THE STRUCTURE OF MALTESE

A study in mixed Grammar and Vocabulary

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

by

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(University of London, London, S.W.1.)

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Summary

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Summary of thesis

"THE STRUCTURE OF MALTESE – A STUDY IN

MIXED GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY"

Maltese is a separate language resulting from the interaction and fusion of North-African Arabic and Siculo-Italian, covering two different cultural strata. The Arabic element in Maltese very often corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon in English, while the Romance loans correspond to the Norman-French element. Also as in English, the primitive linguistic stratum is confined mainly to the description of the obvious facts of Nature and the individual's reactions to them while the abstract and progressive vocabulary of the intelligentsia belongs to later times.

The result of this fusion is a mixed grammar and vocabulary as we shall show when studying the structure of spoken Maltese. In order to be able to distinguish the two elements, we have established a series of descriptive criteria that together make possible a detailed phonological analysis of the language. The thesis begins with a description of Maltese sounds, followed by Phonology, where these criteria are based on a study of

the Vowels, their quantity, position and sequences; the
semi vowel, the diphthongs, their position, stress, the
consonants, their sequences including initial groups in
phonological junction (zero vowel).

In Morphology the words are studied as patterns, with
particular attention to the formal arrangement of the
consonants and the correlative vowels which are described
in their various semantic changes with lists of examples
from spoken and archaic Maltese.

In both parts the two elements have been treated
separately but under Semitic Maltese are treated those
words which have been assimilated partially or completely
to/Semitic pattern.   Words which have not been so assimi-
lated are of course treated under the head of Romance
Maltese.

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Part II

I.

The Variable Element of S.M. Morphology

II

The Invariable Element of S. M. Morphology

III

The Morphology of Non Semitic Maltese

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON MALTESE SOUNDS

Though Maltese phonetics is not the aim of this work, at least an elementary description of the consonants, which play such an important part in word building, should precede the phonological treatment of the language. This we have done in the following table and the accompanying supplementary description where the twentyseven consonants of Maltese, Semitic and foreign, of which six are purely contextual and one, , sporadic, as will soon be explained, are recorded with their phonetic notation. With the Vowels — a phonetically very inconstant element — we shall deal briefly under a separate heading.

In default of a recognised standard pronunciation, we have followed that which is heard in Valletta and the neighbouring towns and, where necessary, we have also pointed out dialectical variations.

(i) Chart of Maltese Consonants (Phonetic Notation), showing across (a) place of articulation and down (b) manner of articulation.

	Bi-Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngal	Glottal
Plosives	p, b		t, d				k, g		ʔ
Nasals	m		n				ŋ		
Other Liquids.		ɱ		l r					
Affricates (pf, bv)				ts, dz	tʃ dʒ				
Fricatives		f, v		s, z	ʃ (ʒ)		(ʒ)	ħ	
Semi Vowels	w					y			

(ii) Comparative Table

In the following table we give the transcription that we have adopted for Maltese with the standard orthography which is, for our purpose, more etymological than phonetic, and also the corresponding Arabic characters. The other Arabic characters with the phonetic notation (Gairdner's system), representing sounds which are not Maltese, but to which we may have to refer, are also given. We shall indicate that the consonants are voiced or unvoiced by o or v placed under the symbols, voiceless being unmarked. Stress will be indicated by ⁊ preceding the syllable on which it falls. Long vowels, which will be discussed more fully later on, by : after the vowel. Note also that there is no phonetic difference between 'c' and 't∫ and 'dʃ', only the last two digraphs are the morphological junction of 't+∫', and 'd+∫' respectively, whereas 'c' implies an original sound.

Transcription- Phon. Not.-Spelling (1924) Arabic consonants.

	Transcription	Phon. Not.	Spelling (1924)	Arabic
1.	B,b	= B,b	= B,b (babaw)	= ب
2.	C,c	= T,t	= Ċ,ċ (ċarċar)	= (چ)
3.	D,d	= D,d	= D,d (dardar)	=
4.	F,f	= F,f	= F,f (farfar)	=
5.	J,j	= Dʒ dʒ	= Ġ,ġ (ġelġel)	=
6.	G,g	= G,g	= G,g (gerger)	=
7.	H,h	= H,ħ	= Ħ,ħ (ħarħar)	=
8.	Y,y	= Y,y	= J,j (jara)	=
9.	K,k	= K,k	= K,k (karkar)	=
10.	L,l	= L,l	= L,l (lablab)	=
11.	M,m	= M,m	= M,m (marmar)	=
12.	N,n	= N,n	= N,n (naħnaħ)	=
13.	P,p	= P,p	= P,p (parpar)	=
14.	Q,q	= Q,q	= Q,q (qarqar)	=
15.	R,r	= R,r	= R,r (rabbat)	=
16.	S,s	= S,s	= S,s (sarsar)	=
17.	T,t	= T,t	= T,t (tartar)	=
18.	W,w	= W,w	= W,w (waħwaħ)	=
19.	V,v	= V,v	= V,v (venven)	=
20.	∫	= ∫	= X,x (xarxar)	=
21.	Z,z	= Z,z	= Ż,ż (żarżar)	=
22.	Ts, ts-ds	= Ts,ts	= Z,z (zekzek)	=
23.	t∫ ,d+∫	= t∫	= tx, dx (ma mietx--tri:dx?).	

The following are symbols of Arabic sounds that are not Maltese.

(1) ث [phonetic notation ∅]; (2) ذ [ð]; (3) ط [ṭ];

(4) ﻅ [ḍ]; (5) ﻍ [ɣ]; (6) ﻅ [z̧]; (7) ﺡ [x]. (8) ﻉ [ʕ]

(iii) SUPPLEMENTARY DESCRIPTION OF MALTESE SOUNDS

(A) The Consonants

(1) 'p' and 't' are pronounced without any aspiration.

(2) 'b', 'd' and 'g' as in Italian and Arabic are more
fully voiced than in English.

(3) 't' and 'd' are dental plosives as in Italian and
Arabic but comparatively less of the tongue-tip and its
edges can be seen through the interstices of the teeth.
This applies also to Italian loan words with original
't' or 'd', as tabakk, tobacco, tentattsyo:ni, temptation;
divi:n, divine; dittsyuna:ryu, dictionary.

(4) 'dz', occurring in the following loan-words only is
sounded as in Italian:
iddzarda, he risked, hazarded; gaddziyya, acacia; dzo:na
zone; meddza, a measure.

(5) 'k:' Sutcliffe's description of this velar plosive
as 'k' in English Kate, (see his "Grammer of the Maltese
Language", page 4) is not quite accurate. The place of
articulation in Maltese is comparatively more retracted
than in English, and one has only got to hear Maltese
schoolboys pronounce English words with a 'k' sound,
to appreciate the difference, and, naturally, vice
versa. Contrast Maltese kelb, dog, with English 'kelp'.,
M. 'kitla with Eng. 'kettle', M. 'kci:na with Eng. 'kitchen',
M. 'ka∫ka, a kind of bun, with Eng. 'cake'.

(6) ɱ , formed by the lower lips against the upper
teeth, is heard only in a few words, as a rule non-
Semitic, before 'p' and 'f'.

Examples: laɱpa, lamp; gaɱfra, camphor.

(7) ŋ is heard when followed by 'v', 'k', 'g' and 't',
also, as a rule, in non-Semitic words.

Examples: iŋvidya, envy, baŋk, bank; siŋg, line;
maŋt, mantle.

(8) 'l:' While the usual Arabic 'L' is formed by the tip
of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the edges being
pressed all round them, with the front of the tongue
simultaneously raised in the direction of the hard pal-
ate, (cf. Gairdner's "The Phonetics of Arabic", p.17),
the Maltese 'l' is also so formed, but with the blade
of the tongue placed against the teeth ridge and
without touching the teeth.

(9) 'q' is sounded as the Arabic hamza (phonetic notation ʔ); when final, the release may be so slight as to be almost imperceptible.

(10) 'r' is always rolled in Maltese also in English loan-words with unrolled 'r' [ɹ]. Contrast loan word 'irrolya' with its English original 'roll'.

(11) 's', 'z'; as in Arabic and Italian, the hiss of these two sibilants is much stronger than in English.

> Contrast M. sagrament with Eng. sacrament; M. sold, penny, with Eng. salt; M. Salv, Saviour, proper name, with Eng. salve; M. ´sko:la with Eng. school.

(12) ʒ, where it still survives, is still sounded as in Arabic.

(13) ʒ is a purely contextual variant of ʃ followed by a voiced consonant, sounded as in English and French, but comparatively less fully voiced.

(14) 'pf' and 'bv' are affricates that never occur in Maltese in any position except initially as the morphological junction of the prepositional consonant 'b' plus the initial 'f' or 'v' of the following word with the 'b' unvoiced in the first instance.

> <u>Examples</u>: bfana:l, with a lantern; bva:ra, with a statue.

(iv) THE VOWELS

The five Maltese vowels, long[1] or short, a, a: ; e, e: ;
i, i: ; o, o: ; u, u: ; with the phonological function of
which we shall deal in extenso further on, as heard in
Valletta and the neighbouring towns, where most cultured
people live are, <u>approximately,</u> like those of the standard,
that is non-dialectical, Italian, only comparatively more
retracted as to the place of articulation and the longer
vowels less so, but in the villages they are capable of
numerous qualitative variations. For instance, most of
the twenty four vocalic sounds that Dr Griffini (see his
L'Arabo parlato della Libia) has noted in the Arabic dialect
of Tripoli could be easily matched in the various villages
of Malta and Gozo, especially in the latter. For detailed
information on the subject, H. Stumme's MALTESISCHE STUDIEN,
which gives specimens of Maltese folklore in phonetic trans-
cription, though obviously mistaken in several instances,
sheds much light on the subject.

As we are not here concerned with the phonetics of
Maltese, except indirectly, but with its phonology, we shall

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(1)   The established orthography does not indicate long
   or short vowels; occasionally, however, ^ is used over
   a vowel to show that it is long.

only describe briefly one special class of vowels, represented in our transcription by ˠ preceding or following a' or 'e, or 'o; the symbol indicates that the vowel, as compared with the ordinary one, is retracted as to the place of articulation, slightly — in some parts of Malta not at all — pharyngalised, and comparatively longer. The same description holds good also when the symbol in question precedes a diphthong with which we shall deal under the proper heading.

Other special vowels, transcribed as in the standard spelling, are:-   'ha', 'he', 'eh' and 'ehe', also 'ho', always as hom, comparatively less pharyngalised than those with initial ˠ, ehe, being slightly longer than 'eh' or 'he', which are phonetically indistinguishable and which we shall maintain throughout for reasons that we shall explain further on.

(v) CONSONANTS IN PHONOLOGICAL JUNCTION

'VOICED AND UNVOICED SPEECH SOUND'

Important rules to remember with regard to the classification of speech sounds in VOICED and VOICELESS are:-

(1) that, excepting the liquids, when voiced and voiceless consonants meet in phonological junction, the

voice-breath difference does not function and that the
phonetic implication of such a consonant junction is de-
termined by the quality of the last consonant in the group.
The rule may be expressed by the formula:

$$B + V = V$$

$$V + B = B.$$

(2) That voiced consonants at the end of a word are
unvoiced, unless, in continuous speech, they are followed
by a word beginning with a voiced consonant.

(3) In Semitic Maltese, voiced and voiceless conson-
ants, belonging to the same class, like 't' and 'd' for
instance, never occur together in the same word.

These rules apply to the following list of Voiced and
Voiceless speech-sounds:

VOICED		VOICELESS
(1)	b	p
(2)	v	f
(3)	d	t
(4)	z	s
(5)	j	c
(6)	g	k
(7)	q	ħ

(4) Of these in Semitic Maltese, v, p, c never
occur in a consonant group.

(5) 'ħ' and 'q' unvoice the preceding voiced con-
sonant but they retain their own sound in any position.
For instance, ibħra, seas; and bezqa, spit, but qbi:z,
leaping and ħdu:ra, verdure.

Examples illustrating Rule 1

(1) <u>With 'b' as the first consonant of the group</u>:

    (1) bta:la, holiday; (2) bsabar, with patience;

    (3) libsa, suit.

(ii) <u>With 'd' as the first consonant of the group</u>:

    (1) dfi:r, plaiting; (2) dqieq, flour; (3) qadfa, a

    row.

(iii) <u>With 'z'</u>:

    (1) zfi:n, dancing; (2) zqa:q[1], alley; (3) bezqa, spit;

(iv) <u>With 'j'</u>:

    (1) jfien, ships; (2) mijfna, fleet.

(v) <u>With 'ɣ'</u>:(for historical ǧ or ġ).

    (1) taɣha=tahha, hers; (2) taɣhom=tahhom, theirs.

(vi) <u>With 'g'</u>:

    No examples.

(vii) <u>With 'f'</u>:

    (1) fbu:t, in a pocket; (2) fdewʃa, vermicelli;

    (3) mifdi, redeemed.

(viii) <u>With 't'</u>:

    (1) tbayya, spots; (2) tgemgem, you grumble; (3) mitbna,

    straw pile.

---

(1)   This word, corresponding to Arabic زقاق , is actually written with 's' where, in an etymological orthography like the standard one, we should expect zqa:q. Thus the Maltese grammarians have dissociated this word from its historical root, still extant in Maltese — Z,Q,Q, the reason being that the semantic connection is not so obvious.

(ix) <u>With 's'</u>:

        (1) şbu:l, ears of corn; (2) şdieri, waistcoats;

        (3) nişja, plot.

(x) <u>With 'k'</u>:

    ḳba:r, great.

Note also that the phonetic implication of n + b = mb
as demb, tail for denb, mbu:s, I kiss, for nbu:s, emba,
berry of grapes for enba, also that d + ʃ and t + ʃ = c,
ds = ts, as in mqaddsa, sacred, sounded mqattsa, this being
a sporadic Semitic sound while ts is foreign.

<p align="center">The following examples illustrate Rule 2</p>

(1) issi:b̦, you find; (2) issi:d̦, the master; (3) tiej̦,
nuptials; (4) Grieg, Greek; (5) bieh̦, he sold, h̃ for final
historical ʕ unvoiced; (6) qaʕad̦ sewwa, he looked after his
own interests; but qaʕad barra, he stayed out.

It is interesting to note that Rule 1 which, inside
Maltese, Semitic and non-Semitic, works without exception
whenever we have a consonant group made up of voiced and
voiceless consonants or vice versa, can also be applied to
explain the phonetic difference between the historical Arabic
sound and its Maltese correspondence. Thus Arabic FZ ʕ (to
fear) becomes BZ ɣ in Maltese with Arabic 'F' voiced by z;
Arabic KDM, to bite, becomes GDM in Maltese; Arabic ɣ FR,

to forgive, becomes 'ḣafer', and Arabic ġSL, to wash,
becomes 'ḣasel'.[1]
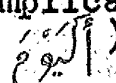
Complete Assimilation

Besides the phonetic phenomenon with which we have
just dealt, in which, given two consonants of different
quality in phonological junction, the second alters the
quality of the preceding consonant from voiced to un-
voiced or vice versa, there is another phonetic phenomenon
whereby the second consonant of an initial group, which is
really the first consonant of the word in phonological
junction with a morphological consonant-prefix, completely
assimilates this consonant-prefix to itself, with a conse-
quent initial long consonant preceded or not by 'i' ac-
cording to position, as shown in the following table:-

(1)   W. Marcais in his 'Textes de Tanger', p. 280, writes:-
"hsel" laver = ‏غسل‎ ; cette assimilation de sourdité
se retrouve dans la plupart de dialectes, citadins de
l'Afrique de Nord, Tunis, Constantine, Alger, Themcen;
mais elle n'apparaît pas, a' ma connaissance, dans les
dialectes rureaux et bedouins. Elle existe aussi en
syrien, en palestenien et en maltais."

[In
initial
position]

(1) '1' or 't' " " + t=itt as itt:n, the fig for 1 + ti:n
itti:r, she flies for t +ti:r.

(2) '1' or 't' " " + c=icc as iccomb, the lead for 1 +
comb; iccanfar, you reprimand
for t + canfar.

(3) '1' or 't' " " + d=idd as idda:r, the house, for 1 +
da:r; iddu:m, it lasts, for
t + du:m.

(4) '1' or 't' " " + s=iss as issu:f, the wool, for 1 +
su:f, issu:m, you fast for
t + su:m.

(5) '1' or 't' " " + z=izz as izzift, the pitch for 1 +
zift; izzu:r, you visit for
t + zu:r.

(6) '1' or 't' " " + ts=itts as ittsokk, the trunk for
1 + tsokk; ittsektsek, you
chirp, for t + tsektsek.

(7) '1' or 't' " " + dz=iddz as iddzard, the hazard for
1 + dzard; iddzarda, he
hazarded for t + dzarda.

(8) '1' or 't' " " + ʃ = iʃʃ as iʃʃu:r, the months for
1 + ʃu:r ; iʃʃomn, you
smell, t + ʃomn.

(9) '1' or 'n' " " + r=irr as irru:h, the soul for 1 +
ru:h, irri:d, I wish for
n + ri:d.

(10) '1' or 'n' " " + 1=ill as illu:m[1] (I chide) for
n + lu:m.

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(1) In 'illu:m' in the sense of 'today' note also the
phonetic implication of the historical junction 'ʔaly'
(cf. A. الْيَوْم).

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            In
            initial
            position
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(11) 'l' ——   "   "   + n=inn as innies, the people
                                  for l + nies.

(12) —— 't' "   "   + j=ijj as ijji:b, you bring for t +
                                  ji:b.

(13) —— 'n' "   "   + m=imm as immu:t, I die for n + mu:t.

Note that the initial 'i' of the above phonetic
implications disappears when, in continuous speech, it
is preceded by a word ending in a vowel with the exception
of 'u' used as an independent semantic unit in the sense
of 'and' which forms a diphthong with initial 'i'.

The following examples will make this clear:

    (1) Ommok issu:m, your mother fasts;

    (2) Int massu:mʃ , you do not fast - orthography

        ma ssumʃ;

    (3) ohtok titlob wissu:m, your sister prays

        and fasts - orthography, 'u ssum', 'w issum'.

(vi) THE LIQUIDS

While any of the consonants of Maltese may, formally,
occur in an interconsantal phonological junction between
two consonants, such junction is not phonetically possible
with the liquids, l, m, n, and r; which, in a similar
position, required by word-pattern analogy, must be pre-
ceded by a vowel thus breaking up the regular three con-
sonant group. For instance, b can so occur medially in
a group of three consonants in phonological junction in
'mitbna', but we cannot likewise say 'midnba', with liquid
'n' in such position.   The interconsonantal group dnb
must be broken up by a vowel, in this case 'i', preceding
'n'. Also, while we can say yaħqru, a pattern with an in-
terconsonantal group 'ħqr', we cannot say yitlbu; a vowel,
in this case, o, must precede the liquid, thus obtaining
the correct pattern, 'yitolbu'.

B

THE PHONOLOGY OF SEMITIC MALTESE

In this part, we shall deal with the phonological rules of Semitic Maltese and, incidentally, of Semitised loan words in so far as they are so affected in any of their phonological components, vowels, consonants, diphthongs, etc. Two important abbreviations, which we use very frequently, are S.M. for Semitic Maltese, which means that the particular rule formulated does not refer to loan words but to genuine Maltese only, and M.V. for 'mixed vocabulary', which means that the rule in question of Semitic Maltese applies equally to loan words in so far as they are semitised in that respect, though they may not be so in others. Under rules of M.V., we have not jumbled Semitic and semitised loan words indiscriminately; we separate the semitised loans by a bar from the Semitic examples which we always give first. By what criteria these words may still remain foreign in other respects, it is always easy to find out if they are split up into their phonological components, vowels, conconants and vocalic sequences, etc., and tested by the respective rules clearly tabulated in the index for easy reference.

(i)   THE MALTESE VOWELS

We now study the phonological function of the
Maltese Vowels in their three possible positions in words:
(a) <u>Initially</u>, (b) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, and (c) <u>Finally</u>.
Also <u>alone</u>, that is, not as components of words, when they
have a semantic function as such.

General principles to be remembered are that:

(1) As to quantity, Maltese vowels may be long or short as
tabulated:

	Short	Long
1)	a	a:
2)	e	e:
3)	i	i:
4)	o	o:
5)	u	u:

(2) As to the place of articulation 'ʕa', 'aʕ', 'aʕa',
'ʕo', 'oʕ', 'oʕo', 'he, 'hi', 'hu', 'eh', 'ehe', are
phonetically classed as special vowels.

(<u>Note</u>: When we speak of vowels, we always mean un-
pharyngalised set, unless otherwise stated).

