97. See Johnstone, (1963, pp.210-26).
98. al-Anī, (1978, pp. 106-108). In his investigation of q and its reflexes, in which he examined 1323 items, he found that the total number that appeared with q was 672; 303 initially, 225 medially and 144 finally. The items that appeared with g totalled 630; 235 initially, 203 medially and 192 finally. To those one should add the very few reflexes of q to /k/ and j; for k about 6 and for j about 5. However, he mentions that "it should be noted that the large number of items that appeared as a result of my investigation should not give the impression that the Baghdadi dialect is adopting the q instead of the g. It seems to me in examining the items

containing q that the majority of them are generally not replacing the sound of g but are determined by the literary influence on this dialect, the g is still a dominant phonetic feature and the items that are pronounced with g are of high frequency.

al-Toma, (1969, p.12) mentions that out of 88 items under investigation it was found that q and its reflexes occur in Iraq as follows, 52 with q and 22 with g and 7 with q or g, 2 with k, 3 with j or g and 2 with j.

99. al-Tājir, (1982, pp. 49-50) mentions that in rural forms of Baḥrainī dialect q is with some speakers, realised as k, but in urban forms this realisation is almost non-existent, except for the following two examples: the classical adverbial particle Laqad (already) and a form waqt (time). Maṭar, (1980, p.45) considers this feature as a peculiarity of Satra (Baḥrainī City) dialect, and he mentioned that it usually occurs in neologisms and educated words.
100. See Blanc (1964, p. 27).
101. This phological feature had been observed in the ancient dialects, sources mention that Arabs change q to j in a very significant number of examples. For more information see al-Lughawī al-'abdāl (Part 1, pp. 239-245).
102. During my visits to many areas in Basrah I found it difficult to decide conclusively that all the examples given here are always pronounced with j, because the variation between j and g in some speakers prevented me

from doing so. One can only say that the most common pronunciation of the above examples is with j.

103. Ossani, (1901, p.98) mentions that the proper name Qāsim changes to Jāsim. This does not take place in Iraq because there are two different names, Qāsim and Jāsim. See also about the differences between the two names, Ibn Manẓūr Lisān, S.V. Qasama and Jasama.
104. The sources mention that interchange between q and ġ existed in the past, but did not trace the phenomenon to any tribes or a specific dialect. See also Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 10, p.15); al-Lughawī, al-'abdāl (Part 2, p.328); al-Zabīdī, Tāj (Part 4, p.65).
105. Abū al-Khaṣīb is an area on the Western bank of Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in the South of Basrah.
106. I mean here by Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab an area which stands on the East bank of Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab river and includes many districts and villages.
107. During my visit to Kuwait, I found out that this feature is very common even among educated people. For more details about this feature in Kuwaitī dialect, see Maṭar, (1969, p.33).
108. al-Tājir, (1982, p.48) mentions that it occurs in Baḥrain in contiguity with both front and back vowels. See also Maṭar, (1980, p.45).
109. See al-Ani, (1978, p.108).

110. The classical sources mention this phonological feature. Sībawayhi, (Part 4, p.479) mentions that s changes to ṣ if it comes before q, gh, kh and ṭ, but also says that it is best to retain s. He traces this feature to Banī ʿAnbar (a branch of Tamīm). Ibn Manẓūr Lisān, (s.v. Saraṭa) mentions that the tendency belongs to Tamīm generally without emphasis on Banī ʿAnbar. Ibn jinnī, Khaṣāʾiṣ (Part 2, p.142) mentions that s changes to ṣ when it comes before "al-ḥarf al-mustaʿlī" (he classified ḥurūf al-istiʿlāʾ) as the following: kh, gh, Q, in addition to the emphatics ṭ, ḍ, ẓ, ṣ. See about ḥurūf al-istiʿlāʾ, al-Nuʿaymī, (1980, p.318). But he says that when s comes before gh, kh, q, ṭ, the change is optional. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara (Part 1, pp.12-13) mentions that when s is in contiguity with ṭ, q, kh, you are at liberty to choose s or ṣ.
111. See al-Toma, (1969, p.17); and also Ossani, (1901, p.98).
112. About Bahraïn dialect see al-Tājir, (1982, p.53); and on Kuwait dialect Maṭar, (1969, p.73).
113. There is also a common word zilaṭ with the same meaning.
114. Ossani, (1901, p.100) mentions that initial ' is usually dropped in Baghdadi dialect.
115. The occurrence of y as a reflex of ' in ancient dialects is mentioned in classical sources. For further information, see Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 1, pp. 19, 83); Ibn Durayd, Jamhara (Part 3, p.282-286); Ibn Sīda, Mukhaṣṣaṣ

118. Johnstone, (1967, p.30).
119. The inter-substitution of classical *ḍ* and *ẓ* was known in the past. See al-Lughawī, al-'Abdāl (Part 2, p.21, 267, 271); Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 3, p.519 and Part 7, p.211); al-Azharī, Tahdhīb (Part 12, p.80); al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir (Part 1, pp. 561-562).
120. See al-Toma, (1969, p.13); Ḡassanī, (1901, p.79).
121. This aspect occurs in other dialects, for further information see Johnstone, (1967, p.20) and (1971, p.252); also Maṭar, (1969, p.22).
122. This is another ancient feature. For more information see al-Lughawī, (Part 2, p.21); Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 3, p.519).
123. For further information see Rabin, (1951, p.32); al-Lughawī, al-'Abdāl (Part 2, p.318) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (s.v. naṭā); al-Azharī, Tahdhīb (Part 4, p.30).
124. See Rabin, (1951, p.32).
125. Jones, Daniel (1962, p.245). For more information see Ladefoged, (1975, p.97); Ḡumar, (1976, p.187); Anīs, (1971, p.170); Erwin, (1963, p.40); al-Anī, (1963, p.92); Muhammad, (1975, p.86); Abdo, (1969, p.51).
126. Excluding doubled and originally final hamza verbs which follow the normal rules in these parts, e.g.
- | | |
|-----------|------------------|
| jarreéta, | I/you pulled it. |
| qireéta, | I/you read it. |

(Part 4, p.14); al-Suyūṭī, Muzhīr, (Part 1, pp.462-463).

116. The ancient Arab grammarians and phonologists differed in their definition of the meaning and the environment of Kashkasha, al-Lughawī, al-'Abdāl (Part 2, p.230) considered it as a replacement of k by sh in the pronoun suffix-ki of the second person feminine singular and he traced it to Tamīm and others. Ibn jinnī, Khaṣā'is (Part 2, p.11) traced it to Rabīʿa and explained it as adding sh after the k of the pronoun suffix second person feminine singular. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān (Part 6, p.342) traced it to Rabīʿa and mentioned two possibilities of Kashkasha: replacing k by sh in the pronoun suffix ki of second person femine singular as above and also adding sh after k such as in ʿalaykish (on you), minkish (from you). Close to Ibn nanẓūr's idea is al-Azharī Tahdhīb (Part 9, p.424) who says that Kashkasha is a feature of Rabīʿa) speech. They say it with 2 f.s such as ʿalaykish (on you) bikish (in you) they add sh after k of the feminine. Some of them (he means Rabīʿa) replace k with sh and say ʿalaysh (on you) bishi (in you). There is much more in the same vein, but it seems to me very convenient to say that Kashkasha in the ancient dialects is ʿ in the modern dialects (see also Johnstone, 1963, p.225 and Basrah is one of them, especially since it lay within the lands of Tamīm and other tribes.

117. See Johnstone, (1963, p.222); Maṭar, (1969, p.37); al-Tājir, (1982, p.44).

PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY

5. THE VERB

The pattern of prefixes/ suffixes for the tenses of the verb in BA are as follows:

Perfect

<u>Sing:</u>	<u>Pl:</u>
3.m -	-aw
3.f -at	-an
2.m -it; eet	-tu; eetu
2.f -ti; eeti	-tan; eetan
1. -lt; eet	-na; eena

The secondary form in /-eet/ for the second and first person is freely substituted by all classes of speakers.⁽¹⁾

Imperfect

<u>Sing:</u>	<u>Pl:</u>
3.m yi-y-iy —	yi-y-iy —u
	yi-y-iy —uun
3.f ti-t- —	yi-y-iy — an
2.m ti-t- —	ti-t-it- — u
	ti-t-it — uun
2.f ti-t-it—iin	ti-t-it — an
ti- it—i	
1. a-	n-ni —

The vowelling of some of these prefixes is subject to variation according to the nature of the stem. This will be observed in the examples given, but a general

rule is that all prefixes except /a-/ (1 c.s) usually lose their vowel or invert $y \rightarrow 'i$; $t \rightarrow 'i$ etc. when applied to stems when the first radical is vowelised.

BA verbs are based on two groups, trilateral and quadrilateral. The two groups have different derivational systems.

5.1 Trilateral

Trilateral verbs are classified in two groups, strong verbs and weak verbs.

5.1.1 Strong Verbs

A strong verb is a verb which does not contain one or more unstable radical elements. It is classified into:

5.1.1.1 The Simple Verb

A. Perfect Tense

The forms of the perfect tense in BA are /fi^cal/, (f^cal) and /fu^cal/. The form /fu^cal/ occurs less than the form /fi^cal/, mainly under the influence of bi labials and labio dentals and in the vicinity of pharyngealised consonants, as will be explained later, while the rest of the verbs are cited under the form /fi^cal/. CA forms ⁽²⁾ have disappeared in BA and other parts of Iraq ⁽³⁾. They have been replaced by /fi^cal/ and /fu^cal/. However, the CA form /fa^cal/ still exists in the dialect of Kuwait ⁽⁴⁾.

The following examples show the dominant /fi^cal/ ⁽⁵⁾ form in BA:

kital	he hit
gi ^c ad	he sat down
dikaḷ	he entered
<u>dibah</u>	he slaughtered (animals)
rigaṣ	he danced
kisar	he broke
tirak	he left
mina ^c	he prevented
fiṭah	he opened
ṣirak	he cried
nibah	it barked (dog)
ḥizan	he became sad
nīdam	he became remorseful
ḍiḥak	he laughed
^c iṭaṣ	he became thirsty
siman	he became fat
ni ^v ṣad	he asked
kitab	he wrote
ḥilab	he milked
ṣilaḵ	he skinned

The table below gives the conjugation in the perfect tense of the verbs li^cab /he played/ and riĵa^c /he came back/:

3 m.s	li ^c ab	riĵa ^c
3 f.s	li ^c bat	riĵ ^c at
2 m.s	li ^c abit (l ^c abit) li ^c beet	riĵa ^c it (rĵa ^c it) riĵ ^c eeet

2 f.s	li ^c abti (l ^c abti) li ^c beeti	rija ^c ti (rja ^c ti) rij ^c eeti
1 c.s.	li ^c abit (l ^c abit) li ^c beet	rija ^c it (rja ^c it) rij ^c eet
3 m.pl.	li ^c baw	rij ^c aw
3 f.pl.	li ^c ban	rij ^c an
2 m.pl.	li ^c abtu (l ^c abtu) li ^c beetu	rija ^c tu (rja ^c tu) rij ^c eetu
2 f.pl.	li ^c abtan (l ^c abtan) li ^c beetan	rija ^c tan (rja ^c tan) rij ^c eetan
1 c.pl.	li ^c abna (l ^c abna) li ^c beena	rija ^c na (rja ^c na) rij ^c eena

The second common form in BA is /fu^cal/. It occurs usually under the influence of bilabials and labiodentals in the vicinity of pharyngealised consonants and the consonants l, q, k, r, g.

1. /b/ in first or second position of the root, with pharyngealised or k, l, g, r, q, (ḡ).

lubaṭ	it moved (fish)
rubag	he lay down
rubat	he tied
ṭubag	he approached
ṣubar	he was patient
zubag	he slipped away
nubaṭ	he interrupted
ṭubar	he hacked; chopped
ṭubak	he cooked
ṭuba ^c	he printed
rubah (ribah)	he won
nubag	he jumped up (out of water)
ḡubaṭ	he controlled

burag	it flashed (lighting)
buk ^y aš	he cleared (choked pipes etc)
buṭal	it became null; invalid
bud ^c a	he cut, slashed or slit open
bugar	he made a hole, drilled
buşam	he printed; stamped
buram	he twisted
buṭah	he threw down
buk ^y al	he became stingy
buraş	he loosened
buḡ(q)az	he stabbed

2. /m/ in first or second position, with pharyngealised or k, q, ḡ, l, g, r.

muḡaş (muqaş)	he hurt, caused pain
muḷat	he plastered with (mud, mortar, etc).
mu ^c at	he snatched
muṣa ^c	he squeezed
muṭag	he smacked his lips
murag	he passed
muk ^y at	he blew his nose
muḡaḡ	he chewed
mulaş	it slipped (from grasp)
murak ^y	he rubbed on (liniment, oil, etc).
ruma ^y š	he winked
ṭuma ^c	he coveted
zumaṭ	he bragged
qumaz	he raised his eyebrows

<u>k</u> uma ^Y	he snatched
lu <u>m</u> a ^Y	he put his tongue out
^Y su <u>m</u> a ^r	he tossed; he threw
<u>k</u> uma <u>d</u>	he fell asleep
^Y su <u>m</u> a <u>k</u>	he turned up his nose

3. /f/ in first or second position with pharyngealised
or r, k, l, q, g.

futa <u>n</u>	he became aware of; he recalled
futa <u>r</u>	he split; broke the fast
fura <u>d</u>	he imposed
futa <u>s</u>	he died (contemptuous) snuffed it
fusa <u>k</u>	he dislocated (a joint)
fuda <u>h</u>	he exposed (information)
fura <u>k</u>	he rubbed
fuga <u>d</u>	he remembered (someone)
fuga <u>r</u>	he brought bad luck
fusa <u>l</u>	he separated; he dismissed
fuka <u>r</u>	he fired (pottery)
fua <u>s</u>	he examined
fura <u>g</u>	he became free; it became empty
fura <u>h</u>	he became happy
fura <u>g</u>	he parted his hair
qufa <u>l</u>	he closed
tufa <u>r</u>	he jumped
tufa <u>h</u>	it boiled over
nufa <u>k</u>	he blew up; he puffed

ḍufar (ḍufrat)	parted the hair (women)
ḥufar	he dug
kufak	he slapped
ḥufaḍ	he preserved, stored, memorized
ʿufat	he blew a raspberry

The table below gives the conjugation for the form /fu^cal/ in the perfect tense of the verb (ṣubar), he was patient.

3 m.s	ṣubar
3 f.s	ṣubrat
2 m.s	ṣubarit; ṣbarit (ṣubreēt)
2 f.s	ṣubartī; ṣbartī (ṣubreētī)
1 c.s	ṣubarit; ṣbarit (ṣubreēt)
3 m.pl.	ṣubraw
3 f.pl.	ṣubran
2 m.pl.	ṣubartu; ṣbartu (ṣubreētu)
2 f.pl.	ṣubartan; ṣbartan (ṣubreētan)
1 c.pl.	ṣubarna; ṣbarna (ṣubreēna)

B. Imperfect Tense

There are three forms of the imperfect tense in BA, /yif^cal/, yif^cul/, yif^cil/. While Baghdadi dialect has six forms (6). The CA forms (7) have disappeared and have been replaced by the above.

a. /yif^cul/

This occurs mainly with verbs which have the perfect form /fu^cal/ under the impact of bilabial and labiodental consonant in the vicinity of the pharyngealised consonants (ṭ, ṣ, ḍ) and also l, r, k, q, g.

1. /b/ in second or third position with pharyngealised and l, r, q, k, g.

yilbuṭ	it moves (fish)
yirbuṭ	he ties
yiṣbur	he is patient
yiṣbuḡ (yiṣbaḡ) (8)	
yinbuṭ	he interrupts
yinbuḍ	it beats (pulse, etc).
yilbug	he slaps
yinbur	he interrupts
yi ^c bur	he crosses
yiṭlub	he asks; he demands
yikrub	he works hard
yiglub	he wins
yiṣlub	he leaves (someone waiting)
yikṭub	he delivers a speech; he asks for a girl's hand
yigṣub	he slaughters; overcharge
yiglub	he changes his mind; overturn
yidrub	he hits

2. /m/ in second or third position with pharyngealised and l, r, q, k, g.

yirmuš (yirmiš) ⁽⁹⁾	he winks
yizmut	he brags
yiqmuz (yiqmiz)	he raises his eyebrows
yik <u>muš</u> (yik <u>miš</u>) ⁽¹⁰⁾	
yışmut	he whips
yilmuđ	he puts out his tongue
yik <u>mut</u>	he snatches
yikmuş	he sees (someone hiding), catches
yitrum	he chops (meat, etc).
yiltum	he beats (the face, chest) in lamentation
yildum	he threads
yigtum	he cuts
yibrum	he spins (yarn)
yisgum	he pesters, annoys, keeps waiting
yik <u>sum</u>	he reduces (price); he finishes

3. /f/ in second or third position with pharyngealised
and l, r, k, q, g.

yitfur	he jumps
yirfuđ	he refuses
yışfur (yişfir) ⁽¹¹⁾	he whistles; it is empty
yışfug	he slaps, slams
yiqful	he closes
yidfur (tidfur)	parts the hair (women)
yinfuk (yinfak) ⁽¹²⁾	he blows; he puffs
yikfur	he denies God
yi ^c ruf	he knows

yigruf	he scoops; he rows
yinsuf (yinsif) ⁽¹³⁾	he is just, fair
yigtuf	he throws
yisguf	he puts a roof on
yiktuf	he passes quickly
yiqsuf	he bombs; he eats quickly
yilguf (yilgaf) ⁽¹⁴⁾	he catches

The table below gives the conjugation for the form /yif^cul/ in the imperfect tense of the verb /yi^cbur/, he crosses.

3 m.s	yi ^c bur
3 f.s	ti ^c bur
2 m.s	ti ^c bur
2 f.s	t ^c ubriin; it ^c ubriin; ti ^c ubriin; t ^c ubri; it ^c ubri; ti ^c ubri (rare)
1 c.s	'a ^c bur
3 m.pl.	y ^c ubruun; iy ^c ubruun; yi ^c ubruun; y ^c ubru; iy ^c ubru; yi ^c ubru (rare)
3 f.pl.	y ^c ubran; iy ^c ubran; yi ^c ubran
2 m.pl.	t ^c ubruun; it ^c ubruun; ti ^c ubruun; t ^c ubru; it ^c ubru; ti ^c ubru (rare)
2 f.pl.	t ^c ubran; it ^c ubran; ti ^c ubran
1 c.pl.	ni ^c bur

- b.. The second form of the imperfect tense is /yif^cal/. It occurs mainly under the influence of pharyngeals, velars (k, g) and /h/.

1. /h/ in second or third position:

yid <u>b</u> ah	he slaughters
yir <u>b</u> ah	he gains, wins
yim <u>d</u> ah	he praises
yif <u>t</u> ah	he opens
yid <u>h</u> ak	he laughs
yir <u>h</u> am	he shows kindness
yil <u>h</u> am	he welds
yif <u>h</u> aş	he examines

2. /k/ in second or third position:

yiş <u>l</u> ak	he skins, flays
yit <u>b</u> ak (yit <u>b</u> uk) ⁽¹⁵⁾	he cooks
yiş <u>l</u> ak	he chops (wood, etc).
yik <u>f</u> ak (yik <u>f</u> uk) ⁽¹⁶⁾	he slaps
yil <u>t</u> ak	he plasters
yiş <u>r</u> ak	he cries, screams
yiş <u>k</u> al (yiş <u>k</u> il) ⁽¹⁷⁾	he
yiş <u>k</u> aţ (yiş <u>k</u> it) ⁽¹⁸⁾	he passes quickly; he crosses out; he strikes (match)
yib <u>k</u> al (yib <u>k</u> ul) ⁽¹⁹⁾	he is mean
yit <u>k</u> an	it thickens; he becomes fat.
yisk <u>a</u> r	he laughs at, jeers

3. /c/ in second or third position:

yisma ^c	he hears
yişba ^c	he is sated (with food)
yikda ^c	he cheats

yīšla ^c	he escapes; he pulls out (plants, teeth etc)
yigta ^c	he cuts
yilma ^c	it shines
yinfra ^c	it is useful
yil ^c ab	he plays
yiz ^c al	he becomes angry
yis ^c al	he coughs
yil ^c at	it laps up (water, milk, etc).
yig ^c ad (yig ^c id) ⁽²⁰⁾	he gets up; he sits
yir ^c af	he bleeds from the nose
yid ^c af	he becomes thin, weak

4. /ğ/ in second or third position:

yiblağ	it ripens
yifrağ	it becomes empty; he becomes free
yildağ	it stings
yizlağ (yizliğ) ⁽²¹⁾	he scratches, cuts
yizgar	it shrinks
yimğas (yimğis) ⁽²²⁾	it causes pain in the abdomen
yingaz (yingiz) ⁽²³⁾	he nudges, prods; he hints

5. /h/ in second or third position:

yirham (yirhim)	he jumped with joy; it suits
yishar	he stays up late
yilhaṭ	he works hard
yizhag	he is annoyed, fed up

yilhat	he is exhausted
yihdal	it hangs heavy, sags
yidhan (yidhin) ⁽²⁴⁾	he rubs on grease, ointment

The table below gives the conjugation of the form /yif^cal/ in the imperfect tense of the verb /yiftah/, he opens.

3 m.s.	yiftah
3 f.s.	tiftah
2 m.s.	tiftah
2 f.s.	tfithiin; itfithiin; tiftithiin; tfithi; itfithi; tiftithi (rare)
1 c.s.	'aftah
3 m.pl.	yfithuun; iyfithuun; yiftithuun; yfithu; iyfithu; yiftithu (rare)
3 f.pl.	yfithan; iyfithan; yiftithan
2 m.pl.	tfithuun; itfithuun; tiftithuun; tfithu; itfithu; tiftithu (rare)
2 f.pl.	tfithan; itfithan; tiftithan
1 c.pl.	niftah

c. The third form which occurs in BA is /yif^cil/. This form occurs mainly with verbs which are not influenced by the consonants mentioned in the preceding sections.

yitrik	he leaves
yišrid	he escapes, flees
yiskit	he is silent

yiktib	he writes
yiksir	he breaks
yin ^v sid	he asks
yilbid	he hides
yiskin	he lives
yinzil	he lives; alights; comes down
yinkir	he denies
yindir	he vows to God
yitris	he fills
yiktil	he kills, hits
yidfin	he buries
yidris	he studies
yinsil	he combs
yig ^s sil	he showers; he washes
yi ^c zim	he invites
yin ^t ir	he guards

The table below gives the conjugation for the form /yif^cil/ in the imperfect tense of the verb /yi^všrid/ he escapes.

3 m.s.	yi ^v šrid
3 f.s.	ti ^v šrid
2 m.s.	ti ^v šrid
2 f.s.	t ^v širdiin; i ^v šširdiin; (25) ti ^v širdiin; t ^v širdi; i ^v šširdi; ti ^v širdi (rare)
1 c.s	'a ^v šrid
3 m.pl.	y ^v širduun; iy ^v širduun; yi ^v širduun; y ^v širdu; iy ^v širdu; yi ^v širdu (rare)

3 f.pl.	y ^Y irdan; iy ^Y irdan; yi ^Y irdan
2 m.pl.	t ^Y irdu ^u n; i ^Y ^Y irduun; ti ^Y irduun
	t ^Y irdu; i ^Y ^Y irdu; ti ^Y irdu (rare)
2 f.pl.	t ^Y irdan; i ^Y ^Y irdan; ti ^Y irdan
1 c.pl.	ni ^Y rid

Among the verbs which are cited above, some fluctuate between the two forms, /yif^cul/ and /yif^cil/. This probably happens because in Basrah there is a strong tendency to replace /u/ with /i/ in the imperfect prefix. This morphological feature is one of the Tamīm Features which still exist in BA (26). Below are some verbs which show this fluctuation.

yirmu ^Y ,	yirmi ^Y	he winks
yiqmuz,	yiqmiz	he raises his eyebrows
yik <u>mu</u> ^Y ,	yik <u>mi</u> ^Y	he snatches
yişfur,	yişfir	he whistles; it is empty
yinşuf,	yinşif	he is just

There are also about five verbs which show fluctuation between the forms /yif^cal/ and /yif^cul/.

yişbuğ,	yişbağ	he paints
yinfuk _u ,	yinfak _u	he blows; he puffs
yilguf,	yilgaf	he catches
yilquf,	yilqaf	it catches and eats (fish)
yitbuk _u ,	yitbak _u	he cooks

In addition to this I have noticed six verbs showing fluctuation between the forms /yif^cal/ and /yif^cil/.

yig ^c ad,	yig ^c id	he sits down
yimgas,	yimgis	it hurts (abdomen etc)
yidhan,	yidhin	he rubs

C. The Imperative Mood

The normal imperative is formed on the basis of the imperfect tense by omitting the prefix /t/ and the suffix /n/ in the 2 m.s, 2 f.s and 2 m.pl, (-an suffix of the 2 f.pl remains).

The table below gives the imperative forms for the verbs /yiqful/ he closes, /yidhak/ he laughs and /yiskit/ he is silent.

2 m.s.	'iqful;	'idhak;	'iskit
2 f.s.	qufli;	diḥki;	sikti
2 m.pl.	quflu;	diḥku;	siktu
2 f.pl.	quflan;	diḥkan;	siktan

There is also a (less common) form for all the suffixed parts, beginning with hamza.

2 f.s.	'iqufli;	'idiḥki;	'isikti
2 m.pl.	'iquflu;	'idiḥku;	'isiktu
2 f.pl.	'iquflan;	'idiḥkan;	'isiktan

Note: The 2 m.s. (unsuffixed) forms can also be vowelised like the suffixed forms when a pronoun object suffix beginning with a vowel is added, e.g.

kisra/'ikisra. break it (m).

There is also an intensive imperative formed by prefixing d /i/ - to the above forms. This is used when emotions of anger, impatience, insistence are involved.

diskit	(for heaven's sake) shut up! (2m.s)
dil ^c ab	(go on) play! (in chess etc)(2m.s)
diruuḥu	get out! beat it! (pl.)
dikli	(go ahead) eat! (2f.s)
diḡihkan	(come on) cheer up! (2f.pl)

This form is frequently followed by ^caad, roughly equivalent to the English "then".

D. The Active and Passive Participles

The Active and Passive Participles are formed on the patterns /faa^cil/ and /mafi^cuul/ respectively, the former having some variations in the second vowel in certain phonetic environments. The fem. sing. and m. and f. pl. forms are suffixed /-a/, /-iin/ and /-aat/ respectively, and the AP loses its second vowel

in these suffixed forms. The use and meaning of these participles, especially the active participle, is somewhat complex and has been dealt with elsewhere. (27)

The table below gives the full conjugation of the active and passive participle (faa^cil and maf^cuul) forms of the verbs /kital/, he killed and /širab/, he drank.