(3) No phonetic distinction still exists in Maltese be-
tween ʕa and aʕ, ʕo and oʕ, he and eh. The pharyngalisa-
tion position which we have maintained throughout will make

the analogy of word patterns, with which we shall deal in
Morphology, easier to understand. For instance, the
position of γ in 'balaγ balγa ilma', he gulped a mouthful
of water, is determined by morphological analogy with
'ħataf ħatfa,' he snatched, the position of 'γ' and 'f'
being analogous.

(4)   Whereas the ordinary long vowels are always stressed,
those pharyngalised withγ listed in No. 2, are always
long even if they do not bear the main stress of the word
in which they occur, though, when stressed, they are com-
paratively longer. We might fictionally maintain this
phonetic difference by putting one dot, instead of two —
full stress — after such unstressed pharyngalised vowels,
but it is hardly necessary to increase the number of con-
ventional symbols.

>   Examples: Maγmu:l, done; maγku:s, oppressed; in which
>   'aγ' is longer than the unpharyngalised 'a' in
>   similar pattern position, as in marbu:t, tied, for
>   instance, but shorter than γa in γa:mel and γa:kes.

>   (Note: as γa, aγ, and aγa are always long, we shall
>   use no quantity symbols to indicate such length in
>   the words in which they occur.)

(5)   A vowel originally long, remains so even if the word in which it occurs is increased by affixes, so long as the accent does not shift. With stress shifting we shall deal separately under 'Stress'.

Examples: mni:dkom, from your hand, the word being built up thus, mn + i:d (original word, hand) + kom, but minnkom (from you) original 'i' in 'minn', followed by two consonants, being short.

(6)   Semitic Maltese does not tolerate more than one vowel in the same syllable. But such vowel can be followed by the special vowels, ha and ho, in hom, as raha, he saw her; tahom, he gave them.

(7)   Should a word beginning with 'u' be preceded by a word ending in 'a', in continuous speech - that is, when there is no intervening pause between the two words - the two meeting vowels have a tendency to amalgamate into the diphthong 'aw', and if the second word begins with un-stressed 'i' and the final vowel in open syllable of the preceding word is 'u', the two vowels from the diphthong 'uy'.

The English phrase 'a woman and a man' reads in Maltese 'maraw rajel' = mara + w + rajel, and the English expression 'they wished' reads in Maltese kienuy ri:du = kiena iri:du. Orthographically, the first phrase may be written, optionally, 'mara w rajel', or 'mara u rajel', but the second word in the other example always with initial 'y'.

(8)   No such diphthongisation takes place if initial 'i'
is stressed.   'Kienu y<u>í</u>lu:mu', they chided, but kienu i:lhom,
they had long since.

Now we describe and study the phonological position of
the Various Vowels separately.

'A'
—

QUANTITY CRITERIA

As to the bearing of the positional criterion on its
quantity, it should be noted that:

(i) <u>In Initial Position</u> 'a' is always short.   It is long
when it occurs alone as an exclamation in the sense of
Maltese 'ya' vocative exclamation disapproved of socially,
by the reactions of good manners.

<u>Example</u>: a: ħanzi:r!   you pig! ; a:li:lek!   you there!

(ii) <u>In Interconsonantal position</u> it is long when followed
by one consonant only, though in a <u>few</u> Semitic words also
when followed by a consonant group.   Should this final con-
sonant be increased by the addition of suffixes, the original
long 'a' generally retains its quantity. (cf. Rule 5).

Examples: 'ja:r kom (= ja:r + kom) jarrkom', your

neighbour has ruined you.

(iii) In dissyllables, interconsonantal 'a', occuring

in the first syllable, if followed by one consonant, one

semi vowel plus 'a' or by 'i', in open syllable, may be

long or short. There is no phonological criterion to de-

termine the quantity which is in this case purely a

matter of morphology.

The criterion is: (a) if the word in question is a

descriptive, 'a' is long; (b) if it is a nominal (gram-

matically, a verbal noun) it is short.

The following examples are worth study:

ha:mi, ha:mya, ħamyi:n, masculine and feminine

descriptives with their plural, meaning 'hot';

ħamya, a quantity of fuel; ħami, heating; ħa:li,

ħa:lya, ħalyi:n, prodigal, masculine and feminine

descriptives, with their plural; ħali, waste;

ħalya, a waste; ha:wi, ħaw:ya, ħawyi:n, hollow;

ħawi, the act of hollowing out; ħawya, a hollow.

So, by analogy, and for the same reason we read

qari, reading; ħabi, chiding; not qa:ri, etc.,

though no such parallel forms with which they might

be confused exist in Maltese.

(iv)　　If the vocalic sequence in patterns dealt with in

(iii) is a-a, the quantity criterion which is likewise

morphological is:

>   (a) first 'a' is short if the word in which it occurs
>
>   is grammatically a Verb;
>
>   (b) long, if the word is a Nominal[1] but
>
>   (c) short if second 'a' is pharyngalised (^{r}a)[2].

Examples:

>   (a) dara, he got used to; jara, it happened; ħara,
>
>   he skitted;
>
>   (b) da:ra, her house; ja:ra, neighbour; ħa:ra, a
>
>   district.
>
>   (c) qarˁa, a bumpkin; qalˁa, sail; with the latter cf.
>
>   qa:la, creek.

(v)　In Final position, if in open syllable, 'a' is always

short, following immediately the stressed syllable (M.V.).

>   Examples: ´bena, he built; ´ksirna, we broke; ´ħobzna, our
>
>   bread; ´liema, which; ´ˁala? why?; ´nsa:ra, Christians;
>
>   ´ħma:ra, she-ass; ——´karta, paper; ´ʃma:ra, river;
>
>   ´banda, band.

---

(1)　Exception to the rule is mara, woman, but at Sannat, a
　　village in Gozo I know very well, I have heard the word
　　pronounced ma:ra.
(2)　Historically a consonant, corresponding to Arabic ʒ or
　　' ʕ ', which only survive, as a pharyngalisation factor,
　　still behaves, formally, like a consonant and that is the
　　reason why we have retained it in our transcription.
　　First short 'a' in qarˁa is explained by pattern analogy
　　with first 'a' in ħarta, a slap, etc.

(vi) It is (1) long if, in final position, it is closed by one consonant only (cf. ii),(M.V.), and (2) short and stressed as well, if closed by more than one consonant. (M.V.)[1]

Examples:

 (1) ħamra:n, ruddy; tayra:n, flight; najja:r, stone dresser; —— kursa:r, corsair; furba:n, pirate; qatra:n, pitch.

 (2) ʕattant, I crushed; ħaddant, I embraced; kazbart, I profaned; —— dyamant, diamond; surmast, school master; turbant, turban.

The positions of 'A'

In discussing the quantity of this vowel, we have illustrated several of its positions from the point of view of their effect on quantity. This vowel may occur:

 (1) Alone as an exclamation = Maltese ya.

 (2) Initially - (a) followed by one consonant only; in the only word 'a:f', with a contextual usage, as 'ku:nu a:fu[2], Know ye, imperative; (b) followed by a consonant group. (M.V.)

---

(1) By a morphological criterion, all Verbals of this pattern (derived Verbal bases, which we shall explain further on), are Semitic; all Nominals are non-Semitic. Cf. examples given.

(2) Curious abridgement from ʕaraf, he recognised. cf. A ﻋﺮﻑ to know. They have two cognate but separate idiomatic usages. Examples: you know how to write, ta:f tikteb;

Examples: art, earth; armla, widow; akbar, greater;
'alla, god; aktarʃ , rather; —— alfabett, alphabet;
'aljebra, Algebra; alba, albe; apti:t, appetite;
'a:rya, air.

(3) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, it may be preceded (a) by
one consonant or consonant group, including one consonant
+ one semi-Vowel, and followed by one consonant only. (M.V.)

Examples: fa:r, rat; sa:r, it became; hda:r, it became
green; hma:r, ass or it became red; bya:r, wells;
fwa:r, vapour; —— ca:r, clear; ca ɣak, pebbles;
spa:g, pack thread; mqa:r, if only; pya:n, plain;
swa:li, drawing rooms.

(b) Preceded as above but followed by

(1) a long consonant or

(2) consonant group, including consonant + one semi-
Vowel.[1] (M.V.).

<u>Examples</u>:

(1) barr, uncultivated land; hass, he felt; qalb,
heart; talb, prayer; qadya, service: qalya, frying.

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tikteb; you recognise me, taʃra:fni, but you know me
'tafni', and not vice versa.
(1) Patterns described in b 2 in Semitic Maltese are all
<u>grammatically</u> Verbals; all Nominals of the pattern are
non-Semitic as we shall explain in the phonology of
Romance Maltese.

(2) stqarr, he confessed; tmarrad, he became ill;
—— sbarr, inquest; zmarr, rude; sfratta, he
went on the spree; sgarra, he blundered.

(4) For the various positions in which 'a' may occur
Finally, cf. v.

Positions ʕa, aʕ, aʕa, in Maltese

(1) **Initially**, ʕa, which, unlike 'a' has no semantic
function as an independent sound unit, may be followed by
(a) one consonant, (b) one long consonant, (c) by a con-
sonant group, including (d) one consonant + one semi vowel
(S.M.).

Examples:

(a) ʕab, he disappeared; ʕam, he swam; ʕaʕ, he lived:

(b) ʕadd, he counted – contrast with ʕad, not yet;
'ʕanna, he sang, we have; contrast with ʕana,
wealth; ʕadda, he passed; contrast with ʕada,
habit.

(c) ʕabra, mote; ʕadma, bone; ʕadru, they have pitied.

(d) ʕadwa, hostility; ʕawwa, swoon; ʕanya, a song;
ʕamya, blind.

(2) **Interconsonantally**, as a pharyngalisation factor
(a) between vocalic sequence a–a (aʕa) preceded and follow-
ed by one consonant which changes to 'a ' as soon as a

further syllable is suffixed. (S.M.)

> Examples: taɣam, food; laɣab, he played; qaɣad, he
>
> stayed; but laɣba, a game; qaɣda, position.

(b) preceded and followed by one consonant or consonant
group either as ɣa in the first instance, or aɣa or
ɣa in the second instance.

> Examples: stɣan[1], he contrived; stɣar[1], he wished to
>
> be envied; stɣall, he enjoyed; tlaɣabna, we were
>
> taken in.

(Note: Interconsonantal 'ɣ' between vocalic sequence a – a
is lengthened only in the two words laɣɣab, a gambler, and
naɣɣal, a farrier, with a two peak pharyngalised 'a' at
the phonetic implication thereof.)

(3) (a) In Final position, it never occurs in mono-
syllables but it occurs so in open syllables as a , with
the 'morphological' function of a radical Vowel, in dis-
syllabic Verbs ending in a Detracted 'a'.[2]

---

(1) I give these two lonely and obsolete words on the
authority of Vassalli. I have never heard them used.
For stɣan cf. A. اِسْتَعَنَ, to ask the help of; and for
stɣar cf. A. غَارَ, to be jealous.

(2) In this case, the Vowel sequence of the Verbal pat-
terns is always a-a ; whereas Verbs ending in un-
retracted 'a' have various vocalic sequences.

Examples:[1]

bala/, he swallowed; baqa/, he remained; baza/, he feared; faqa/, he burst; jama/, he collected; laqa/, he received; mana/, he forbade, obsolete; naza/, he undressed; qala/, he gained; qata/, he cut; rada/, he sucked; rafa/, he raised; raja/, he returned; raqqa/, he patched; sama/, he heard; sata/, he could; taba/, he printed, obsolete; tabba/, he spoiled; tafa/, he threw; tala/, he ascended; tama/, he fed; waja/, it ached; waqa/, he fell; wasa/, it contained; (aba/, he was fed up; zaba/, he painted; zara/, he sowed.

(b) It also occurs transcriptionally as ' a' (ortho-graphically, għa), in the final open syllable of the Nominal scatter of the above Verbal patterns.

But note that whereas, historically, in verbal patterns like qata/ etc. pharyngalisation should for the sake of pattern analogy, be so indicated, post vocalically, and in the Nominal scatter, like qat/a prevocalically, in the actual experience of Maltese as spoken today, such

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(1)   The examples given exhaust the whole list of such Maltese Verbal patterns with final a /, historically corresponding to Arabic Verbs with third radical ʿ or q . Note the two exceptions baqa/, he remained; laqa/, he received; corresponding to A: بَقِيَ and لَقِيَ .

distinction cannot be proved by phonetics; in both patterns
we have the same retracted 'a' as the phonetic implication
of historical 'aγ' or 'aʕ', and γ a, or ʕ a.

Examples: balaγ balγa, he swallowed a mouthful (of
water); qalaγ qalγa, he made a good profit; zaraγ
zarγa, he sowed the seeds, etc.

'E'

Quantity Criteria

As to the bearing of the positional criterion on its
quantity, it should be noted that:

(i) In Semitic and non-Semitic correspondences,[1] 'e'
is always short _in any position_ except when final in the
monosyllables le: no; and the natural exclamative query e?,
what?.

Examples: meta, when; bena, he built; mera, looking
glass; sema, the sky; ten ewda, spurge; erha, heifer;
ewwel, first; —— eliksi:r, elixir; erru:r, error;
benefattu:r, benefactor; cens, emphyteusis.

---

(1) But as the examples show, it is only in Semitic
Maltese that stressed 'e' followed by one consonant, is
short. Contrast Semitic 'ʃena, he accused, with the
loan word ʃe:na, scene.

(ii) 'e' occurring in Maltese words made up of 3 consonants with 'a' or 'i' between the first two consonants, and followed by one consonant or a long consonant tends to be sounded like an indistinct 'i', phonetically ∂. But in Valletta and the towns, it is sounded nearer the ordinary 'e' which we shall retain in our transcription, thus agreeing with the standard orthography which writes nizel, he descended; rijel, leg, for nizil, rijil (niz l, rij l).[1]

The Positions of E

The Vowel may occur:

(1) <u>Alone</u>, with the intonation of a question, implying irritation, surprise or indifference.

Examples:e:? erja ɤeyd; ma nista:ʃ nifmek; What? say again; I can't understand you.

(2) <u>Initially</u>,it may be followed by (a) one consonant (S.M.), or (b) by a consonant group, including 1 consonant + 1 semi vowel, in one Semitic word only. (M.V.)

Examples: (a) elef and elu:f, thousands; emi:r, emir;

(b) elf, a thousand; ehzen, worse; ersaq, get near; erwieh, souls; ——erbabyanka, wormwood; ekwatu:r, equator.

(1) In classical Arabic 'j' and 'l' are in phonological junction (Cf. المال); dialectical Maltese 'e' and 'ə' are phonetic developments from the historical zero vowel or 'sceva'.

(3) <u>Interconsonantally</u> 'e' may be preceded by (a) one consonant and followed by another consonant + semi vowel (w), (S.M.), or (b) by one long consonant, (M.V.) or (c) by a consonant group (M.V.)

<u>Examples</u>:

(a) felwa, filly; helwa, sweet;

(b) mess, he touched; beʃʃ, he sprinkled; medd, he stretched; hell, robbery; ── metts, means; meddza, measure; pettsa, piece of cloth.

(c) serq, theft; ferq, hair parting; merhba, welcome; meddkom, he stretched you; venda, chauffeur's turn; stenda, he stretched; irrenda, he surrendered.

(4) (a) In <u>Final</u> position, it may occur in monosyllables, preceded by one consonant only (M.V.), but the only Semitic examples are the following first three:

<u>Examples</u>: he:, natural exclamation denoting painful surprise, also irony; le:, no; we: peasant's exclamation denoting pain or fear, as at the sight of a rat, etc.; ── ce: short for vulgar cu:c, fool; cuckold, Italian ciuco, donkey; te: , tea; re: king; (in) se:[1], himself.

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(1) This lonely particle is a good instance of mixed vocabulary. It only occurs in the expression gie n'se: he realised, began to understand; hybrid version of Italian venne in sé.

(b) <u>Finally</u> and <u>unstressed</u> in words of more than
one syllable, preceded by (a) one single consonant (W.M.)
or (b) long consonant (S.M.), or (c) consonant group, and
closed by one consonant only (W.M.), which, if morpho-
logically increased, changes 'e' to 'i'.

Examples:

(a-b) bidel, biddel, he changed; kiser, kisser, he
broke; nizel, he went down; nizzel, he brought
down; rikeb, he rode; rikkeb, he gave one a lift;
niten, it stank; nitten, he dirtied; —— ta:jen,
pan; baned, bands:

(c) Qandel, he carried heavy things about; handem,
he ruined; qarmec, he made a crackling noise;
sfarjel, a quince; —— ʃarten, kind of cloth;
martel, he hammered; kewtel, he invented an
excuse.

Quantity Criterion

Having already described it phonetically, all
we have to add is that initial 'ɣe' followed by a con-
sonant group belonging to the same syllable, may be the
phonetic implication of 'i' in similar preconsonantal
position, thus changed by the quantity of the consonant
group. We say n id, I tell; t id, you tell; but edt, I
said; edna, we said; for idt and idna, the actual forms
maintained by the standard orthography which is, at times,
as we have already pointed out, more etymological than
phonetic.[1]

The positions of ɣe, eɣ, eɣe

(1) <u>Initially</u>, ɣe may be followed by (a) one con-
sonant or one semi vowel, or (b) by a consonant group.(S.M.)

  Examples: ɣer, he envied; ɣen, he helped; ɣela, it
  boiled; ɣeya, he grew tired; ɣewa, he instig-
  ated; ɣema, he grew blind; ɣeliem, signs; ɣeneb,
  grapes.

---

(1) Cf. also Maltese ɣerq, root; with A.„عِرْق ; ɣerf,
  knowledge; semantically corresponds to عِرْف but formally
  to صَبْر patience; likewise M. ɣelm, sign; semantically
  corresponds to A. "عَلَمَ but, formally, to عِلْم, learning.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, that is, between a preceding and following consonant, it features as 'eɣe' and it changes, formally, to eɣ, phonetically comparatively shorter, when a suffix is added to the original pattern.

  <u>Examples</u>: ʃeɣeb, he diverted; ʃeɣel, he lighted; ʃeɣer, he broke; zeɣed, it increased, but ʃeɣla, a light; ʃeɣba, a diversion; ʃeɣra, a fissure; zeɣda, an increase.

  Needless to repeat, that the difference between ɣe and eɣ, as in the case of ɣa and aɣ is purely formal and not at all phonetic, and that it is also/a reason of pattern analogy that in the transcription we have maintained the difference throughout, similarly maintained, egh and ghe, in the standard spelling. The explanation we have given should be enough to avoid misunderstanding.

  Positions of 'he'[1], 'eh'[2] and 'eh'[3] (S.M.)[1]

  These, it will be remembered, we have classed as special vowels, being, phonetically, not so much pharyngalised as, comparatively, more retracted than ordinary 'e'.

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(1) There is also one word with initial 'ha' :- 'haw' or 'hawn' or 'hawnekk', here. Caruana writes ħarab, he ran away, for ħarab, as pronounced by the Maltese. Cf. A.

(1) 'he', occurring <u>Initially</u>, may be followed by

    (a) one consonant beginning a further syllable,

    (b) by a long consonant or semi vowel,

    (c) by a consonant group, including consonant + one semi vowel, or vice versa.

    <u>Examples</u>:

    (a) hemez, he pinned; heres, he pounded;

    (b) herra, rudeness; hemm, there; heyya[1], he prepared; hewwa, lust, obsolete;

    (c) hendem, he shattered; herwel, he maddened; hewden, he raved.

(2) 'ehe' occurs always <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preceded and followed by one consonant.

    <u>Examples</u>: dehen, intelligence; fehem, he understood; deheb, gold; sehem, portion.

When after <u>Final consonant</u> a morphological vowel is added 'ehe' changes to (3) eh; that is, 'ehe' becomes slightly shorter as to quantity. For example: fehem, he understood; but fehmu, they understood; and fehma, opinion; not fehemu or fehema. So also sehem, portion, but sehmek, your portion; sehmma, our portion.

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(1)   Pronounced also, and generally, with initial he. Cf. A. 136.

'I'

Quantity Criteria

(i) In word pattern, consonant + i + consonant + i, the criterion for distinguishing whether first 'i' is short or long is purely morphological:-

(a) If the word in which it occurs is the Nominal scatter of a Verb (Verbal Noun), first 'i' is short. (S.M).

(b)   In other instances, 'i' is long and is Semitic Maltese only in morphologically composite words — composite in the sense of two words joined together.

Examples:

(a) biki, weeping; mili, filling, contrast with loan word mi:li, miles; fini, languishing; jiri, running; ∫iri, buying.

(b) fi:ni, for fi: + ni, there is in me, thus distinguishable from non-composite Italianate loan word, fi:ni, refined; contrast also with fini (a); bi:ni, for bi, with + ni, me; contrast with bini (a) building. Ti:ni, for ti: + ni[1], give me; contrast with tini (a), folding.

(a) Also a tini. Cf. A. عكس

(ii)   'i' is long when it occurs alone as an exclamation.

(iii)   'i' is also long when preceded by one or more consonant, and followed by one consonant. (M.V.)

Examples: bi:r, well; si:d, owner; ji:b, bring, command; ĥi:t, sew, command; fti:t, few; tri:d, you wish; smi:n, fat; bri:m, twisting; ── fi:n, refined; ji:j, Lewis; Spi:r, Spiro, proper name; sti:l, style; gri:z, grey.

(iv)   The phonetic implication of pharyngalised 'i' followed by one consonant is the diphthong 'γ̆ey' with which we shall deal separately under the proper heading; when followed by a consonant group its phonetic implication is 'γ̆e' as we have already explained.

(v)   In all other instances, Maltese 'i' is short.

Positions of 'I'

This vowel may occur, Alone, as an exclamation and
(1) (a) Initially, followed by one consonant only, in the following words, (S.M.);   i:d, hand; i:sa[1], quick, make haste; i:l + one of the pronominal suffixes in the sense of English 'ago', 'long since'; i:wa[2], yes.

_____

(1)   See Glossary.
(2)   In Valletta and the neighbouring towns, i:va

(b) Also <u>Initially</u>, followed by (i) one consonant + one semi vowel, (S.M.), or (ii) by one long consonant, (M.V.), (iii) or by a consonant group (S.M.).

Examples:

(1) ilwi, bend! command; iʃwi, roast! command; itwi, fold! command; idyaq, narrower; imwiet, the dead; —— ifyen, more refined (only foreign example).

(ii) issa, now; izza[1], he gave, occurring only in the obsolescent phrase izza hayr, he gave thanks; idda, it shone; imma, however; issa:ra, he struggled; ikkalma, he grew calm; icca:na, he planed.

(iii) iʒfna, ships - archaic; iʒsma, bodies; ikla, a meal; isqra, hawks; ilhna, voices; izfnu, dance! command; izraq, blue; iswed, black.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, it may be

(a) preceded by one consonant or by a consonant group and followed by one consonant.

For examples see iii. Quantity Criteria.

(b) preceded by one consonant and followed by (i) one consonant + one semi vowel (S.M.) or (ii) by one consonant only followed by a vowel (S.M.), or (iii) by a long consonant (M.V), (iv) by a consonant group (M.V.).

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(1) The pattern in current usage - only in prayers in the sense of Latin 'gratias ago' - is the present tense, 1st pers. sing. In this sense, it is possible that nizzi:k stands for historical nijzi:k, with assimilation of 1st rad. from Ar. جزي to reward; to pay (a debt).

Examples:

(i) ʃilya, accusation; tinya, a crease; fidwa, redemption; kilwa, kidney; diwi, echo; ʃiwi, roast meat.

(ii) tina, he folded, dialectical variant of tena; biki, weeping; iwi, roasting; bidu, beginning.

(iii) bill, moisten – command; billi, whereas; bijjel, he mitigated; biss, only; sitta, six; bittiyya, cask; —— bicca, piece; birra, beer; bittsilla, lace; biʃkilla, basket.

(iv) bidla, change; sijra, a tree; sidriyya, a vest; bintna, our daughter; —— kitla, kettle.

(3) In <u>Final position</u>, it may occur in

(a) Monosyllables, preceded by one consonant, in open syllable. (M.V.).

<u>Examples</u>p ħi[1], my brother – vocative; bi: with; fi: in, tsi, uncle – vocative.

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(1) It is interesting to note that both hi: and tsi: are exclusively vocative patterns, but, while ' tsiyyu' is the Nominative pattern, corresponding to English 'uncle', Maltese has no word for English 'a brother', the aħ (cf. A. ʒ[ſ]) given by the dictionaries is made up by etymological analogy. Maltese has hu + pronominal suffixes as hu:na to express your, our, etc. brother. Cf. W.Marçais 'Textes De Tangers', p. 287, where he, likewise, says that 'Il est employé uniquement avec les affixes personnels."

(b) In words of more than one syllable, in the final syllable closed by (i) one consonant (M.V.), (ii) by a consonant group (S.M.).

Examples:

(i) Sali:b, cross; ʃaji:n, dough; ʃafri:d, evil spirit; ħafi:f, light; ħari:r, silk; qassi:s, priest; venvi:n[1], whirring; ʃadi:n, monkey; ── sati:n, satin; parti:t, political party; peri:t, surveyor; Keli:n, Michael.

(ii) ʃajint, I have kneaded; ʃallimt, I have taught;

It is interesting to note that 'i' in these examples is for original 'e', which see in final position.

(c) In Final open syllable (M.V.) following stressed syllable.

Examples: Hani:ni, my beloved; ʃadi:ni, monkeys; ti:ni, give me; hamra:ni, ruddy; erħi, let go; ħa:fi, barefooted; ── vapu:ri, ships; sinyu:ri, gentlemen.

Note: It will be seen from the various examples given that in this position final 'i' does not form an integral part of the original word patterns but is the morphological development thereof with which we shall deal under the proper heading.

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(1) Cf. A‎‎‎ to buzz and note the very rare change of Arabic to M. 'V' another instance is the Valletta change of i:wa, yes, to iva.

'O'

Quantity Criteria

An important principle to remember is that in Semitic Maltese 'o' is __always__ short, except when used alone as an exclamation corresponding to English 'Oh' and Italian 'O'; but short also when alone, if used as a variant of 'yew'[1], or.

Position of 'O'

This vowel may occur __alone__ as already explained and

(1) __Initially__ followed by a consonant group. (M.V.)

Examples: ohrayn, others; oħ∫son, stout; ohtra, sticks; oht, sister; omm, mother; offi[2], well done! — obda[3], he obeyed; ombrella, umbrella; ordna, he ordered; orgni, organ.

(2) (a) __Interconsonantally__ it occurs (a) preceded by one consonant, and followed (i) by a consonant group (M.V.) or (ii) by a long consonant (M.V.)

Examples:

(i) ħorj, knapsack; ħobz, bread; qomt, I got up; somt, I fasted; borka, wild duck; borma, cooking pot; dorna, we went round; dortu, you went round;

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(1) For etymology, cp. It. O, Heb. ﺍﻭ A. ﺍﻭ. In other word
the A. diphthong 'aw' gives 'u' in M. as 'yum', day; ﻳﻮﻡ
ulied, sons and daughters, ﺍﻭﻻﺩ
(2) Cf. A. ﺍﺣﺴﻨﺖ , well done!
(3) See Glossary.

—— cong, paralysed; tond ,round.

(ii) romm, mouth; hoss, sound; hobb, bosom; horr, honest, obsolete; koll, every; mohh, brain; holl, unbind – command; boqqa, a bubble; coqqa, cowl; jodda, new; —— bott, tin bottle; boll, duty stamp; coff, ribbon bow; dott, short for dottu:r, Dr; foll, quire; jobb, job; tsokk, trunk.

(b) As in 2 (a) but with an initial consonant group, or an initial long consonant. (M.V.).

Examples: iprodd, I restore; tholl, you unbind; issodd, you plug; iddomm, she collects; —— skoll ledge; trott, trot; troffa, tuft; sbroffa, he blustered.

Note: Such word patterns as the above, beginning with a consonant group or a long consonant, are Semitic only if they are grammatically Verb patterns, with an initial morphological consonant in phonological junction with first radical, and if it is a long consonant, with complete as-similation as the phonetic implication thereof.

(3) Finally, in open syllable, 'o' occurs in one word only: jo, inside; variant of jew.

The positions of (1) 'ʕo', (2) 'oʕo' and (3) 'oʕ'. (S.M.)[1]

(1) ʕo may occur <u>Initially</u> followed by: (a) one consonant or (b) by a long consonant or (c) by a consonant group including (d) one consonant + one semi vowel.

    <u>Examples</u>:

    (a) ʕojob, he pleased; ʕojol, bullock; ʕokos, he grew feeble; ʕola, he went up high; ʕomi, the blind; ʕodu, early; ʕoti, the act of giving; ʕoli, high.

    (b) ʕodd, count - imperative; ʕodda, implements; ʕolla, he raised; ʕozza, affection; ʕomma, excessive heat.

    (c) ʕobra, calamity (obsolete); ʕojba, satisfaction; ʕojla, heifer; ʕors, merriment; ʕorfa, upper room.

    (d) ʕolya, hill; ʕonya, wealthy; ʕomya, blind; ʕodwa, morning.

(2) (a) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, the pharyngalised 'o' features as 'oʕo', which we have already described as comparatively longer than ʕo, or oʕ, between an initial and a final consonant.

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(1) With the single exception of 'ʕonnella' (Maltese faldetta) which, by a historical criterion, we know is the Maltese Version of Italian 'Gonnella'.

Examples: boɣoḍ, distance; loɣob, sport; moɣoẓ, goats; soɣob, it was unpleasant; obsolete: soɣol, he coughed; ʃoɣol, work.

As in the case of 'ehe', when after a final consonant, a morphological vowel or consonant is added, o o changes to (3) oɣ; for example, loɣob, sport, but loɣba, a game; and loɣbkom, your game; ʃoɣol, work, but ʃoɣlok, your work; moɣoẓ, goats, but moɣza, a goat.

As in the case of aɣ, ɣa, eh, and he, our transcriptional differentiation between 'oɣ' and 'ɣo' is likewise a matter, not of phonetics, but of pattern analogy.

(3) In final position, and in closed syllable, 'ɣo' occurs in one word only, given by the dictionaries but which I myself have never heard: borɣom[1], wall germander.

. .

Note: 'hom'[2] is a retracted 'o' sound but unpharnygalised, historically retained in the standard orthography, morphologically a pronominal suffix, third person, plural, attached to Nominals in the sense of 'their', as qalbhom, their heart, and to Verbals in the sense of 'them', as yobo dhom, he hates them. Its phonetic implication, when attached to

(1) Cf. A. ٌعْ a bud.
(2) A. ٍ هُم

Verbals with final 𝑦 , is 'ħom', as laqaɤ, he received;
but laqaħhom, he received them, for laqaɤ + hom.

'U'

Quantity Criterion

(i) 'U'[1] is long when it occurs alone in the sense
of 'and' and 'he', the latter orthographically represented
by 'hu' (historical criterion). Quantity, however, varies
with the emphasis and 'tempo' expressed. In some parts of
Malta, it is slightly diphthongised, and, definitely so
if followed by ħ or q.

(ii) 'U' is also long if followed by one consonant, as
u:ri, show; hu:ti, my brothers; bu:ti, my pocket; ħlu:qi,
gay.

(iii) 'U' is short in other positions.

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(1) 'U' is also used as an exclamation denoting painful
surprise, or irritation.

Positions of 'U'

This vowel occurs alone as already explained and

(1) <u>Initially</u> followed by a consonant plus a vowel. (S.M.).

    <u>Examples</u>:

        u:ri, show (thou); u:ru, show (you); u:saγ, wider;

        u: jaγ ache – imperative.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u> 'u' occurs preceded by one conson-
ant or a consonant group and followed by a consonant. (M.V.)

    <u>Examples</u>:

        bu:t, pocket; bu:s, kiss; (imperative); ñu:t, fish;

        fu:l, beans; jdu:r, turnips; ksu:r, breakage;

        hru:q, fire; qru:sa, heart burn; hlu:si, sprightly;

        —— su:r, Mr; tmu:n, rudder; bu:li, bad temper;

        blu:za, blouse.

(3) <u>Finally</u>, (a), in words of two syllables, 'u' occurs in
the last syllable thereof closed by one consonant (M.V.).

    <u>Examples</u>:

        ʃaru:s, bridegroom; ħanu:t, shop; ʃasfu:r, bird;

        fellu:s, chicken; bezzu:l, woman's breast; zarju:n,

        twig; —— vapu:r, ship; kanu:n, cannon; kartu:n,

        cardboard; barku:n, barge; peʃʃu:n, calf (of the

        leg shank); karrettu:h, cart; nervu:s, nervous.

(3) <u>Finally</u>, (b) and in open syllable, it occurs (1)

in a few sporadic monosyllables, (S.M.), (ii) in some dis-
syllables preceded by one consonant as integral part of the
word (M.V.), (iii) in other dissyllables preceded by one
or more consonants as a morphological increment of the orig-
inal pattern. In each case 'u' follows stressed syllable.
(M.V.)

Example :

(i) bu: pooh! ħu: , a brother (dictionary word),
zu:, get out of the way, short for zu:l.

(ii) bidu, beginning; felu, colt; jeru, pup; helu,
sweet; delu, mill receptacle; haʃu, stuffing;
ʃadu, enemy,—va:vu, baby; na:nu, dwarf.

(iii) ħawdu, they made a mess; lewnu, its colour;
oqtlu, kill; ħallu, leave; qarru, confess; ——
ba:tu, suffer; pappu, eat; ka:zu, his case.

Note: Final 'u' in open syllable preceded by a long con-
sonant is Semitic, with a mixed vocabulary, only if the word
is, grammatically, a Verb; if a Nominal, it is not (Morpho-
logical criterion).

(ii) THE SEMI VOWELS (i) 'W' and (ii) 'Y'

(1) Positions of 'W'

(1) <u>Initially</u>, it occurs preceding (a) any of the three Vowels[1] 'a', 'e', 'i' and diphthong 'ie' (M.V.) or, (b) in continuous speech, preceding a consonant, but following the final vowel in open syllable of a preceding word with which it forms an interconsonantal diphthong.

<u>Examples:</u>

(a) wara, after: behind; wens, company; wirt, inheritance; wisq, much; waq/a, a fall; wehel, he stuck in; wiezen, he supported; wiehed, one; wiejeb, he answered; wieled[2], 'gave birth to; wett, goat; —— wents, Laurence; werc, squint-eyed[3].

(b) inti wkoll, also you, sounded int + iw ǂ koll; ti:ni umbrella, give me an umbrella, sounded ti: + niwm + brella; mera w moʃt, a looking glass and a comb; sounded me + raw + moʃt.

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(1) Initial 'w' is never followed by 'o' or 'u' except dialectically for the 'we' sound in 'wett', he-goat.
(2) I give this doubtful word, which I always heard 'wiled', on the authority of Falzon who gives both forms. Caruana gives 'wiled' only. Interconsonantal 'ie' occurs in the form tWieLeD, he was born.
(3) The only two non-Semitic words with initial 'w'. For 'werc' cf. It. guercio.

(2) (a) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, it occurs preceded by one consonant and followed by one vowel, 'a', 'e' or 'i' with which it forms a diphthong, or by 'ie'. (M.V.)

> <u>Examples</u>: dwa:l, lights; fwa:r, vapour; dwa:war, circles; twi:l, long, tall; dwieb, mares; swieni, water wheels; dwieli, vines; twennes, he was accompanied; —— swa:li, drawing rooms; twa:jen, frying pans; dwa:na, Customs house; dwell, duel; kwistyo:ni, qu———n; kwiet, quiet; pwieni, pains;

(b) It also occurs interconsonantally preceded and followed by one consonant. (S.M.).

> <u>Examples</u>: gezwru, they rolled; gedwdu, they abounded; werwru, they frightened; wezwzu[1], they whispered.

(3) (a) In <u>Final position</u>, it may occur followed only by one of the vowels 'a', 'i' or 'u'. If preceded by another vowel, it is lengthened.

> <u>Examples</u>: duwwa, medicine; uwwa, he, orthography, huwa[2]; sewwi, mend; dewwa, cure; imperative. ɣawwu, instigate - imperative; fidwa, redemption; ʃitwa, winter; bidwi, a peasant; milwi, bent; —— tridwu, triduum.

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(1) 'w' in this position phonetically, completely retains its semi vocalic sound and should not be pronounced as if it were a 'u', say, gezuru for gezwru, etc.
(2) The standard orthography does not always represent
the

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(b) It may also occur in the final syllable, pre-
ceding 'a', 'e' or 'i' closed by one or more consonants,
or preceding 'ie' closed by one consonant only. (S.M.)

Examples: 'nɣawwar, I hollow out; ɣawwart, I
hollowed out; 'nɣawwej, I bend; ɣawwijt, I have
bent; tkarwi:t, rumbling; felwiet, fillies;
ħelwiet, sweets; ʃewwieʃ, ringleader.

(11) Positions of 'Y'

(1) It occurs Initially followed by any of the five
Vowels[1] or by 'ie' and in one monosyllable by 'ew'. (S.M.)

Examples: ya, oh, vocative; ya:f, he knows; yalla,
would to God!; yedd, right; yekk, if; yiji, he
comes; yiret, he inherits; yifem, he under-
stands; yoɣjob, he, or it, pleases; yoɣnos, he
dozes; yoqɣod, he dwells; yu:m, a day; yu:ri,
he shows; yieqaf, he stops; —— yew, or; ——
yarda, yard; yanna:r, Jannuary.

the phonetic lengthening of intervocalic semi-vowels.
We also write Maltiya, Maltese woman; for more phon-
etic Maltiyya, etc.
(1)   All examples are Semitic Maltese except these two
words with initial 'ya' : yarda Eng. yard; yanna:r;
It. Gennaro.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, it may be preceded by one consonant and followed by 'a:' or 'u:' (M.V.) or by e + w or + ey (S.M.) or by 'ie'. In the last combination, y tends to disappear[1].

> <u>Examples</u>: dya:r, houses; bya:r, wells; ħya:r, cucumbers; bya:d, it grew white; dyu:l, edge of a garment; syu:f, summers; tyu:r, fowls; hyew, they relieved; hyeyt, I have relieved; byiedya, agriculture, but also more commonly, biedya; ħyiena, malice, but also ħiena; syieda, proprietors, but also sieda; zyieda, increment, but also zieda; — pya:n, plane; pya:nu, piano, fyu:r, flower.

(3) (a) <u>Finally</u>, it may occur in open syllable followed by 'a' (M.V.), but S.M. only if Voc. seq. is ie-a.

> <u>Examples</u>: ħienya, happy, fem. adjective; siewya, valid; sienya, water wheel; zienya obscene; tmienya, eight; tfuliyya, childhood; rjuliyya, manhood, manliness; sbuhiyya, beauty; dinya, world; gidya, kid; tilya, a fill; mirya, mirrors; — iħvidya, envy; familya, family; parilya, pair; tnalya, pincers; kupilya, brush; brilya, bridle; sirilya, muffler.

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(1) Some of the Maltese writers argue that 'y' in this context should be maintained in the standard orthography. But if phonetics must prevail over etymology, those who maintain

(b) It may also occur in final syllable closed (i) by
'iet' or a: + a consonant (M.V.), or (ii) 'ie' (S.M.) +
one consonant, other than 't', and (iii) by i:in (S.M.).

Examples:

(i)   tminyiet, eights; ħmeriyyiet, stupidities;
sbuħiyyiet, beauties; gidyiet, kids; dinyiet,
worlds; jiryiet, courses; tayya:r, cotton;
ħayya:t, tailor; bayya:d, whitewasher; ——
parilyiet, pairs of horses; tnalyiet,
tweezers; karriyyiet, chariots; pyaniyyiet,
plans; inkalya:r, roasting; inkalya:t,
roasted; Talya:n, Italian; fajya:n, pheasant.

(ii)   sayyied, fisherman; qeyyies, measurers;
feyyied, useful.

(iii) ħenyi:n, happy, plural adj; zinyi:n, lustful;
jeyyi:n, coming; addeyyi:n, passing;
ɣolyi:n, high; ħamyi:n, hot.

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maintain that it should not be so represented have a
better case. It is a fact that in current Maltese
'y' in this context tends to disappear.

(iii) THE DIPHTHONGS

The diphthongs of Maltese are:-

(1) aw, ew, iw,

(2) ay, ey, iy.

The following groups, with initial pharyngalisation, morphologically the equivalents of consonantal radicals, as we shall see further on from their formal behaviour, are special diphthongs which, in several instances, agree or disagree with their unpharyngalised correspondences:

(1) γaw, γew,

(2) γay, γey

Orthographically, 'γew' is represented by 'għu', and 'γey' by 'għi', followed by one consonant only. For instance, γeyd, Easter, in the standard orthography, għi:d, and γewda, piece of wood, standard orthography, għuda. Dialectically, 'għu' is also pronounced γu: (Vittoriosa) and γow (Valletta), where 'γey' is also sounded 'γay'. In these two instances, which are distinctly dialectical, we do not follow the pronunciation of Valletta.

'AW' and ' AW'

Quantity Criteria.

(i)   The diphthong 'aw' may be stressed or unstressed.
(M.V.). When it is unstressed it is comparatively shorter.
For example, raw:na, they saw us, but awnekk, here. In
quick continuous speech, the length difference is general-
ly eliminated.

> Example: ´rawnaw ´nekk u ma ´sellmulnieʃ ,   they saw
>
> us here and didnot salute.