	<u>VB</u>	<u>AP</u>	<u>PP</u>
<u>m.s.</u>	kital	kaatil	maktuul
	širab	šaarub (šaarib)	mašruub
<u>f.s.</u>	kitlat	kaatla	maktuula
	širbat	šaarba	mašruuba
	kitlaw	kaatliin	maktuuliin
<u>m.pl.</u>	širbaw	šaarbiin	mašruubiin
	kitlan	kaatlaat	maktuulaat
<u>f.pl.</u>	širban	šaarbaat	mašruubaat

E. Verbal Nouns

The verbal noun of the simple verb is unpredictable.
The most common patterns are illustrated below:

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>VB</u>	<u>V.n</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
fa ^c al	sihar	sahar ⁽²⁸⁾	staying up late
fa ^c il	hidam	hadim ⁽²⁸⁾	collapsing
fu ^c ul	ḡi ^c af	ḡu ^c uf ⁽²⁸⁾	weakening
fi ^c il	li ^c ab	li ^c ib ⁽²⁸⁾	playing
fa ^c ul	ṭubak	ṭabuk ⁽²⁸⁾	cooking
fi ^c uul	dikaḷ	dikuul ⁽²⁹⁾	entering
f ^c uul	ṭila ^c	ṭluu ^c ⁽²⁹⁾	flowering
fu ^c uul	ṭumah	ṭumuuh ⁽²⁹⁾	ambition
f ^c aala (fi ^c aala)	kitab	ktaaba kitaaba)	writing
fa ^c aal	simah	samaah	permission

5.1.1.2 Derived Themes

The most common derived themes patterns are:-

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Im</u>	<u>V.n.</u>
II.	baddal	he changed	ybaddil (yibaddil)	tabdiil
III.	ṣaarak	he shared	yṣaarik (yiṣaarik)	muṣaaraka (ṣaraaka)
IV.	'ankar	he denied	yinkir	'inkaar (rare)

V.	(i)tkassar	he broke into pieces	yitkassar	taksiir
VI.	(i)tbaadal	he exchanged	yitbaadal	tabdiil
VII.	(i)ndumar	he destroyed	yindumur	tadmiir
VIII.	(i)ṣṭidam	he (it) collided	yiṣṭidim	(i)ṣṭidaam
IX.	(i)ḥmarr	he (it) turned red	yihmarr	iḥmuraar
X.	(i)sta ^c mal	he used	yista ^c mil	(i)sti ^c maal

It should be noted, however, that both active and passive participles can be formed from certain derived themes, often with specialised meaning for the use and meaning of all the above mentioned particles, (see 9.2.4).

The A.P. of derived themes is formed by prefixing a /m-/ or /mi-/ to the imperfect stem, depending on whether the stem begins with one or two consonants, for example, m^callim (from y^callim) or mi^callim (from yit^callam). The only variant for this rule is the final vowel for imp. stems ending in /-cca/. In such occurrences the A.P. ends in /-i/, e.g. mitḡaddi (from yitḡadda).

The p.p. of derived themes is formed by prefixes /m-/ or /mi-/mu-/ to the perfect stem, again depending on whether the stem begins with one or two consonants⁽³⁰⁾.

In addition it is worth noting the alternative vowelings which occur in words which can be both true A.P's and nouns (mainly of profession or occupation).

e.g.	m'allaf	Having, written, composed.
	mu'allif	Author.

The latter may, of course, be regarded as literary borrowings. Other examples are:

mufassir / m'fassir	exegete.
mustashriq / mistashriq	orientation.

5.1.1.3. Geminate Verbs

A. The Simple Verb

The perfect stem in BA is cacc as in C.A., but the imperfect patterns have developed in BA in two forms,

/ycucc/ and ycicc/. Less common in use are the variants /yicucc/ and /yicicc/ which occur among people who are influenced by marsh dialects and some parts of Iraq (31). Examples of this are, /y'gišš/ (y'gišš), he cheats, and /ymurr/ (yimurr), he passes.

Among some speakers the prefix ('i) precedes the imperfect and imperative. The noticable feature in the perfect tense of geminate verbs in BA and other dialects (32), is the insertion of the long vowel /ee/ between the stem and suffixes of the first and second persons.

The table below gives the status of geminate verbs in BA for the verbs /radd/ he returned and /marr/ he passed.

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>		<u>Imperative</u>
	radd	yridd;	iyrid;	yiridd	--
<u>3 m.s</u>	marr	ymurr;	iyurr;	yimurr	--
	raddat	tridd;	itridd;	tiridd	--
<u>3 f.s</u>	marrat	tmurr;	itmurr;	timurr	--
	raddeet	tridd;	itridd;	tiridd	ridd; iridd
<u>2 m.s</u>	marreet	tmurr;	itmurr;	timurr	murr; imurr
	raddeeti	triddiin;	itriddiin;		riddi;(iriddi)
			tiriddiin (rare)		
<u>2 f.s</u>	marreeti	tmurriin;	iturriin;		murri;(imurri)
			timurriin (rare)		
		tmurri;	iturri;	timurri	(rare)

<u>1 c.s</u>	raddeet	'aridd	--
	marreet	'amurr	--
<u>3 m.pl</u>	raddaw	yridduun; ðyridduun; yiridduun (rare)	--
		yriddu; ðyriddu; yiriddu (rare)	--
	marraw	ymurruun; ðymurruun; yimurruun; (rare)	--
		ymurru; ðymurru; yimurru (rare)	--
<u>3 f.pl</u>	raddan	yriddan; ðyriddan; yiriddan (rare)	--
	marran	ymurran; ðymurran; yimurran (rare)	--
	raddeetu	tridduun; ðtridduun; tiridduun (rare)	riddu lrddu
<u>2 m.pl</u>		triddu; ðtriddu; tiriddu	
	marreetu	tmurruun; ðtmurruun; timurruun; (rare)	murru lmurru
		tmurru; ðtmurru; timurru (rare)	
<u>2 f.pl</u>	raddeetan	triddan; ðtriddan; tiriddan (rare)	riddan lriddan
	marreetan	tmurran; ðtmurran; timurran (rare)	
<u>1 c.pl</u>	raddeena	nridd; ðnridd	--
	marreena	nmurr; ðnmurr	--

1. The Active and Passive Participles

The active and passive participle forms in geminate verbs are /faa^cil/ and /ma^cuul/ respectively. The table below gives the parts of the active and passive participle in the geminate verb for the verbs /radd/ he returned and /sadd/ he closed.

	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>P.P.</u>
<u>m.s</u>	raadd	marduud
	saadd	masduud
<u>f.s</u>	raadda	marduuda
	saadda	masduuda
<u>m.pl</u>	raaddiin	marduudiin
	saaddiin	masduudiin
<u>f.pl</u>	raaddaat	marduudaat
	saaddaat	masduudaat

2. Verbal Nouns

The most common verbal noun patterns of geminate verbs are cited below:-

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>VB</u>	<u>V.N.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
fa ^c l	ḥill	ḥall	solution
fi ^c l	gašš	gišš	cheating
fu ^c l	ḥabb	ḥubb	love
fa ^c al	mall	malal	boredom
fi ^c uul	šadd	šiduud	strangeness
fu ^c uul	marr	muruur	passing
f ^c uul	radd	rduud	coming again
fa ^c aal	jaḥḥ	jaḥaaf	dryness
f ^c aal	kaḥḥ	kḥaaf	withholding

B. Derived Themes

The most common derived themes of the geminate verbs are as follows:-

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>
II.	tammam	he completed	ytammim (iytammim) (yitammim)	tatmiim
III.	raadad	he debated with	yraadid (iyraadid) (yiraadid)	mraadad
IV.	'aşarṛ	he insisted on	yşirṛ (iyşirṛ) (yişirṛ)	şraar (işraar)
V.	(i)tmaddad	it prolonged	yitmaddad	tamaddud (tamaddid)
VI.	(i)tbaadal	it was exchanged	yitbaadal	tabdiil (tabaadil)
VII.	(i)ngaṣṣ	he was cheated	yingaṣṣ	giṣṣ
VIII.	(i)htamm	he became interested	yihtamm	ihtimaam
X.	(i)staḥaqq	it became due (he deserved)	yistiḥiqq	stiḥqaaq (istiḥqaaq)

5.1.2 The Weak Verb

5.1.2.1 Hamzated Verbs

A. Verbs Initial Hamza

1. - The Simple Verb

There are only three common initial hamza verbal roots:- 'kḏ (taking), 'kl (eating) and 'mr (commanding).

In the first two of these the hamza is usually omitted and the verbs conjugated in the perfect tense as third weak verbs. (See 5.1.2.4). The third root ('mr)

retains its hamza and adopts the pattern fu^cal, conjugating as a simple sound verb, as follows:-

3 m.	'umar	'umraw
f.	'umrat	'umran (etc)

In the imperfect tense the prefix vowel is a long /aa/ in the case of the first two, resulting in the following:-

3 m.	yaak <u>i</u> d, yaaki <u>l</u>	yaak <u>duun</u> ; yaakluun yaak <u>du</u> ; yaaklu
f.	taak <u>i</u> d, taaki <u>l</u>	yaak <u>dan</u> ; yaaklan (etc)

In the case of the third verb ('umar) the hamza is retained:-

yu'mur (yi'mur)	y'umruun; iy'umruun
tu'mur (ti'mur)	y'umran; iy'umran

Notes:

- (1) A minority of speakers - mainly educated - retain the classical stem 'akad and 'akal in the perfect.
- (2) Among elderly people the imperfect yaamur is often heard.
- (3) The imperatives are usually:-

	<u>Sing.</u>	<u>Plu.</u>
m.	'ik <u>i</u> d, 'ikil, 'u'mur ('aamur)	'ik <u>du</u> , 'iklu, 'umru ('aamru)
f.	'ik <u>d</u> i, 'ikli, 'umri ('aamri)	'ik <u>dan</u> , 'iklan, 'umran ('aamran)

A. Participles

The active and passive participles are cited below:-

	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>P.P.</u>
<u>m.s</u>	maak <u>i</u> d, maakil, 'aamir	maaku <u>u</u> d, maakuul ma'muur (maamuur)
<u>f.s</u>	maak <u>a</u> da, maakla, 'aamra	maaku <u>u</u> da, maakuula ma'muura (maamuura)
<u>m.pl</u>	maak <u>i</u> din, maakliin, 'umaraa'	maaku <u>u</u> din, maakuuliin ma'muuriin (maamuuriin)
<u>f.pl</u>	maak <u>a</u> daat, maaklaat, 'aamraat	maaku <u>u</u> daat, maakuulaat ma'muuraat (maamuuraat)

B. Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns are:-

'akid, 'akil, 'amur

2 - Derived Themes

A number of derived themes of initial hamza roots are in use, for example:-

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>
II.	'ajjal	he postponed	y'ajjil (iy'ajjil)	ta'jjil
	'ayyas	he despaired	y'ayyis	---
IV.	'aaman	he believed	yi'umin, y'aamin, (yaamin)	'iimaan
V.	(i)t'allam	he felt bad	yit'allam	ta'allum
VI.	(i)t'aalaf	he was sociable	yit'aalaf	ta'aaluf ('ilfa)
X.	ista'naf	he resumed	yista'nif	isti'naaf

Some show hamza → w., e.g.

wannas, ywannis (iywannis)	to amuse
wakkal, ywakkil (iywakkil)	to feed ⁽³³⁾

B. Medial Hamza Verbs

There are a few common verbs with medial hamza. With the exception of /yi'as/ he despaired, (see 5.1.2.2), these behave in exactly the same way as the /fi^cal/ form of the strong verbs, (see Section 5.1.1.1 above).

<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Im.</u>
si'al	he asked	yis'al
ri'as	he was in charge	yir'as
ri'af	he was kind	yir'af

C. Final Hamza Verbs

As in most dialects, verbs whose final consonant was originally a hamza, drop the hamza and behave as third weak verbs, (see 5.1.2.4). The most common verbs are:-

<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Im.</u>
qara	he read	yiqra
bida	he began	yibdi

5.1.2.2. Verbs Initial w or y

These verbs have both the common patterns in the perfect /fi^cal/, (e.g. wizan, he weighed) and /fu^cal/

(e.g. wuram, it swelled). In the imperfect of the w verbs the prefix vowel combines with the initial /w/ to give prefix /oo/, e.g. yoozin, yooram, etc.

First y verbs show a parallel construction with the imperfect prefix becoming /ee/.

The following are examples of this construction:

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
3 m.s	wugaf	yoogaf	---
	yibas	yeebas	---
3 f.s	wugfat	toogaf	---
	yibsat	teebas	---
2 m.s	wugafit (wgafit) wugfeet (34) ---	toogaf ---	'oogaf ---
2 f.s	wugafti (wgafti) wugfeeti ---	toogfiin toogfi ---	'oogfi ---
1 c.s	wugafit (wgafit) wugfeet	'oogaf	---
3 m.pl	wugfaw	yoogfuun (yoogfu)	---
3 f.pl	wugfan	yoogfan	---
2 m.pl	wugaftu (wgaftu) wugfeetu	toogfuun (toogfu)	'oogfu
2 f.pl	wugaftan(wgaftan) (wugfeetan)	(toogfan)	'oogfan
1 c.pl	wugafna (wgafna) (wugfeena)	(noogaf)	---

The verbal nouns and participles of the verbs wugaf and yibas are as follows :-

<u>V.N.</u>	<u>A.P.</u>
wuguuf (wiquuf)	waaguf
wiguuf (wguuf)	
ybaas (rare)	yaabis

5.1.2.3. Hollow Verbs

1 - The Simple Verb

A. Perfect Tense

The most noticeable feature of BA hollow verbs in the perfect tense is the suppression of the /CuC/ stem which normally becomes /CiC/, e.g. gilit, gilti etc. (For hypothetical gultit, gulti) (35).

A second point is the absence of the alternative suffixed forms with (-eet, -eeti, etc). In contrast to at least one other researcher. (36) we have not heard this in true BA.

3 m.s	ṣaam	baa ^c	naam
3 f.s	ṣaamat	baa ^c at	naamat
2 m.s	ṣimit (ṣumit)	bi ^c it	nimit
2 f.s	ṣimti (ṣumti)	bi ^c ti	nimti
1 c.s	ṣimit (ṣumit)	bi ^c it	nimit
3 m.pl	ṣaamaw	baa ^c aw	naamaw
3 f.pl	ṣaaman	baa ^c an	naaman
2 m.pl	ṣimtu (ṣumtu)	bi ^c tu	nimtu
2 f.pl	ṣimtan (ṣumtan)	bi ^c tan	nimtan
1 c.pl	ṣimna (ṣumna)	bi ^c na	nimna

B. Imperfect

The imperfect stems occur with all three vowels (guul; riid; naam). Due to the existence of the long vowel after the first radical, the prefix /ci/ is less common than /c or ic/.

3 m.s	yṣuum (iyṣuum) yiṣuum	yriid (iyriid) yiriid	ynaam (inyaam) yinaam
3 f.s	tṣuum (itṣuum) tiṣuum	triid (itriid) tiriid	tnaam (itnaam) tinaam
2 m.s	tṣuum (itṣuum) tiṣuum	triid (itriid) tiriid	tnaam (itnaam) tinaam
2 f.s	tṣuumiin (itṣuumiin) tiṣuumiin; tṣuumi, (itṣuumi)tiṣuumi	triidiin (itriidiin) tiriidiin; triidi, (itriidi)tiriidi	tnaamiin (itnaamiin) tinaamiin; tnaami, (itnaami) tinaami
1 c.s	'aṣuum	'ariid	'anaam
3 m.pl	yṣuumuun (iyṣuumuun) yiṣuumuun; yṣuumu, (iyṣuumu) yiṣuumu	yriiduun (iyriiduun) yiriiduun; yriidu, (iyriidu) yiriidu	ynaamuun (inyaamuun) yinaamuun; ynaamu, (inyaamu) yinaamu
3 s.pl	yṣuuman (iyṣuuman) yiṣuuman	yriidan (iyriidan) yiriidan	ynaaman (inyaaman) yinaaman
2 m.pl	tṣuumuun (itṣuumuun) tiṣuumuun; tṣuumu itṣuumu (tiṣuumu)	triiduun (itriiduun) tiriiduun triidu (itriidu) tiriidu	tnaamuun (itnaamuun) tinaamuun tnaamu (itnaamu) tinaamu

2 f.pl	ṭsuuman(iṭsuuman)	triidan(itriidan)	tnaaman(itnaaman)
	tịsuuman	tiriidan	tinaaman

1 c.pl	ṇsuum(iṇsuum)	nriid (inriid)	nnaam(innaam)
	hịsuum	niriid	ninaam

C. Imperatives

2 m.s	̣suum	bii ^c	naam
2 f.s	̣suumi	bii ^c i	naami
2 m.pl	̣suumu	bii ^c u	naamu
2 f.pl	̣suuman	bii ^c an	naaman

D. The Active and Passive Participles

<u>A.P.</u>	<u>P.P.</u>		
̣saayim	magyuud	-	led
baayi ^c	mabyuu ^c	-	sold
naayim	--		

E. Verbal Nouns

The most common patterns of verbal nouns of the hollow verbs are cited below:

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>VB</u>	<u>V.n.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
fool	gaal	gool	saying
feel	baa ^c	bee ^c	selling
fiila	^c aa ^v s	^c ii ^v sa	life
feela	̣saad	̣seeda	hunting
foola	maat	moota	death
f ^c aal(a)	̣haad	̣hwaada	following
f ^c aala(fi ^c aala)	saaq	syaaqa(siyaaqa) swaaqa	driving

2. - The Derived Themes

The most common patterns of derived themes for the hollow verbs are as follows. It should be noted that the theoretical verbal noun form does not exist in all cases:

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
II.	<u>kawwaf</u>	y <u>kawwif</u> (iy <u>kawwuf</u>)	tak <u>wiif</u>	frighten
	<u>kayyat</u>	y <u>kayyit</u> (iy <u>kayyit</u>)	<u>kyaat</u> (<u>kiyaata</u>)	to sew
III.	daayan	ydaayin (iydaayin)		to lend
	zaawad	yzaawid (iyzaawid)	muzaayada mizaayada	to bid
V.	(i)thayyar (i)tkawwaf	yithayyar yitkawwaf	tahayyir takawwuf	to be confused to be scared
VI.	(i)t ^c aawan	yit ^c aawan	ta ^c aawin	to co-operate
VII.	(i)nhaaf	yinhaaf	(hoof)	to be passed by a snake
VIII.	(i)htaar	yihtaar	(hiira)	to be baffled
IX.	(i)byadd	yibyadd	--	to turn white
X.	(i)stafaad	yistifiid	(i)stifnada	to get on advantage

5.1.2.4. Defective Verbs

1 - The Simple Verbs

A. Perfect

The perfect tense of defective verbs has a characteristic vowel /i/, as in /bič^ŷa/, he cried and in /š^ŷifa/, he recovered (from an illness). In some cases it has the characteristic vowel /u/ such as in /buqa/, he stayed or /ruma/, he shot, (see 5.1.2.3). The table below gives the conjugation of the verbs /miš^ŷa/, he walked and /buqa/, he stayed.

3 m.s	miš ^ŷ a	buqa
3 f.s	miš ^ŷ at	buqat
2 m.s	miš ^ŷ eet (mš ^ŷ eet)	buqeet (bqeet)
2 f.s	miš ^ŷ eeti (mš ^ŷ eeti)	buqeeti (bqeeti)
1 c.s	miš ^ŷ eet (mš ^ŷ eet)	buqeet (bqeet)
3 m.pl	miš ^ŷ aw	buqaw
3 f.pl	miš ^ŷ an	buqan
2 m.pl	miš ^ŷ eetu (mš ^ŷ eetu)	buqeetu (bqeetu)
2 f.pl	miš ^ŷ eetan (mš ^ŷ eetan)	buqeetan (bqeetan)
1 c.pl	miš ^ŷ eena (mš ^ŷ eena)	buqeena (bqeena)

B. Imperfect Tense

The imperfect tense of the above verbs usually has the characteristic prefix vowel /i/. It may have the vowel /u/ among some speakers, especially with the verb /buqa/, he stayed. The final vowel is either /i/ or /a/. The table below gives the conjugation of the verbs /miš^ŷa/, he walked and /buqa/ he stayed.

3 m.s	yim ^Y si	yibqa (yubqa)
3 f.s	tim ^Y si	tibqa (tubqa)
2 m.s	tim ^Y si	tibqa (tubqa)
2 f.s	tim ^Y siin	tibqiin (tubqiin)
		tibqi (tubqi)
1 c.s	'am ^Y si	'abqa
3 m.pl	yim ^Y suun (yim ^Y su)	yibquun (yubquun) (yibqu) (yubqu)
3 f.pl	yim ^Y san	yibqan (yubqan)
2 m.pl	tim ^Y suun (tim ^Y su)	tibquun (tubquun) (tibqu) (tubqu)
2 f.pl	tim ^Y san	tibqan (tubqan)
1 c.pl	nim ^Y si	nibqa (nubqa)

C. Imperative

The imperative of these verbs has the prefix vowel /i/ except in some fluctuating verbs such as buqa, which has /i/ or /u/.

2 m.s	'im ^Y si	'ibqa ('ubqa)
2 f.s	'im ^Y si	'ibqi ('ubqi)
2 m.pl	'im ^Y su	'ibqu ('ubqu)
2 f.pl	'im ^Y san	'ibqan ('ubqan)

The active participles of these verbs are given below, represented by the verbs /biča/, he cried, /miša/, he walked or he went, and /nisa/, he forgot:

m.s	baa ^v ci	naasi	maa ^v si
f.s	baa ^v cyā	naasya	maa ^v syā
m.pl	baa ^v ciin	naa ^v siin	maa ^v siin
f.pl	baa ^v cyaat	naasyatt	maa ^v syaat

D. Verbal Noun

The most common verbal noun patterns for the defective verbs are listed below:

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>VB</u>	<u>V.N.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Fa ^c ₁	hi ^v ca	ha ^v ci	talking
fi ^c aal (f ^c aala)	bina	binaa' (bnaaya)	building
fa ^c aal	rija	rajaa'	requesting
fa ^c aala (f ^c aala)	rika	rakaawa (rkaawa)	slackness
fi ^c laan	nisa	nisyaan	forgetting

2 - Derived Themes

The table below gives the common forms for the derived themes of the defective verbs:

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>
II. ma ^{vv} ssa	to make someone walk	yma ^{vv} ssi (iyma ^{vv} ssi)	(tmi ^{vv} ssi)
III. daawa	to medicate	ydaawi (iydaawi)	tadaawi (midaawaat)
IV. 'ak _{fa}	to hide	yik _{fi}	'ik _{fna} '
V. (i)tbarra	to split away from	yitbarra	baraa'a
VI.(i)tlaaga	to face each other	yitlaaga	---

VII. (i)ngiḷa	to be fried	yingiḷi	---
VIII. (i)ṣtira	to buy	yiṣtiri	---
X. (i)stawla	to seize (property)	yistawli	---

5.1.2.5. Doubly Weak Verbs

There are two verbs with first radical /w/ and final radical weak /hamza/.

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
wiqa	yooqi	'ooqi	protect
wuma ('ooma)	yoomi	'oomi	wave

5.1.2.6. The Irregular Verb /yaa/ (he came)

This verb exists in at least four forms, the use of which depends on the speaker:

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>
3 m.s	ya(a) iyya; ja(a) ijja	yyiy (iyyi); yiji
3 f.s	yat (iyyat); jat (ijjat)	tiyi (tijī)
2 m.s	yeet (jeet); iyeet (ijeet)	tiyi (tijī)
2 f.s	yeeti (iyeeti); jeeti (ijeeti)	tiyiin (tijīin)
1 c.s	yeet (iyeet); jeet (ijeet)	'ayi ('aji)
3 m.pl	yaw (iyaw); jaw (ijjaw)	yyuun (iyyuun); yijuun (yiju)

3 f.pl	yan (iyan); jan(ijjan)	yyan (iyyan); yijan
2 m.pl	yeetu(iyeetu); jeetu(ijeetu)	tiyuun (tijuun); tiyu (tiju)
2 f.pl	yeetan (iyeetan); jeetan (ijeetan)	tiyan (tijan);
1 c.pl	yeena (iyeena); jeena (ijeena)	niyi (niji)

The imperative of the verb /yaa/ does not occur but there is another form which is used instead. This is explained in the table below:

m.s	ta ^c aal ; ta ^c al
f.s	ta ^c aali; ta ^c ay
m.pl	ta ^c aalu
f.pl	ta ^c aalan

The active participle of the verb /yaa/ as follows:

m.s	yaay (jaay)
f.s	yaayya (jaayya)
m.pl	yaayyiin (jaayyiin)
f.pl	yaayyaat (jaayyaat)

The verbal noun of /yaa/ is maji.

5.2. Quadrilateral Verbs

5.2.1 Strong Verbs

A. The Simple Verb

Simple quadrilateral verbs have one form /fa^clal/ in the perfect tense. The imperfect of these verbs has

two forms /yfa^clul/ or /yfa^clil/. The table below gives the conjugation of the quadriliteral verbs /dahṛab/, he rolled and /barhan/, he proved:

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
3 m.s	dahṛab barhan	ydahṛub ybarhin	-- --
2 f.s	dahṛubat barhinat	ddahṛub(iddahṛub) tbarhin(itbarhin)	-- --
2 m.s	dahṛabut(dahrubeet) barhanit(barhineet)	ddahṛub(iddahṛub) tbarhin(itbarhin)	dahṛub barhin
2 f.s	dahṛabti(dahrubeeti) barhanti(barhineeti)	ddahṛubiin (iddahṛubiin) tbarhiniin (itbarhiniin)	dahṛubi barhini
1 c.s	dahṛabut(dahrubeet) barhanit(barhineet)	'adahṛub 'abarhin	-- --
3 m.pl	duhṛubaw barhinaw	ydahṛubuun (iydahṛubuun); ydahṛubu ybarhinuun (iybarhinuun); ybarhinu	-- --
3 f.pl	dahṛuban barhinan	ydahṛuban(iydahṛuban) ybarhinan(iybarhinan)	-- --
2 m.pl	dahṛabtu (dahṛubeetu)	ddahṛubuun (iddahṛubuun) ddahṛubu(iddahṛubu)	dahṛubu
	barhantu (barhineetu)	tbarhinuun (itbarhinuun) tbarhinu (itbarhinu)	barhinu

2.f.pl	dahṛaḇtan (dahṛuḇeetan)	ddahruban (iddahṛuḇan)	dahṛuḇan
	barhantan (barhineetan)	tbarhinan (itbarhinan)	barhinan
1 c.pl	dahṛaḇna (dahṛuḇeena)	ndahrub (indahṛuḇ)	--
	barhanna (barhineena)	'nbarhin (inbarhin)	--

Participles

<u>VB</u>	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>P.P.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
barhan	mbarhin	mbarhan	to prove
dandal	mdandil	mdandal	to push down
^c aryan	m ^c aryin	m ^c aryan	to strip (clothes)
ṣoogar	mṣoogir	mṣoogar	to guarantee

B. Derived Themes

The derived themes of the quadriliteral verbs are given below.