(ii)   "Aw' in <u>Final position</u> in a closed or open syllable
is always stressed. (M.V.).

> <u>Example</u>: darraw, they accustomed; — kawkaw, cocoa.

(iii) "ɣaw" is always long even if unstressed but com-
paratively more so if stressed. For example, lɣawdʃi:n
jew minn ɣawde ; The Gozitans came from Gozo, in which the
'ɣaw' of 'ɣawdʃi:n is a little shorter than that in 'ɣawdeʃ'

Positions of the diphthong "AW"

It may occur besides <u>alone</u>, as a separate semantic
unit in the sense of 'here', orthography 'haw', also.

(1) <u>Initially</u>, followed by one consonant only, in the following sporadic monosyllables. (S.M.).

awn, here; of which 'aw' is a variant; awl, beginning, contextually occurring in the composite phrases "awl illeyl", the night before; and awlimes, the day before yesterday; but more commonly 'ewl'.

(2) (a) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, it may occur preceded and followed by one consonant. (Largely S.M.).

Examples: ḥawt, trough; qawl, idiom; sawt, lash; dawl, light; rawt, cow's dung; —— cawl, rooks; Sawl, Saul.

(b) As above, but followed by one consonant plus a vowel or by a vowel only (a, i, u) in which case, medial 'w' is lengthened.

Examples: /qawwa, strength; /qawwi, strong; /qawwu, strengthen; /sawma, fast.

(c) It also occurs interconsonantally preceded by a consonant group, followed by (i) one or more consonants or (ii) by pharyngalised vowels 'ha' and 'hom'.

Examples: qrawk, they read you; /qrawlna, they read (for) us; /qrawha, they read her (it); /qrawhom, they read them.

(3) (a) <u>Finally</u>, it occurs in open syllable of mono-
syllables. (M.V.).

> <u>Examples</u>: raw, they saw; saw, as far as here,
> orthography sa haw; shaw, they ceased; ∫traw,
> they bought; —— stmaw, they esteemed.

(b) Also in the final, closed or open, syllable
of dissyllables.

> <u>Examples:</u> darraw, they accustomed to; darrawk,
> they accustomed you to.

As the examples show, and as we shall see better
in Morphology, this is a Verbal and not a Nominal pattern.

$$\gamma\text{aw}$$

This sound occurs:-

(1) <u>Initially</u>, followed (a) by a consonant or (b) by a
vowel or 'w' featuring in patterns with or without inter-
vocalic medial 'w' lengthened.

<u>Examples:</u>

> (a) γawde∫, Gozo; γawd∫i, Gozitan; γawj, trouble;
> γawl, iniquity; γawm, swimming; γawseq, box
>   thorn;
>
> (b) γawi, instigation; γawwi, instigate - imperative.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, ꭡaw occurs only in the morpho-
logical derivatives of raꭡa and daꭡa; it may also be fol-
lowed by 'ha' and 'hom'.

> <u>Examples</u>: raꭡawlhom, they pastured for them;
>
> da awlhom, they wished them evil; ra awha,
>
> they pastured her; raꭡawhom, they pastured
>
> them.

(3) <u>Finally</u>, in open syllable, also in the Verbal scatter
of raꭡa and daꭡa; as raꭡaw, they pastured; daꭡaw, they
blasphemed.

'EW' and ' EW'

Quantity Criteria

(i) <u>Initial</u> 'ew' and 'ꭡew' may both be stressed and
unstressed. Unstressed ꭡew' is comparatively short, but
unstressed ' ew' is always comparatively longer than 'ew',
though slightly shorter than stressed 'ꭡew'.

(ii) 'ew' in <u>Final position</u> whether in open or closed
syllable, is always stressed, but

(iii)'ꭡew', occurring <u>Finally</u> in open syllable is always
unstressed; and stressed in closed syllable.

> <u>Examples</u>: 'bieꭡew, they sold; but bieꭡéwk, they sold
>
> you.

Positions of 'EW'

This diphthong may occur:-

(1) <u>Initially</u>, in the following words:- ew, or, variant of the less common 'aw; ewwieq, plural of uqiyya, an ounce weight; ewwel, first; and ewwilla, perchance.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>,it may be preceded by (i) one or (ii) more consonants, including one consonant plus semi-vowel 'w', and followed by one or more consonants. It may also be followed by 'ha' and 'hom'.

> Examples: newl, loom; bews, kissing; jewz,
>
> walnuts; mewt, death; zewj, couple; lewza, nut;
>
> /sewa, it cost; /ewqa, a desire; sewwa, he put
>
> right; /lewa, he twisted; /tlewa and /intlewa, he
>
> twisted himself; /jewwa, inside; tfewh, they ex-
>
> tinguished it; /nsewha, they forgot her; /nsewhom,
>
> they forgot them; /hlewwa, sweetness; dnewwa,
>
> violence; /stewa, he was roasted; /swewha, they
>
> roasted her; /swewhom, they roasted them.

It occurs also:-

(3) <u>Finally</u>, in (1) monosyllables in open syllable (ii) dissyllables, in morphologically closed or open syllable:

Examples:

(i) yew, or; jew, they came - inside; lew, or; sew, good; qlew, they have fried; mlew, they have filled; sewewthey have cost.

(ii) dewwew, they cured; dewwewk, they cured you; neħħew, they took off; neħħewk, they took you off; — servew, they served; servewħ, they served him; forħew, they furnished; and forħewħ, they furnished him.

Note: Final 'ew' in morphologically open or closed syllable is shared by a mixed Verbal vocabulary; but we can tell which patterns are exclusively Semitic by the following criterion: such patterns are Semitic if final diphthong is preceded not by a consonant group but by a long consonant. So contrast sellew, they saluted, with servew, they served. It will also be noticed that in the mixed vocabulary final 'ew' is a morphological development. S.Maltese has no nouns with final 'ew' in open syllable, in contradistinction from non-Semitic Maltese, which has a few such patterns as we shall show further on.

Positions of 'ɣew'

(1) <u>Initially</u>, this pharyngalised diphthong occurs in the following words: ɣewda, piece of wood, orthography ghuda; ɣewdiet, pieces of wood, orthography ghudiet; ɣewwietaq, young hens; and

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u> preceded, and followed by a consonant with vowel 'a' after it. The preceding consonant may also be one of the propositional consonants (b, f, t, mn) in phonological junction with initial ɣew.

    <u>Examples</u>: bɣewla, mules, orthography, bghula;

        nɣewla, horse shoes, orthography nghula;

        bɣewda, with a piece of wood, orthography b'ghuda.

(3) (i) It also occurs in the <u>final</u> closed syllable of dissyllabic words, that may be morphologically increased by a or i:n, as minɣewl or milɣewn, devilish; minɣewla, fem. adj., and minɣewli:n, plural adjective.

    (ii) Also <u>Finally</u>, in open syllable that may be morphologically closed by 'ha' and 'hom', as the morphological development of words the third rad. of which is (Morphological Criterion).

    <u>Examples</u>: belɣew, they swallowed; orthography

        belghu; faqɣew, they burst; qatɣew, they cut;

        samɣew, they heard; bieɣew, they sold; tieɣew,

        his; miɣew, with him.

'IW'

This diphthong which is never pharyngalised occurs inside words, preceded by a consonant and followed by ya, and the morphological modifications thereof 'yiet' (S.M.).

Examples: tiwya, a fold; ∫iwya, a roasting; diwya, an echo; kiwya, a burn; liwya, a bend; siwya, an appreciation. With their plural forms tiwyiet, folds; kiwyiet, burns, etc.

Note: With the exception of 'liwya', which I have heard very often, the other words belong to literary Maltese.

Positions of 'AY'

In Semitic Maltese, this diphthong never occurs initially, but

(1) Interconsonantally preceded by one or more consonants and followed by one or more consonants (M.V.).

Examples: ħayt, wall; sayf, summer; tayn, mud; tayr, fowls; ħayr, inducement; tayt, I have given; rayt, Thou hast seen; ―― cayt, jokes, humour; Kayr, Cairo; ―― tlayt, I ascended; tmayt, I fed; tmaytna, you fed us; qlayt, I have gained: qlaytkom, I have pulled you out; ―― fdayt, I have trusted; fdaytna, you

have trusted us; stmayt, you have esteemed;

stmaytkom, I have esteemed you.

It will be noticed that words with interconsonantal 'ay' in mixed vocabulary are morphological Verbal modifications and not Noun patterns. The only non-Semitic exception I know is smaytʃ, a servant belonging to the soldiers (Falzon) which I heard in Vittoriosa pronounced sma:ʃtu, also zma:ʃtu.

(2) <u>Finally</u> in (i) the open syllable of two monsyllables (S.M.) and (ii) in the closed or open syllable of dissyllables. (M.V. rare).

<u>Example s</u>:

    (i) hay, alive; ray, free choice.

    (ii) harray, dirty; vile (vulgar) the only

           S.M. with final 'ay' in open syllables:

           —— gadray, a bum boat man.

Positions of 'ʕay'

(1) <u>Initially</u>, this diphthong may be followed by a consonant or a Vowel, in which case intervocalic 'y' is lengthened.

> <u>Examples</u>: ʕaya, or more commonly, ʕayya, weariness; fatigue; ʕayb, disgrace; ʕaydu:n, and more commonly, ʕaydu:t, saying; ʕayya:t, clamour; ʕayya, he tired; ʕayyar, he called names; ʕayyat, he shouted; ʕayyeb, he mocked; ʕayyen, bewitched by 'evil eye'; ʕayyeʃ, maintained family etc., ʕayn, eye; ʕaynu:na, help; ʕayta, a shout; ʕayyien, tired; ʕayʃien, livelihood; ʕayb, disappearance; ʕayyeb, he caused to disappear; ʕayyu:r, jealous; ʕayyar, to cloud, obsolete; ʕayr, except; ʕayt, ill will.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, this pharyngalised diphthong appears as aʕay, and it is preceded by one consonant and also followed by one consonant, or by more if morphologically increased.

> <u>Examples</u>: daʕayt, I have blasphemed; raʕayt, I have pastured; daʕaytlhom, I wished them evil; raʕaytlek, I pastured for you.

(3) <u>Finally</u>, and in open syllable, 'ʃay' occurs in the following three words only:- raʃay, shepherd; daʃay, blasphemer; naʃay, whimperer.

<u>Note</u>: The above three words are singular noun patterns; should we add the morphological suffix 'a' to obtain the plurals thereof, intervocalic 'y' is naturally lengthened according to the general rule we have often referred to.

Positions of 'EY'

(1) When used alone, this diphthong has a semantic function of its own in the sense of "Come quick", as ey, haffef, quick, hurry up! ey lawn, come here; ey a:ra andi, Come and see what I have got.

It does not occur <u>Initially</u> in words, but it occurs:

(2) (a) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preceded and followed by one consonant. (M.V.).

> <u>Examples</u>: beyt, roof; beyn, between; bey:h, selling; deyl, long hair; deyn, debt; deyma, a standing guard; keyl, measure; keyla, a measure; keyn, submission (obsolete word); leyh, towards him; leyk, towards you; leyl, night; leyn, towards; meyda, table; meyt, dizziness; neyba, the eye-tooth; seyf, sword; weyba, a measure; weyda, small hand; ʃeyb,

white hair; zeyda, extra, additional; zeyt,

oil; ʃeyn, nothing; zeyza, mother's breast;

——— keyk, cake.

(b) It may also be preceded by a consonant group

and followed by one, or more morphological consonants,

that is, not belonging to the original word pattern which

in this case is a Verb, (S.M.).

Examples: bdeyt, I began; bkeyt, I wept; fdeyt, I

redeemed; jneyna, small garden; jbeyna, small

cheese; ʃweyn̄a, rather old; mleyna, we have

filled; hleytu, you have wasted; qleytna, you

have double crossed us; nqleyt, I was taken in;

nhbeytu, you concealed yourselves; steyqer, he

revived, came round.

(c) It also occurs preceded by one consonant or by

a consonant group, and followed by a vowel, with a con-

sequent lengthening of intervocalic 'y'. (S.M.).

Examples: deyyaq, narrow; seyyer[1], going;

feyyaq, he cured; hleyyaq, creatures; tqeyyes,

it was measured; deyyem, always.

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(1) 'seyyer' is for hypothetical 'seyer', but with
intervocalic 'y' lengthened. For historical process,
cf. A. سَاير < sayer or seyer < seyyer. For deyyaq,
cf. A. ضَائِق and for deyyem A. دَائِم.

(3) (a) <u>Finally</u> in the open syllable of (i) monosyllables.
(S.M.)., and (ii) dissyllables (S.M.).

> <u>Examples:</u>

>> (i) jey, coming; hey, hurry up, quick;
>> ley, towards; ney, unripe; ey, nothing;
>> fey, where.

>> (ii) ɣáddey, passing; ɣanney, singer; feddey,
>> redeemer; jerrey, jockey; qaddey, servant;
>> qarrey, reader; jbintey, two cheeses;
>> ħbiztey, two loaves; ɣayney, two eyes;
>> saɣtey, two hours.

<u>Note:</u> In (ii) the diphthong may be closed by any of the
morphological consonants and followed by 'ha' or 'hom'.

The positions of 'ɣEY'

Having no independent semantic function when used
alone, unlike 'ey', it occurs:-

(1) <u>Initially</u>, followed by one consonant or vowel in the
following words:

> <u>Examples:</u> ɣeya, (variant of ɣaya), he felt tired;
> ɣeyd, Easter; or, as an imperative, 'say', and
> ɣeyra, jealously.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, (i) 'ʃey' occurs between two consonants; (ii) in words beginning with an initial consonant group ʃey is preceded by 'i', (iʃey).

<u>Examples</u>:

(i) bʃeyd, distant; bʃeyt, mission; ʃʃeyr, barley; zʃeyr, small; ʃʃeyl, lighting.

(ii) triʃeyd, trembling; tmiʃeyk, wallowing; tqiʃeyd, placing:, with final syllable morphologically increasable, as tmi eykom, your wallowing; tmiʃeykna, our wallowing, etc.

<u>Note</u>:   Another variant pronunciation of the above patterns, in some parts of Malta, is treʃi:d, tqeʃi:d, tme i:k, etc.

(3) ey also occurs in the <u>Final</u> syllable of dissyllables:
<u>Examples</u>: 'miʃey, with me; 'tiʃey, mine; 'friʃey, branches; (biʃey, bastinadoes; 'tliʃey, ascents.

<u>Note</u>: Pharyngalisation in this context is only very slightly perceptible, even in the peasants' pronunciation, a more common variant of which, in the towns, is concurrently, 'miey and also 'miyyey, tiyey and also 'tiyyey, etc.

The Diphthong 'IE'

Phonetically 'ie' is approximately like iə in English biə, beer; place of articulation a little farther back. In some words, it interchanges with a: as werqiet, leaves; also werqa:t, nahiet, quarters, districts; also naha:t.

When preceding 'ħ' or 'q' in the standard spelling, it is generally historically represented by 'i'; for instance, smigħ, hearing; for smieħ; triq, road, for trieq; rqiq, thin, for rqieq.

Positions of 'IE'

It occurs:

(1) Initially, as 'iebes', hard; iehor, other, (S.M.).

(2) (a) Interconsonantally, preceded and followed by a consonant (M.V.), or a semi-Vowel. (S.M.).

> Examples: bieb, door; fieſ , in what; jieb, he brought; jieħ, honour; jiez, trousseau; jiex, has he come?; kiel, he ate; kies, cup; wied, valley; kiewi, burning; kiewya (fem. adj.); liem, he chided; yiena, I; yieqaf, he stops; ── cieda, he surrendered; piena, pain;

mieta, fixed measure; cief, petrel;

ciera, aspect; fiera, he wounded, or 'fair'.

(b) 'ie' also occurs preceded by a consonant group
(S.M.) or a consonant plus one semi vowel, (M.V.)

Examples: tlieta, three; flien, neighbours;
kriehet, she grew ugly; zyieda, increment;
tyieba, goodness; fwieħa, fragrance;
fwied, liver; bniet, girls; kliewi, kidneys;
twiegi, windows; —— pwieni, pains.

(3) It also occurs in the Final closed syllable of dis-
syllables, and of trisyllables, in the latter instance
followed by t (iet). (M.V.)

Examples: ħaddiem, workman; għajjiel, hasty;
torjien, stairs; xebbiet, maidens;
trabiyyiet, dust; rdumiyyiet, cliffs; ——
canjier, money changer; barbier, barber;
papiet, popes; patriyyiet, friars;
soriyyiet, nuns.

(iv) VOWEL SEQUENCES

We have, so far, dealt with the positional criteria
of the vowels; in the following alphabetical list, we
deal with them as sequences in consecutive syllables in-
dependently of their phonological positions. Certain of
the Vowel sequences include also morphological increments.
Patterns dealt with are dissyllabic and trisyllabic as
words of four syllables are rare in Maltese, generally
morphological increment resulting from the addition of pre-
fixes 'int', 'i', to the original vocalic sequences, a few
are composite nouns, and the rest are foreign, which can
always be checked as such by the sequence of their first
three vowels. While all possible short vowel sequences are
given, long vowel sequences are included only if they exist
in the language.

To make the list as comprehensive as possible and
easy for reference we have bracketed linguistic informa-
tion by using the following abbreviations:

(1) S.M.,   to indicate that such vocalic
            sequence occurs in Semitic Maltese
            only — loan words excluded;

(2) M.V.,   that it occurs in Semitic Maltese
            and loan words.

(3) F   that it exists in loan words —
            with which we shall deal expressly,
            but not in Semitic Maltese.

(4) N   for None, meaning that in Maltese,
            whether Semitic or not, no such
            vocalic sequence exists.

The Vocalic Sequences of Maltese

A	E	I	O	U
(i)	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**	**(i)**
a — a (M.V.)	e — a (M.V.) — e: (F)	i — a (S.M.) — i: (F)	o — a (M.V.)	u — a (M.V.) — u: (M.V.)
a — a: (M.V.)	e — e (S.M.)	i — e (M.V.)	o — e (F)	u — e (F) — a: (M.V.)
a: — a (M.V.)	e — i (S.M.) e — i: (M.V.)	i — i (S.M.)	o — i (M.V.)	u — i: (F) — u: (F)
a — e (S.M.) — e: (M.V.)	e — o (N)	i: — i (F)	o — o (M.V.)	u — o (N)
a: — e (M.V.) — i: (M.V.)	e — u (S.M.) — e: (F) — u: (M.V)	i — i: (F)	o — u (S.M.) — u: (F)	u — u (M.V.)
a — i (S.M.) — i: (M.V.)		i — o (F) — o: (F)		u — u: (F)
a: — i (M.V.)		i — u (M.V.)		
a — o (F) — o: (F)				
a — u (M.V.) — u: (M.V.).				
(ii)	**(ii)**	**(ii)**	**(ii)**	**(ii)**
a — a — a (M.V.)	e — a — a (F)	i — a — a (F)	o — a — a (F)	u — a — a (N)
a — a — a: (F)	e — a — e (N)	i — a — e (S.M.)	o — a — e (F)	u — a: — a (M.V.)
a — a: — a (M.V.)	e — a — i (N) — i: (F)	i — a — i (N) — a: (S.M.)	o — a — i (N) — i: (M.V.)	u — a — e (N)
a — a — e (F)	e — a — o (N)	i — a — i: (F)	o — a — o (N)	u — a — i (N)
a — a — i (N) — i: (M.V.)	e — a — u (N) — u: (F)	i — a — o (N)	o — a — u (N)	u — a — u: (F)
a — a: — i (S.M.)		i — a — u (F)		
a — a — o (F) — o: (F)				
a — a: — u (F)				
a — a — u: (F)				

U	O	I	E	A

(iii)

u – e – a (N)
e – e (N)
e – i: (F)
e – o (N)
e – u (N)

(iv)

i – a (M.V.) i: (M.V.) i: (F)
i – e (F)
i – i (N)
i – i (F)
i – o (N)
i – u (N) (S.M.)

(v)

a (N)
e (N)
i (N)
o (N)
u (N)

(vi)

u – a (M.V.) –u: (F)
e (N)
i: (F)
o (N)
u: (F)

(v) STRESS

Preliminary Remarks

(a)   In Maltese all long vowels are stressed but not all stressed vowels are long; as 'i' in íben, son; and i:dek, your hand; in íssa, now; and í:sa, quick, hurry; while the diphthong 'ie' is always stressed, and when it loses its accent, it changes to 'e' or 'i' as dieħel, going in, plural; deħli:n, or diħli:n.

> Note: For the interrelation and interaction of quantity and stress review the vocalic positions.

(b) There can be only one stress in the same word, but pharyngalised vowels always bear a sort of secondary stress side by side with the main stress on one of the following syllables.

> For example: cf. the 'a' in maqtu:l, killed; with 'aɣ' positionally, its morphological correspondence in maɣru:f, known.

(c) The natural stress of monosyllables depends on the length of their vowels which has been dealt with elsewhere and the 'tempo' of speech.

In quick continuous talk or reading, the quantity
of monosyllables is also affected by the following word
with which they amalgamate forming the initial thereof,
conforming to No.1 of the following rules.

Positional Rules on Stress .

(1)   In Maltese words of more than one syllable, the
stress falls (i) on the penultimate (M.V.) and (ii) on
the last (M.V.)

Examples:

(i) ′tifla, girl; ʃitwi, wintry; ʃitwiyya, (fem.
adj.); ′bidwi, man peasant; bidwiyya, woman
peasant; bahri, sailor; bahriyya, kind of
bee; maqtu:la, killed; merfu/a, preserved;
najja:ra, stone dressers; ′ommok, your
mother; itolbu, pray (imperative); sewweytu,
you have mended; —— ′karta, paper; reji:na,
queen; sulda:ti, soldiers; Ingilterra,
England; Franci:zi, French; demonyi, demons;
kati:na, chain.

(ii) maqtu:l, killed; ɣazaqt, I have dug; hanzi:r,
pig; berqu:q, apricot; tayya:r, cotton;
ħbizteyn, two loaves; rijleyk, your legs;
ɣayneyh, his eyes; —— sinyu:r, rich;

seftu:r, servant; bordell, brothel; rukkell, reel; gustu:s, charming; surgent, sergeant; dyamant, diamond; buqqa:l, jug.

A

(2) The stress falls on the last syllable:

(a) when the final syllable closes with one con-conant preceded by, (i) 'i' (M.V.), (ii) 'u' (M.V.) or (iii) 'ie', (M.V.).

Examples:

(i) ħani:n, kind; taqbi:d, fighting; ɣazi:z, beloved; ħali:þ, milk; ɣaji:n, dough; — fidi:l, faithful; pini:t, barley sugar; mori:n, mariner.

(ii) ħanu:t, shop; ɣaru:s, bridegroom; mekku:k, shuttle; cercu:r, a shabby man; — virdu:n, greenfinch; vapu:r, ship; juvintu:r, youths; baqqu:n, pick-axe; batu:t, distressed.

(iii) ħaddiem, labourer; ɣazzien, lazy; berquqiet, apricots; ʃaqqufiet, pot sherds; — arcipriet, arch priest; papiet, popes; qaltsiet, trousers; stampier, printer; barbier, barber.

(b) When the last syllable ends (i) in a closed pharyngalised diphthong (S.M.) or (ii) in one of the un-pharyngalised diphthongs in closed or open syllable (M.V.).

Examples:

(i) feryˊewn, a wicked man; berˊewt, a flea; milˊewn, cursed; minˊewd[1], shaky; minˊewṣ, affronted, insulted;

(ii) ilaw, this way; darˊraw, they trained; darˊrawk, they accustomed you; dewwew, they cured; zamˊmewk, they held you; erˊrey, a buyer; semˊmeyt, I mentioned; — babaw, bogey; gadˊray, a bum boat man; baˊtew, they suffered; serˊvew, they served; serˊvewh, they served him; paˊnew, panel; kaˊmew, cameo; kabˊrew, descriptive ledger of land property.

(3) When final syllable ends in 'a' (M.V.) or 'i' (S.M.) followed (i) by a consonant group, or (ii) by a long consonant as the phonetic implication of two consonants in morphological junction (S.M.)

_____

(1) This form is not in the M. dictionaries, but I have often heard it used in Gozo (mon ar) in the sense of 'shaky', contextually always applied offensively to a person suspected to be shaky with fear or lack of energy. It is a regular passive parciticle pattern of M. rieˊed; cf. A.

As to (ii) it is important to note that if such long consonant is not the phonetic implication as described, the word is non-Semitic as we shall show under the proper heading.

<u>Examples</u>:

(i) farfart, I brushed; gergirt, you grumbled; ʕamilt, I did; —— dyamant, diamond; turbant, turban; pastard, cauliflower.

(ii) qabbadt, sounded qabbatt, I employed; ʃerridt, I scattered; ħabbatt, with final long consonant = radical t + morphological t, I struck; contrast ħabbat, he struck; berridt, I cooled.

(4) when final syllable ends in 'a', closed by one consonant and the other vowel in the sequence is 'u' or 'i' (M.V.).

<u>Examples</u>: ħurta:m, brome grass; burqa:ʃ, perch, kind of fish; liza:r, a sheet; ʃita:n, devil; —— burdna:r, an ass, or mule, driver; tila:r, canvas.

Stress of dissyllabic words with vocalic sequence a - a

___

The criterion for ascertaining the stress position
in dissyllabic words with a - a as their vowel sequence,
with the second 'a' in the final syllable preceded

    (i) by a long consonant, or

    (ii) by a consonant group and followed by a

        consonant only,

is purely morphological:-

    (1) if it is a Noun or descriptive pattern, the
stress falls on the final syllable;

    (2) if it is a Verb pattern, on the first syllable.

      Examples: ´ħabbat, he knocked, but ħabba:t, the
person that does the knocking, whence we get
the derivative ħabba:ta. For stress-practice
and comparison note the following sentences:
"ʕeḍtli ħabbat ilħabba:ta; ʕamilta ta ħabba:t
u ħabbatt = you told me strike the knocker; I
accepted to knock (literally 'played the part
of the knocker) and knocked; also, ħabat littfa:l
bħatba u lil martu ħabata bil ħabba:ta u ħabbat
lil ja:ra li riedet taf ʃjara = he struck the
children with a piece of wood; his wife he
struck with a knocker and he worried the neigh-
bour who wanted to know what happened. Other

examples are: /baɦnan, he stultified, but baɦna:n, stupid; /laqlaq, he stammered, but laqla:q, stammerer; /fartas, it, or he, made bald; but farta:s, bald; /qartas, he wrapped up in a parcel; but qarta:s, a parcel, etc.

B

The accent falls on the first syllable in words ending in any of the three vowels, a, i, or u, or ha, and also in hom (M.V.); in all the Verbal patterns so long as the final syllable is not morphologically increased, and in all the phonological positions not included under A.

C

Stress Shifting

When a 'stress'-ending is attached to a word with the stress on the penultimate or last syllable, the new pattern thus obtained conforms to the above rules.

<u>Examples</u>: in bahri, the accent falls on 'ba' but
in bahriyya (= bahri + yya) accent shifts on
to the penultimate; in mahmu:j, dirty; stress
is on the final syllable (Cf. 2, 11), but in
plural mahmuji:n, stress shifts on to final i:n
by criterion A 2 1. Other examples are: ́bniedem,
man; but bnedmí:n or bnidmi:n, men; ́rieqed, asleep;
(pl. ́reqdi:n); ́haddiem, pl. haddemí:n, labourers;
but ́haddiema with stress retaining its position
by criterion B.

<u>Note</u>: the most important phonetic change, maintained
also in the standard spelling, is that of stressed 'ie'
which, as we pointed out in (V-a), when the accent shifts,
according to the rules governing it, changes to 'e' and,
dialectically to 'i'.

(vi) THE CONSONANT SEQUENCES OF SEMITIC MALTESE

As a helpful contribution to Maltese phonology, we
now list in the alphabetical order of the dictionaries
first a list of consonants that may occur initially as
a group, then the various consonant sequences whereby
we can very often, but not always, tell if a word is
structurally Semitic or not. As an instance when we
cannot tell this from the consonant sequence alone, take
loan word fidi:l, faithful; it has the consonant sequence
of a Semitic base, M. fadal, there remained; it is the
vocalic criterion i - i:, which is foreign, that can
help us to decide. In a few - very few - instances, it
is comparative semantics only that can help us to decide.
Take, for instance, M. falda, joint of meat, which you
find in Italian in the sense of "carne attaccata alla
lombata (Zingarelli) and also in A. ٠ فلذ, slice of meat.
But as these instances are very few - a matter of spor-
adic accidental similarities - we should be always able
to tell if a word is structurally Semitic, where the con-
sonant sequences will not help, by any of the multiple
criteria that we shall have established in the whole
work.

The list practically covers all the ground forms
of Semitic Maltese which, with the exception of a few
Nominals and Descriptives marked [+], are productive of
further verbal scatter more or less numerous, conforming
to a set of word-patterns with which we shall deal in
Morphology. For the few lonely, unproductive forms,
such as exclamations and other particles, supplement the
list by Part B, Morphology (The Invariable Element).

Because of their linguistic potentalities, their
ability to expand formally, these consonant sequences
will be referred to as Bases. As a rule, such bases are
made up of three consonants that, in whatever formal ex-
pansion of the original base they may feature, and however
much their vocalic sequences, the inconstant element
thereof, may vary, will never disappear, nor ever change
their order, with the exception of semi vowels 'w' and
'y', initially, medially, or finally which, in certain
patterns, disappear though when they reappear in others
inevitably retain their basic order, for which reason we
have described them as 'Inconstant Radicals'. Note,
however, that a medial semi vowel 'w' or 'y', when fol-
lowed by another semi vowel 'y' formally, behaves like
the constant element of the base; that is, it always
features in its proper order in all the formal scatter.
This phenomenon will be described in Morphology, where

these notes will be supplemented. Other bases are quadrilateral, generally onomatopaeic repetition of a biconsonantal base as damdam, to shake, dam + dam.

It should be noted, also at this stage, that as we shall show further on, these consonant sequences - excluding the unproductive ones - may be consonantally increased by prefixes (m, t, nt, st), by infix 't', by suffixes, t, n, and by lengthening of the middle radical.

We have distributed the consonant sequences in two lists, the first one contains the small number of bases in which the radical consonants are preceded by any of the vowels 'a', 'e', or 'i', and the second, containing the typical and more numerous bases, with initial consonant or semi vowel 'w'.

We deal first with

Consonant Groups that may occur Initially

General Remarks

(1)   In Semitic Maltese no morphologically unincreased word can begin with a group of more than two consonants which may be the first two radicals in phonological junction of any of the various bases we have given, or the two consonant components of an unproductive word.

(2)   The prepositional consonants 'f' and 'b' may
precede any consonant forming with it an initial con-
sonant group which does not otherwise occur as bbieb,
with a door; or fbieb, at a door; bcirc or fcric, in bad
weather.

Now follow the examples of the various consonants
in phonological junction with another consonant both
being, unlike the prepositional consonants, integral
parts of the word:

1.   With 'B' as first in the initial group

(i)   bd (M.V.) bdi:l, change; – bdo:t, pilot.

(ii)   bɣ (S.M.) bɣu:la, mules, generally sounded bɣewla.

(iii)   bħ (S.M.) bħayra, melon crops: bħal, like.

(iv)   bk (S.M.) bkeyt, I wept; bku:ra, primogeniture

(v)   bl (M.V.) blat, rocks;—blu:za, blouse.

(vi)   bn (M.V.) bhiet, girls;—bnattsi, fine weather.

(vii)   bq (S.M.) bqiyya, remainder; bqayla, spinach.

(viii)   br (M.V.) briyya, dandruff;—bratts, the arm of
                                           a chair, etc.

(ix)   bt (S.M.) bta:la, holiday; btir, essence.

(x)   bʃ (S.M.) bʃa:ra, news; b i:ma, placenta.

(xi)   bz (S.M.) bza:r, pepper; bza:wi, hernias.

2. With 'C' as first consonant

(i)   cħ (S.M.)   cħa:tar, blusterous women.

(ii)   cr (M.V.)   cra:ret, rags;—criey, deer.

3. With 'D' as first consonant

(i)   db (M.V.) dbiel, he grew pale;—dbielet, skirts.

(ii)   df (S.M.) dfi:n, burial; dfi:r, wreathing.

(iii)   dħ (S.M.) dħi:n, unction; dħa:hen, lot of smoke.

(iv)   dk (S.M.) dkeykna, small stool (obsolete).

(v)   dl (S.M. except in dlonk, often) dliel, long
        hair; dla:m, darkness.

(vi)   dm (S.M.) dmiyya, bloodshed; dmu:ħ, tears.

(vii)   dn (S.M. except in dniefel, dolphins) dnu:b, sin;
        dnewwa, violence.

(viii) dq (S.M.) dqieq, wheat.

(ix)   dr (M.V.) drieħ, arm; dra:bi, times;—dragu:n,
        dragon; drapp, cloth.

4. With 'F' as first consonant

(i)   fg (M.V.) fda:l, remains;—fda:t, trusted.

(ii)   fj (S.M.) fji:r, bleeding.

(iii)   fħ (S.M.) fħu:la, stallions; fħu:ʃiyya, ob-
        scenity.

(iv)   fk (S.M) fkieren, turtle, tortoise.

(v)   fl (M.V.) flien, Mr so-and-so;—fliʃku:n, bottle.

(vi)   fn (M.V.) fniek, rabbits;—fniedaq, small shops.

(vii)   fq (S.M.) fqi:r, poor.

(viii)   fr (M.V.) fra:k, crumbs;—fra:n, ovens.

(ix)   fs (S.M.) fsied, corruption; fsi:d, bleeding.

(x)   ft (S.M.) fti:la, wick; fti:ra, bun.

5. With 'J' as first consonant

(i)   jb (S.M.) jba:ra, poultice; jbi:n, forehead.

(ii)   jd (S.M.) jdi:d, new; jdu:r, turnips.

(iii)   jf (S.M.) jfien, ships.

(iv)   jl (M.V.) jlied, fighting;—jlekk, jacket.

(v)   jm (S.M.) jmiel, loveliness; jmied, soot.

(vi)   jn (S.M.) jnien, garden; jnieb, sides.

(vii)   jr (M.V.) jriewa, pups;—jra:net, days.

6. With 'G' as the first consonant

(i)   gd (S.M.) gdi:m, biting; gdiedem, snouts.

(ii)   gn (S.M.) gniedes, bullocks.

(iii)   gr[1] (M.V.) griezem, throats;—grantsa, bran.

(iv)   gz (S.M.) gzi:ra, island; gziewer, kilts.

---

(1)   Initial 'gr' is Semitic only in griebej, huts; griezem, throats; and the doubtful word, grem u:l, lizards; morphologically, all plural patterns; other singular and plural patterns with initial 'gr' like 'granc', crab, and gra:di, degrees, are foreign (Morphological Criterion).

7. With ɣ as the first consonant

Where still sounded, it may form initial group with d as ɣdi:ra, pond; for ɣadi:ra; with l as ɣliem for ɣeliem, signs; and, in one foreign word, ɣonnella (It. gonnella), with n in the plural ɣnienel, faldattas.

8. With ħ as the first consonant

(i) ħb (S.M.) ħbi:t, beating; ħba:r, news.

(ii) ħd (S.M.) ħdu:ra, verdure; ħda:r, he became green.

(iii) ħf (S.M.) ħfief, he became light; ħfi:n, grasping.

(iv) ħk (S.M.) ħki:m, domination.

(v) ħl (S.M.) ħlewwa, sweetness; ħlieqa, a joke.

(vi) ħm (S.M.) ħma:r, donkey; ħmu:ra, redness.

(vii) ħn (S.M.) ħniek, gums; ħnieʃ, worms.

(viii) ħq (S.M.) ħqi:r, oppression.

(ix) ħr (S.M.) ħra:ra, zeal; ħrief, lambs.

(x) ħs (S.M.) ħsa:ra, mischief; ħsieb, thought.

(xi) ħt (S.M.) ħtiyya, guilt; ħtu:ra, sticks.

(xii) ħʃ (S.M.) ħʃu:na, obesity; ħʃien, he became fat.

(xiii) ħz (S.M.) ħziem, girdle; ħzieza, ringworm.

9. With 'K' as the first consonant

(i) kb (S.M.) kbi:r, great; kbie, (he-goats.

(ii) kf (S.M.) kfi:r, swearing, invoking the devil (ob-
solete).

(iii) kħ (S.M.) kħa:l, it became blue; kħali, bluish.

(iv) kl (M.V.) kli:n, rosemary; kliewi, kidneys; ——
klama:r, inkstand; kle:ru, clergy.

(v) km (M.V.) kmiem, sleeves; ——kmand, command.

(vi) kn (S.M.) knisya, church; kni:s, rubbish.

(vii) kr (M.V.) krieh, he grew ugly; —— krikk, capstan.

(viii) ks (S.M.) ksu:r, breakage; ksieħ, he grew old.

(ix) kt (M.V.) ktieb, book; —— ktayyen, chairs.

10. With 'L' as the first consonant

(i) lb (M.V.) lbies, dress; —— lbi:c, the south west
wind.

(ii) lj (S.M.) ljiem, bridle.

(iii) lħ (S.M.) lħieħ, greedy.

(iv) lq (S.M.) lqieh, hospitality.

(v) ls (S.M.) lsi:r, slave; lsien, tongue.

(vi) lt (S.M.) lti:m, orphan.

11. With 'M' as the first consonant

(i) mb (M.V.) but note that, except in mbi:d, where
it is the phonetic implication of 'nb', in
Semitic Maltese initial 'm' is always a
morphological prefix. Foreign examples
are: mbatt,

a light breeze; mbaʃʃatu:r,

ambassador.

(ii) mc (M.V.) with initial 'm' <u>always</u> morphological

prefix, mcanfar, reprimanded; ——

mceppen, imprisoned.

(iii) md (M.V.) Mdi:na, the old capital of Malta;

mdieheb, gilded; —— mdanna, mother in

law.

(iv) mf (M.V.) with initial 'm' always a morphological

prefix, mfarrak, shattered; mfernez,

maddened.

(v) mj (S.M.) with initial 'm' always as a morpho-

logical prefix; mjieri, water courses;

mjarr, a disembarking place; mjezz,

shorn.

(vi) mg (S.M.) with initial 'm' always a morpho-

logical prefix: mgeddes, piled;

mgerreʃ, scared.

(vii) mh (S.M.) mha:r, limpets; mhuh, brains.

(viii) mk (S.M.) with initial 'm' always a morpho-

logical prefix: mkien, nowhere;

mkebbs, a reel; mkeffen, shrouded.

(ix) ml (S.M.) mlieh, he became salted; mlies, it

became smooth; mlewwen, coloured.

(x) mn (M.V.) mna:ra, a lantern; —— mna:rya,

illumination.

(xi)   mq   (M.V.) mqi:t, rude; mqieʃeḏ, placed; ──

mqieta, timed job.

(xii)   mr   (S.M.) mra:r, bitterness; mra:si, harbours.

(xiii)   ms   (S.M.) msa:ren, bowels; msell, needle fish.

(xiv)   mt   (S.M.) mti:ra, a furrow; mterter, trembling.

(xv)   mʃ   (S.M.) mʃa:t, combs; mʃiyya, epidemic.

(xvi)   mz   (S.M.) mzaqq, food for birds; mzarjan,

branchy.

12. With 'N' as the first consonant.

(i) nb (phonetically (mb) (M.V.) nbiet, sprouts; ──

nbayya, on all fours.

(ii) nd (M.V.) ndiema, repentance;─ndu:na, he found

out.

(iii) nf (S.M.) nfu:ri, skittish; nfies, puerperium.

(iv) nj (S.M.) njies, impurity.

(v) nk (S.M.) nkeyya, spite.

(vi) nq (S.M.) nqi:r, pecking, in all other similar

junctions 'n' is a morphological

prefix.

(vii) ns (S.M.) nsa:ra, Christians; nsi:j, weaving.

(viii) nt (S.M.) ntiena, stench; ntietef, odd remains.

(ix) nʃ (S.M.) nʃief, drought; nʃu:ri, soft, tender,

(x) nz (S.M.) nzu:l, descent; nza:r, he was visited.

13. With 'Q' as the first consonant

(i)   qb   (S.M.) qbiela, rent; qbi:d, seizure.

(ii) qd   (S.M.) qdiem, it grew old; qdieh, goblet.

(iii) qf   (S.M.) qfieli, laces; qfief, baskets.

(iv) qħ   (S.M.) qħi:b, prostitution.

(v) ql   (S.M.) qlieh, profit; qlu:qi, fickle.

(vi) qm   (S.M.) qma:s, kicking; qmi:s, shirt.

(vii) qn (M.V.) qniefed, hedgehogs; qniepel, bells.

(viii) qr (M.V.) qra:r, confession; - Qroll, coral;

qrat:i, courts.

(ix) qs   (S.M.)[1] qsa:ri, flower-pots.

(x) qt   (S.M.) qta:r, rennet; qta:n, cotton.

(xi) qʃ   (S.M.) qʃu:r, scales (of fish, etc.)

(xii) qz   (S.M.) qziez, nausea; qzieqez, pigs.