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>
II. (i)tbarhan	to be proved	yitbarhan	--
(i)tba ^c tar	to be scattered	yitba ^c tar	

C. Reduplicated Verbs

Many of these quadriliteral roots are reduplicative:

	bašbaš	to splash
	rafraf	to flutter
	damdā	to mutter to one's self
II.	tkarkar	to laugh
	tfalfal	to be peppery; to be scattered

5.2.2 Quadriliterals With Weak Radicals

These are reasonably numerous with both /w/ and /y/. The weak radicals are absorbed into long vowels /oo/ and /ee/ respectively.

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
šoofar	(i)yšoofir (i)yšoofur	šfeer (šifeer)	to whistle
neešān	(i)yneešin	tneešin	to aim at
šeetār	(i)yšeetir	šeetara	to control

II. Forms

tšooban	yitšooban	tšoobin	to be soaped
tšeetan	yitšeetan	šeetana šaytana	to be a devil

There are a few quadriliterals with both weak second and final radicals:

^c oo ^c a	y ^c oo ^c i (iy ^c oo ^c i) yi ^c oo ^c i	t ^c oo ^c i	to crow
loola	ylooli (iylooli) yilooli	tlooli	to sing a lullaby

5.2.3 Quinquiliterals

There are a number of quinquiliteral (or quadriliteral IV) verbs, all ending in a geminate:

<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>V.N.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
qaš ^v marr	(i)yqaš ^v murr yiqāš ^v murr	tqiš ^v murr (tiqiš ^v mur)	to cheat
qanṭarr	(i)yqanṭirr yiqanṭirr	tqintṭirr	to take the lion's share
šma' ^v azz	yišmi' ^v izz	('i)šmi'zaaz	to be disgusted

6. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

6.1. The Formation of Adjectives

The most common adjective patterns are cited below with their examples:

1.	fu ^c l	murr	bitter
2.	fa ^c al	baṭal	hero
3.	fa ^c il	waṣik	dirty
4.	fi ^c il	ṭirin	daft
5.	'af ^c al	'aswad	black
6.	'if ^c aali	'iskaafi	shoe repairer
7.	faa ^c il	naa ^c im	soft; ṣaaṭir clever
8.	faa ^c uul	naaṭuur	guard
9.	fa ^c aal	jabaan	coward
10.	fi ^c aal	ṣijaa ^c	brave
11.	fa ^c la	samra	brown
12.	fi ^c la	ḥilwa	beautiful
13.	mif ^c aal	mihdaar	talkative
14.	fu ^c laan	caṭṣaan	thirsty
15.	fa ^c aal	ḡabbaaz	baker
16.	fa ^c aal	ṣaṭaan	evil; naughty
17.	faw ^c aal	ḡarḡaan	out of order
18.	fa ^c iil	ṣariif	noble
19.	fi ^c iil	ṣiriid	wide
20.	fi ^c iila (fa ^c iila)	niḡiifa) naḡiifa)	clean (f)
21.	fa ^c uul	ṣabuur	patient

22.	mif ^c il	miflis	bankrupt
23.	mfa ^c al	mjallad	bound

6.2. The Gender of Nouns

A. The Feminine Gender

Usually feminine nouns have the ending /-a/, such as:

šijra	tree
girfa (gurfa)	room
tiyyaara	aeroplane

The following are feminine by usage:(37)

1. Double parts of the body.

'iid	hand
^c een	eye
riil (rijil)	foot

2. Names of towns, places and countries.

Bagdaad	Baghdad
Maşir	Egypt
'Arbiil	Arbīl (place in Iraq)

3. Nouns which denote females.

'umm	mother
'ikit	sister
bitt	daughter

4. Certain isolated words of no particular group.

ʕamis	sun
harub	war
naar	fire
'ariḍ	ground

B. The Formation of the Feminine of Adjectives

1. The feminine adjectives are usually made by adding /-a/ to the masculine, thus:

<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
ʕibiir	ʕibiira	big
ṭiwiil (ṭwiil)	ṭiwiila (ṭwiila)	tall; long
jamiil	jamiila	beautiful
ḥilu	ḥilwa	beautiful

2. Adjectives originally of the pattern /'a^cal/ denoting defects and colours, have the pattern /fa^cla/, /foola/.

<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
'aswad	sooda	black
'aḥmar (ḥamaṛ)	ḥamra	red
'a ^c raj (c̣aray)	c̣arja (c̣arya)	lame
'a ^c ma (c̣ama)	c̣anya	blind

6.3. The Number of Nouns

6.3.1 The Dual

The dual is formed in BA in two ways:

- A. By adding the suffix /-een/ to the singular in the masculine form (38).

SingularDual

qalam	pencil	qalameen (qalmeen) two pencils
nahar	river	nahreen two rivers
kitaab (ktaab)	book	kitaabeen (ktaabeen) two books

In the feminine, by adding the suffix /-een/ to the singular and replacing the ending /a/ by /t/.

SingularDual

ṭifla	child	ṭifilteen (two children)
ṣuura	picture	ṣuurteen (two pictures)
najma	star	najimteen (two stars)
nakla	palm trees	nakilteen (two palm trees)

B. There is also a tendency to use the plural form followed or preceded by the number /tneen/ (itneen) two.

banaat tneen (itneen)	)	two girls
tneen (itneen) banaat	)	
'aṭfaal tneen (itneen)	)	two children
tneen (itneen) 'aṭfaal	)	
kitub tneen (itneen)	)	two books
tneen (itneen) kitub	)	
siyyaaraat tneen (itneen)	)	two cars
tneen (itneen) siyyaaraat	)	

6.3.2 Plural

As in all forms of Arabic there are two types of plural in BA. A sound plural, which is formed by adding

a suffix to the singular and a broken plural formed by making internal vowel changes within the word.

A. The Sound Plural

1. Masculine Sound Plural

The masculine sound plural is formed by adding the suffix /-iin/ to the masculine singular.

<u>Masculine Singular</u>		<u>Masculine Sound Plural</u>	
mudarris	teacher	mudarrisiin	teachers
muhandis	engineer	muhandisiin	engineers
muwaddaf	employee	muwaddifiin	employees

2. Feminine Sound Plural

The femine sound plural is formed by adding the suffix /-aat/ to the feminine noun ending in /a/, the final /a/ being dropped.

<u>Feminine Singular</u>		<u>Feminine Plural</u>	
ṭaaliba	student	ṭaalibaat	students
ṭayyaara	airplane	ṭayyaaraat	airplanes
saa ^c a	watch	saa ^c aat	watches
na ^c ya (na ^c ja)	ewe	na ^c yaat (na ^c jaat)	ewes
maktaba	library	maktabaat	libraries

B. Broken Plural

The most common broken plural patterns are cited below with their variants and examples.

1. 'af^cul (variant 'af^cil).

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
ḥaruf	letter	'aḥruf
ḍraa ^c	arm	'aḍru ^c
lsaan	tongue	'alsin (39)

2. fa^caal (variants 'af^caal, 'if^caal and f^caal).

qalam	pen	qlaam ('aqlaam)
^c amm	paternal	^c amaam
qadam	foot	qdaam ('aqdaam)
k _a al	maternal	k _a waal (k _w aal)
filim	film	flaam ('aflaam)
nahar	river	nhaar ('anhaar)
ḡees	bag	ḡyaas (iḡyaas)
t _o ob	dress	t _y aab (i _t yaab)
ḡalib	dog	ḡlaab (iḡlaab)

3. 'aafaal.

biir	well	'aabaar
'amal	hope	'aamaal

4. 'af^cila.

su'aal	question	'as'ila
jawaab	answer	'ajwiba
slaah	weapon	'asliha

5. f^cuul (variant 'if^cuul).

gaḷub	heart	gḷuub (igḷuub)
jindi	soldier	jnuud (ijnuud)
kadd	cheek	kduud (ikduud)

	beet	house	byuut (ibyuut)
	daris	lesson	druus (idruus)
6.	<u>fuul.</u>		
	raas	head	ruus
	qaat	suit	quut
7.	<u>fi^claan.</u>		
	nahar	river	nihraan
	<u>karas</u>	dumb	<u>kirsaan</u>
8.	<u>fu^claan.</u>		
	qamiis	shirt	qumsaan
	'aşfar	yellow	sufraan
	'ahmar	red	humraan
9.	<u>fi^cal.</u>		
	janṭa	luggage	jinaṭ
	firṣa	brush	firaṣ
	ḥila	trick	ḥiyal
	digma	button	digam
10.	<u>fu^cul.</u>		
	'asmar	brown	sumur
	sifiina	sailing ship	sufun
	bṣaat	rug	buṣuṭ
11.	<u>fi^cil.</u>		
	ḥzaam	belt	ḥizim
	n ^c aal	sandal	ni ^c il

12. fa^cu1.
 gamḷa louse gamuḷ
 jamra embers jamur
13. fu^cal.
 fuuṭa headscarf fuwaṭ
 jumla sentence jumal
14. fa^cil.
 namla ant namil
 naḥla bee naḥil
 ṡam^ca candle ṡami^c
15. fa^cal.
 sa^cfa palm-leaf sa^caf
 nakḷa palm-tree nakal
16. fa^caali, (variant f^caali)
 qinniina bottle qanaani
 quuri teapot qawaari (qwaari)
 gahwa coffee house gahaawi (ghaawi)
 'ahal family 'ahaali
17. fiilaan.
 ḥaayit wall ḥiitāan
 gaa^c land giic^caan
18. fa^caala, (fi^caala); f^caala).
 qaḍiyya matter qaḍaanya
 miyya one hundred myaaya
 ^catṡaan thirsty ^caṭaaṡa (^cṭaaṡa)

ḥayya	snake	ḥayaaya (ḥyaaya)
kaslaan	lazy	kasaala (ksaala)
natya	female	nitaaya (ntaaya)

19. fa^caayil, (variant f^caayil)

ḥariiga	fire	ḥaraayig
^c ajuuz (^c ayuuz) old woman		^c ajaayiz (^c jaayiz)

20. fu^cc^caal, (variant fi^cc^caal)

raakib	passenger	rukkaab
^c aamil	worker	^c ummaal
ṭaalib	student	ṭillaab
kaatib	clerk	kittaab

21. fa^cala

kaayin	traitor	kawana
saafil	rude	safala

22. fawaa^cil

ṭaabi ^c	stamp	ṭawaabi ^c
ṭaabaq	floor	ṭawaabiq
ḥaajiz	restraint	ḥawaajiz

23. mufaa^cil, (variant mfaa^cil)

mudḥiif	reception room	mudḥaayif (mdḥaayif)
muknaasa	broom	mukaanis (mkaanis)

24. mafaa^cil, (variants mfaa^cil; mafaa^cul)

mat ^c am	restaurant	mataa ^c um
madrasa	school	madaaris
manqala(mniqla) barbecue		manaaqil (mnaaqil)

maṛkab	ship	maṛaakub (mṛaakub)
mahkama	court	mahaakim (mhaakim)

25. fu^calaa'

The classical pattern still exists in BA in some words:

bakiil	stingy	bukalaa'
kariim	generous	kuramaa'
ṣariif	honest	ṣurafaa'

26. 'af^cilaa'

ṣadiiq	friend	'aṣdiqaa'
qawi	strong	'aqwiyyaa'
nabi	prophet	'anbiyyaa'

27. 'afaa^cil

ḍifir	nail	'aḍaafir (40)
ṣibi ^c	finger	'aṣaabī ^c

28. fa^caa^ciil, (variant f^caa^ciil)

gaṣṣaab	butcher	gaṣaaṣiib (gṣaaṣiib)
naddaaf	carder	nadaadiif (ndaadiif)
zanbuur	wasp	zanaabiir (znaabiir)
^c anguud	bunch of grapes	^c anaagiid (^c naagiid)
darub	road	daraabiin (draabiin)

29. mafaa^ciil. It has free variant (mfaan^ciil)

miftaah	key	mafaatiiḥ (mfaatiiḥ)
mungaar	beach	manaagiir (mnaagiir)
majnuun	crazy	majaaniin (mjaaniin)

30. fa^caalla, (variant f^caalla). It occurs mainly with nisba nouns.

başraawi (başri)	Başran	başaarwa (bşaarwa)
maşlaawi	from Musul	maşaalwa (mşaalwa)
bağdaadi	Baghdadi	bğaadda

31. fu^cuula, (variant f^cuula)

nağal	bastard	nuğuula (nguula)
n ^c aal	sandal	n ^c uula
fahāl	male of palm tree	fhuula

32. fa^ciil

nakla	palm-tree	nakiil
^c abid	slave	^c abiid

C. Anomalous Plurals

The most common anomalous plurals are given below:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
'ubu or 'abb	father	'ibbahaat or 'aabaa'
'umm	mother	'ummahaat
'uku, 'ak	brother	kwaan ('ikwaan)
'ikit	sister	kawaat (kwaat)
'ibin or farik	son	'abnaa' (fruuk)
bitt	daughter	banaat

6.4. Comparatives

The most common comparative forms are listed below:

1. 'af^cal.

şaatir	clever	'aştar	more clever
simiin	fat	'asman	fatter

ṭiwiil	long	'atwal	longer, taller
^c ariid	wide	'a ^c rad	wider

2. 'afa^{cc}.

This form occurs with double radical nouns:

daqiiq	careful	'adaqq	more careful
ka ^u fiif	light	'aka ^{ff}	lighter
qaliil	few	'aqall	fewer

3. 'af^ca.

This form occurs with final weak roots:

ḥilu	sweet, pretty	'ahla	sweeter, prettier
wafi	honest	'awfa	more, honest
qawi	strong	'aqwa	stronger

6.5. Diminutive

The use of diminutives is fairly common in BA and is very common in surrounding villages. Its connotation is not only one of size, but it can also be pejorative on the one hand and affectionate on the other.

The diminutive take the following forms:

1. f^ceel (f^ceela).

ṣalib	dog	ṣleeb
ka ^ṣ im	nose	k ^ṣ eem
ṭoob	dress	ṭweeb
sim ^ṣ ca	fish	smee ^ṣ ca
nak ^ṣ la	palm tree	nkeela
layla	proper name	lweela
bu ^ṣ sra	proper name	b ^ṣ seera
soda	black	sweeda

2. f^cee^cil.

This form is used with four radical nouns:

ja ^c far	proper name	j ^c ee ^c fir
dirhim	coin	dreehim
minyal	scythe	mneeyil
ṣaari ^c	street	ṣweeri ^c

3. f^cayyil.

This form is used with nouns having a long vowel in the second syllable:

ṣayuuz (ṣajuuz)	old woman	ṣyayyiz (ṣjayyiz)
kariim	proper name	krayyim
laṭiif	proper name	lṭayyif

4. f^cayla.

This form is used usually with feminine proper names of the pattern /fa^ciila/. The pronunciation with /-ay-/ probably indicates original /f^cayyila/:

kariima	proper name	krayma
na ^c iima	proper name	n ^c ayma
saliima	proper name	slayma

5. f^cee^ciil.

This form is used with quadriliteral nouns having a long vowel in the final syllable:

miftaah	proper name; key	mfeetiḥ
ṣanguud	bunch of grapes	ṣneegiid
ṣanduug	box	ṣneediig
dikkaan	shop	dkeekiin

6. f^cayyaala; f^cayyeel.

These two forms are used for the unit numerals:

tneen	two	tnayyeen
tlaata (tlaata)	three	tlayyaata (tlayyaata) etc. (41)

Compound Names

Compound names with /^cabd/ have the diminutive /^cbeed/:

^c abdalla	proper name	^c beedalla
^c abdilkaliq	proper name	^c beedilkaliq
^c abdinabi	proper name	^c beedinnabi

6.6. Numerals6.6.1. Cardinal6.6.1.1 Cardinal Numerals 1 to 10

The cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

waahid; (wiḥda (f)	one
tneen (itneen)	two
tlaata (itlaata)(tlaata)(itlaata)	three
'arba ^c a	four
kamsa	five
sitta	six
sab ^c a	seven
tmaanya	eight
tis ^c a	nine
^c ašra	ten

The following aspects have been noted:-

1. Only the numeral "one" has a masculine form /waahid/ and a feminine form /wiḥda/.
2. The numeral "two" has only one form /tneen/ used for masculine and feminine, (see 6.2.1). Whereas in the Baghdadi dialect, for instance, the form /tinteen/ is used for feminine (42).
3. In the case of the numerals from "three" to "ten", when the noun is mentioned, it is plural and follows the numeral. The numeral then has a special combination form, as follows:-

<u>tlat</u> - (<u>tlat</u> -) or <u>tilt</u>	three houses
-(i)byuut	
'arba ^c - madaaris	four schools
<u>kam</u> (i)s - (i) <u>hwaa</u> s ^y	five houses
sitt - gi ⁱ aan	six lands
sabi ^c - bannat	seven girls
<u>tman</u> - or <u>timin</u> or <u>timn</u>	
(i)ṣfuuf	eight classes
tis(i) ^c (i) <u>kwaan</u>	nine brothers
^c aš(i)r saa ^c aat	ten hours

Thus the following points can be noted:-

- A. The final vowel /a/ of the numerals drops in the combination form.
- B. The anaptyctic vowel /i/ occurs between the last two consonants of the numerals in the combination as an alternative pronunciation.

C. Two exceptional forms occur, viz /tilt/ three and /timn/ eight.

When the noun, however, begins with a vowel, there is an alternative form with intervening /t/, e.g. "five days".

kamis -t- iyyaam

or

kams 'ayyaam

6.6.1. 2. Cardinal Numerals 20 to 90

The multiples of ten from 20 to 90 are shown below:-

^c i ^v sr̥iin	twenty
<u>t</u> laatiin (it <u>t</u> laatiin); <u>t</u> laatiin (it <u>t</u> laatiin)	thirty
'arbi ^c iin	forty
<u>k</u> amsiin	fifty
sittiin	sixty
sab ^c iin	seventy
<u>t</u> maaniin (it <u>t</u> maaniin)	eighty
tis ^c iin	ninety

6.6.1. 3. The Cardinal Numerals from 11 to 19

The Cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 :-

hda ^c aš ^v (ihda ^c aš ^v)	eleven
<u>t</u> na ^c aš ^v (it <u>t</u> na ^c aš ^v)	twelve
<u>t</u> liṭṭa ^c aš ^v (it <u>t</u> liṭṭa ^c aš ^v); <u>t</u> iliṭṭa ^c aš ^v ; <u>t</u> liṭṭa ^c aš ^v (it <u>t</u> liṭṭa ^c aš ^v)	thirteen
'arḃa ^c ṭa ^c aš ^v	fourteen
<u>k</u> muṣṭa ^c aš ^v (ik <u>k</u> muṣṭa ^c aš ^v); <u>k</u> amuṣṭa ^c aš ^v	fifteen

ṣiṭṭa ^c a ^v	sixteen
ṣbu ^c ṭa ^c a ^v (iṣbu ^c ṭa ^c a ^v)(43)	
ṣabu ^c ṭa ^c a ^v	seventeen
t _u munṭa ^c a ^v (it _u munṭa ^c a ^v)	
t _u munṭa ^c a ^v	eighteen
tiṣi ^c ṭa ^c a ^v (tiṣi ^c ṭa ^c a ^v)	nineteen

When the noun is mentioned with one of these numerals it is singular and follows the numeral which does not alter. For example:

t _u munṭa ^c a ^v	ṭaaliba	eighteen students(f)
ṣiṭṭa ^c a ^v	yoom	sixteen days
'arba ^c ṭa ^c a ^v	saa ^c a	fourteen hours

6.6.1. 4. Numerals 21 to 99

The numbers between the multiples of ten from 21 to 99 are as follows:-

waahid w- ^c iṣriin	twenty-one
t _u neen w- ^c iṣriin	twenty-two
kamsa wi-t _u laatiin	
(t _u laatiin)	thirty-five
	etc.

6.6.1. 5. Hundreds

The word for one hundred is /miyya/, dual is /miiteen/ plural /miyyaat/ (44). The multiples of one hundred from 300 to 900 are expressed by a phrase consisting of a unit numeral and the singular form of /miyya/.

miyya	hundred, one hundred
miiteen	two hundred
<u>tlat</u> (tlat) or tilit miyya	three hundred
'arba ^c - miyya	four hundred
	etc.

With following units :-

miyya w-sitta	one hundred and six
miiteen w-sab ^c a	two hundred and seven
<u>tlat</u> (tlat); <u>tilit</u> - miyya w-kamuṣṭa ^c aṣ	three hundred and fifteen
'arba ^c -miyya w-itna ^c aṣ	four hundred and twelve
	etc.

6.6.1. 6. The Thousands

A thousand is /'alif/, /'alf/ with the dual form /'alfeen/ and with the plural form /'aalaaf/ used after one of the numerals from three to ten (45).

'alif ('alf)	
'alfeen	two thousand
<u>tlat</u> (tlat) -t-aalaaf	three thousand
'arba ^c -t-aalaaf 1	four thousand
<u>kamis</u> -t-aalaaf	five thousand
	etc.

6.6.1. 7. The Millions

Million is /milyoon/, /malyoon/, dual /milyooneen) (malyooneen) and plural /malaayiin/.

milyoon (malyoon)	million, one million
milyooneen (malyooneen)	two million

tlat(tlat) or tilit-malaayin three million
etc.

6.6.2. The Diminutive of the Unit Numerals

This is not common now in BA, but does occur
mainly in the speech of old people.

waahid	one	whayyid
<u>tneen</u> (i <u>tneen</u>)	two	<u>tnayyeen</u> (i <u>tnayyeen</u>)
<u>tlaata</u> (tla <u>ata</u>)	three	<u>tlayyaata</u> (tlayya <u>ata</u>)
'arba ^c a	four	'irbayyaa ^c a
<u>kamsa</u>	five	kmayyaasa(i <u>kmayyaasa</u>)
sitta	six	sdayyaasa
sab ^c a	seven	sbayyaa ^c a
<u>tmaanya</u>	eight	<u>tmayyaana</u>
tis ^c a	nine	tsayyaa ^c a
^c a ^v sra	ten	^c y ^e seera

6.6.3. Ordinal Numerals

<u>M.</u>	<u>F.</u>	
'awwal	'uula	first
<u>taani</u>	<u>taanya</u>	second
<u>taalit</u>	<u>taalta</u>	third
raabi ^c	raab ^c a	fourth

But:-

saadis	saadsa	sixth etc.
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7. PRONOUNS

7.1. The Personal Pronouns

7.1.1. Independent Pronouns

The form of the independent personal pronouns are as follows:-

3 m.s	'ihwa (huwa)
3 f.s	'ihya (hiyya)
2 m.s	'inta
2 f.s	'inti
1 c.s	'aana
3 m.pl	'uhma (humma)
3 f.pl	'ihna (hinna)
2 m.pl	'intum; 'intu
2 f.pl	'intan
1 c.pl	'ihna

The plural form in BA is also used to refer to the dual, (see 6.3.1. B).

7.1.2. The Suffixed Personal Pronouns

The forms of the suffixed personal pronouns are as follows:-

	<u>With Consonant Stem</u>	<u>With All Stems</u>	<u>With Vowel Stems</u>
3 m.s	-a		final vowel lengthened
3 f.s		-ha	
2 m.s	-ak		-k
2 f.s	-iç		-ç

1 c.s.	-i	-ni (with verbs only)	-y
3 m.pl		-hum	
3 f.pl		-hin	
2 m.pl		-kum	
2 f.pl		-čan	
1 c.pl		-na	

The suffixed personal pronouns are illustrated in the following tables. Note that in the case of (relatively rare) nouns ending in a vowel, this is lengthened before all suffixes and, in the case of 3 m.s., this lengthening (and subsequent stress shift) alone constitutes the suffix. (This does not, of course, apply to the feminine ending -a, which becomes -(a)ɿ before the addition of the suffixes, e.g. sayyaarti "my car" etc).

<u>Nouns</u>	<u>Consonant Stem</u>		<u>Vowel Stem</u>	
3 m.s	ktaaba	his book	ḡidaa	his lunch
3 f.s	ktaabha	her book	ḡidaaha	her lunch
2 m.s	ktaabak	your book	ḡidaak	your lunch
2 f.s	ktaabič	your book	ḡidaač	your lunch
1 c.	ktaabi	my book	ḡidaay	my lunch
3 m.pl	ktaabhum	their book	ḡidaahum	their lunch
3 f.pl	ktaabhin	their book	ḡidaahin	their lunch
2 m.pl	ktaabkum	your book	ḡidaakum	your lunch
2 f.pl	ktaabčan	your book	ḡidaačan	your lunch
1 c.pl	ktaabna	our book	ḡidaana	our lunch

Prepositions (46)

	<u>Consonant Stem</u>		<u>Vowel Stem</u>	
3 m.s	minna	from him	ʕalee-	on him
3 f.s	minha	from her	ʕaleeha	on her
2 m.s	minnak	from you	ʕaleek	on you
2 f.s	minnič	from you	ʕaleeč	on you
1 c.s	minni	from me	ʕalay(ʕalayya)	
3 m.pl	minhum	from them	ʕaleehum	on them
3 f.pl	minhin	from them	ʕaleehin	on them
2 m.pl	minkum	from you	ʕaleekum	on you
2 f.pl	minčan	from you	ʕaleečan	on you
1 c.pl	minna	from us	ʕaleena	on us

Verbs

Again short final vowels lengthened.

	<u>Consonant Stem</u>		<u>Vowel Stem</u>	
3 m.s	šaafa	he saw him	dannaa	he approached it/him
3 f.s	šaafha	he saw her	dannaaha	she approached it/her
2 m.s	šaafak	he saw you	dannaak	he approached you
2 f.s	šaafič	he saw you	dannaáč	he approached you(f)
1 c.s	šaafni	he saw me	dannaani	he approached me
3 m.pl	šaafhum	he saw them	dannaahum	he approached it/them
3 f.pl	šaafhin	he saw them	dannaahin	he approached it/them(f)
2 m.pl	šaafkum	he saw you	dannaakum	he approached you
2 f.pl	šaafčan	he saw you	dannaáčan	he approached you(f)
1 c.pl	šaafna	he saw us	dannaana (dannaanna)	he approached us

7.2. Demonstratives

There are the usual two categories of demonstrative indicating near objects and distant objects.

7.2.1. Demonstratives Indicating Near Objects

These are :-

m.s	haa <u>d</u> ; haada
f.s	haay; haaya; haad <u>i</u>
m.pl	ha <u>d</u> ool; ha <u>d</u> oola; (haa <u>d</u> ool; ha <u>d</u> oola); <u>d</u> ool; <u>d</u> oola
f.pl	ha <u>d</u> an (haa <u>d</u> an); ha <u>d</u> anni (haa <u>d</u> anni); <u>d</u> an; <u>d</u> anni

7.2.2. Demonstratives Indicating Distant Objects

These are:-

m.s	<u>d</u> aak, <u>d</u> aaka, ha <u>d</u> aak
f.s	<u>d</u> iic̣, <u>d</u> iic̣a, ha <u>d</u> iic̣, ha <u>d</u> iic̣a (haa <u>d</u> iic̣; ha <u>d</u> iic̣a)
m.pl	<u>d</u> oolaak, ha <u>d</u> oolaak
f.pl	<u>d</u> aakan, <u>d</u> akan, ha <u>d</u> aakan, <u>d</u> annii <u>c̣</u> , <u>d</u> iic̣an

Another form /daakool/, /hadaakool/ for masculine plural occurs mainly in Shatt al-^cArab area. There is also a form /hadooliic̣/, /dooliic̣/ which has been heard in al-fāu (47).

There is no dual form of the demonstratives, the numeral /itneen/ being simply appended, 'ikid, danni, s-siyyaaraat (is-siyyaaraat), ittineen.

7.3. The Definite Article

The basic definite article is /l-/ or /il-/, with /li-/ occurring before /cc/.

lkitub the books

ilmadrassa the school

libyuut the houses

The /l-/ of the article is assimilated with /š, d, s, ṭ, ḍ, l, n, t, r, ṭ, ḍ, z, s/, thus :-

s-simaš (is-simaš) the fish

ṭ-ṭariiq (iṭ-ṭariiq) the road

and sometimes /š/ and /j/.

š-šalib (iš-šalib) the dog

j-jisir (ij-jisir) the bridge

Two solar letters /d/ and /š/ are rarely used as lunar letters:

(i)ṇṭii lsiyyaara give him the car

rihit lildaa'ira li yištigil biha 'ibuuy,

I went to the office that my father works in.

7.4. Interrogatives

7.4.1. Unmarked Interrogatives

Straight interrogatives (expecting the answer yes or no), are indicated purely by tone of voice. The pitch is significantly raised towards the end of the sentence.

'ikuuk ijja mniššigil?

Did your brother come
back from work?

rihti lis-suug?

Did you (f) go to
market?

mabyuuga janiṭtak?

Has your bag been
stolen?

7.4.2. Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs

1. Šinu "What"?

Usually initial:-

Šinu? What? What is it?

. Šinu haada? What's this?

Šinu triid? What do you want?

But occasionally preceded by a verb, noun, adverb,
or preposition :-

'akalit (kileet)

Šinu? What did you eat?

haada Šinu? What's this?

b-Šinu saafarit? By what did you travel?

2. minu "Who"?

minu ijja (ja)? Who came?

minu gallak truuh? Who told you to go?

daak minu? Who is that?

ijjaak minu? Who came to you?

When preceded by prepositions, this is usually
reduced to /-man/.

^c an-man difa ^c it 'ijra?	Who did you pay the fare for?
^c alee-man sallamit?	Whom did you greet?
il-man nteet lkitub?	Who did you give the books to?

The same applies in the constructed state:-

kitaab-man haada?	Whose book is this?
haaya marat-man?	Whose wife is this?
halbeet maal-man?	Whose is this house?

3. ^yS- "What"?

This prefix is used as follows :-

A. With nouns, verbs and /'aku/ "there is".

^y S-ismak?	What's your name?
^y S-saar?	What happened?
^y S-gallak?	What did he tell you?
^y S-raah is-sawwi?	What are you going to do?
^y S-aku?	What's wrong?
^y S-aku ^c indak?	What have you got?

B. With the preposition /bi / or /^cid/ and a pronoun suffix.

^y S-bii?	What's wrong with him?
---------------------	------------------------

When this combination is qualified by a following adjective or verb, the meaning is "why".

^y S-biiha za ^c laana?	Why is she angry?
^y S-biihum maa ijjaw?	Why did they not come?
^y S- ^c idhin yit ^c aarkan?	Why are they (f) fighting?

C. Compounded with /wakit/ "time" to mean "when"?

Š-wakit riḥit?	When did you go?
Š-wakit tsaafir?	When do you travel?
riḥit Š-wakit?	When did you go?
Šifitha Š-wakit?	When did you see her?

D. With /gadd/ "extent" to mean "how much", "how many", etc.

Šgadd ʿindak. ʔuus?	How much money have you got?
Šgadd buqeet bilkaarij?	How long have you been abroad?
Š-gadd lmasaafa (ilmasaafa) lbaḡdaad?	How far is it to Baghdad?

With /maal/ "belonging to", "connected with" :-
This is always used with pronoun suffixes:-

Š-maala yibʿi?	Why is he crying?
Š-maalha zaʿlaana?	Why is she angry?

F. With /loon/ "condition" to mean "how" :-

Š-loon?	How?
Š-loonak?	How are you?
Š-loon saafar?	How did he travel?

Also it means What! In exclamation:-

Š-loon. hi\wahaay!	What a pretty girl this is!
Š-loon sayyaara ʿinda!	What a lovely car he has!

4. -eeŠ "What"?

This is a suffix used in compounds after prepositions.
The most common is /l-/ giving the meaning "Why"?

'ayy ktaab triid?	Which book do you want?
'ayy wiḥda?	Which one (f)?
yaa faṣīl qireet?	Which chapter did you read?
b-'ayy qīṭaar saafarit?	By which train did you travel?
b-yaa daris risabit?	Which class did you fail?

When the noun is not stated (as it is in the examples above), this particle takes the form of /yaa-/ suffixed by /-hu/ (or /haw/) for m.s, /-hay/ for f.s, /-ham/ for m.pl, and /-han/ for f.pl.

yahaw 'ikuuk?	Which one is your brother?
minyahaw jibta?	Which one did you bring it from?
^c an yahaw tiḥčī?	Which one do you speak about?
b-yahaw širabit?	By which one did you drink? (which glass).
yahay triidha?	Which one do you want?
yaham t ^c aarkaw?	Who did they fight?
^c anyaham tiḥčī?	Who are you speaking about?
yahan nṭannak (inṭannak)?	Who gave (it) to you?
yahan triid?	Which one do you want?
^c ala yahan ṣaayir ^c aṣabi?	Who are you angry with?

7. yamta?

"When"?

yamta kaabaritni?	When did you 'phone me?
yamta šaafak?	When did he see you?

8. Ween? "Where"? "How"? (Suggesting impossibility or lack of belief).
- ween raayih? Where are you going?
- ween haṭṭeeti liktaab? Where did you (f) put the book?
- 'aana maṣquul ween 'akaabirṭa I am busy, how can I 'phone him?
- ween haada yqallidni How would he take any notice of me?
- ween biida ṣi ḥatta ysaa^cidni How could he have the power to help me?
- ween sima^cni How could he have heard me?
9. mneen? "From where"?
- mneen ḥaṣṣalṭa? From where did you get it?
- mneen 'inta? Where do you come from?

7.5. The Indefinite Pronouns

The most common indefinite pronouns are listed below with some examples :-

1. 'aḥḥad "Some one", "anyone".
- Used for both masculine and feminine:-
- loo 'aku 'aḥḥad bilbeet ṣaan sima^cna. If there were anyone in the house he would have heard us.
- maa ṣifit 'aḥḥad min ^cidhin. I did not see any one of them (f.pl).
- sima^cit 'aku 'aḥḥad yriid ybiic beeta bṣaari^cna. I heard there is someone in our street who wants to sell his house.
2. Maḥḥad and laḥḥad. "No one".

It is used as indefinite particle for both masculine and feminine.

- | | |
|---|---|
| minḥi ^v ceet wyaa ḥ ^v caan
maḥḥad yamma. | When I spoke with him no
one was with us. |
| maḥḥad jibara (jubara)
ḥ ^c alā z-zawaaḥj. | No one forced him to get
married. |
| maḥḥad saaḥ ^c ada minbina
beeta. | No one helped him when he
built his house. |
| laḥḥad yiṭṭla ^c mnilbeet. | No one is to go out of
the house. |
| laḥḥad yinṭii maṣṣaṣ. | Don't anyone give him
pocket money. |
3. waahid, (m.s) wiḥda (f.s). "Someone".
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| waahid sakiif. | Someone stupid. |
| waahid ṣ ^y aafni wyaaha. | Someone saw me with her. |
| wiḥda si'lat ḥ ^c annak. | Someone (f) asked about you. |
| (i)ntiini wiḥda min
ḍiḥḥan. | Give me one of those. |
| wiḥda muwaddafa
bilbang gallatli. | One employee in the bank
told me. |
4. ṣ^yi. "Something, anything".
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 'aku ṣ ^y i mḍawjak? | Is there anything annoying you? |
| ṣ ^y ifit ṣ ^y i muzeen. | I saw something bad. |

/ṣ^yi/ occurs commonly with prefixed elements such as
/'ayy^yṣ^yi/ "anything", /fadd^yṣ^yi/ "something" and /ḡeer^yṣ^yi/
"something else".

- | | |
|--|--|
| 'iḥ ^v ci 'ayy ^y ṣ ^y i triid. | Say anything you want. |
| 'ariid 'aakil fadd ^y ṣ ^y i. | I want to eat something. |
| haada maa 'ariida,
'ariid ḡeer ^y ṣ ^y i. | I don't want this, I want
something else. |

5. fadd.

"a", "a certain".

fadd şadiq (i)nṭaani
yyaaha

A friend gave it to me.

fadd ṭaalib waṣṣalṇi
lilbeet.

One student gave me a lift.

Also, fadd is followed by /waahid/'one'(m); wiḥda
"one"(f), and /'ahḥad/ "anyone", "someone".

fadd waahid kaabarak
lyoom.

Someone 'phoned you today.

Ṣifit fadd wiḥda marrat
minna ?Did you see someone (f)
pass by here?'adawwir ^cala fadd 'ahḥad
ydaayinni fluus.I am looking for someone to
lend me some money.

6. killṣi.

"Everything".

'iqra killṣi.

Read everything.

killṣi also precedes negated verbs, in which case it
means not anything, nothing.

killṣi maa yi^cruf.

He does not know anything.

killṣi maa qireet.

I did not read anything.

7. halgad.

"A large quantity".

^cinda halgad fluus.

He has a lot of money.

kila halgad laḥam.

He ate a lot of meat.

8. heeṣ w-heeṣ.)

hiṣṣi w-hiṣṣi. }

"Such and such"; "so and so."

gilit heeṣ w-heeṣ.

I said such and such.

sima^cit hiṣṣi w-hiṣṣi.

I heard such and such.

Occasionally /keet w-keet/ is used for the same purpose.

gitla keet w-keet.

I said to him such and such.

9. flaan and 'ibu ('abu), flaan (m) "So and so".

galli flaan ^cannak. So and so told me about you.

Also feminine /flaana/ and /'umm flaana/.

gallatli flaana l-yoom. Someone told me today.

^ySifit 'umm flaan. I saw someone's mother.

8. PARTICLES

8.1. Prepositions

The most common prepositions are listed below with examples showing their use. Some of these prepositions are also used as adverbs, (see 8.2). As is usual with prepositions, the translation depends very much on the context.

1. /^cala/; /^ca-/. "on; against; about" etc.

The full form /^cala/ usually occurs with indefinite nouns and the reduced form /^ca-/ before the definite article. /^cala/ shows diphthongisation before the pronominal suffixes and the interrogative /man/.

haṭṭeet lmanaadir
^caṭ-ṭabla.

I put the spec.tacles on the table.

hiṣa ^calay (^calayya)
yamhum.

He spoke against me in front of them.

galhum ^calayya (^calay).

He told them about me.

ṭaahat ṭ-ṭooḃa (iṭ-ṭooḃa)
^cala saṭh ijjiraan.

The ball dropped on the neighbour's roof.

ṭaali^c ^cala kaala.

He looks like his uncle.

t-tiyyaara (it-tiyyaara) The 'phone is flying over
tiftar ^calbaşrah. Basrah.

ween beetkum? ^caš-šatṭ. Where is your (pl.m) house?
Beside the river.

ruuh ^calbeet gubal. Go to the house directly.

^ctimadit (i^ctimadit) I depend on you (pl.m).
^caleekum.

^calee-man gaa^cid tiḥ^Yi. Who are you speaking about?

3 m.s ^calee On him

3 f.s ^caleeha On her

2 m.s ^caleek On you

1 c.s ^calay, ^calayya On me, etc.

^calee man On whom?

2. /b-/.

"In with" etc.

saafarit bis-sayyaara I travelled by car to Baghdad.
l-bagdaad.

'aana 'adris bilgurfa. I study in the room

'ahlif bilqur'aan ma I swear by the Koran I did
kideetha. not take it (f).

giṣṣa biṣṣa^{YV}iin. Cut it (m) with the knife.

ṭaggeeta bil^ciṣṣa I hit him on the head with
^cala raasa. the stick.

bee^Y(i) s-saa^ca? What time is it?
bissitta. Six o'clock.

ta^cal braas(i) ^Yš-^Yahar. Come in the beginning of the
month.

With pronoun suffixes and /-man/ "whom", the vowel
is lengthened.

biik is-saa^cidni. Can you (2 m.s) help me?

biiman tiṭiq. Whom do you trust?

3 m.s	bii	In him.
3 f.s	biiha	In her
2 m.s	biik	In you, etc.
	biiman	With whom

3. min "From" etc.

This is usually reduced to /mn-/ before words which have the definite article.

kaabarta mniddaa'ira.	I 'phoned him from the office.
ṭila ^c na mnilbeet (i)s-saa ^c a cašra.	We went out from the house at ten o'clock.
(i)štireeta min maḥal bil ^c aš-šaar.	I bought it from a shop in al- ^c Ashshār ⁽⁴⁸⁾ .

With pronoun suffixes the /n/ is doubled before those beginning with a vowel (49).

e.g. minha, minkum, etc., but minna (from him)
minnak, etc.

minni s-sabab.	my fault.
jibta minha.	I brought it from her.
ruuh gill waahid minhum.	Go and tell one of them.

4. fi. "In".

This preposition is very rare, except in a few expressions and formal speech. The usual preposition for "in" is /b-/, (see 3. above).

5. ^can. "About; from" etc.

This becomes /^cann/ before words with the definite article, and pronoun suffixes with initial vowel.

gitla ^c anha	I told him about her.
'idfa ^c ^c anni 'ijra.	Pay the fare instead of me.
ṭila ^c it ^c an'ahli.	I left my family.
harrik siyyaartak ^c annilbaab.	Move your car away from the door
'arjuuk ruuh ^c anni.	Please go away.
^c an-man tiḥ ^v ci.	Who are you talking about?

6. 'il - (l-). "to, for".

With nouns the form is /l-/.

riḥit lis-sinama lbaarḥa.	I went to the cinema last night.
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(i)ntiḍir l-baac ^v ir.	Wait until tomorrow.
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With /-man/ "who", the form is /'il-/.

'il-man nṭeet bittak.	To whom did you marry your daughter.
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With pronoun suffixes the situation is more complex. When no verb immediately precedes the preposition, it takes the form /'il-/. 'ili, 'ila, 'ilha, 'ilhum, etc.

('inna "to us", shows assimilation).

tilifoon 'ilak.	There is a telephone call for you.
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risaala 'ilha.	There is a letter for her.
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When immediately following a verb the forms are l- after verb parts ending in a vowel and /l-'il/ after verb parts ending in a consonant.

sawwiilhum ḡida.	Cook food (lunch) for them.
------------------	-----------------------------

jiibla maay.

Bring water for him.

jiibilha gahwa.

Get her some coffee.

In addition, final vowels of verbs are lengthened and the whole construction functions as a single unit with regard to stress.

kaabárla

He 'phoned him.

jaabíilha badla 'amis

He bought a dress yesterday.

Furthermore, the two masculine plural parts of the imperfect in /-uun/ lose the final /n/.

yjiibúuli

They bring (to) me.

ykaabruúulhum.

They 'phoned them.

The verb /gaal/ has some special forms (50).

galli

He said to me (also gaalli).

gitla

I said to him (also gilitla).

galloolha

They said to her (also gaaloolha).

(i)ygilkum

He said to you (also ygililkum)

(yigilkum)

iygillilkum(yigillilkum).

7. been.

"Between, among".

With pronoun suffixes this preposition assumes one of two forms: /been-/ or /beenaat/. With a noun and /-man/ "whom", the form is /been-/, for example :-

haada koos^v mudarris maa
yfarriq been t-tillaab
(it-tillaab).

This is a good teacher, he
treats all the students
equally. (Lit: he does not
distinguish between them).

(i)lmu^vskila saarat been
ibuuy w^cammī.

The problem occurred between
my father and my uncle.

beenaathum ma^vsaakil.

They have problems.

been-man l^carka.

Who was the fight between?

8. ^cind (^cidd).

"With",

Both /^cidd/ and /^cind/ are used with nouns. With
pronoun suffixes, /^cid-/ is more common than /^cind-/
before those beginning with a consonant, and /^cidd-/ is
the usual form with those having an initial vowel.

gi^cad ^cidna sinteen.

He has been living at our
house for two years.

^ciddak (^cindak) beet?

Have you got a house?

^vsifta ^cind it-ṭabiib
(^cind it-ṭabiib).

I saw him at the doctor's.

'aana ^cindi (^ciddi) tlat
(tlat) wilid bij-jaami^ca.

I have three boys at the
University.

^cid-man kalleet kitbi.

Whom did you leave my books
with?

9. maal.

"Belonging to".

/maal/ constructions are very common and all types have
been recorded here regardless of whether they can be
regarded as prepositions or not. Four base forms exist:-

maal (m.s)

maalat (/maalt/ before vowels) (f.s)

maaliin (m.pl)

maalaat (f.pl)

Although these have been categorised above according to number and gender, agreement with the referent noun is, in fact, not always maintained. There seems to be a tendency towards overall reduction to /maal/, but the inflected forms are still very common. The following examples should suffice to illustrate both agreement and syntax :-

Singular M.

liktaab maala.

His book; the book is his⁽⁵¹⁾.

Singular F.

(i)ljanta maalatha.

Her bag; the bag is hers.

Dual M. (Human)

(i)l^caamleen maaliin^hum. Their two workers.

Dual F.

(i)n-nakilteen maalta
(maalaata).

Her two palm trees.

(i)l-mudarristeen
maalaat (i)l^carabi.

The two teachers of Arabic.

Plural Inanimate

lkitub maalta
(maalaata).

His books.

is-siyyaaraat maalat^hum
(maalaathum).

Their cars.

Plural Male

(i)lmuwaddāfiin maaliina
(maala). His employees.

(i)l^cummaal maaliinha
(maalha). His workers.

Plural Female

(i)lmuwaddāfaat maalaata. Her employees.

(i)lfarraa^vsaat maalaatkum. Your (pl.) cleaners.

Simple /maal/ could be substituted for /maal(a)t/, /maalaat/ and /maaliin/ in the above examples, and this tendency is even more common when the following word is a noun :-

lmaḍrasa maalat (maal) 'ik_{ti} My sister's school.

ḡinniina maalat (maal) ḡaaz A gas bottle.

ṣurteen maalaat (maal) zawaaji Two pictures of my wedding.

dikkaaneen maalaat(maal)qmaa^v Two material shops.

lfarraa^vseen maaliin (maal)
l^camiid The Dean's two cleaners.

muhandisteen maalaat (maal)
ljaami^ca Two University engineers (f).

(i)s-ṣufuuf maalaat (maal)
lmaḍrasa The classes of the school.

lmuwaddāfiin maaliin (maal)
lbaṅg The officials of the bank.

Construction with /man/. "Who"?

haada lbeet maal-man Whose house is this?

(i)t-ṭooba maalat-man
(maal-man)?

Whose football is this?

haadan (i)s-siyyaaraat
maalaat-man (maal-man)?

Whose cars are those?

10. wiyyaa; wyaa.

"With; in the company of".

wiyyaa-man saafarit?

Who did you travel with?

Before pronoun suffixes, the final vowel is lengthened

raah wiyyaahum (wyaahum)
lilmadrassa.

He went with them to
school.

11. mitil.

"like, as".

With pronoun suffixes beginning with a vowel, the form is /mitl-/, and /mitil/ before those pronoun suffixes beginning with a consonant.

^cyuunak mitl (mitil)
^cyuun 'ibūuk.

Your eyes are like your
fathers.

laa tiṣṣarraḥ mitilhum.

Don't behave like them.

ween 'ahāṣṣil mitil haada?

Where can I get one like
this?

mitla 'amiin man ṣaayif.

I have not seen
like him.

12. ḡidd; ^cala ^cnaad.

"Against".

hiṣṣa ḡiddi bil'iṣṣtimaa^c(52)
(biliṣṣtimaa^c).

He spoke against me in
the meeting.

tiṣṣarraḥ ^cala ^cnaadi.

She acts against me.

ḡidman raah tiḡi?

Who are you going to
speak against?

13. ḡeer.

"Other than".

maa^cindi ḡeer 'alif diinaar.

I have only one thousand
dinars.

čam waahid ^cizamit geerna?

How many did you invite
apart from us?

maa^cindi geerak biddinya.

I only have you in the
world.

14. foog.

"Above, on, against".

liktaab foog(i)ṭ-ṭaḅla.

The book is on the table.

foog ma^všaakilna sawwaana
mi^vškila jidiida.

On top of our problems
he created another one.

15. ba^cad and ^cugub.

"After".

ta^cal ba^cad ilgada.

Come after lunch.

ta^cal ba^cad saa^ca.

Come after an hour.

raah yooṣal ^cugub yoomeen.

He will arrive after (in)
two days.

16. lee (lii).

"To; up to".

It occurs with adverbs of time and place.

ṭharrak lee giddaam.

Move forward.

tbaawa^c lii foog.

Look up.

ḥarrik siyyaartak lee wara.

Move your car backward.

17. bdaal (badal).

"Instead of; in exchange for.

This frequently occurs in BA as /mdaal/.

ruuh bdaalha (badalha)
tsawwag lyoom.

Go shopping instead of her
today.

ntii (intii) kamsidnaaniir
mdaal Ṣiḡla wyaak.

Give him five dinars for
his work with you.

18. blayya, bduun (biduun),
blaa, bala.

"Without".

These three forms are interchangeable in use except
that the forms /blaa/ and /bala/ do not occur with pronoun
suffixes.

maa 'agdar 'a^ciis^v blayya
mara.

I can't live without a
woman.

^vSloon 'asaafir biduun
(bduun) fluus.

How can I travel without
money?

saarli sinteen bala (blaa)
raatib.

I have been without a
salary for two years.

19. yamm.

"With, beside",
(with verbs of motion "to")

The form /yamm-/ occurs before vowels, /yam-/ before
consonants.

rihit yammittabiib lyoom.

I went to the doctor today.

kallat garaadha yamna
minsaafrat l-bagdaad.

She left her things with
us when she went to Baghdad.

yam-man kalleet fluusak?

Who did you leave your
money with?

ga^cad yammi bilhafila.

He sat beside me at the
party.

20. giddaam (jiddaam)

"In front of, before".

hi^xceet ^calee giddaam
(jiddaam) 'ibuu.

I spoke against him in
front of his father.

hatt siyyaarta giddaam
baabna.

he parked his car in front
of our house.

ruuh giddaami 'aana ba^cdeen
'ajji.

Go before me, I will come
later.

galla giddaamhum.

He told him in front of
them.

giddaamha ntaani lifluus.

He gave me the money in
front of her.

21. foog.

"Above, over" etc.

^vsifit tiyyaarteen yiftarran
foog l-basra.

I saw two aeroplanes flying
over Basrah.

šuuḥ šinu foog raasak?

Look, what is that above your head?

wazzi^coolhum qita^c 'araadi
foog l-jaami^ca.

They gave them pieces of land above the University.

22. bass.

"enough, stop".

/bass-/ before a vowel.

bassak laa taakil

stop (2 m.s) eating.

bassi^š draasa

stop (2 f.s) studying.

baskum mašaakil

stop (m.pl) doing problems.

23. jawwa.

"Under; down; downstairs" etc.

The final vowel is lengthened before pronoun suffixes and /-man/, which in this case means "what".

šuuḥa jawwa lkantoor.

Look for it under the cupboard.

'iktib jawwa haada lṣatir.

Write below this line.

(1)ddarrabit sinteen jawwa
'iida.

I trained for two years under his supervision.

jawwaaman haṭṭeeta?

What did you put it under?

ṣaar jawwaak.

It was under you.(2 m.s)

fir^ši lbatṭaaniyya
jawwaahum.

Put (f) the blanket under them.

24. ḥadir.

"Under, downstairs" etc.

This becomes /ḥadr-/ before vowels.

ḡamṡa ḥadr iz-zuuliyya.

He hid it (m) under the carpet.

saakin ḥadirna bil^cimaara.

He is living downstairs from us in the building.

ħadır-man kalleeta? ^v caanat ħadri.	Under what did you leave it? It (f) was under me.
25. wara. /wara/waraa/ with /man/ and pronound suffixes.	"behind; after".
lee ^v š gaa ^c id waraay? ta ^c al waraana lilgahwa. waraaman ṭila ^c it tirkiḍ?	Why are you sitting behind me? Come after us to the cafe. Who did you go out running after?
beetna wara lmistawšif.	Our house is behind the Health Centre.
'ariid 'aruuh waraay šigiḷ (i)l-leela.	I want to go, I have to work tonight.
26. g̣baaḷ.	"Opposite".
('i)ntiḍirni g̣baaḷ is-sinama.	Wait for me opposite the cinema.
haada 'isma g̣baaḷ ^c yuunak.	There is his name in front of your eyes.
g̣baaḷak saakin 'ibin ^c ammi.	My cousin is living opposite to you.
27. guḃaḷ; jidd.	"In front of", "oppisite".
hassa ṣaaṛ guḃaḷ ^c yuunak.	Here he is now in front of your eyes.
daak 'ihwa guḃaḷlak.	That's him in front of you.
hiṭṭa jidd il-baab.	Put it in front of the door
gaa ^c id jiddič.	He is sitting in front of you (f).

28. şoob.

"towards".

tbaawa^c şoobi.

Look towards me.

ruuh şoobil baab.

Go towards the door.

29. yamm.

"near, beside".

/yamm-/ before a vowel and /yam-/ before a consonant.

gi^cdat yammi bilhafla.