14. With 'R' as the first consonant

(i) rb   (S.M.) rba:t, ties; rbu:s, a puncheon

(ii) rd   (M.V.) rdu:m, precipice; rdoss, lea.

(iii) rf   (S.M.) rfi:s, trampling; rfieh, lifting.

(iv) rk   (S.M.) rkobba, knee; rki:b, riding.

(v) rm   (S.M.) rmied, ashes; rmuliyya, widowhood.

(vi) rq   (S.M.) rqieq, thin; rqaqa:t, minutiae.

---

(1) The only foreign word with initial 'qs' given by
Vassalli and repeated by Falzon , qsaysta, Sic. cassata
(M. qassa:ta), small pie, is a phonetically awkward,
made-up diminutive.

(vii) rs (MV.) rsa:s, lead; rsi:pla, erysipelas.

(viii) rt (S.M.) rta:b, it has become soft; rtadam,

he was buried under.

(ix) r (S.M.) r∫ie∫, drizzle.

(x) rz (S.M.) rzieh, shivering; rzi:n, quiet.

15. With 'S' as the first consonant

(i) sb (M.V.) sbata:s, seventeen; sbalya, he erred.

(ii) sd (S.M.) sdieri, waistcoats.

(iii) sf (M.V.) sfu:ra, pallor; sfratt, expulsion.

(iv) sj (S.M.)[1] sjayra, small tree.

(v) sk (M.V.)[2] skiet, silence;-skandlu, scandal.

(vi) sm (M.V.) sma:r, he grew swarthy;-smerald,

emerald.

> Note: It is interesting to note liquid
> 'm' voices 's' in loan words but
> not in Semitic Maltese. We shall
> give further examples in C, under
> the proper heading.

(vii) sn (S.M.) snieh, it became rancid; snien,

teeth.

(viii) sq (S.M.) sqa:q, alley; sqa:wi, irrigated lands.

(ix) st (M.V.) sta:r, veil; ── storbyu, a row.

---

(1) The only foreign word with initial sj given by
Vassalli and repeated by Falzon is sjeyju, small chair,
diminutive of sijju. It. Seggia. I never heard it and
personally I think it is made up.
(2) With the exception of the 3 Semitic Maltese words,
skiet, silence; skenn, he sought shelter, and skieken,
knives, all others are foreign.

16. With 'T' as the first consonant

(i) tb (M.V.) tbissem, he smiled;—tbatiyya, suffer-

    ing.

    Note: 't' in this context is always a
    morphological prefix.

(ii) tf (S.M.) tfief, kind of thistle; tfellel, it

    cracked.

(iii) tg (S.M.) tgerwi:l, chattering; tgœddes, it was

    piled up.

    Note: 't' in this context is always
    a morphological prefix.

(iv) th (S.M.) tholliyya, bequest; thi:r, colic.

(v) tk (M.V.) tkellem, he spoke – tkecca, he was

    expelled.

    Note: In this context 't' is always
    a morphological prefix.

(vi) tl (S.M.) tlieta, three; tlaqqam, he was

    nicknamed.

(vii) tm (S.M.) tmienya, eight; tmewwet, he lost

    heart.

(viii) tn (M.V.) tneyn, two; tnehha, it was taken off—

    Tniebri, Ash Wednesday.

(ix) tq (S.M.) tqi:l, heavy; tqi:s, you measure.

(x) tr (M.V.) tra:b, dust;—trilya, mullet.

17. With ʃ as the first consonant

(i)   ʃb (S.M.) ʃbint, god-mother; ʃbiek, net.

(ii) ʃd (S.M.) ʃdieq, jaws; ʃdiːd, costive.

(iii) ʃf (S.M.) ʃfaːr, edges.

(iv) ʃħ (S.M.) ʃħieħ, close fisted: ʃħiːt, vomit.

(v)   ʃk (M.V.)[1] ʃkiel, obstacle. —— ʃkuːpa, broom.

(vi) ʃl (M.V.) ʃlief, an angling line; —ʃlokk, scirocco,
      a south-east wind.

(vii) ʃm (M.V.) ʃmuʃ, suns;—ʃmaːra, river.

(viii) ʃq (S.M.) ʃquːr a, ruddiness; ʃquːq, cracks.

(ix) ʃr (S.M.) ʃraːr, sparks; ʃriek, a partner.

(x)   ʃt (S.M.) ʃtiewi, winters; ʃtuːr, uneven edges.

18. With 'Z' as the first consonant

(i)   zb (M.V.) zbiːr, pruning; —zbandoːla, sling.

(ii) zd (S.M.) zdied, it increased.

(iii) zf (S.M.) zfiːn, dancing.

(iv) zj (S.M.) zjieʃ, a glass.

(v)   zl (S.M.) zlieq, slipperiness; sliej, dimness.

(vi) zm (M.V.) zmien, time; — smalda, he squandered.

(vii) zn (S.M.) znied, flint; zniejel, basins.

(viii) zq (S.M.) zquːq[2], bellies.

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(1) Semitic Maltese has only kiel with initial k; all
   other words, wich such initial consonant group, are
   foreign.
(2) I have never heard the word zaqq, belly, used in the
   plural. I give it on the authority of the Maltese dic-
   tionaries. It may be a made-up plural.

I

Note: Radicals marked 2, feature only as long consonants; V, in sequences 'A', indicates verbs, and γ , in brackets after third radical $\widehat{h}$ indicates that the latter is the phonetic implication thereof in final position. As already explained, sequences marked + are generally Nominals and unproductive of further morphological scatter.

A
—

The consonant sequences with initial 'A' are:- bb; br; bt; f; g, r; hh; hn; hw; ll; mr$^{(V)}$; n,d,r; t,r; w,l;

With initial 'e':- bd; yy; lf; m,m,n$^{(V)}$; r,b,γ; r,h; w,l

With initial 'i':- bn; b$^{(2)}$ s$^{(V)}$; d; dd; h,r; l,l; l,m; m,m; nt; ss; s,m; s,q,f; s,r; w; z,d; zz.

II

Sequences with initial consonant

B

(i) Consonant sequence with middle radical inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequence (ii)		4 Consonant sequence. (iii)
(i)			
B – (W) – B$^+$	B – B – N$^+$	B – K – R	B – H – H – N
B – (Y) – D	B – D – N	B – K – T	B – h – L – N
B – (Y) – H	B – D – L	B – L – L	B – h – R – D
B – (Y) – L	B – h – M$^+$	B – L – h	B – h – B – h
B – (W) – Q$^+$	B – H – H$^+$	B – L –	B – K – B – K
B – (Y) – R	B – H – R	B – L – Q	B – L – B – L
B – (W) – S	B – H – T	B – L – S$^+$	B – γ – B – S
B – (W) – T$^+$	B – K – M	B – L – T	B – γ – T – R

(i) Consonant sequence with middle radial inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(ii)			
B – D – (Y)	B – N – Q[+]	B – S – S	B – γ – R – N
B – K – (Y)	B – N – T	B – S – L[+]	B – Q – B – Q
B – N – (Y)	B – γ – D	B – ∫[2] – Q	B – R – B – R
B – R – (Y)	B – γ – L	B – ∫ – R	B – R – B – ∫
	B – γ – R	B – S – T	B – R – D – γ[+]
Note: for last sequence see Glossary	B – – T	B – T – L	B – R – N – Z[+]
	B – Q – Q	B – T – N	B – R – Q – M
	B – Q – L	B – T – R	B – R – Q – Q[+]
	B – Q – γ	B – ∫ – ∫	B – R – Q – ∫[+]
	B – Q – R	B – ∫ – M[+]	B – R – W – Z
	B – Q – T	B – ∫ – R	B – T – B – T
	B – R – R[+]	B – Z – L	B – ∫ – B – ∫
	B – R – D	B – Z – γ	B – Z – B – Z
	B – R – H	B – Z – Q	B – Z – L – K
	B – R – J	B – Z – R	B – Z – W – R
	B – R – K		
	B – R – M		
	B – R – Q		
	B – R – ∫		

C

(i) Con. seq. with medial rad. inconstant. (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
(i) None **(ii)** C – F – (Y)	C – ħ – D C – γ – K C – R – C^{+} C – R^{2} – T	C – F – C – F C – ħ – T – R C – K – C – K C – N – C – N C – R – C – R C – W – L – h

D

(i) 3 Consonant sequence with medial rad. inconstant. (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i) D – (Y) – B D – (W) – M D – (W) – Q	D – B – B D – B – h D – B – L D – B^{2} – N	D – B – R D – B – S D – F – N D – F – R	D – ħ – D – ħ D – K – D – K D – K – K – K D – L – L – ħ$^{+}$

D (Cont:)

(i) 3 Consonant Sequence with medial rad. (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
D – (Y) – Q	D – F^2 – S	D – M – M	D – M – D – M
	D – h – B	D – M – h ( )	D – N – D – N
(ii)	D – h – n	D – M – L	D – N – D – L
D – h – (Y)	D – h – R	D – M – γ	D – – B – N
D – N^2 – (Y)	D – h – S	D – M – S^+	D – R – B – S^+
D – γ – (Y)	D – L – γ	D – N^2 – S	D – $\int$ – $\int$ – $\int$
D – R – (Y)	D – h – K	D – γ – F	D – L – L – h^+
D – $\int^2$ – (Y)	D – h – L	D – γ – M^+	
	D – h^2 – N	D – Q – N^+	
	D – h – R	D – Q – Q	
	D – K – N	D – R – B	
	D – K^2 – R	D – R – h ( )	
	D – L – L	D – R – S	
	D – L – B^+	D – S – γ^+	
	D – L – F	D – γ – S^+	
	D – L – K		
	D – L – M		
	D – L – γ		

F

(1) 3 Cons. Seq, with medial rad. Inconstant (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
F - (Y) - D	F - D - D[+]	F - L - N[+]	F - D - D - N[+]
F - (W) - ḥ	F - D - L	F - L - Q	F - K - R - N
F - (Y) - Q	F - D - ʃ[+]	F - L - S	F - L - F - L
F - (W) - R	F - J - J	F - M - M[+]	F - N - Q - L[+]
	F - J - L	F - N - K	F - R - F - R
(ii)	F - J - R	F - Q - D	F - R - C - ḥ
F - D - (Y)	F - L - M	F - Q - M	F - R - K - ʃ
F - L - (Y)	F - ḥ - L	F - Q - γ	F - R - - N
F - N - (Y)	F - ḥ - M	F - Q - R	F - R - T - S
F - S - (Y)	F - ḥ - R	F - Q - S	F - S - F - S
	F - ḥ - ʃ[+]	F - R - D	F - S - T - Q
	F - K[2] - K	F - R - J	F - ʃ - F - ʃ
	F - L - J	F - R - ḥ	F - ʃ - K - L
	F - L - h	F - R - S[+]	
	F - L[2] - K	F - R - ʃ	
	F - L - L	F - S - D	

F (Cont:)

(i) 3 cons. seq with medial rad. inconstant (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences.
	F - S - L	
	F - T - h	
	F - T - L	
	F - T - M	
	F - T - R	
	F - T^2 - T	
	F - S - L	
	F - Z - R	

J

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant (ii) final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
J - (Y) - B	J - B - D	J - B - N	J - B - S - L[+]
J - (Y) - F	J - B - h	J - B - R	J - h - W - R[+]
J - (i) - D[+]	J - B - L	J - B - S	J - h - J - h

J (Cont:)

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. (ii) final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences.
J - (ie) - h$^+$	J - D - D	J - R - R	J - L - J - L
J - (u:) - h	J - D - M	J - R - B	J - L - B - N
J - (W) - Z	J - D - R	J - R - D	J - L - L - W - Z(5)
J - W - (W)	J - F - N	J - R^2 - F	
	J - h - R	J - R - h	J - M - M - N$^+$
	J - h - z	J - R - γ	J - M - M - R$^+$
(ii)	J - L - B	J - R - S	J - M - J - Z
J - L - (Y)	J - L - D	J - S - M	J - N - J - L
J - R - (Y)	J - L - M	J - Z - Z	J - N - J - L - N$^+$(5)
	J - L - S	J - Z - R	J - R - D - N$^+$
	J - M - M		J - R - J - R
	J - M - D		
	J - M - γ		
	J - M - R		
	J - N - N		
	J - N - B		
	J - N - S$^+$		
	J - γ - D		
	J - γ - L		

G

(i) with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	G – D – B	G – D – W – D
None	G – D – M	G – J – W – J
	G – D – L^{+}	G – L – G – L
(ii)	G – D^{2} – S	G – L – L – $\int^{+}$
G – D – (Y)$^{+}$	G – R – R	G – M – G – M
	G – R – F	G – N – D – S^{+}
	G – R^{2} – M	G – R – B – B
	G – R^{2} – $\int$	G – R – F – $\int$
	G – R – Z	G – R – Z – M^{+}
	G – Z – Z^{+}	G – Z – W – R
	G – Z – R^{+}	

<u>h</u>

(i) Consonant seq. with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
(i) h - (Y) - M	h - L^2 - L h - M - M h - R - Z	h - B - h - B h - J - h - J h - Y - D - R h - N - D - B h - N - D - M h - R - h - R h - W - D - N h - Z - h - Z
(ii) h - N - (Y) h - R^2 - (Y) h - W - (Y)		

Ḥ (ḥ)

(i) Consonant sequences with medial rad. inconstant (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	ḥ - B - B	ḥ - J - L	ḥ - B - ʃ - ʃ⁺
ḥ - (Y) - B	ḥ - B - L	ḥ - J - M	ḥ - B - R - K
ḥ - (W) - F	ḥ - B - Q	ḥ - J - R	ḥ - M - H - M
ḥ - (W)² = L			
ḥ - (Y) - N	ḥ - B - R	ḥ - J - K	ḥ - M - M - S⁺
ḥ - (W)² - R			
ḥ - (Y) - T	ḥ - B - S	ḥ - L - L	ḥ - N - D - Q
ḥ - Y - (Y)	ḥ - B - T	ḥ - L - S	ḥ - N - F - S
	ḥ - D - D	ḥ - L² - S	ḥ - N - N - F⁺
(ii)	ḥ - D - L	ḥ - N - D	ḥ - N - N - S
ḥ - (D)	ḥ - D - M	ḥ - N² - N	ḥ - N - ʃ - L
(See ___ e in Glossary).	ḥ - D - N	ḥ - Q - Q	ḥ - N - ʃ - R
	ḥ - D - R	ḥ - R - R	ḥ - N - Z - R
ḥ - B - (Y)	ḥ - D² - T	ḥ - R - B	ḥ - R - B - T
ḥ - D - (Y)	ḥ - F - F	ḥ - S - S	ḥ - R - B - ʃ
ḥ - F - (Y)	ḥ - f - R	ḥ - R - S	ḥ - R - F - ʃ
ḥ - L - (Y)	ḥ - F - S	ḥ - R - T	ḥ - R - H - R
ḥ - L² - (Y)	ḥ - J - J⁺	ḥ - R -	ḥ - R - K - S
ḥ - M - (Y)	ḥ - J - B	ḥ - R - Z	ḥ - W - S - L

H (h) Cont:

(i) Consonant seq. with dedial rad. inconstant. (ii) with 3rd rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
ħ - R - (Y)	ħ - S - B	ħ - W - T - L
ħ - T - (Y)	ħ - S - D	ħ - ʃ - K - N
ħ - ʕ - (y)	ħ - S - L	ħ - ʃ - L - F
	ħ - S - R	
	ħ - T - B	
	ħ - T - F	
	ħ - T - M	
	ħ - T - N	
	ħ - T - R	
	ħ - ʕ - B⁺	
	ħ - ʕ - N	
	ħ - ʕ - ⁺	
	ħ - Z - M	
	ħ - Z - N	

K

(i) Consonant sequence with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	K - B - B	K - ɣ - K[+]	K - B - R - S
K - (Y) - B	K - B - R	K - R - B	K - B - R - T[+]
K - (ie) - L	K - B - ʃ[+]	K - R - F	K - C - C - D
K - (W) - N	K - D - D	K - R - h	K - ɣ - B - R
K - (a:) - Z	K - F - F	K - R - M	K - ɣ - W - J (or ʃ)
	K - F - N	K - R - ʃ[+]	K - ɣ - W - R
	K - F - R	K - S - B	K - R - K - R
(ii)	K - F - S	K - S - h	K - R - F - S
K - R - (Y)	K - h - L	K - S - R	K - R - M - B[+]
K - S - (Y)	K - L - L	K - T - B	K - R - M - S
K - W - (Y)	K - L - B	K - T - F	K - R - ʃ - ñ
	K - L - M	K - T - h[+]	K - R - W - T
	K - M - M	K - T - R	K - S - K - S
	K - M - N	K - ʃ - ʃ	K - T - T - N[+]
	K - M - S		K - W - K - B
	K - N - N		K - Z - B - R
	K - N - S		

L

(i) Consonant sequence with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	L - B - B⁺	L - ⌐ - N	L - B - L - B
L - (W) - M	L - B - N	L - γ - Q	L - F - L - F
L - (Y) - L⁺	L - B - R⁺	L - S - N	L - Q - L - Q
L - (U) - h⁺	L - B - S	L - S - R	L - h - L - h
L - (W) - N	L - B - T	L - T - M	L - L - L - ſ
L - (W) - T	L - F - F	L - Q - M	L - N - B - B
	L - F - Q	L - Q - γ	L - N - J - S
	L - J - M	L - Q - T	L - Q - L - Q
(ii)	L - h - h	L - Q - ſ⁺	L - T - L - T
L - M - (Y)	L - J - J	L - Q - Q	
L - W - (Y)	L - ñ - M	L - Z - N⁺	
	L - ñ - N	L - Z - R	
	L - h - M		
	L - h - Q		
	L - M - h		
	L - M - N⁺		
	L - M - γ		
	L - γ - B		

M

(i) Consonant sequence with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	M – D – D	M – R – $\bar{h}$	M – Y – L – Q$^+$
M – (Y) – L	M – h – L	M – R – Q	M – K – K – K
M – (W) – L	M – h – h	M – R – S$^+$	M – L – L – T
M – (W) – T	M – h – R	M – R – γ^+	M – Q – D – R
M – (W) – R	M – h – T	M – S – S	M – S – h – N
M – (W) – S	M – L – L	M – S – h	M – S – $\bar{h}$ – R
	M – L – h	M – T – L$^+$	M – S – R – N$^+$
	M – L – S	M – ʃ – T	
(ii)	M – N – γ	M – Z – Z	
M – L – (Y)	M – γ – D		
M – T – (Y)	M – γ – R		
M – ʃ – (Y)	M – γ – K		
	M – γ – ʃ$^+$		
	M – γ – Z		
	M – Q – T		
	M – R – R		
	M – R – D		

N

Consonant seq. (i) with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)	N – B – D	N – F – ʃ	N – F – F – T[+]
N – (Y) – B[+]	N – B – h̄	N – Θ – Z	N – h̄ – N – ɦ
N – F in na:f, etc. first n morphological	N – B – L[+]	N – J – M	N – ɣ – N – h
	N – B – R	N – J – R	N – Q – N – Q ( )[+]
N – (Y) – ɦ	N – B – T	N – J – S	
N – (W) – M	N – B – ʃ	N – h – R[+]	
N – (W) – L[+]	N – D – D[+]	N – ɦ – h	
N – (Y) – N	N – D – F	N – ɦ – L	
N – (W) – R	N – D – M	N – h – Q	
	N – D – R[+]	N – ɦ – R	
(ii)	N – F – F	N – R̄ – S[+]	
N – D – (Y)	N – F – D	N – K – B	
N – K – (Y)	N – F – h	N – K – T	
N – ɣ – (Y)	N – F – L	N – M – L	
N – Q^2 – (Y)	N – F – Q	N – M – S	
N – S – (Y)	N – F – R	N – M – ʃ	
N – $ʃ^2$ – (Y)	N – F – S	N – ɣ – L	

Consonant seq. (1) with middle rad. inconstant. (1i) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
	N – ϒ – M	
	N – ϒ – R⁺	
	N – ϒ – S	
	N – Q – B	
	N – Q – D	
	N – Q – L	
	N – Q – S	
	N – Q – ϒ	
	N – S – B	
	N – S – L	
	N – S – R	
	N – T – F	
	N – T – h	
	N – T – N	
	N – T – Q	
	N – ʃ – F	
	N – ʃ – L	
	N – Z – L	