She sat beside me at the party.

haṭṭ yamna bit-tannooma⁽⁵³⁾.

He settled down beside us in Tannooma.

(i)ṣtireena beet yamkum.

We have bought a house near you (pl.)

yamman ṣcinit gaa^cid?

Who were you sitting beside?

30. There are three common prepositions which are a compound of /b-/ and an original noun.

A. bwaṣṭa.

"In the middle of".

gi^cadit bwaṣṭathum.

I sat down in the middle of them.

digga bwaṣṭ lhaayit.

Hang it in the middle of the wall.

B. bṣaṭṭ.

"Beside (next to)".

(/bṣaṭ-/ before consonants).

'ig^cid bṣaṭṭa.

Sit next to him.

maḥalnna bṣaṭṭis-sinama.

Our shop is next to the cinema.

^cinda gaa^c bṣaṭ gaa^cna.

He has land next to our land.

C. b-daakil.	"Inside".
hiṭṭilgaraad bdaak lis-siyyaara.	Put the things inside the car.
ṡuuf ṡinu bdaakil giriftak.	Look what is inside your room.
31. ^c alaṡaan; mṡaan.	"For the sake of".
^c alaṡaanak jeet (ijjeet).	I came for your sake.
^c alaṡaan man ḡirabta?	For whose sake did you strike him?
(i)ṡtireeta mṡaan 'ibooy.	I bought it for my father.
haay mṡaanak.	This is for you.
32. ^c alamuud.	For the sake of; because of
^c alamuudak hiṡeet wyaa.	I spoke with him for the sake of you.
^c alamuudiṡ ṡaarat lmuṡkila.	Because of you the problem happened.

8.2. Adverbs

The most common adverbs which indicate time and place are listed below:-

8.2.1. Adverbs of Place

1. foog.	"above; over;" etc.
ween lmudiir? foog.	Where is the manager? Upstairs.
raah yidris foog (bilbar)	He is going to study in the country.
2. giddaam (jiddaam).	"In front of".
ween il-mustaṡfa? giddaam.	Where is the hospital? Further on.
'irkab giddaam.	Get in the front (of the car etc).

3. ḥadır. "Under, downstairs" etc.
 /ḥadr-/ before vowels, /ḥadır-/ before consonants.
- ḡcaan saakin ḥadır He used to live down in
 bilmatin (54). al-Matin.
 nazzil 'iidak ḥadır ba^cad. Lower your hand more.
4. hnaa. "Here".
 ḥittā hnaa. Put it (m) here.
 hnaak. "There".
 'antaḡrak hnaak. I shall wait for you there.
5. daakīl. "Inside".
 leeṣ^v waaguf bara 'idkīl Why are you standing
 daakīl. outside? Go inside.
6. barra. "Cutside"
 ḥittā barra lḡirfa. Put it outside the room.
7. minna(a). "This way".
 ta^cal minnaa. Come this way.
8. minnaak. "That way".
 ruuh minnaak. Go that way.
9. jawwa. "Under, down, downstairs".
 nazzil 'iidak jawwa Lower your hand down a
 ṡwayya. little bit.
 ruuh jawwa lilmuḥaasib. Go to the cashier downstairs.
10. wara. "Behind, after".
 gi^cad wara bilbaaṣ. He sat down in the back,
 (of the car, etc).

11. gubal; jidd; ^cadil. "Straight on".
 'itl.a^c gubal bhašš^ysaari^c. Go straight on along
 this road.
 ween l-maḥaṭṭa, ruuh jidd Where is the station?
 ba^cdeen ^cala 'iidak lyisra. Go straight on then
 turn left.
 'imšⁱ ^cadil bhaadiš^y-š^ysaari^c Go straight on along
 (bhaš^y-š^ysaari^c). this road.

Of less frequent use is /siida/ "straight on", which occurs mainly in the shaṭṭ al-^cArab area (55).

ruuh siida. Go straight on.

12. waṣaṭṭ. In the middle.
 ḥiṭṭa waṣaṭṭ. Put it in the middle.

8.2.2. Adverbs of Time

1. ba^cdeen or taali. Later, afterwards.
 'agillak ba^cdeen. I will tell you later.
 taali ta^cal. Come (m) later.
 2. hassa. Now.
 ruuh hassa. go (2 m.s) now.
 3. l-yoom (Today).
 šifta lyoom. I saw him today.
 4. taww now, just.

This adverbial particle is always used with pronoun suffixes. The form /taww-/ occurs before vowels, and /taw-/ before a consonant.

tawwa raah. He has just gone.
 tawha ṭil^cat mnilbeet. She has just gone out.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. (i)l-leela.
raah yijiina l-leela. | Tonight.
He will come to us tonight. |
| 6. kill wakit.
kill wakit yijiina. | Always.
He is always coming to us. |
| 7. 'amis.
saafar 'amis l-bagdaad. | Yesterday.
He went to Baghdad yesterday. |
| 8. 'awwal 'amis.
Cizamta 'awwal 'amis. | The day before yesterday.
I invited him the day before yesterday. |
| 9. l-baarha.
t ^C a ^{VV} sa Cidna lbaarha. | Last night.
He had his dinner with us last (night). |
| 10. 'awwal l-baarha.
Yaan Cidna 'awwal lbaarha. | The night before last (night).
He was with us the night before last (night). |
| 11. l ^C aam (il ^C aam).
tkarraaj l ^C aam. | Last year.
He graduated last year. |
| 12. 'awwal l- ^C aam.
Stigał bij-jaami ^C a
'awwal l- ^C aam. | The year before last year.
He worked at the university the year before last (year). |
| 13. baa ^V ir.
ta ^C al baa ^V ir. | tomorrow.
Come tomorrow. |
| 14. Cugub baa ^V ir or Cugba.
(i)mtihaani Cugub baa ^V ir.
jiiba Cugba. | The day after tomorrow.
My exam is the day after tomorrow.
Bring it the day after tomorrow. |

15. hannooba. Next time.
 hannooba loo ^Yifta
 sallim ^calee. Next time if you see him,
 greet him.
16. halmarra. Next time.
 'aana 'ah^Yci wyaa halmarra. I will speak with him next
 time.
17. marra taanya. Next time, again.
 marra taanya 'aakdak
 l-bagdaad. Next time I will take you
 to Baghdad.
 sawwiha marra taanya. Do it (f) again.
18. harfi. Early.
 'ig^cid harfi baa^Yir. Get up early tomorrow.
19. mingib^Ysa. Early; very early in the
 morning.
 mingib^Ysa yruuh lilgaa^c. He goes to the land very
 early.
20. min wakit. Early.
 minwakit yiṭṭa^c liššigil^v. He goes to work early.
21. hee^Y. Like this, thus.
 hee^Y galli lbaarḥa. He told me like this last
 night.
22. daayman (daa'iman). Always.
 daayman yis'al ^cannak. He is always asking about
 you (m).
23. 'abadan At all, ever.
 'abadan maa hi^Yceet ^calee. I didn't ever speak
 against him.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 24. 'awwal. | First. |
| 'inta 'idkil 'awwal. | You go in first. |
| 25. killi ^ŷ . | Very. |
| 'ihwa killi ^ŷ mutaqqaf. | He is very educated. |
| 26. heel. | Quickly, forcefully. |
| 'im ^ŷ ci heel | Go quickly. |
| ṭigga heel. | Hit him hard. |
| 27. bsa ^c . | Quickly. |
| ruuh bsa ^c . | Go quickly. |
| 28. ba ^c ad. | More, again, still,
(fr. encore). |
| ('i)nṭii ba ^c ad. | Give him more. |
| Ṣifta ba ^c ad? | Did you see him again? |
| ba ^c ad maa 'ah ^ŷ ci wyaa. | I don't speak to him
any more. |

8.2.3. The Suffix /-an/

A. The CA accusative indefinite ending. Usually with borrowings from literary Arabic, mainly adverbs.

haqiqatan	truly
'ufuqiyyan	horizontal
Ṣakṣiyyan	personally
nafsiyyan	psychologically
yoomiyyan(yawmiyyan)	daily
koo ^ŷ fan (kaw ^ŷ fan) min	fearing
muba ^ŷ ṣaratan	directly

'aḥyaanan	occasionally
daa'iman (daayman)	usually
qaṣban(ḡaṣban) ^c an or ^c ala	in spite of
raḡman ^c ala	in spite of
kawfan min	for fear of
ḥayaa'an min	respecting
badalan ^c an/min	instead of

B. The suffix /-an/ (-ann) before a suffix beginning with a vowel, occurs in the first person singular of the imperfect of hollow and final geminative verbs and also with other types of verbs when followed by object pronoun suffixes (56).

'akaafan	I fear
'anaaman	I sleep
'aguulan	I say
'aḥibban	I love
'aḥittan	I put
'aṣubban	I pour
'aliffan	I fold up
'asuuqanha	I drive it
'a ^c irfanna	I know him
'asaamḥanha	I forgive her

8.3. Conjunctions

There are two major types of conjunctions, simple and compound.

8.3.1. Simple Conjunctions

The conditional conjunctions, viz. 'idaa, 'in, ^Vcaan (in^Vcaan) and loo, have all been dealt with, (see 11.)

1. bass. if; but; only.
(Also as interjection, see 8.5.)

bass tih^Vci wyaa raah If you only speak with
yiz^cal. him he will be angry.

yriid yi^Vstiri beet bass He wants to buy a house
'ibuuy maa yir^Vda. but my father does not
agree.

gilli bass halmarra. Tell me only this time.
2. w- and.

'ibuuy w-'ummi biššigil. My father and my mother
are at work.

jiibil kirsī wit-ṭabla. Bring the chair and the
table.
3. 'aww or.

minu raah yibqa 'inta Who is going to stay,
'aww 'ihwa? you or him?
4. ḥatta. In order to.

kalleenna (kalleena) Let us go to the party
nruuh lilḥafla minwakit early in order to get
ḥatta nig^cid giddaam. front seats.
5. laakin; laakit but.

ḡifta bis-suug laakin I saw him in the town but
maa ḥiceet^V wyaa. I did speak with him.

- 'ihwa kocŠ 'insaana
laakit raziil.
- He is a good person but stingy.
6. fa. and, then.
- Less common in use:-
- Callamta Šloon yihČi wyaa
fahiČa wyaa lbaarha.
- I explained to him how to speak with him, then he spoke with him last night.
7. hamm; hammeena. also; too
- hamm gilla kalli yiji
wyaakum.
- Tell him also to come with you, (2 m.pl).
- hammeena maa kallaali
maşraf l-yoom.
- Also he did not leave pocket money for me today.
8. balki; balkat; balkan. please; perhaps.
(probably)
- balki Š-Šuufa biť-tariiq
witgilla.
- Perhaps you will see him on your way and tell him.
- balki tgilla ykaabirni.
- Please tell him to 'phone me.
- balkat ymur ^caleena l-yoom.
- He will probably come to us today.
- balkat ijja wmaa ligaani.
- Maybe he came and didn't find me.
9. walla. or.
- 'aana 'aruuh walla nta
('inta).
- I go or you go.
10. la^cad. then.
(usually with imperative).
- 'idaa t^cirfa la^cad gilla
kay Şagğılñi bdaa'irta.
- If you know him, then tell him to give me a job in his office.

11. ^cuud (^cuuda). then, well.
^cuud (^cuuda) hamm Then do you believe him
is-ṣaddig bi? too?

12. tara. then, for.

Used in conditional sentences to introduce the result clause, and in sentences containing a negative command in which the result clause indicates the outcome of failure to follow the command.

'idaa maa nzuura tara If we don't visit him
yiz^cal ^caleena. then he will be angry
with us.

Iaa truuh lilmuḥaṭṭa Don't go to the (railway)
tara maaku qiṭaar. station for there is no
train.

tara gilla laa yjiina Then tell him not to come
ba^cad. to us any more.

13. ko; koob (kooba). Then, well.
ko murr ^caleena fadd leela. Well, come to us one night.
koob iṣṭiriili badla. Well, buy a dress for me.
ko darrisha ngiliizi. Then teach her English.

14. zeen. Then.
zeen gilla kalli y^{kan}birni. Then tell him to 'phone me.

15. ^cala^vsaan. In order to.
(i)ṣṭireet beet jidiid I bought a new house in
^cala^vsaan 'ag^cid bi muu order to live in, not to
'ajra ('a'ajjira). rent it.

- kaabarta ^cala^Ysaan nruuh
siwa lilhafla. I 'phoned him in order to
go to the party together.
16. kal (ka-). to; let;
gilla kalykaabirni Tell him to 'phone me early.
(kay kaabirni minwakit).
kattih^Yi (kaltih^Yi). Let her speak.
kallinsaafir (kansaafir) Let's (pl.m) travel in the
billeel. evening.
17. koo^Y. then, so.
'ariid 'aruuh l-bagdaad I want to go to Baghdad
l-yoom, koo^Y kan nruuh today, so let us go
siwa. together.
18. yoom. when.
i^Ystireeta yoom ^Ycinit I bought it (m) when I was
biljindiyya. in the Military Service.
yoom 'ibuuy hnaa maa When my father was here you
hi^Yceet. did not speak.
19. min. when.
t^carrafit ^calee min ^Ycinit I met him when I was in
bilba^Ysra. Basrah.
20. maadaam or madaam. as long as; while, since.
maadaam 'i^Ywa yi^Yhi, As long as he is speaking,
'iskit'inta. you keep silent.
maadaam ^cizamna laanzim Since he invited us we
nruuh. must go.
21. kan. let's.

- kan 'aruuh lilbang
daqiiqteen.
Let me go to the bank for
two minutes.
22. maatuul (old usage).
maatuul 'ihwa bilbeet
'aana maa 'adkil.
since.
Since he is in the house I
won't go in.
23. lamma or lamman.
lamma saafar waṣṣaani
ala 'ahla.
when, until.
When he went he asked me to
take care of his family.
- tigdar tintidir lamma
yirja^c 'ibuuy mniš-š-
igil.
Can you wait until my
father comes back from
work.
- maa galli lamman šifta
'amis.
He did not tell me when I
saw him yesterday.
- raah 'antadra bilbeet
lamman yiji.
I will wait for him in the
house until he comes back.
24. yaalla (yaalla).
'aqraali saa^ca saa^cteen
yaalla 'anaam.
then; until; before.
I study for one or two hours
and then I go to bed.
- hičceet wyaa saa^cteen
yaalla qibal ysaafir
wyaay.
I spoke for two hours with
him before he accepted to
go with me.
25. walaw.
walaw 'ihwa šadiiqi bass
'aana didda.
although.
Although he is my friend
I am against him.
26. li'ann.
baṭṭal mnilmadrasa
li'ann bi^ciida.
because.
He left school because it
is a long way.
27. Calamuud.
kaabarta Calamuud
ywaṣṣilni bsayyaarta.
In order to.
I phoned him in order to give
me a lift.

8.3.2. Compound Conjunctions

Conjunctions are compounds with prepositions, adverbs, interrogative, conditional particles, comparative forms, and other forms. The most common compound conjunctions are listed below with examples and approximate English equivalents.

A. Compound conjunction with /maa/.

1. 'idaa maa. if not.
 'idaa maa ^cindak kirda If you haven't change now,
 hassa kalleeha l-baa^χir. leave it until tomorrow.
- 2 loo maa.
 loo maa 'inta ^χaa qirabta. If it wasn't for you I would
 have hit him.
3. yoom maa. the day that.
 min yoom maa kileet Since the day I ate at the
 bilma^t^cam w^ha^tni restaurant I have had
 tooya^cni (tooja^cni). stomach-ache.
4. Lamman maa. until.
 Laa t-til^ciin mnilbeet Don't go out (f) until I
 lamman maa 'ajji. come.
5. bduun maa. without.
qirabha bduun maa yi^cruf He hit her without knowing
 imu^χkila. the problem.
6. badal maa. instead of.
 badal maa truuh 'ilaum Instead of going to them,
 kaabir. 'phone.

7. ḥasab maa. as, according to.
ḥasab maa galli. as he told me.
8. mitil maa. as.
sawwatha mitil maa triid. I did it (f) as you would like.
9. ^cala maa. until; while.
'ig^cid hnaa ^cala maa yiji. Sit down here until he comes back.

^cala maa riḥit kamis
daqaayiq lilmaktaba
wirja^cit ligeeta raayih. While I went to the library for five minutes and came back, I found him gone.
10. ba^cad maa. after.
si'la ba^cad maa ykallis. Ask him after he finishes.
11. ^cidmaa. when.
'ittisaḷ biyya ^cid maa
činit biš-šigil. He 'phoned me when I was at work.
12. gabuḷ maa. before.
'ikil gabuḷ maa yibrad
'aklak. Eat before your food gets cold.
13. ^cugub maa. after
^cugub maa jaabat maat
'ibinha. After she had a baby, her son died.
14. wara maa. after.
nijiikum wara maa
nit^caššā. We'll come to see you (pl) after we have had our dinner.
15. foog maa. in addition to; despite.

16. been maa. while.
 'intid₁ir hnaa been maa Wait here while I go to
 'aruuh liddikkaan. the shop.
17. mneen maa. wherever.
 mneen maa 'aruuh yitridni. Wherever I go he dismisses
 me.
18. ween maa. wherever.
 ween maa 'aruuh 'algaa Wherever I go I see him
 giddaami. there.
19. wiyya maa. just after.
 wiyya maa nimit ndaggil Just after I went to bed,
 jaras. the bell rang.
20. bass maa. as soon as.
 bass maa ^ciraf kaabarli. As soon as he knew, he
 'phoned me.
 bass maa ^vsaafni wyaaha As soon as he saw me with
 raah gallibuuha. her, he told her father.
21. ^vsinu maa. whatever.
^vsinu maa taakil 'aana 'aakil. Whatever you eat I eat.
^vsinu maa 'asma^c 'agillak. Whatever I hear I will
 tell you.
22. ^vs-maa. whatever.
^vs-maa triid mawjuud. Whatever you want is available.
23. ^vswakit maa. whenever; when.
^vswakit maa 'aruuh 'ilhum Whenever I go to them, I find
 'algaa taali^c. him out.

- 'abii^c beeti ^ywakit maa
tinṭiini ldaa'ira beet. I will be selling my house
whenever the office gives
me a house.
24. ^ygadd maa. however much; no matter
how much.
- ^ygadd maa triid timman
^cindi. However much rice you want,
I have it.
- ^ygadd maa yaakil maa yisman. No matter how much he eats,
he doesn't get fat.
25. ^ylloon maa. however; any way that.
- ^ylloon maa tsawwiha
maykaalif. However you do it, (f) that
is alright.
26. bee^y maa. however; at any price; by.
- bee^y maa yšir 'i^yširii. Whatever its price, buy it.
- bee^y maa triid tsaafir
saafir. Travel any way you like.
27. yamta maa. whenever; when; if.
- yamta maa 'aruuh lilmaktaba
'algaa yidris. Whenever I go to the library,
I find him studying.
- yamta maa 'ooṣal l-baḡdaad
'akaabirilkum. Whenever I arrive in Baghdad,
I 'phone you (pl).
- yamta maa šifitni 'am^yi
wyaa ^cuud šaddiq hačya. When you see me with him,
then believe what he says.
28. kill maa. every time that.
- kill maa 'aruuh lilgahwa
'algaa hnaak. Every time I go to the
coffeehouse, I see him there.

B. Hatta as an Adverb with Prepositions

Hatta is also used frequently in conjunction with prepositions. Its contribution to the meaning of the sentence is often difficult to assess and hence translate.

hatta 'idaa (i)^ctidar maa
raah 'ah^Yci wyaa.

I am not going to speak
with him even if he
apologies.

hatta loo ^cinda fluus maa
yintⁱini.

Even if he has money he
doesn't give me (any).

'aana maa 'ahtam hatta
loo yiz^cal.

I don't care even if he
gets angry.

difa^cit hatta ^canni^Y.

^{even}
I[↑]paid instead of you (2 f.s)

Šifta bis-suug whi^Ycaali hatta
^can muškilta wiyya zawijta.

I saw him in the town and he
even told me about his pro-
blem with his wife.

ba^ccida hatta ^canil haraara.

Put it (m) away from the
heat.

hi^Yca hatta ^caleek bilijtima^c.

He even spoke about you at
the meeting.

maa yintⁱ siyyaarta hatta 'ili.

He does not even give his
car to me.

dawwarta hatta bilğirfa wmaa
ligeeta.

I even looked for it in the
room and didn't find it.

haay taşarrufaata hatta
bilmadrassa.

That is how he behaves even
at school.

maa 'agdar 'asaafir hatta
bilqitaar.

I can't even travel by train.

maa yingass hatta bilminšaar.

It doesn't even cut with a saw.

hatta maa ^cidda sayyaara.

He hasn't even got a car

ḥatta ḥaada maalak.	Even this is yours.
ḥatta minna jibiili fluus.	Bring me some money, even from him.
ḥatta ba ^c ad saa ^c teen maa 'agdar 'akalḷiṣ.	I can't even finish in two hours.
t ^c aarak ḥatta wyal ^c amiid.	He even quarrelled with the Dean.
mahaw ḥatta foog (i)t-til fizyoon.	It is not even on top of the T.V.
kaabarlak ḥatta wara maa ṭla ^c it.	He 'phoned you even after you went out.
ḥatta waraay ^v caan gaa ^c id biṣṣaff̣.	He was sitting behind me in the classroom (emphatic).
dawwarit ḥatta jawwa bilgirfa.	Did you even search in the room?
maaku ḥatta hadriṭ-ṭabla.	It's not even there under the table.
rihit ḥatta hadir biṭ-ṭaabaq l'awwal?	Did you go right downstairs to the first floor?
ḥatta yamhum maa rihit lyoom.	I did not even to to them today.
ḥatta yamha maa 'akalli bitti.	I don't leave my daughter, even with her.
ḥatta yammi maa gi ^c dat bilhafla.	She did not even sit beside me at the party.
ḥatta bsaff̣i maa 'ariida yig ^c id.	I don't want him to sit even beside me.
laa tiddaḳkal ḥatta beenhum.	Don't interfere even between them.
maa ligeeta ḥatta been illawraaq.	I did not find it (m) even among the papers.

C. Particle /'illa/

The particle /'illa/ has four distinct uses.

1. Exception (CA ٤١)

maaku makaan 'illa foog
is-ṣaṭih.

There is no place except
on the roof.

'illa 'inta mkaabirla.

Unless you have 'phoned
him, (IC. I think you have).

qiblaw yitbarri^cuun 'illa
'ihwa.

They were willing to donate,
except him.

maa 'aakil Ṣi 'illa Ṣawi.

I don't eat anything except
roast.

laa truuh 'illa ykaabuṛlak.

Don't go until (unless) he
'phones you.

mahḥad raah ygilla, 'illa
'inta tgilla.

No one is going to tell
him unless you tell him.

'antii s-siyyaara 'illa (57)
'idaa nṭaani killifluusi.

I will give him the car
only when he has given
me my money.

2. To express a recommendation, cf. Eng. "you must", (CA ٤٢, ٤٣ see Wright II, pp. 310-311).

'illa 'inta tgilla.

You should tell him.

'illa lyoom tsaafir.

You should go today.

'illa giddaami tsawwiha.

You should do it in front
of me.

'illa ṭih Ṣiili Ṣinu saar
beenak wbeena.

You must tell me what
happened between you and
him.

3. (An extended use of 2 above) to suggest an answer to a question. (cf. Eng. "Isn't it in the kitchen"?, i.e. I

think it is in the kitchen").

'illa foog meeza kallaa.

Hasn't he left it on his desk?

'illa gaḅuḷ yoomeen tsaafir.

Unless you travel two days before, (suggestion).

'illa gaḅuḷ saa^ca ṭīla^c.

Maybe he went out an hour ago.

'illa wara maa saafirit kaabaṛ. Maybe he 'phoned after I left.

'illa wara maa tqan^ca
(tqanni^ca) nigdar nruuh
lilmaṭ^cam.

Maybe after you persuade him, we can go to the restaurant.

ween yidri? 'illa la^cad
sima^cna.

How does he know? Maybe he heard us.

Ṣloon^c iraf? 'illa yoom
Ṣaafa bilgahwa wgalla.

How does he know? Unless he told him when he saw him in the cafe.

'illa min ṭīla^cit Ṣaafni.

Maybe he saw me when I went out.

'illa ^cala meeza nisaa.

Hasn't he left it on his desk?

'illa ^cidhum baat lbaarḥa.

Maybe he slept with them last night.

'illa ^cugub maa 'as'alha
'antiik jawaab.

Maybe after I ask her, I will give you an answer.

4. Meaning "why"?

'illa gaḅuḷna tsaafir?

Why are you going before us?

'illa waraay tig^cid?

Why are you sitting behind me?

'illa ^cala ṣ-ṣaṭiḥ tnaam?

Why do you sleep on the roof?

'illa ^cala haada lmawduu^c
tiktib?

Why do you want to write
about this subject?

'illa ^cidha tkalli fluusak?

Why do you keep your money
with her?

8.4. Affirmation Particles

The most common particles of affirmation can be exemplified by the following:-

1. 'ii.

"yes"

triid ^ycaay? 'ii.

Do you want tea? Yes.

^cindak siyyaara? 'ii.

Have you got a car? Yes.

2. na^cam.

"yes" (formal)

^cindak jigaara tintiini?
na^cam.

Have you got a cigarette
to give me? Yes.

Sometimes na^cam is preceded by particle /'ii/.

^cindak beet? 'ii na^cam.

Have you got a house? Yes.

3. bali.

"yes"

kaabar 'ibuuy? bali.

Did my father 'phone? Yes.

4. mbala.

"yes"

This particle is more local and nowadays less common
in use than the others above.

raahat lilmadrassa? mbala. Did she go to school? Yes.

8.5. Interjections

The most common interjective and exclamatory particles
are listed below with examples:-

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. | fadd. | "how" (admiration) |
| | fadd jamiila. | How pretty she is! |
| 2. | 'ataari | "Oh" |
| | 'ataari ti ^c rifha wmaa
tgilli. | Oh, so you know her and you
are not saying! |
| 3. | bass. | "enough"! |
| | bass 'iskit. | Enough, shut up! |
| <p>Sometimes /bass/ compounds with the particles such as
/ʕaad/ and /yalla/. The meaning remains the same.</p> | | |
| | bass ʕaad 'iskit. | Shut up then! |
| 4. | hiṣṣ. Used on its own: | Hush! Keep quiet! |
| 5. | tara. | Then, (threatening). |
| | tara 'ah ^ʕ ci. | I am going to talk then. |
| 6. | baḷḷa. | "please" |
| | baḷḷa inṭiini ljarida. | Please give me the newspaper. |
| 7. | waḷḷa. | "really" |
| | haṣṣal bi ^c ta, waḷḷa. | He has got a scholarship.
Really! |
| 8. | Yaa. | Vocative particle. |
| | yaa raḅḅi. | O my Lord! |
| | also | |
| | yaa walad. | Boy! |
| 9. | yaa. | Oh! |
| | yaa ṣlo ^v on maat, 'amis
ṣifta. | Oh, how can he be dead, I
saw him yesterday. |

10. yaa weeli. "alas"
 yaaweeli ^calee koo^v
 walad. Alas for him, he was a good
 boy.
11. la^cad. "then, well".
 la^cad 'aana ^calma. I will teach him then!
12. baṣiṭa (la^cad). "well, then".
 baṣiṭa la^cad 'aana raah I will know how to talk to
 'a^cruf ṣloon 'ah^vci wyaa. him then!
13. haay + pronoun suffix. "here"
 haayaana. Here I am.
 haayaana haadir. Here I am ready.
 haayihya jat. Here she is, she has come.
 haadannihna ṭil^can. Here they are (pl.f).
14. ^caad. "then"
 'iskit ^caad. Then shut up!
 ^caad yalla kṣimha. Then go on, finish it.
15. hoob! "Whoa"! "Stop"!
16. hayhaat. "It's impossible".
 hayhaat yhaṣṣilha. It's impossible for him
 to get it.
17. diirbaal! "Be careful"! (With pronoun suffixes).
 diirbaalak. Be careful, (m).
 diirbaalič. Be careful, (f), etc.
18. kuun and yaareet. "would that, I hope".

kuun (yaareet) yhaṣṣilla I hope he gets a
 ṣiḡil. job.

There are other less common interjections, such as /kikk/ to prevent a child from touching or eating anything bad or dirty, /bizz/ to frighten off a cat, and /hiṣṣ/ the same for hens.

There are some imperative verbs which are used frequently as interjections.

tbaawa ^c .	look.
tbaawa ^c waraak.	Look behind you.
ṣuuf ... ṣinu.	Look what ...
ṣuuf ṣinu ṣaar.	Look what happened.
hakk (m.s) haḳḳ (f.s)	Here! Take!
hakkum (m.pl) haḳḳan(f.pl)	(When giving someone something).

FOOTNOTES TO PART TWO

1. They do not, however, occur with hollow stems. After having examined more than 50 hollow verbs, I found none with suffix /-eet/.
2. There are three forms of the perfect tense of the simple verb in CA, these are /fa^cal/, /fa^cil/ and /fa^cul/. For more details see Khadīja, (1965, p.378).
3. See al-Toma, (1969, p.54).
4. See Maṭar, (1970, p.47).
5. This form occurs in the urban dialect of al-ḥawāḏ see Ingham, (1973, pp. 539-540).
6. al-Toma mentions that "four patterns are often noted in Iraqi Arabic, /yif^cal/, /yif^cil/, /yif^cul/, /yuf^cul/. Two other patterns /yuf^cal/ and /yuf^cil/ can be regarded as variants of /yif^cal/ and yif^cul/. For more information, see al-Toma, (1969, p.55).
7. See about CA forms Khadīja, (1965, p.378).
8. See below, p. 105
9. " " See ditto
10. " " See ditto
11. " " See ditto
12. " " See ditto
13. " " See ditto
14. " " See ditto
15. " " See ditto
16. " " See ditto
17. " " See ditto

18. See below, p. 105
19. " " See ditto
20. " " See p. 106
21. " " See ditto
22. " " See ditto
23. " " See ditto
24. " " See ditto

25. See assimilation, (2.3.1.)

26. See al-Muṭṭalibī, (1978, p.131).
27. See active and passive participles, (9.2.4. and 9.2.6.)
28. These are for /fa^cl/ with anaptyctic vowel.
29. For /fu^cuul/.
30. See also Erwin, (1963, p.221).
31. al-Toma cites the two forms used in Iraq, but does not mention which part of Iraq these are mainly used in. For more details see al-Toma, (1969, p.60).

32. See Ingham, (1962, p.39).

33. Also from root /wkl/ to authorize.
34. Alternative pronunciation among some speakers: /wigfeet/.
35. The /cuc-/ stem is occasionally heard among educated speakers, presumably under the influence of Literary Arabic.

36. The form of the perfect tense with long vowel /-ee/ before subject pronoun suffix of first and second person, does not occur in BA with hollow verbs; this form occurs in the dialects of Shaṭṭ al-^cArab, see

Ingham, (1982, p.39), who says it occurs in the dialects of Shaṭṭ al-^cArab.

37. See Johnstone, (1967, p.58).
38. The structure of the word may also change, eg. ^vcalib 'dog', ^vcalbeen 'two dogs'.
39. More common use is /ḥruuf/, /ḡdraa^caat/, and /lsaanaat/.
40. Also /ḡaafiir/ and /ṣaabi^c/.
41. See (6.6.2.1.)
42. See about Baghdadi dialect, Erwin, (1963, p.258).
43. /s/ and /ṣ/ are interchangeable.
44. Also /mi'aat/.
45. Plural form is in use /'iluuf/.
46. The special form of these prepositions before pronoun suffixes are dealt with in Section 8.1.
47. See Ingham, (1982, p.83).
48. al-^cAshshār is the urban centre of Basrah.
49. See Erwin, (1963, p.303).
50. See Erwin, (1963, p.143).
51. The translation depends on the context.
52. Also bil'ijtima^c (bilijtima^c).
53. al-Tannūma is the centre of the Shaṭṭ al-^cArab Province.
54. al-Matin is a tiny village in the Shaṭṭ al-^cArab area.
55. See Ingham, (1982, p.152).
56. This feature occurs also in the areas which have been studied by Ingham. For more details see Ingham, (1973, p.548) and (1982, p.26).

PART THREE

SYNTAX

9. SENTENCE TYPES

9.1. Sentence Without Verbs

This sentence is formed from two parts, the subject and the predicate.

9.1.1. The Subject

The subject may be a noun or pronoun, as the following examples show:-

haay siyyaarti.

This is my car

'aana marfiḍ 1-yoom.

I am ill today.

limtiḥaan bilqaa^ca
Ḷ-Ḷibiira.

The examination is in
the big hall.

'ibuuy biṢ-Ṣigil.

My father is at work.

9.1.2. The Predicate

A. Predicate Types

The predicate may be a noun or pronoun, an adjective, a sentence or a prepositional phrase.

As in CA the predicate in BA has the following three variants:-

1. The Simple Predicate

The simple predicate is one which is a noun or an adjective, rather than a sentence or an adverbial or prepositional phrase.

(i) ddiruus ṣa^cba hassana.

The lessons are difficult
this year.

'ikuuy mu^callim bṭaanawiiyyat
lbanaat.

My brother is a teacher in
a girls' secondary school.

maktabti čbiira (čibiira)
killiŝ.

My library is very big.

čali hīlu wham ŝaatir.

Ali is handsome and clever.

2. When the predicate is a sentence.

This can be a second sentence as in the following examples:-

faatma ša^carha ṭwiil (ṭiwiil).

Fatma's hair is long.

šadiiqi 'ibuu ḡani jiddan.

My friend's father is very rich.

ilbeet (lbeet) ḡurafa ḡayga
(ḡayja).

The rooms of the house are small.

3. Adverbial or prepositional phrase.

The predicate may be an adverbial or prepositional phrase, as in the following examples:-

ṭṭillaab (iṭṭillaab) bīṣṣaff
wilmu^callim gaa^cid barra.

The students are in the class and the teacher is sitting outside.

'ummi jawwa bilḡirfa.

My mother is inside the room.

iṭ-ṭooḡa (ṭ-ṭooḡa) foog iṣ-ṣaṭih.

The ball is above the roof.

iṣ-safra (s-safra) baačir.

The trip is tomorrow.

9.1.3. Reversal of Order: Predicate Before Subject

The predicate may precede the subject for many reasons.

A. When the predicate is an adverbial phrase (the subject being either indefinite or definite), or prepositional phrase:-

čindi beet.

I have a house.

bilḡirfa 'ibuuy.

My father is in the room.

foog t-ṭabla (it-ṭabla)
liktaab.

The book is on the table.

B. When the predicate is part of the answer to the question.

ween 'ibuuy? bilgahwa buuy⁽¹⁾.

Where is my father? My father is in the cafe.

šloon ibuuč? mariid ibuuy.

How is your (f) father? My father is ill.

C. When the predicate is an interrogative:-

beeš il^canab (l^canab)?

How much are the grapes?

ween ij-janta?

Where is the bag?

šloon iš-šigil (š-šigil)?

How is the work?

D. When the subject is restricted by /bass/ (only), or /'illa/ (except), or with the negatives /manku/ (there is not), or /maḥḥad/ (no one).

maaku bilbeet bass 'aana.

There is no one in the house except me.

maḥḥad biš-šaḥḥ 'illa
lmu^callim.

There is no one in the class except the teacher.

maaku bissuug šī bass
it-ṭamaaṭa.

There is nothing in the market except tomatoes.

9.1.4. Omission of the Subject or the Predicate

The subject or predicate may be omitted from the sentence, as explained below.

A. Omission of the Subject

The subject may be omitted in the answer to a question, such as:-

Šloon 'ibuuk? mariid?	How is your father? Ill.
ween lmafaatiih? bis-sayyaara.	Where are the keys? In the car.
beeš it-tuffaah? balaas ^{y(2)} .	How much are the apples? Very cheap.

B. Omission of the Predicate

The predicate may also be omitted in the answer to an interrogative sentence:-

minu bilbeet? ^c ammi.	Who is in the house? My uncle.
minu ^c inda siyyaara? 'aana.	Who has a car? Me.

9.2. Sentence with Verbs

The term verbal sentence is used here to indicate any sentence which contains a finite verb or a particle used as a verb.

9.2.1. The Verb

9.2.1.1 The Perfect Tense

The perfect tense indicates a completed action which has taken place in the past.

raah lilmadrassa.	He went to school.
Šift: il filim lbaarha?	Did you see the film last night?
zira ^c til hadiqa warid wmaa tila ^c .	I planted flowers in the garden but they did not come up.
Šifta gabul yoomeen wgitla ymurr ^c aleena.	I saw him two days ago and I told him to drop by and see us.

baa^cat beetha wgi^cdat wiyya
'ahalha.⁽³⁾

She sold her house and settled
down with her family.

kida ('akadd)marā min
^camaama⁽⁴⁾.

He married from his uncle's
family.

In certain optative phrases, usually including the name
of God, the perfect expresses a future idea:

hifaḍak'alḷa.

May God keep you safe.

sallamak'alḷa.

May God keep you safe.

9.2.1.2 The Imperfect Tense

The Imperfect tense in general indicates an action
which has not finished. It may refer to a current, habi-
tual or characteristic action.

yruuh (iyruuh) 'ibuuy lbaḡ
daad kill ṣahar.

My father goes to Baghdad
every month.

kill yoom 'asma^c 'akbaar
is-saa^ca sitta ṣ-ṣubuh.

Every day I listen to the
six o'clock news in the
morning.

yhiṭṭ il-fizyoon Baḡdaad filim
^carabi yoom il'arba^caa'.

Baghdad television shows
an Arabic film on Wednesdays.

The Imperfect may also refer to the future in the
following cases:-

- A. When it is preceded by the auxiliary verb /raah/ or
sometimes in conjunction with the prefix /ṣ/ "what".

raah 'aruuh lij-jaami^ca.

I am going to university.
(i.e. In the near future).

raah 'adris ba^cd i^v wayya.

I am going to study in a little while.

^vS-raah nsawwi (insawwi)?

What are we going to do?

^vS-raah tiṭṭakinna lyoom?

What is she going to cook for us today?

B. In conjunction with prefix /^vs/ the Imperfect refers to the present continuous. When followed by an adverb of time, it indicates the future.

^vSis sawwi?

What are you doing?

^vstidris?

What are you studying?

^vstidris baa^vcir?

What will you study tomorrow?

^vsiḵ jiibinna lyoom?

What will you bring for us today?

In answers to questions with the /^vs-/ prefix, the imperfect verb also indicates present continuous.

^vsiysawwi?

What is he doing?

Answer:-

yidris.

He is studying.

In conjunction with the particle /hassa/ the imperfect refers to the immediate future:-

hassa 'aruuh.

I will go (soon); I am going in a minute.

hassa 'anṭiik lifluus.

I will give you the money (soon); I am going to give you the money in a minute.

With the particles /kall/, /kann/ "let" (short for /kalli/ and /hassa/, the imperfect refers to intention:-

hassa 'ah ^V ci.	I am going to speak.
hassa 'akitlak.	I am going to hit you.
kall aruuh ('aruuh).	Let me go.
kan naakil wba ^C deen nih ^V ci.	Let us eat then and talk later.

C. The Imperfect may also encompass the idea of the future in optative structures:-

'alla yrizqak.	May God provide you.
'alla y ^t awwul ^C umrak.	May God give you longer life.
'alla y ^h uf ^d ak.	May God keep you.

In conjunction with the word /jaay/ the Imperfect tense may indicate an action which is in progress:-

jaay naakil.	We are eating.
jaay tism ^C kbaar ('akbaar).	She is listening to the news.
jaay yil ^C ab bi ^t - ^t ariiq.	He is playing in the street.

9.2.1.3. The Auxiliary Verb

9.2.1.3.1. Čaan (Čaa)

The Auxiliary Čaan (to be) differs from other auxiliary verbs in that it combines with both the perfect and imperfect tenses. Čaan and Čaa are interchangeable in all examples used in this study. The various possible formations of Čaan are given below.

A. The Perfect of Čaan with the Perfect of the Verb

Phrases in which both the auxiliary caan and the main verb are in the perfect tense occur mainly in the result clause of conditional sentences ⁽⁵⁾, English equivalent

"would have". The Auxiliary *Ŷ*aan is invariable. The main verb agrees with the subject in all cases.

loo raayih <i>Ŷ</i> aan wiṣalit.	If you (m) had gone you would have arrived.
loo raayha <i>Ŷ</i> aan wiṣalti.	If you (f) had gone you would have arrived.
loo gaayliḥ <i>Ŷ</i> aan nṭeetkum (inṭeetkum) fluus.	If you (pl.) had said, I would have given you money.
loo baayi ^c sayyaarti <i>Ŷ</i> aan Ṣtireet yidiida (jidiida).	If I had sold my car, I would have bought a new one.
loo ḥaaŶya <i>Ŷ</i> aan saafarit wyaaŶ lbaḡdaad.	If you had said I would have travelled with you to Baghdad.
loo Ṣaayifhin bis-sinama <i>Ŷ</i> aan ḍirabithin.	If I had seen them in the cinema, I would have hit them.

The Auxiliary *Ŷ*aan also occurs in sentences with an implied, rather than a stated condition ⁽⁶⁾, as in the following examples:-

leeṢ maa ḥiŶeet <i>Ŷ</i> aan saafarit wyaak.	Why didn't you tell me? I would have travelled with you.
leeṢ ḡittilhum <i>Ŷ</i> aan maa ^c irfaw.	Why did you tell them? They would not have known.

The Auxiliary *Ŷ*aan with the perfect tense indicates something which might have happened, or almost happened, often in conjunction with an adverbial phrase, such as loomaa Ṣwayya, "almost", 'illa Ṣwayya, "almost", ba^cdiṢwayya "in a moment"⁽⁷⁾.

loomaa Ṣwayya <i>Ŷ</i> aan ṭaah binnahar.	He almost fell in the river.
--	------------------------------

loo ba^cd (ba^cad) Ÿwayya He was about to die.
 Ÿaan maat.

loo ba^cd Ÿwayya Ÿaan inda^camit. I nearly got run over.
 Ÿaan ṭaaḥat 'illa Ÿwayya. She almost fell.

B. The Perfect of Ÿaan with the Imperfect of the Verb (Durative Past)

Such phrases indicate frequent or habitual action in the past. Here both the Auxiliary Ÿaan and the main verb agree with the subject.

Ÿaanat tijiinna kill yoom. She used to come to us every day.

cŸnit (Ÿint) 'al^cab ṭooba I used to play football
 minŸint zḡiir (zḡiir or when I was a kid.
 zḡayyir).

Ÿaan yihŸiina swaalif. He used to tell us stories.

Ÿaanaw ydirsuun siwa. They used to study together.

Ÿaanat tiŸtigil bilbang She used to work in the bank
 wiassa baṭṭilat. and now she has stopped.

C. The Perfect of Ÿaan with the Active Participle

In such phrases both the Auxiliary Ÿaan and the active participle agree with the subject. The meaning of the compound usually depends on the semantic nature of the verb whose participle is used.

1. Verbs of state and these of both punctual and durative aspects give a past continuous meaning, as in the following examples:-

^VCaanaw ^Caay^Vsiin bilma^Cqal
gabul maa yintaqluun hnaa.

They were living in al-ma^Cqal
(place) before they moved here.

^VCaanat ^Vsaayla 'ibinha min
fitit ^Caleeha.

She was carrying her son when
I passed by.

^VCaan kaad^V biida sa^Vccina
min ijja ^Vs-sirti.

He was holding a knife in his
hand when the policeman arrived.

2. With other verbs (including verbs of motion) it gives
the meaning of the English pluperfect:-

^VCaanat raayhatla min ^Vsifitha. She had already been to him
when I saw her.

^VCaanat jaayyatna min
kaabaritha.

She had already come to us
when I 'phoned her.

lees^V maa ijjeetna (jeet)
^VCaanat taabkatlak 'akil
y^Cajjib.

Why did you not come, she had
cooked delicious food
for you. (2 m.s).

^VCaanaw maakliin bilmat^Cam
min ijjoona.

They had eaten in the rest-
aurant when they came to us.

D. Imperfect of ^VCaan with the Active Participle

This compound is less common. With punctual/durative
verbs it indicates a sort of future continuous (will be
doing) and with other verbs a future perfect (will have
done), but with an aspect of doubt or probability.

laa tijiini mniş-şubuh
'akuun naayim.

Don't come in the morning,
I shall be sleeping.

ruuh dawwir lhaariş (ilhaariş)
ykuun gaa^Cid barra.

Go and look for the guard,
he will be sitting outside.

'idaa jiitni ba^cad saa^ca If you come after an hour I
'akuun mkallis. will (probably) have finished.

laa truuh 'ilhum baa^Ycir Don't go to them tomorrow,
yimkin ykuunuun msaafrin. maybe they will have left.

In some sentences, the combination signifies a sort of mild command or exhortation:-

gabul maa 'akaaburli^Y Before I 'phone you, you
tkuuniin mkallisa kill^Ysi. should have everything ready.

gabul maa 'arja^c lmugrib ykuun Before I come back in the
qaari nişş liktaab. evening, he should have
read half the book.

E. Perfect of Čaan with /'aku/maaku/

The Auxiliary Čaan occurs in sentences with particles such as /'aku/ (there is, are), maaku (maa'aku), (there is not, are not) to express the past. Čaan is invariable in such sentences.

Čaan maaku gahwa hnaa There was not a cafe here,
(ihnaa) whassa binooha. now they have built one.

Čaan 'aku kidra waayid There were a lot of veget-
bis-suug. ables in the market.

Čaan kill^Ysi maaku ^cidhum They had nothing at all, now
whassa bkeer. they have a lot of money.

F. Imperfect of Čaan as Auxiliary

Note: It is difficult to decide whether the unconjugated and abbreviated form /kuun/ used in optatives retains verbal force, or has become a particle. It is included here for convenience. There are two distinct usages:-

1. Conjectures

ykuun (not usually conjugated) with a perfect verb expresses a conjecture or opinion of the speaker on something which he does not know as a fact ⁽⁸⁾. English equivalents are "he must have" "he has probably...." etc.

ykuun sima ^c hačiina wiktaad.	He must have heard us talking and got angry.
ykuun t ^c aarkaw biṭ-ṭariiq beenaathum.	They have probably been fighting amongst themselves in the street.

2. Optatives

Unconjugated kuun + perfect or imperfect verbs express a hope or wish. An alternative (possibly more intensive) construction is ^caada/ykuun/. Examples:-

kuun yinjah hassana.	I hope he succeeds this year.
kuun nḥaṣṣil ṭ-ṭabiib (iṭ-ṭabiib) bil ^c iyaada.	I hope we find the doctor in the clinic.
kuun yniqluun haada lmu ^c allim.	I hope they move this teacher away.
^c aada ykuun yiji wiyfukk. ṽimiṣkila.	I hope he comes and resolves the problem.
kuun iddi ^c ma sayyaara wmaa 'aṣuufa ba ^c ad.	I hope he gets run over and I don't see him again.

3. When the wish expressed is negative, however, the /kuun/ becomes /ykuu/ and may conjugate. The negative particle used is laa, often preceded by bass.

bass laa ykuun nisa lmaw ^c id (ilmaw ^c id).	I hope he hasn't forgotten the appointment.
---	---

bass laa ykuun saafar wmaa galli.	I hope he has not travelled and not told me.
bass laa ykuun raahat tgaddat ^c idhum.	I hope she has not gone and had lunch with them.
bass laa tkuun saafarat wahadha.	I hope she hasn't gone alone.
laa ykuun raahaw lilhafla.	I hope they don't go to the party.

9.2.1.3.2. Other Auxiliaries and Verb Phrases

There are a number of other verbs or participles in BA which modify the meaning of the main verb in some way or another. They express such ideas as the commencement, continuation, intention, necessity and so on, of two main verbs and are quite complex in their idiomatic usage. They can take the perfect, imperfect or sometimes the participle of the main verb.

A feature to note is the fluctuation between agreement and non-agreement of those auxiliaries with the subject. Sometimes this is optional, or depends on the speaker.

A. Ṣaar

Ṣaar combines with imperfect and perfect verbs. These various combinations are given below:-

1. Perfect of Ṣaar with Perfect Verb

Sentences with perfect ṣaar + perfect verb express conjectures in exactly the same way as the sentences

involving ykuun were dealt with in Section (9.2.1.3.1, F. above). The construction with *ṣaar* is perhaps more common in BA, *ṣaar* being invariable.

<i>ṣaar</i> raah lis-sinama wmaa gaal laḥḥad.	It seems he went to the cinema and did not tell anyone.
<i>ṣaar</i> raahat lbaḡdaad waḥadha.	She must have gone to Baghdad alone.
<i>ṣaar</i> galla wzi ^c al ^c aleena.	It seems he told him and he was angry with us.
<i>ṣaar</i> Ṣaafha bis-suug wḡidaaha wyaa.	He must have seen her in the town and taken her with him.

2. Perfect of *Ṣaar* with Imperfect of Verb

Sentences consisting of the perfect of *ṣaar* with the imperfect of the verb, indicate that an action (habitual or characteristic) commenced in the past and still continues in the present time. The Auxiliary verb and the main verb agree with the subject.

<i>ṣaar</i> yiṢṣaḥ ^c arag.	He started to drink <i>Arak</i> .
<i>ṣaar</i> at tidris waayid.	She started to study hard.
<i>ṣaar</i> aw yli ^c buun ṭoḡa.	They started to play football.
<i>ṣaar</i> an yṭil ^c an siwa.	They started to go out together.
<i>ṣaar</i> yruuḥilha lid-daa'ira.	He started to go to her in the office.

3. Perfect of *Ṣaar* with Active Participle

The perfect of *ṣaar* (invariable) with the active participle (agreeing with subject) is virtually identical in meaning to the construction with *ṣaar* + perfect verb

(see 9.2.1.3.2, A. (1) above) and expresses conjecture. Any difference may be due to the main action having been completed and being further in the past. This can be rendered in English by the use of the pluperfect. This construction is not possible, however, with verbs of motion or verbs of punctual/durative meaning.

The following examples illustrate the use of *ṣaar* with the active participle.

<i>ṣaar</i> <i>saami</i> ^c <i>anha</i> <i>š</i> ^v <i>i</i> <i>muu</i> <i>zeen</i>	It seems he had heard some-
<i>wmaa</i> (i)z-zawuajha (itzawwajha).	thing bad about her and did
	not marry her.

<i>ṣaar</i> <i>šaayliin</i> <i>lgeer</i> <i>mukaan</i>	It seems they had moved to
<i>waana</i> <i>maa</i> 'adri.	another place, without my
	knowing.

<i>ṣaar</i> <i>šaayfathum</i> <i>biṭ-ṭariiq</i>	It seems she had seen them
<i>wraahat</i> <i>wyaahum</i> .	in the street and went with
	them.

4. Imperfect *yṣiir* with Perfect Verb

This construction is identical in meaning with *ṣaar* + perfect (see 9.2.1.3.2, A. (1) above). The Auxiliary *yṣiir* is invariable and the main verb agrees with the subject. Some examples:-

<i>yṣiir</i> <i>siḡatta</i> <i>siyyaara</i> .	It seems a car ran over him.
---	------------------------------

<i>yṣiir</i> <i>daggilbaab</i> <i>wmaḥḥad</i>	It seems he knocked on the
<i>sima</i> ^c <i>a</i> .	door and nobody heard him.

<i>yṣiir</i> <i>nisat</i> <i>tgilla</i> .	It seems she forgot to tell
	him.

<i>yṣiir</i> <i>saafraw</i> <i>bqitaar</i>	It seems they went on the
<i>is-sab</i> ^c <i>a</i> .	7.00 o'clock train.

5. Imperfect yṣiir with Imperfect Verb

Phrases which consist of the imperfect of ṣaar with the imperfect of the verb, are usually used as interrogatives, querying whether the main action is possible or permissible. The Auxiliary yṣiir is invariable. The main verb agrees with the subject. Here are some examples:-

yṣiir 'adkil?	May I enter?
yṣiir yruuhuun wyaana lis-siinama?	Can they come with us to the cinema?
yṣiir 'aktib heeč?	Can I write like this?
yṣiir 'atnagga burtiqaal?	Can I choose some oranges?

6. Imperfect of ṣaar with Imperfect Verb

This construction indicates an action which has not yet taken place, but will probably take place in the near future. The Auxiliary yṣiir is invariable, and the main verb agrees with the subject, as in the following:-

yṣiir yruuh 'ilhum lyoom.	He seems he is going/will go to them today.
yṣiir yit ^c aarak wyaaha (wiyyaaha).	It seems he is going to fight with her.
yṣiir ysaafaruun gabuḷna (gabunna) wiykalluu nna.	It seems they are going to travel before us and leave us.

7. Imperfect of ṣaar with Active Participle

Imperfect yṣiir with the active participle gives the, same meaning as yṣiir plus perfect (see 9.2.1.3.2, A (4))

above). Likewise, the participle agrees with the subject and the Auxiliary *yşir* is invariable. For example:-

yşir *taal*^c *a* *tis-sawwag*
wmaḥḥad bilbeet.

It seems she had gone out shopping, and there was no one in the house.

yşir *ali* *raasib wkaaf*
ygillinna.