Consonant seq. with middle rad. inconstant (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
γ – (Y) – B	γ – B – D⁺	γ – J – Z	γ – F – R – D⁺
γ – (Y) – D	γ – B – R	γ – K – K⁺	γ – K – R – K
γ – (W) – D	γ – B – ʃ	γ – K – R	γ – K – R – ʃ
γ – (W) – J	γ – D – B	γ – K – S	γ – N – C – C
γ – (U) – L⁺	γ – D – D	γ – L – L	γ – N – D – R⁺
γ – (i) – L⁺	γ – D² – L	γ – L – B	γ – N – Q – B – T (5)
γ – (W) – M	γ – D – M	γ – L – F	
γ – (Y) – N	γ – D – R	γ – L – M	γ – N – Q – R⁺
γ – (Y) – R	γ – D – S	γ – L – Q	γ – N – Q – D⁺
γ – (W) – R	γ – D – Z	γ – L² – S⁺	γ – N – S – R⁺
γ – (W²) – S	γ – F – J	γ – L – T	γ – N – T – Q – R (5)
γ – (Y) – T	γ – F – N⁺	γ – M – M⁺	
γ – (Y) – ʃ	γ – F – S	γ – M – D	
(ii)	γ – J – J	γ – M – L	γ – R – γ – R
γ – B² – (Y)	γ – J – B	γ – M² – Q	γ – R – B – L
γ – D² – (Y)	γ – J – L	γ – M – R	γ – R – B – N
γ – Y – (Y)	γ – J – N	γ – M – S	γ – R – B – Q
γ – L – (Y)	γ – J – γ⁺	γ – M – Z	γ – R – γ – ʃ

(Cont:)

(i) Consonant seq. with middle Rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
γ – M – (Y)	γ – N – B	γ – R – Q	γ – R – W – L
γ – N – (Y)	γ – N – D[+]	γ – R – R[+]	γ – R – W – N
γ – R – (Y)	γ – N – L^2	γ – R – S	γ – S – F – R
γ – T – (Y)	γ – N – M	γ – R – $\int$	γ – S – L – J
γ – T – (W)[+]	γ – N – Q	γ – S – D	γ – W – D – $\int$[+]
γ – W – (Y)	γ – N – T	γ – S – L	
γ – $\int$ – (Y)	γ – N – Z	γ – S – R	
	γ – Q – B[+]	γ – S – S	
	γ – Q – D	γ – T – B	
	γ – Q – L	γ – T^2 – N	
	γ – Q^2 – R	γ – T^2 – Q^2	
	γ – Q^2 – $\int$		
	γ – R – B[+]	γ – T – S	
	γ – R – F	γ – T – $\int$	
	γ – R – J	γ – $\int$ – B	
	γ – R – K	γ – S – Q	
	γ – R – M	γ – S – R	
	γ – R – N[+]	γ – Z – Z	

(Cont:)

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3 Consonant Sequences

$$\gamma - Z - B$$
$$\gamma - Z - L$$
$$\gamma - Z^2 - N$$
$$\gamma - Z - Q$$

Q

(1) Consonant sequences with medial rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
Q - (ie) h$^+$ (ᢰ)	Q - B - B	Q - L - L	Q - L - F - T
Q - (W) - M	Q - B - D	Q - L - B	Q - M - Q - M
Q - (W) - R	Q - B - L	Q - L - ᢰ	Q - N - C - C
Q - (Y) - S	Q - B - R	Q - L - Q	Q - N - D - L
Q - (W) - S	Q - B - S	Q - L - T	Q - N - F - D
	Q - B - Z	Q - M - h	Q - N - Q - L
(ii)	Q - C^2 - T	Q - M - L	Q - N - S - h
Q - D - (Y)	Q - D - D	Q - M - R	Q - N - Z - h
Q - L - (Y)	Q - D - B	Q - M - S	Q - R - Q - R
Q - R - (Y)	Q - D - F	Q - M^2 - T	Q - R - B - N
Q - W^2 - (Y)	Q - D - h	Q - N - ᢰ	Q - R - D - N
	Q - D - M	Q - R - R	Q - R - M - C
	Q - D - S	Q - R - B	Q - R - N - S
	Q - F - L	Q - R - D	Q - R - N - T
	Q - F - S	Q - R - ħ	Q - R - Q - C
	Q - ħ - B	Q - R - M	Q - R - T - F
	Q - ħ - T	Q - R - N	Q - R - T - S

Q (Cont:)

(i) Consonant seq. with medial rad inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences.
	$Q - R -$ $^+$	$Q - R - T - N$
	$Q - R^2 - Q$	$Q - R - W - Z$
	$Q - R - S$	$Q - S - Q - S$
	$Q - R - T$	$Q - \int - L - F$
	$Q - S - S$	
	$Q - S - B$	
	$Q - S^2 - D$	
	$Q - S -$	
	$Q - S - R$	
	$Q - R - L$	
	$Q - T -$	
	$Q - T - R$	
	$Q - T - T$	
	$Q - \int - \int^+$	
	$Q - \int - R$	
	$Q - Z - Z^+$	

R

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
R - (Y) - D	R - B - ĥ	R - K - B	R - B - B - B$^+$
R - (a:) - F	R - B - γ	R - K - D	R - N - D - N$^+$
R - (Y) - h	R - D - D	R - K - N	
R - (Y) - Q	R - D - M	R - K - S	
R - (a:) - S	R - D^2 - N	R - M - L$^+$	
	R - D - γ	R - N - D$^+$	
(ii)	R - D^2 - S$^+$	R - γ - B$^+$	
R - (Y) with 2nd & 3rd inconstant see Ra in Glossary)	R - F - F$^+$	R - γ - D	
	R - F - D	R - γ - M	
	R - F - S	R - Q - Q	
R - B^2 - (Y)	R - J - L	R - Q - D	
R - h - (Y)	R - J - J	R - Q - M	
R - M - (Y)	R - ĥ - N	R - Q - B	
R - γ - W & Y)	R - ĥ - B	R - S - S	
R - (W^2) - T	R - ĥ - L	R - S - L$^+$	
	R - ĥ - N*	R - S - Q	

R (Cont:)

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3 Consonant Sequences

$R - S - R^+$

$R - T - B$

$R - T - \hat{h}$

$R - T - L^+$

$R - Z - \hat{h}$

$R - Z - N$

S

Consonant seq. with (i) medial rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
S - (Y) - B	S - B - B	S - h̄ - B	
S - (Y) - D	S - B - L	S - h̄ - R	
S - (W) - D	S - B - K	S - ħ - M	
S - (Y) - F⁺	S ⊖ B - L	S - ħ - M	
S - (W) - F	S - B - γ⁺	S - ħ - N	
S - (Y)² - h	S - B - R	S - ħ - R	
S - (ie) - ħ(γ)	S - B - T	S - ħ - T	
S - (Y) - L	S - D - D	S - ħ - K	
S - (W) - M	S - D - Q	S - K - R	
S - (W) - Q	S - D - R	S - K - T	
S - (W) - R	S - F - F	S - L - L	
S - (W) - S	S - F - D	S - L - B	
S - (W) - T	S - F - h	S - L - F	
(ii)	S - F - L	S - L - h	
S - F - (Y)	S - F - Q	S - L - M	
S - h - (Y)	S - F - R	S - L - Q	
S - L² - (Y)	S - J - R	S - L - T	
S - M - (W)⁺	S - ħ - ħ	S - M - M	

S̲ (Cont:)

Consonant seq. with (i) medial rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
S - Q - (Y)	S - M - D	S - T - h	
(sa)+Q - S - (Y)	S - M - N	S - T - L	
S - W - (Y)	S - M - γ	S - T - γ	
	S - M - R	S - T - R	
	S - M - T	S - h - Q	
	S - N - N	S - Q - F	
	S - N - J	S - Q - R	
	S - N - h		
	S - N - T[+]		
	S - γ - B		
	S - γ - L		
	S - R - R		
	S - R - D		
	S - R - F		
	S - R - J		
	S - R - h		
	S - R - K		
	S - R - M		
	S - R - Q		

T

(i) Consonant seq. with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
T – (Y) – J	T – B – B	T – L – T[+]	T – B – T – B
T – (W) – L	T – B – ẖ	T – M – M	T – F – T – F
T – (Y) – R	T – B – Q	T – M – L	T – K – T – K
T – (W) – M	T – B – L	T – M – N[+]	T – M – T – M
T – (W) – Q	T – B – N	T – M – γ	T – N – T – N
T – (i:) – N[+]	T – B – γ	T – M – S	T – N – T – $\int$
T – (u:) – T	T – F – F	T – N – N	T – R – T – R
T – (Y & u) – B	T – F – L	T – N – S	T – R – B – (Y)
T – (W) – R	T – F – γ	T – R – B	T – R – T – Q
	T – ẖ – N	T – R – D	T – Q – T – Q
(ii)	T – ẖ – T	T – R – F	T – $\int$ – T – $\int$
T – F – (Y)	T – ẖ – R	T – R – J	
T – L – (Y)	T – L – B	T – R – ẖ	
T – N – (Y)	T – L – F	T – R – Q	
T – W – (Y)	T – L – γ	T – R – S	
	T – L – Q	T – R – Z	
		T – Q – B	

W

(i) Consonant seq. with middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
$W - (Y) - B^+$	$W - B^2 - L$	$W - Q - \gamma$	$W - \bar{h} - W - \bar{h}$
$W - (ie) - D^+$	$W - C - C^+$	$W - Q - T$	$W - R - D - N$
	$W - D - B$	$W - R^2 - B$	$W - R - W - R$
(ii)	$W - D - h( )$	$W - R - D$	$W - R - Z - Q$
$W - K^2 - (Y)$	$W - D - N$	$W - R - K$	$W - S - W - S$
$W - L^2 - (Y)$	$W - D - Q$	$Q - R - Q$	$W - S - T - N^+$
$W - R - (Y)$	$W - J -$	$W - R - T$	$W - T - W - T$
$W - S^2 - (Y)$	$W - h - D$	$W - S - L$	
$W - T - (Y)$	$W - h - L$	$W - S - \gamma$	
	$W - h - M$	$W - T - T^+$	
	$W - h^2 - R$	$W - T - R$	
	$W - h -$	$W - Z - Z$	
	$W - L - D$	$W - Z - B$	
	$W - L - J$	$W - Z - N$	
	$W - N - S$	$W - Z - \gamma^+$	
	$W - - D$		
	$W - - R$		
	$W - Q - F$		

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with third rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
∫ – (W) – F	∫ – B – B	∫ – K – K	∫ – B – L – K
∫ – (W) – L	∫ – B – K	∫ – L – L	∫ – ħ – ∫ – ħ
∫ – (Y)² – R	∫ – B – R	∫ – L – F	∫ – L – ∫ – N⁺
∫ – (W) – T	∫ – B² – T	∫ – M – M	∫ – M – N – Q
∫ – (W)² –	∫ – F – R	∫ – M – γ	∫ – N – D – R
	∫ – D – D	∫ – M² – R	∫ – N – ∫ – L
	∫ – D – Q	∫ – M – ∫	∫ – N – T – Q – R (5)⁺
(ii)	∫ – D – N	∫ – N – γ	∫ – Q – L – B
∫ – ħ – (Y)	∫ – F – F	∫ – N² – Q	∫ – R – B – B⁺
∫ – N – (Y)	∫ – F – Q	∫ – γ – B	∫ – W – L – H
∫ – R – (Y)	∫ – F – R	∫ – γ – F	
∫ – T – (Y)	∫ – h – B	∫ – γ – L	
∫ – T – (W)	∫ – h – D	∫ – γ – R	
∫ – W – (Y)	∫ – h – R	∫ – Q – Q	
∫ – ∫² – (Y)	∫ – ħ – ħ	∫ – Q – F	
	∫ – ħ – M	∫ – R – B	
	∫ – ħ – T	∫ – R² – D	
	∫ – ħ – ∫ ⁺	∫ – R – F	

(Cont:)

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant. (ii) with third rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences	4 Consonant Sequences
	{ - R - ħ	
	{ - R - K	
	{ - R - Q	
	{ - T - T	
	{ - T - B	
	{ - T - L	
	{ - T - N	
	/ - T - R	

Z

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant. (ii) final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
(i)			
Z - (W) - D	Z - B - B	Z - B - R	Z - B - L - ħ
Z - (W) - J	Z - B - D	Z - D - M	Z - F - Z - F
Z - (W) - L	Z - B - J	Z - F - N	Z - G - L - G
Z - (W)^2 - Q	Z - B - ȣ	Z - F - T	Z - K - Z - K

Z (Cont:)

Consonant seq. with (i) middle rad. inconstant. (ii) final rad. inconstant.	3 Consonant Sequences		4 Consonant Sequences
Z - (W) - R	Z - h - L	Z - R - D	Z - M - B - R$^+$
Z - (Y) - R$^+$	Z - h - M	Z - R - $\mathcal{T}$	Z - M - M - R
Z - (Y) - T$^+$	Z - h - R	Z - R - Q	Z - N - Z - N
Z - (Y) - Z$^+$	Z - J - J	Z - Q - Q	Z - N - B - L$^+$
	Z - K - M	Z - T - T	Z - N - B - Q$^+$
(ii)	Z - K - R		Z - N - J - L
Z - N - (Y)	Z - L - J		Z - N - Z - L
	Z - L - Q		Z - $\mathcal{T}$ - F - R(N)
	Z - M - M		Z - $\mathcal{T}$ - R - N
	Z - M - L		Z - $\mathcal{T}$ - Z - ħ($\mathcal{T}$)
	Z - M - N		Z - Q - Z - Q
	Z - N^2 - N		Z - R - Z - R$^+$
	Z - N - Q		Z - R - B - N$^+$
	Z - $\mathcal{T}$ - L		Z - R - J - N
	Z - $\mathcal{T}$ - R		Z - R - K - N
	Z - R - R		Z - R - N - Q
	Z - R - B		Z - R - Z - Q

C

NON SEMITIC MALTESE

So far, we have established the various positional and quantity criteria of Semitic Maltese, many of which are also applicable to a mixed vocabulary, that is, to foreign words, that have in some respects, though generally not in others, conformed to the Semitic pattern or have been so conforming historically as, for instance, Semitic M. qalb, heart; and loan word, mant, mantle; in which 'a' occupies the same position, so that we can say that 'mant' is foreign not by the positional criterion of 'a' but by another criterion, that of the consonant sequence m - n - t.

In this part we shall deal with the foreign element of the Maltese language; with that part of the foreign vocabulary which, however modified historically, still has not conformed to the patterns of genuine Maltese; words or elements of words, that stand out as structurally non-Semitic.

These phonological criteria will be based on:

(a)

(i) Consonants - their sequences, including initial groups.

(ii) Consonants in Phonological Junctions.

(iii) Vowels – Positions and Quantity.

(iv) Semi-Vowels 'w' and 'y'.

(v) Vowel Sequences.

(vi) Diphthongs.

(vii) Stress

(b)

The various rules will then be illustrated by a Maltese text in mixed vocabulary which we add as a

Supplement to Phonology

(c)

These are, besides ჩ , ŋ , and dz in any position:

c, g, p, whenever they occur inside a word, but not initially as in some, generally quadriliteral words of Semitic Maltese, nor in phonological junction with morphological prefix 'm'; also 'v'[1] and 'ts' in any position.

While, therefore, such words as cercer, mcewlah, gendu:s, mgemgem, pahpah, mpahpah, are Semitic, the following are not:

(a) Examples with 'c'

tacc, tack; bocca, ball; nicca, niche; kacca, hunting; kecca, he expelled; sgicca, he escaped, pa:ci,

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(1) For one exception with initial v – venven (to fling). Cf. A ʾbgg

peace; vu:ci, voice; lacci, shad; qaqocc, artichoke;
addocc, hap-hazard; bicca, piece.

(b) Examples with 'g'

ni:gru, negro; jgant, giant; virga, wand; ti:gra,
tiger; karga, excess; ma:gna, machine; pa:gna, pan;
do:ga, toga; bagol, trunk; pa:ga, salary; Birgu, Maltese
place-name for Vittoriosa; aringa, herring.

(c) Examples with 'p'.

soppa, soup; pappa, bread;q vo:pa, kind of fish;
toppu, toupet; sko:p, aim; truppa, troop; mappa, map;
sapu:n, soap; cappa, a lump; vapu:r, ship; tapi:t, mat;
strippa, trestle.

(d) Examples with 'v'.

tra:vu, beam; va:vu, baby; vavalo:r, bib; na:vi,
aisle; favu:r, favour; cerva, deer; nervi, nerves; serva,
servant; gvern, Government; dverna, tavern; cavetta, key;
bra:va, brave.

(e) Examples with 'ts'.
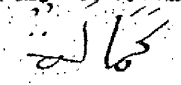
nattsyo:n, nation; kolattiyo:n, breakfast; grattsi,
thanks; mattsa, mace; mattsi:t[1], blackpudding; Frantsa,

(1) Dessoulavy's suggestion (see his Maltese-Arabic
    word list) that 'mattsi:t' is the Arabic سميط
    and therefore Semitic, is phonetically unacceptable.

France; grantsa, bran; tattsa, glass; rattsa, race;
vittsyu, vice; Wentsu, Lawrence; bottsa, electric etc.
bulb.

Consonantal Sequences.

As there is no reliable Maltese dictionary complied
by unprejudiced scholars, collecting all the language
material in current use, it is not possible to give a
satisfactory list of non-Semitic consonantal sequences
actually used in spoken Maltese. But, for our purpose,
the negative criterion, that all such consonantal se-
quences as are not included in the list of Semitic
Maltese are foreign, should be sufficient. For instance,
M. words like gvern, Government; and ka:mla, moth worm;
have consonantal sequences g-v-r-n and k-m-l respectively
that are not included in the list of Semitic Maltese.

It is interesting to point out that the much richer
Arabic language has the latter sequence which is, there-
fore, as such Semitic, but that it is not Semitic Maltese
can easily be shown by Comparative Semantics which must
always remain the last resort in doubtful cases where
phonology cannot decide definitely. While M. ka:mla,
like Sicilian camula, means worm moth, A. كامل ,
formally the nearest, means 'complement'. One important
rule to remember, which is also deduced from the

Negative Criterion, is that voiced and voiceless con-
sonants or vice versa, belonging to the same class like
't' and 'd' for instance, occur in foreign Maltese only.
Examples: bdo:t, pilot; publiku, public; favu:r, favour;
sponza, sponge; gikk, gig; karga, loaded - a gun, etc.

Another important rule to remember with regard to
(ii) <u>Consonants in Phonological Junction</u>
is that it is only in loan words that the liquids l, m,
and r voice a preceding voiceless consonant; note also
that while this always applies when the consonants are in
phonological junction, it very often applies when they
are not, that is, the rule functions also at a distance.
In both cases, however, the criterion is historical, and
we give it here because some writers still retain the
historical consonants. Examples are: smerald, emerald;
for Italian smeraldo; sma:ga, he doted, for Italian
smagare; smargass, braggart, for Italian smargiasso;
smerill, emery, for Italian smeriglio; gandlier, candle,
for Italian candeliere; ma:gna, machine, for Italian
macchina; gardell, goldfinch, for Italian cardellino;
fgu:m, touch hole, for Italian focone; gandott, gutter,
for Italian condotto.

Initial Consonant Groups.

I   The following are criteria of foreign words:

C: cm; cn; cr; the last except when it is a morpho-
logical junction from Semitic base c-r-t.
Examples: cmayra, tetanus; cnetta, cap; criev,
deer.

D: dr, in dverna, tavern, only. Note Italian 't' in
taverna, voiced by v.

F: fy as in fyu:r, (flower); fyask, fiasco; fyakk, weak.

L: lv, as in lvent, lively; and lvant, east.

N: nv, as in nvell, level, only. Note M. 'n' for
historical l.

P: py, pl, pn, pr; Examples: pya:n, plan; platt, plate;
pnewmonya, pneumonia; pru:na, plum tree.

R: rc, generally preceded by i (ə), as in ireevu:ta,
receipt, ircetta, receipe.

S: sg, sp, sk, except in the three S.M. words skenn,
he sought shelter; skieken, knives; and skiet,
silence.

st, forming integral part of the original pattern,
and therefore not when it is a morphological prefix.
Examples: sgu:ra, he assured; spa:g, pack thread;
sku:na, schooner; sta:twa, statue.

v]   vj, vg, vl, vy.

   Examples: vji:li, abstinence day; vgu:ra, figure;
   vlejja, arrow; vyajj, voyage.

2.   It is only in loan words that simple words, that
is morphologically unincreased by prefixes, begin with
a consonant group of more than two. Examples are:
sfratta, he became unstable; sbra:na, he tore to pieces;
strippa, trestle.

(iii) VOWEL CRITERIA OF LOAN WORDS

The Pharyngalised Vowels

Vocalic pharyngalisation is a feature of Semitic Maltese. It occurs only in three foreign words from the Italian:- ᵞonnella, It. gonnella, 'the faldetta' worn by the Maltese woman; ᵞambu, It.ᵞambo, both, 'a win on two numbers (lotto) and ᵞambra[1], It. ambra, amber.