It seems that Ali failed and was frightened to tell us.

yşir *naasiha biş-şaff.*

It seems he forgot it in the class.

8. The Participle (*şaayir*) as an Auxiliary

The active participle *şaayir* with the Imperfect verb is common in BA. It indicates that an action (habitual or characteristic) began in the past and has not ceased. (See 9.2.1.3.2, A. (2) above). The Auxiliary and the main verb agree with the subject.

şaayir *yil*^c *ab biş*^v *-şaari*^c.

He has started to play in the street.

şaayra *tiṭla*^c *wahadha.*

She has started to go out alone.

şaayriin *yiştagluun* *bilgaa*^c.

They have (m) started to work on the farm.

şaayraat *ydirsan* *siwa.*

They (f) have started to study together.

B. Jaay (*yaay*) (9)

This Auxiliary participle is used with the Imperfect and can be invariable or variable, depending on the speaker. Both ways are equally common. It is used to convey the three meanings shown below:-

1. Present Continuous

jaay yih ^V ci.	He is speaking.
jaay (jaaya) tkayyit.	She is sewing.
jaay (jaayyiin) yli ^C buun.	They (m) are playing.
jaay (jaayyaat) yi ^V staglan.	They (f) are working.

2. An action (habitual or characteristic) having taken place in the past and not yet ceased. The main verb must be modified by an adverb in this case. For example:-

jaay yidris halayyaam.	He has started to study these days.
jaay (jaaya) tig ^C id mnişşubuh.	She has started to get up early.
jaay (jaaya) taakil waayid.	She has started to eat a lot.

3. When followed by clauses introduced by the negative conditional /loomaa/, the combination expresses the equivalent of the English "would have", i.e. an intended action not carried out.

'aana jaay 'asaafir loomaa 'aşuufa.	I would have left if I hadn't seen him.
--	---

C. gaa^Cid.

The Auxiliary gaa^Cid ⁽¹⁰⁾ is similar to jaay which is described above. It is used with the Imperfect in two ways, and again is both invariable or variable. It also expresses two meanings:-

1. Present Continuous

gaa ^C id 'aakil.	I am eating.
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gaa ^c id (gaa ^c da) tiktib.	She is writing.
gaa ^c id (gaa ^c idiin) yit- aarkuun fruuk ^v iċ.	Your sons are fighting.
gaa ^c id (gaa ^c daat) ynaḍḍufan lhooṣ ^v .	They (f) are cleaning the courtyard.

2. Exactly as jaay (b) above.

gaa ^c id yaakil waayid.	He has started to eat a lot.
gaa ^c id (gaa ^c da) tnaam min wakit.	She has started to sleep early.
gaa ^c id (gaa ^c diin) yṣirfuun floos waayid.	They have (m) started to spend a lot of money.

D. Verbal ga^cad

The conjugated perfect of ga^cad with the Imperfect of the main verb indicates that an action has recently commenced and is still in progress.

gi ^c dat taakil.	She has started to eat.
gi ^c daw ydirsuun.	They (m) have started to study.
gi ^c dan ydirsan.	They (f) have started to study.

E. gaam

The Auxiliary gaam ⁽¹¹⁾ with the Imperfect has two meanings. Both the Auxiliary and the main verb agree with the subject:-

1. A completed Action:

gaamat tib ^v ci.	She started to cry.
gaam yil ^c ab.	He started to play.
gaamaw yit ^c aarkuun.	They (m) started to fight.

2. An action (habitual or characteristic) which started in the past and is still going on.

gaam yruuh linnaadi**i**billeel. He has started to go to the club evenings.

gaamat is-sawwi⁽¹²⁾ ma**s**aakil wyaana. She has started to create problems with us.

gaamaw wilda ybi**i**^cuun bid-dikkaan. His sons have started to serve in the shop.

F. raah

1. Perfect raah (conjugated) with another perfect verb expresses the simple verb phrase "went and ..."

raah zayyan wri**j**a^c. He went and had his hair cut and came back.

raahat **s**aafathum lyoom. She went and saw them.

2. Perfect raah (mostly conjugated with an Imperfect implies an element of purpose.

raahaw (raah) yli^cbuun bis-saaha. They (m) went to play on the pitch.

raahan (raah) yi**s**tiran **g**raad (garaad). They (f) went to buy things.

3. Perfect raah (mostly unconjugated) with an Imperfect indicates an action in the future.

raah 'asaafir lyoom. I will travel today.

raah (raahat) ti**j**iina billeel. She will come to us in the evening.

raah (raahaw) ydaawmuun raas is-**s**ahar. They (m) will resume at the beginning of the month.

raah (raahan) y**t**il^can. They (f) will go out.

Any possible confusion between this meaning and the previous one is usually discernable from the context.

G. The Participle Raayih

The participle raayih in agreement with the subject also expresses the future:

raayih yintini fluusi lyoom. He is going to give me my money today.

raayha tizzawwaj 'ibin^camha. She is going to marry her cousin.

raayih yit^cayyan ^cidna bilqisim. He is going to be appointed in our department.

H. raad (to want) (13)

The perfect or imperfect of raad followed by imperfect of the main verb indicates wish or desire. Both verbs agree with the subject, and the tense of the statement is determined by the auxiliary. Auxiliary is similar in use and function to ya (ja), (see 9.2.1.3.2, N. below).

raad ykaabur bass maa haşşal katt. He was about to 'phone but he couldn't get a line.

raadat tijiina bass 'ibuuy maa kallaaha. She was about to come to us but my father did not let her.

raadaw y^virduun mnil madrasa loomaa şaafhum lma^callim (ilma^callim). They (m) were about to escape from school, but the teacher saw them.

raad yil^cab wyaana wmaa kalleenaa. He wanted to play with us and we didn't let him.

raadat truuh lbağdaad bass maa haşşilat tikit. She wanted to go to Baghdad but she couldn't get a ticket.

'ariid 'a^vsuufak baa^vcir.

I want to see you tomorrow.

yriid yizzawwaj muwaḍḍafa
wyaa bid-daa'ira.

He wants to marry an employee
with him at the office.

I. Buqa

Auxiliary buqa⁽¹⁴⁾ with imperfect or active participle indicates (when no limiting adverbial phrase is present), a continuous action which began in the past and has not yet finished. The auxiliary and the main verb agree with the subject.

buqa yil^cab biṭ-ṭariiq.

He is playing in the road.

buqa gaa^cid bilgahwa.

He is sitting in a cafe.

buqat tidris bilmaktaba.

She is studying in the
library.

When an adverb, adverbial phrase or clause is present, buqa has the strength of the English "went on, kept on"⁽¹⁵⁾, although the action is complete at the time of speaking.

buqeet 'antiḍir saa^cteen
bilgahwa lbaarḥa.

I went on waiting two hours
in the cafe last night.

buqat naayma lis-saa^ca ^ca^vsra
ṣ-ṣubuh.

She went on sleeping until
10 o'clock in the morning.

buqan gaa^cdaat ^cat-tilfizyoon
lis-saa^ca ṭinteen l-baarḥa.

They (f) went on watching
T.V. until 2 o'clock last
night.

buqa waaguf barra lamman
maa ijjat.

He went on waiting outside
until she came back.

J. ḍall

The auxiliary ḍall⁽¹⁶⁾ is identical with buqa in

function and meaning. The two auxiliaries are interchangeable.

ḍallat naayma.

She went on sleeping.

ḍallaw ysoolfuun binnaadi
wmaa raahaw lilmuḥaadaara.

They went on chatting in
the club and did not go to
the lecture.

ḍall yidris lis-saa^ca
tlaata is-ṣubuh.

He studied 'till 3 o'clock
in the morning.

ḍallaw yli^cbuun bilgaa^c.

They (m) went on playing
on the farm.

K. Gidar (to be able)

Both gidar and the main verb agree with the subject. The auxiliary can be in either tense, but the main verb is always in the perfect.

tigdar tijiini lyoom?

Can you come to me today?

maa gidarit 'anaam lbaarḥa.

I couldn't sleep last night.

'agdar 'aṣuufa lyoom biṣ-
ṣiḡil waḥci wyaa.

I can see him today at work
and talk with him.

L. Bida (to begin)

Bida is always in the perfect and the main verb in the imperfect.

bida yiṣtiḡil bit-tijaara.

He began to work in commerce.

bidat tit^callam ṭaabi^ca.

She began to learn typing.

bida yimṣi.

He began to walk.

M. Haawal (to try)

Auxiliary ḥaawal is used usually among educated

people. Auxiliary and main verb agree with subject,
main verb imperfect, auxiliary either tense or imperative.

haawlat tintiini fluus bass She tried to give me money
maa riga rayilha. but her husband refused.

haawil tijiina lleela(illeela). Try (m.s) to come to us tonight.

haawlaw yga^vmuruuni They (m) tried to trick me
(yqa^vmuruuni)wabi^c beeti. into selling my house.

haawlan yintanni ma^cluumaat. They (f) tried to give me
information.

'ahaawil 'asaa^cda lyoom. I will try to help him today.

N. iyya (ijja) or ya (ja)

Auxiliary ya (iyya) or ja (ijja)⁽¹⁷⁾ with an imperfect indicates an action which was about to happen but was not carried out. Both auxiliary and main verb agree with the subject.

yat (iyyat) jat(ijjat) tnaam She was about to go to
loomaa kitalha. sleep but he hit her.

yaw(iyyaw) jaw(ijjaw)	They (m) were about to
yit ^c aarkuun loomaa 'ibuuy.	fight, if it had not been
	for my father.

9.2.1.3.3. Auxiliary Laazim (Necessary)

Laazim is invariable, and has two meanings:-

A. It indicates necessity or obligation, when it is followed by verb in the imperfect.

He must travel today.

'inta rayyaal(rajjaal) laazim You are a man, you have
ti^ctimid ^cala nafsak. to depend on yourself.

laazim 'anjah hassana. I have to pass this year.

B. It portrays the meaning "it can be assumed that", or "the facts indicate that" when it is followed by a verb or verb phrase of any tense (18).

laazim^v caan naasi lmaw^c id. He must have forgotten the appointment.

laazim hi^vca^c alayya. He must have spoken about
me.

laazim gaa^cid yidris hassa. He must be studying now.

To express the past, laazim is used with invariable
v
Caan, and conveys the idea that something should have
happened.

Yaan laazim ygilli gabul.	He should have told me
maa yruuh.	before he went.

maa Čaan laazim yih^ŷči halħa^ŷči. He should not have spoken
like this.

9.2.2. The Agent

As can be seen from the preceding sections, the agent as subject of the verb - if expressed - generally comes after it and may be a noun or a personal pronoun. In the case of the latter, of course, this pronoun may remain unexpressed, being implicit in this verb.

raah 'ibuuy lis suug tawwa. My father went to the
town just now.

ijja 'ihwa b-nafsa.

He came himself.

bi^Cit beeti balaas^V.

I sold my house very cheaply.

saafar 'amis.

He travelled yesterday.

However, if the agent is a noun or a pronoun, it very often precedes the verb.

şadiiqi ştira siyyaara jidiida. My friend bought a new car.

'aana maa ^Ciraftak 'awwal marra.

I did not recognise you the first time.

'ibuuy raah lis-suug.

My father went to the town.

'inti şilti kitaabi minnaa?

Did you take my book from here?

9.2.3. The Objective Complement

The objective complement is the noun which receives the action of the verb. The occurrence of the objective complement in BA takes one of the following forms:-

1. It may be a noun:

haṭṭeet sayyaarti bilgaraaj lyammil muḥaṭṭa.

I put my car in the garage near the station.

^Vşiltiṣ-şanduug mnil beet liddikkaan.

I carried the box from the house to the shop.

2. It may be a pronoun suffix or a demonstrative pronoun:

saa^Cattak waayid.

I helped you a lot.

'asaamḥak ḥalmarra.

I forgive you this time.

kileet('akalit) haada killa.

I ate all this.

There is a common alternative in which the objective

complement can precede the verb, as shown below:-

When the objective complement is interrogative:

minu ^Všifit?

Who did you see?

Čam siyyaara ^Všira?

How many cars did he buy?

'aay waahid si'alit?

Which one did you ask?

9.2.4. The Active Participle

The Active participle has a function in a sentence like that of a verb and takes the objective complement, be negated, etc. It most frequently indicates past action in which the results are still apparent or of interest and future time, as shown below. Another important function of the A.P. is that of an adjective, (see 6.1.).

A. It may refer to present continuous (the action in progress). This is mainly with verbs of state verbs which have both punctual and durative aspects and, less reliably, with verbs of motion:-

šadiiqi ^Caayi^Vš bilbašra.

My friend is living in Basrah.

lyahaal(ilyahaal) naaymiin.

The boys are sleeping.

But: ^CAli raayih lis-suug.

Ali is going/has gone to the town (market).

^Všifta laabis qaaṭ jidiid.

I saw him wearing a new suit.

ween raayih?

Where are you going?

B. With other types of verbs it generally refers to the past:

lee ^v laa ^c ib bittiraab?	Why have you been playing in the dirt?
minu ^v Šaayil ktaabi(kitaabi)?	Who has taken my book away?
ween haatt. ilmiftaah?	Where have you put the key?
'aana maa ^v Šaayif mitla biddinya raziil.	I have never seen anyone as stingy as him.
(i) ^v Š-Šaarub lbaarha?	What did you drink last night?
muu gaayillak ^v Šam marra laa truuh 'ilhum?	Haven't I told you several times not to go to them?
'ibinha ^v Šaarid mnil ^c askiriyya (^c askariyya).	Her son has deserted from the Army.

C. It may also refer to the future or immediate future, (especially with the verbs: come, go, travel).

lee ^v jaay yinna('inna) baa ^v Šir?	Why is he coming to us tomorrow?
'inta maa msaafir llandan (illandan) has-sana?	Are you not travelling to London this year?
hiyya raayha lbağdaad baa ^v Šir.	She is going to Baghdad tomorrow.

9.2.5. The Passive Voice

The finite passive voice does not occur in BA., the passive signification being expressed by /n-/ or (in) prefixed verbs:

ndi ^c am (inda ^c am).	He was run over.
nkital (inkital).	He was killed.
n ^v Širab (in ^v Širab).	It was drunk.
nbaa ^c (inbaa ^c).	It was sold.

9.2.6. Passive Participle

The general meaning of a passive participle is having undergone the action indicated by the verb⁽¹⁹⁾. It is essentially equivalent to the English past participle. For example:-

mamnuu ^c	forbidden
maktuul	killed
mhaqqaq	edited
musta ^c mal	secondhand, used

Specialised usages of the passive participle retaining the CA form are rare, although they do exist. For example, mujalled (volume) Lit: "something bound" and maktuub (letter) Lit: "something written", where the passive participle as an adjective can function as a noun in isolation, (see 6.1.)

9.2.7. The Absolute Object

The absolute object is a noun derived from a verb and used as it's own object. The absolute object is used for two main effects:

A. To emphasize or qualify the action of the verb, as the following examples show:-

biṣeet baṣi ḥatta diḳit.	I cried 'till I got dizzy.
miṣeet maṣi sari ^c wmaa lḥagithum (liḥ agithum).	I walked quickly but didn't catch them up.
ṣayyahit ṣaayih wala waahid sima ^c ni.	I shouted and no one heard me.
ṭibak ⁱ t ṭabuk yḳabḅul.	I cooked delicious food. (Lit: food which would madden one, i.e. with delight).
yihṣi ḥaṣi mitḷiddahab.	He speaks very well. (Lit: like gold).

^vstigaḷ (i^vstigaḷ) ^vsiḡiḷ He worked tidily.
mrattab.

B. To indicate the number of times the action occurred:

ṭihit ṭaḥteen bi^vs-^vsaari^c. I fell down twice in the street.

misaḥtil ḥoo^vs masiḥteen. I wiped the floor twice.

ṭufarit ṭafurteen. I jumped twice.

daggat is-saa^ca tlat (ṭlat) The alarm rang three times.
daggaat.

10. Negation and Prohibition

10. 1. Negation:

The main negative particles used to negate the sentence (sentence with and without a verb) and other elements of a sentence, are /maa/muu. In addition to this BA admits of such combinations or constructions as, maa walaa, muu walaa. laa is also used as a negative question particle as well as a prohibitive one, a point which will be explained later. I will discuss how these particles are used and to which sentences they are attached.

10.1.1. Negative /maa/muu/

A. Sentence With Verb

The negative particle which negates the perfect and imperfect verb is /maa/.

maa 'aruuh. I don't go.

maa yaakil waayid. He does not eat a lot.

maa naam lbaarḥa (ilbaarḥa). He did not sleep last night.

Speakers who are affected by the Baghdadi dialect use /ma/ with a short vowel (20).

ma yidris.	He does not study.
ma raah.	He didn't go.
ma saafirat.	She did not travel.

The future is negated by /maa/ especially when the verb is followed by an adverb indicating the future.

For example:-

maa 'asaafir baa ^Y cir.	I will not travel tomorrow.
maa raah 'aruuh lbağdaad biş-şeeḥ.	I will not go to Baghdad in the summer.
maa raah 'aakil ba ^c ad bis-suug.	I will never eat out again.

However, when the subject precedes the verb, /muu/ or /maa/ are used:-

muu 'aana kitalta.	It wasn't me who struck him.
muu zawijti gallatla.	It wasn't my wife who told him.
'ibuuy maa yaakil sima ^Y .	My father does not eat fish.

B. Sentence Without Verb

The sentence without a verb is negated by /muu/.

haada muu beeti, beet 'ikuuy.	This is not my house, it is my brother's house.
'ikuuy muu ṭabiib.	My brother is not a doctor.
haada muu ktaabi.	This is not my book.

C. Adverbial and Prepositional Phrases

Adverbial and prepositional phrases are negated usually by /muu/ and less often by /maa/.

ktaabak muu ^c indi.	Your book is not with me.
maa ^c indak fluus bilbang?	Don't you have some money in the bank?
muu bi ^c iida lmadrasa ^c anna.	The school isn't far from us.
'ihwa muu bilgirfa.	He is not in the room.
beetna muu yamhum.	Our house is not near (beside) them.
muu minna s-suuc ^v (is-suuc ^v).	It is not his fault.
maa ^c indi fluus.	I haven't any money.
muu 'ilq d-dikkaan (id-dikkaan).	The shop is not his.

D. The Active and Passive Participles

The active and passive participles are negated by /maa/ and /muu/ or by the prefix /mi/ + independent personal pronoun, or by the prefix /ma/ + independent personal pronoun.

muu ma ^v syuula lgaraaḍ.	The stuff has not been taken away.
muu mabyuug beeta.	His house has not been burgled.
maa raayih lilmadrassa lyoom.	He has not gone to school today.
lee ^v s maa ḥaaṭṭa r-raggiyya bit-tallaaja.	Why have you not put the water melon in the fridge?
minuu maa naaṭi ba ^c ad?	Who has not yet paid?
iṭṭ ^v cadḍibiin minti naajḥa.	You are lying. You have not succeeded.

minta ^Vsaayif lfilim(ilfilim) You have not seen the film
witguul ^VSifta. and you say "I saw it".

mahaw msaafir 'aana ^VSifta He has not gone. I saw
lyoom. him today.

lee^V mahay yaayya (jaayya) Why has she not come until
lhasa? now?

mahan raayhaat. They (f) have not gone.

maham saam^Ciin 'ibuuy They (m) have not heard
mar iid. that my father is ill.

E. The Adjective

The adjective is frequently negated by /muu/ and
less frequently by /maa/:

ṣadiiqi muu ḍaki. My friend is not clever.

faatma ^Vṣa^Carha muu ṭwiil
(ṭiwiil). Fatima's hair is not long.

badlatha muu ḥilwa. He dress is not nice.

wayha (wajha) maa hilu. His face is not beautiful.

'aklaaqha maa ḥilwa. Her manners are not good.

/muu/ is also used to negate nisba adjectives:-

ṭariiqna ṁballat muu tiraabi. Our road is paved, not
dusty.

'ihwa muu baṣraawi. He is not Basran.

Muu is used in comparative sentences:

'ihwa muu 'aḥsan min ^Cindi. He is not better than me.

'aana muu 'aḍka min ^Cinda. I am not more clever than
him.

beetna muu 'akbar min
beethum.

Our house is not bigger
than their house.

/muu/ is also used in exclamatory questions, of which
the following are examples:

muu 'ibnič yibči?

Isn't that your baby who
is crying?

'aana muu c'allamtak haada?

Didn't I teach you this?

muu 'ismak mawjuud bilqaayma?

Isn't your name on this
list?

'ibnak muu raah ytiḥ min
cad-daraj?

Isn't your son going to
fall from the stairs?

/maa/ is used to negate structures like /'aku/, there
is, /maaku/ (maa'aku) there is not. For example:-

'aku fawaakih bis-suug.

There is fruit in the market.

maaku (maa'aku) fawaakih
bis-suug.

There is no fruit in the
market.

Special combined forms beginning with /m(a)/, /m(i)/
are used to negate the independent personal pronoun:

3 m.s mahaw bilbeet.

He is not in the house.

3 f.s mahay bilgirfa.

She is not in the room.

2 m.s kaabarit(kaabreet)
bass minta bilbeet.

I 'phoned but you were
not at home.

2 f.s minti hilwa.

You are not beautiful.

1 c.s maani zangeen)
maani zangeena)

I am not rich.

3 m.pl maham bilmadrassa.

They are not in the school.

3 f.pl	mahan bilgaa ^c .	They are not in the farm.
2 m.pl	mintum maakliin.	You have not eaten.
2 f.pl	mintan bilbeet.	You are not at home.
1 c.pl	mihna 'aṣḍiqaa'.	We are not friends.

10.1.2. /maa/ + /l/ + Pronoun Suffix

This construction is phonetically identical with the use of the possessive particle /maa/, (see 8.1.).

However, the negative construction /maa/ + /l/ + pronoun suffix is usually followed by an indefinite noun:

3 m.s	maala ṣiḡil binnaas.	He does not care about people.
3 f.s	maalha fluus ^c indi.	She has no money with me.
2 m.s	maalak kitub ^c indi.	You have no books with you.
2 f.s	maali ^v 'aṣḍiqaa' bilmadrassa.	You have no friends in the school.
1 c.s	maali beet (i)hnaa.	I have no house here.
3 m.pl	maalhum gaa ^c yamna.	They have no land beside us.
3 f.pl	maalhin 'asmaa' bis-sijil.	Their names are not in the book.
2 m.pl	maalkum ḡaraaḍ bis-sayyaara.	You have no stuff in the car.
2 f.pl	maalḥan garaayib bilbaṣra. Leeṣ riḥtan?	You have no relatives in Basrah. Why did you go?
1 c.pl	maalna (maanna) ṣiḡil bij-jaami ^c a lyoom.	We have no business in the university today.

10.1.3. Negative Questions

The negative question does not differ from the positive one, except for the presence of the negative /maa/ at the beginning, as the following examples show:-

maa riḥit lilmadrassa lyoom?	You did not go to school today?
maa ^V Siftil film?	You did not see the film?
maa ^C indak siyyaara?	You have not got a car?

10.1.4. Negative Answer Particles

Negative answer particles are used in reply to both negative or positive questions. These particles are:-

1. laa. "No", (simple negative reply).

triid ^V Caay?	Do you want tea?
laa, ^V Sikran (^V Sukran).	No, thanks.
maa triid ^V Caay?	You don't want tea?
laa.	No.
'ibuuk bilbeet?	Is your father in the house?
laa.	No.

2. laa maa. "No, not", (with verbs).

nijahit?	Did you succeed?
laa maa nijahit?	No, I did not succeed.
triid ġida (ġada)?	Do you want food (lunch)?
laa maa 'ariid.	No, I don't want any.

3. laa muu, (with nominal sentences).

beetkum haada?	Is this your house(m.pl)?
laa muu beetna.	No, it is not our house.

'inta mudarris

Are you a teacher?

laa muu mudarris.

No, I am not a teacher.

4. la^c. (A variant of /laa/ above).

dirasit?

Did you study?

la^c.

No.

beetak haad (haada)?

Is this your house.

la^c.

No.

5. The particle 'aku "there is" is negated by the prefixing of /maa/, thus:

^cindak haliib?

Have you got any milk?

laa, maaku or maa'aku.

No, we haven't.

10.2. Prohibition

The main particle of prohibition is /laa/ (21). It is used with the second and third persons of the imperfect:

laa truuh.

Don't go (m).

laa tih^Ycin.

Don't speak (f).

laa tsaafruun.

Don't travel (m.pl).

laa tsayhan.

Don't shout (f.pl).

gilha laa truuh.

Tell her not to go (3 f.s)

gilla laa yruuh.

Tell him not to go (3 m.s)

/la/ with short vowel occurs among some speakers who are affected by the Bagdadī dialect (22). In BA one finds:

la tib^Yi.

Don't cry.

la truuh.

Don't go.

gilha la tiji lyoom.

Tell her not to come today.

gilla la ysaafir.

Tell him not to travel.

Both /laa/ and /maa/ are used with the imperfect tense, usually preceded by /hatta/ in negative clauses of purpose:

maa zirithum hatta laa
'a^ysuufa.

I did not visit them so
that I wouldn't see him.

'aakil ^yswayya hatta maa
'asman.

I eat little so that I
won't get fat.

gitla yig^cid ^cidna hatta maa
yit^caarak wyamma(wiyya
'umma).

I told him to live with us
so that he would not quarrel
with his mother.

maa ntattak fluus hatta
laa truuh lis siinama.

She did not give you money
so that you could not go
to the cinema.

maa ga^cattic^v mni (min)
nnoom hatta laa truuhlin
lis-safra.

I didn't wake you up so
that you wouldn't go on
the trip.

10.3. The Negative Alternative Construction

There are many constructions in BA which are equivalent to the English "neither ... nor" construction. These are listed below:

A. laa (maa) walaa (wlaa).

This construction is used widely with verbal and nominal sentences, adverbial and prepositional phrases, active and passive participles and pronouns. For example:-

laa (maa) kila walaa (wlaa) Ṣirāḇ 'amis.	He neither ate nor drank yesterday.
laa qaasim walaa (wlaa) faatma bilbeet.	Neither Qasim nor Fatima is in the house.
haada lhaḇi killa da ^c aayaat, laa (maa) maktuul walaa (wlaa) mṣawwāḇ.	All this talk is rumour; he was neither killed nor wounded.
'aana laa (maa) ṣaayfa walaa (wlaa) haḇi wyaa.	I have neither seen him nor spoken to him.
laa (maa) ^c inda sayyaara walaa (wlaa) beet.	He has neither a car nor a house.
liktaab laa foog ṭ-ṭaḇḷa (iṭ-ṭaḇḷa) walaa(wlaa)bilḡirfa.	The book is neither on the table nor in the room.
laa (muu) hnaa walaa (wlaa) hnaak haatṭa.	You (2 m.s) have put it neither here nor there.
laa 'ihwa walaa (wlaa) 'ihya nijhaw.	Neither he nor she succeeded.

The same construction is used in prohibitions, as
might be expected:

laa tinṭii floos walaa(wlaa) tkallii yruuh Lbaḡdaad.	Don't give him money or (and don't) let him go to Baghdad.
laa truuh 'ilhum walaa (wlaa) tsallim ^c aleehum.	Don't go to them or greet them.
laa tiḡuun wyaaha walaa(wlaa) d-darsuunha (id-darsunha).	Don't go to her or teach ' her.

This same 'laa ... walaa' construction occurs with
nouns and is equivalent to the English "no ... or". For
example:-

laa 'akil walaa (wlaa) ^Vširib
yoomeen.

No food or drink for two
days.

laa winsa walaa (wlaa) ^Ctal^a
mnilbeet ba^Cad.

No enjoyment or going out
of the house any more.

B. Muu ... walaa (wlaa).

This construction does not occur with the verbal sentence. It does, however, occur with the nominal sentence, the adverbial and prepositional phrase, adverbs and pronouns:

'ibuuy muu bilgahwa walaa
(wlaa) bilgaa^C.

My father is neither in the
coffeehouse nor in the farm.

beetna muu bhaadi^Vš-^Všaari^C
walaa (wlaa) bilwaraa.

Our house is neither in this
street nor in the next.

haada muu 'ilak walaa (wlaa)
'ili.

This is neither for you nor
for me.

'ahmad muu šadiiqi walaa(wlaa)
šadiiq 'ikuuy.

Ahmad is neither my friend
nor my brother's friend.

C. Maa ... wmaa.

This construction is used with the verb and the active and passive participles. It is not used before nouns or adverbial and prepositional phrases or pronouns like the construction Laa ... walaa.

maa raah wmaa kallaani 'aruuh.

He neither went himself nor
let me go.

maa yijiina wmaa yis'al
^Caleena.

He neither comes to us nor
asks about us.

ʔanna maa msaafir wmaa
ʔaali^c barra.

It looks like he has neither
travelled nor gone abroad.

maa madyuun wmaa minṭi
lahhad fluus.

He is neither owing nor has
lent anyone money.

D. There is a construction which is formed from the
negative particle /la(a)/ or /ma(a)/ + the independent
personal pronoun. The occurrence of this construction
is less frequent than those above.

ween 'ibuuy? lahaw (mahaw)
bilbeet wlahaw (wmahaw)
bilgahwa.

Where is my father? He is
neither in the cafe nor in
the house.

maa 'adri ween raahaw? laham
(maham biṣ-ṣaari^c wlaham
(wmaham) bilbeet.

I don't know where they
have gone? They are neither
in the street nor in the house.

kaabaritlak linta (minta)
bilbeet wminta (wlinta)
bid-daa'ira.

I 'phoned you but you were
neither in the house nor in
the office.

iṭ-ṭooḃa lahay (mahay)^cas-ṣaṭih
wlahay (wmahay) bilḡirḡa.

The ball is neither on the
roof nor in the room.

E. The other construction which occurs in BA and Baghdadi
dialects (23) is when a form negated by /maa/, or less
frequently /laa/, is followed by two co-ordinate forms,
the first is preceded by /laa/ and the second by wala(wlaa).

maa 'aṣṭihi laa 'akil wala
(wlaa) ṣirib.

I don't like either food or
drink.

laa 'aakil laa wyaak wala
(wlaa) wyaa.

I don't eat either with you
or with him.

maa hīcā ^v laa cāleek walaa (wlaa) cālayya.	He did not speak either against you or about me.
maa cīndi laa beet walaa (wlaa) siyyaara.	I have neither a house nor a car.
maa yaakil laa simač ^v walaa (wlaa) dyaay (dijaaj).	He does not eat either fish or chicken.
maa yiftihim laa bil'adab walaa (wlaa) biš-šī ^v cīr.	He does not know either literature or poetry.
F. After a form negated by /laa/maa/ or /muu/, a single form may be preceded by walaa (wlaa). The English equiva- lent of such a construction is generally "not ...a single", "not ... even a". (24)	
maa 'akal(kila)walaa(wlaa) ničča ^v .	He didn't even eat a tiny bit.
muu tiḥči ^v walaa (wlaa) čılma.	Don't say even a single word.
maa naam walaa (wlaa) daqīqa.	He did not even sleep a minute.
laa tintīi walaa (wlaa) filis.	Don't give him a single penny.
maa dirasit walaa(wlaa)warqa.	I didn't study a single page.

11. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

The most common conditional particles in BA are loo;
'idaa; čaan and 'in, all corresponding to English 'if'.
The 'if' clause is introduced by one of these particles.
The different functions of these three particles allows
them to be categorised conveniently into three groups:-

- 11.1. The particle loo.
- 11.2. The particle 'idaa.
- 11.3. Other particles.

Note:

To save unnecessary repetition, it is advisable at this point to explain the use of the auxiliary čaan.

There are two possibilities:

- A. Invariable čaan (or čaa, but not before a vowel).
- B. Conjugated čaan (činit, čaanat, etc).

In general either option may be used, but the invariable form is without doubt more common (25).

11.1. The Particle loo

The conditional sentence formed with loo indicates two meanings, unreal condition and future possibilities.

11.1.1. Unreal Condition

The 'if' clause which is formed with loo has two variants.

A. Past Unreal Conditions

To refer to past (unfulfilled) conditions, there are three possible constructions:

- 1. loo plus active participle, sometimes preceded by čaan. The result clause introduced by čaan.

loo mlaagii čaan(čaa) gitla.	If I had met him I would have told him.
------------------------------	---

loo čaan baayi ^c beeta čaan (čaa) galli.	If he had sold his house he would have told me.
--	---

loo čaan gaayilli čaan (čaa) štireeta (ištireeta).	If he had told me I would have bought it.
---	---

loo mkaabirni Čaan (Čaa)
riht wyaa.

If he had 'phoned me I would
have gone with him.

loo ṭaalub minni fluus Čaan
(Čaa) nṭeeta.

If he had asked me to give
him money I would have
given it to him.

2. loo + Čaan + 'aku, maaku (there is/are; is/are not).
The result clause is introduced by Čaan.

loo Čaan 'aku girfa zaayda
b-beethum Čaan (Čaa) gi^cadit
biiha.

If there had been an extra
room in their house, I would
have stayed in it.

loo Čaan maaku ^cidhum
mašaakil Čaan(Čaa) yaw(jaw).

If they had not had problems
they would have come.

loo Čaa 'aku ^cindi 'akbaar
Čint (Činit) 'agillak.

If I had had news I would
have told you.

loo Čaan 'ibuuy bilbeet Čaan
(Čaa) ḥiṣeet wyaa.

If my father had been in
the house, I would have
spoken with him.

loo zawijti muwadḍafa Čaan
(Čaa) nṭooḥa ḥooṣ.

If my wife was an employee
they would have given her
a house.

loo Čaan (Čaa) ^cinda beet
Čaan (Čaa) maa 'ajjar.

If he had a house, he would
not have rented.

loo Činit wyaahum Čaan (Čaa)
maa šaarat mašaakil.

If I were with them.

3. loo + conjugated Čaan. The result clause is also
introduced by conjugated Čaan, with the main verb in the
imperfect or invariable Čaan plus perfect.

loo činit bilbeet čaan (čaa) gitla.	If I had been in the house I would have told him.
loo činit bilbeet čint (činit) 'agilla.	If I had been in the house, I would have told him.
loo činti čidhum činti tšuufiin 'aklaaqhum.	If you (2 f.s) had been with them you would have seen their manners.
loo čaanaw bilgaa ^c čaan (čaa); šifithum.	If they had been on the farm, I would have seen them.
loo činit bilbašrah čint(činit) 'ajiib tamur wyaay.	If I had been in Basrah I would have brought dates with me.
loo činit (čint) 'aštigil heeč čint (činit) 'amut (mitit) min zamaan.	If I had worked like this I would have died long ago.
loo čaan yhibni čaan(čaa) ya (ja) sallam ^c alayya.	If he had loved me he would have come and greeted me.

B. Present Unreal Conditions

These refer to impossible conditions or ones unlikely to be fulfilled at the time of speaking. There are two possibilities. Again the result clause is always introduced by čaan.

1. loo + imperfect verb.

loo 'aqra mitlak čaan (čaa) 'anjah l'awwal.	If I studied like you I would come first.
loo maa 'ahibkum čaan (čaa) maa yeet (jeet).	If I did not like you I would not have come.
loo yi ^c ruf beethum ween, čaan (čaa) dazzeeta yjiib lgaraad.	If he knew where their house is, I would send him to bring the things.

loo yi ^c ruf yi ^v stigiḷ Ḳaan (Ḳaa) ṣaar zangeen.	If he knew how to work, he would have become rich.
2. loo + 'aku, maaku, etc. or (noun, pronoun, adverb and preposition).	
loo 'aku ^c inda 'ak _l aaq Ḳaan (Ḳaa) sikat.	If he had manners he would have shut up.
loo 'aana lmudiir Ḳaan (Ḳaa) 'aṭirda.	If I were the boss I would have fired him.
loo 'ibuuy zangeen Ḳaan (Ḳaa) ^v stiraali siyyaara.	If my father were rich, he would have bought a car for me.

11.1.2. Fulfillable Conditions

These naturally refer to the future. The verb of the result clause is always in the imperfect, and sometimes with the invariable future marker raah. The verb of the protasis, however, can be in either tense. Introduction of the result clause with Ḳaan is perhaps less common here.

loo tinjah Ḳaan (Ḳaa) 'a ^v stiriilak siyyaara.	If you succeed, I will buy a car for you.
loo nijah 'ikuuy 'a ^c zimkum.	If my brother succeeds, I will invite you.
loo riḥit raah 'anṭiik dirhim.	If you go, I will give you a dirham.
loo saafar raah yjiibilkum hadiyya.	If he travels, he will bring a present for you, (m.pl).
loo tgilla Ḳaan (Ḳaa) ysaa ^c idni.	If you tell him he will help me.

11.2. The Particle 'idaa

This is in most cases interchangeable with loo and is used for both real and unreal conditions.

11.2.1. Real Condition

'idaa yhaṣṣil ṣigil 'asawwiil-kum ^c aziima.	If he gets a job, I will give a party for you (m.pl)
'idaa nijah 'aakda wyaay lbaḡdaad.	If he succeeds, I will take him to Baghdad with me.
'idaa yriid ysaafir kay (kall) ykaabirni.	If he wants to travel, let him call me.
'idaa triid tṣuufni kattijiini.	If she wants to see me, let her come to me.
'idaa yriid yibniila beet koob(ko)yjammi ^c la Ṣam filis.	If he wants to build a house, then let him save some money.
'idaa 'ibuuy yisma ^c yiktinni.	If my father hears he will hit me.
'idaa Ṣaan gaa ^c id bilgahwa w ^c aayif draasta 'aṭayyih ḡadḡa.	If he has been sitting in the Cafe and has left his studies, I shall punish him.

11.2.2. Unreal Condition

'idaa Ṣaan saami ^c kabār Ṣaan (Ṣaa) maṛṛ ^c alayya.	If he had heard the news he would have come to see me.
'idaa Ṣaan biida Ṣi, Ṣaan Ṣagḡalni.	If he had had authority he would have given me a job.
'idaa Ṣaan raayih 'ilhum hassa 'a ^c rif min ^c inda.	If he had gone to them, I would have known that from him now.

11.3. Other Particles

11.3.1. Čaan

Invariable Čaan is also used as a conditional particle, usually followed by a noun, pronoun, or prepositional phrase, but not by a finite verb if it expresses a real condition.

Čaan 'inta šijaa^c ta^cal(ta^caal) hnaa. If you are brave, come here.

Čaan ^cinda beet kall yinṭiinnaa. If he has a house then let him rent it to us.

Čaan šaayifha raah ysawwiina muškila. If he has seen her he will make a problem for us.

11.3.2. 'in

'in is used with verbs, usually expressing real conditions implying a warning, threat or some such undesirable result.

'in riḥtilhum 'akitlak. If you go to them I will hit you.

'in maa saafarit baačir maa tlahhighum. If you do not travel tomorrow you will miss them.

'in gittilhum maa 'aštiriilak hadiyya. If you have told them, I won't buy a present for you.

11.3.3. 'in Čaan + pronoun suffix

This type of conditional has a hybrid form of Čaan used like what is presumably the classical particle /inna/ and its sisters. The form with suffixes beginning with a vowel show gemination (Čaannak, Čaanna), otherwise Čaan

remains unchanged(^Vcaankum, ^Vcaanha, etc).

It introduces real conditions, often implying a note of exasperation, (cf. Eng.) "If you are so clever, then you do it".

'in ^Vcaannak hiniin ^Caleehum
lee^Vs maa tintiihum fluus.

If you (2 m.s) are so kind
to them, why don't you give
them money?

'in ^Vcaanni^Vc ^Vsaatra 'ih^Vci
wyaahum.

If you (2 f.s) are so
clever, speak with them.

11.3.4. 'idaa or loo + maa

Negative conditions in the past are introduced by
loo or 'idaa + maa. Examples:-

loo maa 'atla^C ^Vcaan (^Vcaa)
t^Caarak wyaay.

If I had not gone out he
would have fought with me.

loo maa 'aana ^Vcaan (^Vcaa)
ṭaah bi^Vs-^Vsaṭṭ.

If it hadn't been for me,
he would have fallen into
the river.

loo maa 'illak ^Vcaan (^Vcaa)
maa nṭeeta.

If it hadn't been for you,
I wouldn't have given it.

'idaa maa 'asma^C bdaani maa
'aṣaddig.

If I don't hear with my ears,
I don't believe it.

'idaa maa ^Cindak hassa
kalliiha lbaa^Vciir.

If you don't have it now,
leave it until tomorrow.

11.3.5. Concessive Clauses

A. ḥatta 'idaa

The English equivalent of ḥatta 'idaa is "even if,
even though". It can be followed by a verb (imperfect or

perfect), a noun, adverb, pronoun, active or passive participle.

maa yisma^c hatta 'idaa
'aṣayyih.

He does not hear, even if
I shout.

hatta 'idaa naam min waktu
yig^cid mit'akkir.

Even if he sleeps early
he gets up late.

hatta 'idaa 'ibuuy yiṭlub
siyyaarti maa 'anṭiiha.

Even if my father asks for
my car, I won't give it.

hatta 'idaa haaṣi ṣalayya
'asaamha.

Even if he has spoken
against me, I will forgive
him.

B. hatta loo

This particle has the same function as hatta 'idaa.
The two are interchangeable.

maa ydarrisni hatta loo
'ibuuy ygilla.

He does not teach me, even
though my father tells him to.

gilla yijiini hatta loo
maṣṣguul.

Tell him to come to me, even
if he is busy.

'aruuh lis-sinama marṣaat
hatta loo lfilim muu zeen.

I go to the cinema sometimes
even if the film is no good.

11.3.6. Unless

A. 'illa 'idaa

This is expressed by 'illa 'idaa.

maa truuh lilmadrassa 'illa
'idaa 'antiha maṣṣraf.

She does not go to school
unless I give her pocket
money.

maa 'ahṣi 'illa 'idaa si'alni
(si'anni).

I don't speak unless he
asks me.

Sometimes 'illa is used alone in the context, it means 'unless, only, except'.

'aana maa 'asawwi Ši 'illa
ygilli.

I don't do anything unless
he tells me.

B. 'illa lamman (lamman)

maa tijuuna 'illa lamman
nkaapur kum.

You (pl.m) don't come to us
unless we 'phone you.

maa 'antiik maşraf 'illa
lamman tkalliş waajbak lbayti.

I won't give you (2 m.s)
your pocket money until
you finish your homework.

11.3.7. Universal Conditionals/Concessives

These are equivalent to the English "However ...",
"no matter ..." etc. They are introduced in BA by
loo + Š prefixed to the following word:

loo Š-maa 'ahČi maa
yşaddigni.

No matter how I speak, he
does not believe me.

loo Š-kitirmaa 'aštiriilhum
ykallisuuna bsir^ca.

No matter how much I buy
for them, they finish it
quickly.

loo Š-gadd maa yaakil maa
yisman.

However much he eats, he
does not get fat.

12. RELATIVE CLAUSES

The relative particle in BA has two variants
/'illi, (illi)/ which occurs after a word ending in
a consonant and /lli/ which occurs after a word ending
in a vowel (26). As in Standard Arabic, the relative
particle is omitted when the antecedent is indefinite.

12.1. Indefinite and Definite Antecedents

12.1.1. Indefinite Antecedents

ti ^c ruf najjaar ysawwi 'ataat zeen?	Do you know a carpenter who makes good furniture?
dalliini ^c ala waahid yṣallih raadyuwwaat.	Direct me to someone who repairs radios.
'aku baasṣ yinqil lmuwaḍḍafiin lijjaami ^c a?	Is there a bus which takes employees to the university?
t ^c arrafit ^c ala ṭaalib yidris ṭibb bjaami ^c at lbaṣra.	I met a student who is studying medicine at the University of Basrah.

12.1.2. Definite Antecedents

Yṣinu lfilm 'illi Ḳaan lbaarḥa bit-tilfizyoon?	What was the film that was on the TV last night?
ween (i)lmujalla lli biha lmaqaal?	Where's the magazine that the article is in?
ween ṭ-ṭaalib(it-ṭaalib) 'illi si'al ^c alayya?	Where's the student who asked about me?
libnayya lli Ḳaan mṣaahibha tzawwijat.	The girl he was going with got married.

12.2. Reference to Antecedents

12.2.1. The Antecedent and the Subject both refer to the Same Entity

If the clause consists of a verbal and nominal sentence or prepositional and adverbial phrases, and the antecedent and the subject both refer to the same entity, then there are three possibilities.

A. Reference to the antecedent may be expressed by a verb form, active participle, noun, adverb or preposition, which agrees with the antecedent in person, gender and number.

Ṣisma r-rajjaal 'illi sallam ᶜaleek.	What's the name of the man who greeted you?
tiᶜruf fadd waahid ydaayinni fluus?	Do you know someone who will lend me some money?
Ṣiftit-ṭaalib 'illi ḍirab lmuᶜallim?	Did you see the student who hit the teacher?
minu ṭ-ṭaalib 'illi maasih is-ṣabbuura?	Who is the student who has wiped the blackboard?
lmuwadḍaf 'illi wyaana bid- daa'ira maat.	The employee who is with us in the office has died.
'is'al lfarraaṢ 'illi ᶜinda lmafaatiiḥ.	Ask the porter who has keys.
s-suwwaaq (is-suwwaaq) 'illi mit ᶜaarkiin 'akḍoohum liṢ-Ṣirṭa.	They took the drivers who who were fighting to the police.

B. Reference to the antecedent may be expressed by pronoun suffix attached to particles.

minu libnayya lli tawha faatat minna(a)?	Who's the girl who just passed from here?
Ṣuufli ṭ-ṭillaab 'illi ᶜidhum muḥaadara.	Check for me the students who have a lecture.
laa tsaafir bilsiiyaara lli maa biiha tabriid.	Don't go in a car which has no air-conditioning.

laa tinṭii lqaat 'illi ba ^c da	Don't give him the suit
maa mkallış.	that's not yet finished.

C. Reference to the antecedent may be expressed by an independent pronoun, agreeing with the antecedent in person, gender and number.

lee ^v s ṭhaasba? ḥaasib lmu-	Why do you blame him?
waddaf 'illi 'ihwa waqqa ^c	Blame the employee who
liktaab.	signed the letter.

kaabir it-ṭabiib 'illi 'ihwa	'Phone the doctor who
caalaja.	treated him.

jatta zawijta lli 'ihya saakna	His wife who is living
b-bagdaad.	in Baghdad came to him.

^c izamit killilmuwaddafiin	I invited all the employ-
'illi 'ihma wyaay bid-daa'ira.	ees who are in the office
	with me.

12.2.2. When the Antecedent is Different From the Subject

When the antecedent does not refer to the same entity as the subject of the relative clause, there are three possibilities:

A. Reference to the antecedent is expressed by a pronoun suffix attached to the verb, preposition, adverb and agreeing with the antecedent in person, gender and number.

<u>lmuḥaadaṛa (ilmuḥaadaṛa) lli</u>	The lecture that I attended
<u>hiḍaritha</u> 'amis muu zeena.	yesterday was not good.

l-beet 'illli 'ajjarta
killi^ŷ gaali.

The house that I rented is
very expensive.

libnayya lli tzawwajha ɕil^cat
mariida.

The girl whom he married
turned out to be ill.

l-girfa lli biha tilfizyoon
farrigha 'ila.

Empty the room where the
television is for him.

ɕadiiqi lli ^ctimadit ^calee
saafar.

My friend that I depended
on has gone.

ti^cruf iɕ-ɕabiib 'illli ^cinda
^ciyaada b-raas i^ŷ-^ŷsaari^c.

Do you know the doctor who
has a clinic at the beginn-
ing of the street.

B. Reference to the antecedent by a pronoun suffix may
be attached to a noun in the relative clause.

i^ŷtira siyyaara loonha 'ahmar. He bought a car whose
colour is red.

kiɕabit bnayya 'ahalha
znaagiin.

I got engaged to a girl
whose family is rich.

^ŷsifti liktaab 'illli jlaada
'ahmar.

Did you (f) see the book
whose binding is red?

C. Reference to the antecedent by independent pronoun
usually immediatly after 'illli. This construction is
less common in use than the two mentioned above, and
implies some emphasis.

raawiini lbeet 'illli 'ihwa
ma^cruuɕ lilbee^c.

Show me the house that
is offered for sale.

nɕiini lifluus 'illli 'ihya
^cindak.

Give me the money that
you have.

FOOTNOTES TO PART THREE

1. In words which can be pronounced both with hamza and without, usually the hamza drops when preceded by a vowel.
2. The word /balaaš/ in general means free, but here it means "very cheap".
3. The verb /gi^cad/ means "he lived" in addition to "he sat down".
4. The verb /kida/ ('akad) means "he married" as well as "he took".
5. See Erwin, (1963, p.339).
6. See Erwin, (1963, p.340).
7. See Erwin, (1963, p.340).
8. See Erwin, (1963, p.343).
9. It is used as active participle (he has come) when it is not followed by another verb.
10. It is used as active participle (he is sitting) and an adjective (he is awake) when it is not followed by a verb.
11. It means (to stand up) when it is not followed by a verb.
12. /is-sawwi/ is an assimilated form of /itsawwi/.
13. It means "to want" when it is not followed by a verb.
14. It means "to stay" when it is not followed by a verb.
15. Often the simple past tense is used in English but "went on" etc., are retained here for clarity.
16. It means "to stay" when it is not followed by a verb.

17. It means "to come" when it is not followed by a verb. .
18. BA here is similar to Baghdadi dialect. See Erwin, (1963, p.347).
19. See Erwin, (1963, p.220).
20. See Bakir, (1970, p.22).
21. I prefer to distinguish /laa/ as a prohibitive particle as well as negative one, (see 10.1). Some authors regard it only as a negative particle. See, Erwin, (1963, p. 327) and Bakir, (1970, p.9).
22. See Bakir, (1970, p.40).
23. See Erwin, (1963, p.331).
24. See on Baghdadi dialect. Erwin, (1963, p.331).
25. Except in (11.1.1. A, (3)).
26. See Erwin, (1963, p.379).

CONCLUSION

It may be useful to summarise in this conclusion some of the main features which characterise BA and distinguish it from other dialects. Obviously there are many overlaps here, but the following general characteristics are perhaps the most distinctive of the dialect.

Phonology

1. The sound change original *j* → *y* is dominant in BA while, for instance, *j* is retained in Baghdadi dialect. BA, of course shares this phenomenon with other dialects in the Gulf and Peninsular.
2. The voiceless bilabial stop /*p*/ can be considered as a colloquial phoneme even though it only occurs in loan words, because of the existence of minimal pairs of /*p*/ and /*b*/.
3. The sounds /*q*/ and /*ġ*/ are interchangeable mainly in the Abū al-Khaṣīb and Shaṭṭ al- Arab areas.
4. Some speakers insert hamza at the beginning of the imperfect verb and nouns with the definite article.
5. The diphthong /*iy*/ occurs in BA.
6. Three and more than three consonant clusters occur in combinations of words.
7. The sound /*g*/ as a reflex of /*q*/ is more dominant in BA than for instance in other Iraqi dialects to the North. On the other hand, the following features of BA will be found

to be common to the dialects either to the South or the North.

8. There is one pronunciation /ḍ/ for both original /ḍ/ and /ḍ/ in BA and other dialects in Iraq.

9. The sound /ṣ/ as a reflex of /s/ is widely used in BA and other dialects in Iraq. Some Arab Gulf dialects share this phenomena.

10. The phonological feature /^c/ → /n/ occurs in BA and other dialects of Iraq. While, for instance, it does not occur in Kuwaitī.

Morphology

At the morphological level some features have been noted.

1. The forms /fi^cal/ and /fu^cal/ occur in BA in the perfect tense. The form /fa^cal/ occurs only in two verbs /'akal/ and /'akad/. The classical forms /fa^cal/, /fa^cil/ and /fa^cul/ have disappeared in BA. Both /fi^cal/ and /fu^cal/ occur in BA under specific circumstances, which are explained in the study.

The occurrence of the form /fu^cal/ in Kuwaitī dialect shows the similarity and perhaps the influence of Iraqi dialects. The occurrence of the form /fi^cal/ in Aḥwāz may also show the similarity and the influence of BA on Aḥwāz dialects.

2. In the imperfect tense three forms /yif^cal/, /yif^cul/ and /yif^cil/ occur in BA under specific circumstances as explained in the study, while in Baghdadi dialect these three forms occur in addition to three more /yuf^cal/, yuf^cal/ and /yuf^cil/.

3. The linguistic feature which characterises BA is the alternative form of the perfect tense, which inserts the long vowel /ee/ before the subject suffixes of the first and second persons. This feature does not occur with hollow verbs in BA, comparing with other dialects this phenomena has been tested and confirmed in Baḥrain and Aḥwāz
4. The use of the diminutive is a very common feature in BA.
5. The numeral two has only one form /tneen/, used for both masculine and feminine, whereas in Baghdadi dialect, for instance, the form /tinteen/ is used for the feminine.
6. The suffix /-an/, /-ann/ before a v- beginning suffix occur in BA as an option in the first person singular of the imperfect of hollow and reduplicative verbs, also with other verbs when followed by object pronoun suffices. This phenomena has been noted by Ingham in Aḥwāz dialects.

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