The Ordinary Vowels

The various vocalic criteria whereby we can tell a non Semitic word may be positional or quantative. A general rule applying to all the vowels in their possible combinations is that a vocalic group in the same syllable can occur in loan words only.

Examples:- poeta, poet; beatu, venerable, teologu, theologian; kaos, chaos.

Such vocalic combinations within the same syllable are mainly used by the educated classes and, to some

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(1) This word, like Eng. amber ultimately comes from the
     A. عنبر   but as it is little known amongst the
     peasants,its immediate origin is, very likely, It.
     ambra.

extent, by the inhabitants of Valletta and the neigh-
bouring towns. The countryfied masses, on the other
hand, and in a few instances of long established pro-
nunciations, also the educated classes, make such loan
words conform to the Maltese patterns by inserting be-
tween the two vowels 'w' or 'y' generally lengthened as
is the phonetic tendency of S.M., especially amongst the
uneducated masses; in which case Italian 'e', where it is
the first or the second vowel in the group, changes to
'y' in Maltese, intervocalically lengthened, and if the
first vowel is o, or if it is the second in the group
but prececed by 'a' it changes to 'w' also intervocali-
cally lengthened more or less fully; Italian 'eo' in
final open syllable changes to 'ew' which explains the
objection of Semitic Maltese to a vocalic group in the
same syllable. The following examples illustrate the
process:-

Italian Examples:	Italian Vocalic Group	M. Vocalic Group	M. Examples
(a) Paese (b) saetta	ae	(a) ayyi: (b) ayye	(a) payyi:z (b) sayyetta
Paolo, Maometto	ao	aw	Pawlu; Mawmettu
(a) beato (b) creanza	ea	(a) iya (iyya) (b) i	(a) biyya:tu (b) kiryanza
teologo	eo	iyo (iyyo)	tiyyolgu
poeta	oe	owe (owwe)	powweta

suora, cuoco uo   o: so:ru, ko:k

Liceo   eo   ew

          (also iyyu) Licew also Liciyyu

Vocalic Positions as Criteria of Loan Words

A

Is foreign:-

(1) When <u>initial</u> in Verb patterns, third person singular, past tense - the basic patterns as given in the M. dictionaries - with final a (morphological criterion) and naturally in the grammatical scatter thereof.

Examples of such verbs, very common in colloquial Maltese:- adu:ra, he adores; abbu:za, abused; abbandu:na, abandoned; avantsa, he advanced; arbu:la, he lifted up.

(2) Also foreign, is <u>Interconsonantal</u> 'a' which, when preceded by a consonant and followed by two consonant groups + u or i is generally long, and short when followed by a consonant group of more than two. Final 'u' or 'i' in this context must form an integral part of the word and should not therefore be confused with the morphological suffixes 'u' or 'i' unless the latter is the plural de-terminant of a singular word with final 'u'.

Examples:- se:gru, sacred; pa:tri, friar; Vya:tku,
Viaticum; pa:pru (pl i) duck; nkwa:tru (pl i), painting;
la:btu, scapular; qa:bru, crab; but gamblu, a shrimp;
palptu, palpitation, tartru, tartar; martri, martyr.

(3) <u>Interconsonantal</u> 'a' followed by a long consonant and
preceded by an unmorphological consonant group, excluding
therefore, such consonant groups as are formed by st, n,
or t, prefixed to any of the consonant sequences of
Semitic Maltese.
Examples:- sbarr, inquest; zmarr, rude; stalla, stable;
sgarra, he blundered; sfratta, he became erratic; spalla,
shoulder; skassa, he broke open; zball, a mistake.

(4) <u>Stressed</u> a, in final open syllable, orthography à.
Examples:- karita, charity; Universita, University;
verita, truth; umilta, humility; socyeta, society;
vanita, vanity; purita, purity; sanita, sanitary in-
spector in (tas-sanita).
Note that loan words from the Italian with stressed 'a'
in final open syllable retain their original pattern, the
reason being that Semitic Maltese, in taking them over,
cannot offer a pattern of its own whereby to adapt them
or to reshape them, in other words, to semitise them. It

could not unstress final 'a', a very distinctive sound of the foreign pattern, without obscuring the original acoustic impression, and with it the meaning. As this explanation applies to all similarly stressed vowels, we here quote the sporadic loan word Ġiezu for It. Gesù, occurring contextually in the two phrases 'ta Ġiezu', a church name in Valletta, and the exclamation Ġiezu Mariyya (It. Gesù Maria). In the first example, the unetymological man in the street would not easily suspect a connection with Ġesu, though that is the word in current use, whereas in the second example such understanding would be provoked by association. The fact that Ġiezu is the only word in which Maltese has unstressed the stressed u of the original Italian, bears out the explanation I have given.

E

This vowel is foreign.

(1) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preceded by one consonant or consonant group, and followed by one consonant, where it is quantatively long.

Examples:- ce:na, supper; se:na, senna (contrast with S. M. sena, year). kre:ma, cream; rime:dyu, remedy; ve:lu, veil; ce:lu, cover; ze:lu, zeal; je:lu, frost.

These patterns, retaining the historical e: are very
frequent in Valletta and the towns, where Semitic Maltese,
and worse still semitic phonetics, are having a very hard
time, but in the villages e:, as a rule, changes to the
semitic 'ie'. Examples:- piena, pain; vieru, true;
cielu, cover; Kriedu, Creed; Karmiena, for Karme:na
(woman's name); cieda, he surrendered.

As a supplement to what we have said, it is inter-
esting to explain further that, while loan words with e:
correspond to similar patterns with e: in the original
Italian, the process phonetically does not always operate
vice versa; for Italian e: very often in Maltese corres-
ponds to the Semitic i:, thus rendering a greater number
of loan words phonetically less easy to identify. This
is a Sicilian influence where the same phenomenon pre-
vails which, incidentally, sheds much light on the history
of such words, as we can therefore argue that they be-
long to the earlier cultural and commercial contacts of
the Maltese Islands with Sicily. Examples are:- vi:na,
vein; ti:la, canvas, as in Sicilian, from the Italian
ve:na, te:la, etc.

(2) In final syllables closed by a long consonant or a
consonant group, in which case, as other vowels of S.M.

in similar position, it is always stressed.

Examples:- tsaltsett, sausage; curkett, ring; mulett, mullet; muntsell, haystack; riʃ'tellu, gate; torment, bordell, brothel; etern, eternal; farfett, butterfly.

(3) When stressed in final open syllable:-
Examples:- kafe, coffee; obwe, hautboy.

I

This vowel is foreign:-

(1) Interconsonantally, when preceded by a consonant group, and followed by one consonant + vowel i, excluding such patterns as result from the addition of affixes to the original word, in which case this vowel is always long, quantatively according to the rules of Semitic Maltese. Examples:- kri:zi, crisis; vgi:li, day of abstinence;

(2) Also Interconsonantally in noun patterns resulting from 1 consonant + 1 vowel + 1 consonant + 1 vowel, when it is quantatively long (morphological criterion). Examples:- fi:di, faith;(contrast with verbal noun fidi, redemption) li:ji, law.

(3) When in the Final syllable closed by a long consonant,

where, also according to the rule of S. Maltese, quantatively it is short; and stressed. Examples:- merill, blackbird; pastitts, pie; saratitts, beam; gardill, goldfinch; zinzill, a lad.

(4) When stressed in <u>Final</u> open syllable.
Examples:- Mari, Mary; pipi, piss (baby talk).

(5) When <u>Final</u> in words of more than three syllables:-
avventu:ri, adventures; arciprieti, archpriests.

o

Whilst the general rules governing the quantity of the Semitic vowels in their relation to the following consonant or consonants apply also to the vowels in Non Semitic words, no hard and fast rule can be laid down to establish if 'o' preceded by one consonant and followed by a consonant group must be considered long or short. We can only give an approximate description which covers the greater number of such patterns; 'O is generally <u>short</u> if the following consonant group ends in 'a' or 'i' in open syllable and <u>long</u>, if the consonant group is followed by 'u' in open syllable". But, we must repeat, this rule is by no means without exceptions, as, for instance, do:mma, holy medal (Latin domina).

It is interesting to note that o: in this context denotes the elision of a historical extraneous vowel in the foreign pattern, this being required by the rules of S. Maltese stress that does not tolerate more than one syllable after accent. Take loan word la:btu, scapular, for instance. This is from Italian l'abito ('labito), with assimilated article, which, with the elision of the first unstressed vowel after 'i', gives M. form la:btu.

The vowel o is foreign

(1) Initially in verbs (morphological criterion) in which context, quantitatively, it is always short. Examples:- obda, he obeyed; ondra, kenneled; obbliga, obliged; okkupa, occupied; ordna, ordered; offra, offered; osserva, observed; offenda, offended.

(2) Interconsonantally, preceded by one consonant or a consonant group and followed by one consonant, like other vowels of S.M. in similar position, quantitatively long. Lo:k, place; ko:k, cook; ro:ta, wheel; mo:ta, chime; vo:t, vote; so:ru, nun; sko:la, school; sto:na, he was out of tune; ⌠ko:ra, sack; sto:r, store; bro:du, broth; fro:ja, omelette; bdo:t, pilot; ko:z !, indeed !; ko:r, choir; vo:pa, kind of fish; dzo:na, zone; mastattso:l, kind of cake; garago:r, spiral staircase.

(3) <u>Interconsonantal</u> o preceded and followed by an un-morphological consonant group, in which position, as in S.M. it is short.

Examples:- brott, ball; trott, trot; flokk, vest; skont, discount; sports, sports; bronts, bronze, zbroff, skin sore; troffa, tuft; qroqqa, brood hen; frosta, whip.

(4) In <u>Final</u> syllable, closed by one simple or long consonant or consonant group, stressed in both contexts, but quantitatively long in the first and short in the latter two instances. Examples:- piryo:l, prior; firyo:l, mantle; timplo:r, weevil; - papocc, slippers; gabdoll, shark; gandott, gutter; kapott, coat; rapport, report; espost, exposed.

(5) <u>Stressed</u> o in final open syllable.
Examples:- buro, bureau; repo, repast.

<center>U</center>

<u>This vowel is foreign</u>

(1) <u>Initially</u>, when followed by a consonant group, in which context it is long if followed by <u>md</u>, <u>tr</u>, <u>tl</u>, and short in other instances.
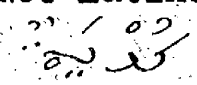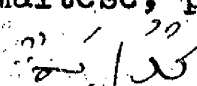
As in the case of o:, u:, in this context, also, corresponds to the historical short and stressed 'u'

followed by more than one syllable which is against the rule of Semitic Maltese. Cf. M. u: tru, womb, with its Italian original, utero, M. u: mdu, damp, with It. umido; M. u: tli, useful, with It. utile.

Examples of initial short u are umbrella, umbrella and urna, urn.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preceded by one consonant or a consonant group and followed by a consonant group, including a consonant + one semi vowel.

Examples:- gu:bya, pulley; mu:mya, mummy; fu:rya, fury; stu:dya, he studied; ku:rya, Bishop's house; ju:vni. a youth; bu:flu, buffalo; gu:mma, cable.

<u>Note</u>: Gu:dya, a Maltese place-name, has been derived by N. Tagliaferro (Cf. L'Elemento Neo-Latino Nel Lessico Maltese, p.11) from the Arabic ـجَدْيَة large rock, or ـجَدْيَة heap of earth. But as the pattern occurs in loan words only, it is possible that the origin of this place-name like that of (Hal-) Luqa, and ʃlendi, is not Semitic.

(3) <u>Finally</u>, in open syllable, excepting monosyllables; always, according to the general rule if (a) stressed (b) if unstressed, only in Nouns (in contra-distinction from Verbs) with a vocalic sequence a - u, o - u, u - u,

of which 'u' is not a morphological suffix. (morphological and phonological criterion).

Examples of words with stressed u, which are rare, are Jesu, Jesus; virtu, virtue.

For comparative purposes, which sheds much light on the nature of Maltese phonology, note that words with final 'u' as we have described them, as in Sicilian, whence we have got most of our earlier loan words, correspond to Italian patterns ending either in o, and less often, in e; but not all such Italian words correspond to loan words with final 'u'. Very often, the pattern adaptation is effected by apocopation of the final vowel in open syllable of the original word, as, for instance, M. ca:r, clear; for Sic. ca:ru,[1] from It. chiaro, Lat. clarus.

Examples of unstressed 'u' in final open syllable:- qa:bru, crab; tra:vu, beam; farru, barley; barru, unripe figs; karru, chariot; barbru, barbarian; moʃʃu, without energy; bro:du, broth; tontu, silly; kuitu, quiet.

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(1) Characteristic features of Sicilian phonetics, and of many M. loan words, is the correspondence of i: to It. e: and u to It o, which some scholars historically link up with vulgar Latin. For the light it may shed on M. comparative phonetics, read the article on the Sicilian dialect in the Enciclopedia Italiana under Sicily.

(iv) THE SEMI VOWELS

(1) '<u>W</u>' is foreign in <u>Interconsonantal</u> position, pre-
ceded by one consonant and followed by a vowel, or pre-
ceded by two consonants and followed by a vowel or by
diphthong 'ie'.
Examples:- kwo:ta, quota; ekwipajj, crew; kwistyo:ni,
question; stwiel, beam.

(2) '<u>Y</u>' is foreign <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preceded by one
consonant and followed by o:, as vyo:la, violet; and in
<u>Final</u> position, followed by 'u' or 'i' in open syllable
as pa:lyi, prize flags; banyu, bath; arma:ryu, cupboard;
bayyu, simpleton; jilyu, lily; jilyi, lilies.

(v) VOWEL SEQUENCES CRITERIA

In the phonology of Semitic Maltese we gave a complete list tabulating all the vowel sequences of the language. Here we take out the list marked foreign, and give an example for each sequence.

(1) Foreign Sequences with initial 'a'

(1) a - o, trabokk, birds' trap, (2) a - o - L: kanno:l, reed; (3) a - a - a: appara:t, apparatus; (4) a - a - e, ravanell, raddish; (5) a - a - o, qarabocc, millet; (6) a - a - o: paraso:l, parasol; (7) a - a - u: tartaru:n, fishing net; (8) a - e - o, aspersoryu, aspersorium; (9) a - e - u:, karrettu:n, cart; (10) a - e: - u, Karme:lu (proper name, Charles); (11) a - i - a, antipast, antipast; (12) a - i - a:, kardina:l, cardinal; (13) a - i - e, gabinett, cabinet; (14) a - i - i, antikrist, anti-Christ; (15) a - i - o, gabbillott, landowner; (16) a - i - u, Kamillu (person's name); (17) a - o - a, gandoffla, cockle; (18) a - o - i:, karrottsi:n, cab; (19) a - u - a:, kapura:l, corporal; (20) u - u - e, kurunell, colonel; (21) a - u - i: marsutti:n

II. Sequences with initial 'e'

(1) e: a, ce:na, supper; (2) e - o, termos, heating flask; (3) e: - u, ze:lu, zeal; (4) e - a: - a, terza:na, high fever; (5) e - o - a, Bernarda, woman's name; (6) e - a - i: Germani:z, German; (7) e - a - u:, pezatu:r, public weigher; (8) e - e - i:, berretti:n, priest's biretta; (9) e - e - o:, terremo:t, earthquake; (10) e - e - u:, jeneru:z, generous; (11) e - i - e, feriment, wounding; (12) e - i: - i, jenti:ll, gentle; (13) e - i - o:, variant of (9); (14) e - i - u, periklu, danger; (15) e - u - a, ceppullattsa, sow fish, (16) e - u - i:, kerubi:n, cherub.

III. Sequences with initial 'i'

(1) i:a, mi:na, mine; (2) i - i:, fidi:l, faithful; (3) i - o, filo , gauze; (4) i - a - a, Irlanda, Ireland; (5) i - a - i:, briganti:n, brigantine; (6) i - a - u:, friskatu:r, basin; (7) i - e - i:, bicceriyya, slaughter-house; (8) i - e - u:, ispettu:r, inspector; (9) i - i - a, bi killa, basket; (10) i - i - o:, cippito:tu, teetotum; (11) i - o - a, irmonda, he pruned the vines; (12) i - o - i:, biskotti:n, biscuit; (13) i - u: - i, pidu:ni, socks.

IV. Sequence with initial o.

(1) o - e, torment, torment; (2) o - u:, stordu:t, dazed; (3) o - a - a, borraʃka, gale; (4) o - a - e, organett, organ; (5) o - i: - a, skorfi:na, screw; (6) o - u - a:, fortuna:t, lucky.

V. Sequences with initial u

(1) u - e, mulett, mullet; (2) u - i:, puli:t, well mannered; (3) u: - i, ju:ri, jury; (4) u - u:, tuju:n, entails; (5) u - a - i:, suʃari:n, match; (6) u - a - u:, kuratu:r, curator; (7) u - i - a:, purtina:r, porter; (8) u - i - e, purcinell, punch; (9) u - i: i, cumbi:ni, bobbins; (10) u - i - u:, kuritu:r, corridor; (11) u - u: - a, kuru:na, wreath; (12) u - u - i:, cunturi:n, belt.

(vi) DIPHTHONGS AS CRITERIA OF LOAN WORDS

AW

(1) <u>Initial</u> 'aw' and 'aww' followed by one consonant or vowel respectively.

Of the thirty-three Italian words with initial aw (It. orthography au), the following nine have crept into Maltese:- awgu:ra, he wished success; awwissu[1], August; awla[2], the University hall; awro:ra[3], awrora, dawn; awtentiku, authentic; awtografu, autograph; awru:r, author; awtorita, authority; awra:ta, gilt fish; with these we may add awri:na, urine, awrina:r, urinal; in which note that the initial diphthong, historically, corresponds to 'u'.

(2) <u>Interconsonantally</u>, preced by a consonant group, closed by an unmorphological' consonant.

The only M. words of this pattern are:- flawt, flute; plaws, applause, boy'skawt, boy scout (recent English

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(1) For comparative phonetics, it is interesting that M. seems to have some objection to 'g' sound which it drops in a few loan words. With M. awwissu, cf. It. agosto, with M. frawla, strawberry, It. fragola, with M. dwa:na, custom house, It. dogana, with M. Wisti:n, Augustine, It. Agostino.
(2) Used only by the University students of the hall which gets its name from the Latin inscription 'Aulu Magna' over the entrance.
(3) Contextually used in the phrase 'qoddiesa ta lawro:ra, the earliest mass in the morning.

neologism); frawli, strawberry; trawma, trauma (medical word).

(3) In final position, preceded by one consonant or a consonant group in the open syllable of dissyllables and, always when similarly final in words of more than two syllables.

Both patterns, as an instance of mixed grammar, may be closed by one of the morphological consonants of S.M. The diphthong is quantitatively short and, as in S.M., it is also stressed.

Examples:- babaw, bogey; armaw, they armed; skartaw, they ran away, bakkalyaw, cod; kawkaw, cocoa; zarmaw, they disarmed; zarmawk, they disarmed you; irvellaw, they rebelled; i∫∫alaw, they enjoyed themselves.

EW

Final 'ew', when Not preceded by the consonant sequence, and in the same order, given with final y in brackets as an inconstant radical in the list of S.M. bases like, for instance, r- m- [y], whence we get S.M. pattern with final 'ew' in 'irmew', they threw away. Quantitatively, the diphthong is short and, as in S.M., stressed. Examples are muzew, museum; Licew, Lyceum; mawsolew, mausoleum.

AW

(1) When in __initial__ position.

Examples:- ayk, lay brother; ayru, atmosphere; ayrupla:m, aeroplane; ´ayma, alas; ayyútant, adjutant; ´aykla, eagle.

(2) When in the final closed syllable of words of more than two syllables where it is always stressed.

Examples:- infískayt, I was irritated; irranjayt, I planned.

IE

Foreign in __final__ syllable of words of more than two syllables. As in S.M., it is always stressed.

Examples:- arjentier, silversmith; avventurier, adventurer; parrukkier, barber.

__Note__: No further criteria of exclusively non semitic patterns result from the positional study of the other diphthongs.

(vii) STRESS AS A CRITERION

En passant, we have often referred to foreign stress; under the proper heading we repeat the important rule that "It is only in loan words that the stressed syllable is followed by more than one unstressed syllable," which differentiates Semitic Maltese not only from such languages as Italian but also from classical Arabic and some of its dialects. Examples are Kattoliku, Catholic; teologu, theologian.

That Maltese, especially as spoken by the uncultured classes, does not easily tolerate such stressing, may be seen from the following comparative lists of examples in which the foreign patterns are made to conform to the rule of Maltese stress either (a) by elision of the first syllable-constituting vowel after the stressed syllable with, generally, consequent lengthening of the preceding stressed vowel or (b) by stress shifting according to the Semitic Maltese pattern.

(a) First process

Non Semitic Maltese	Italian[1]
1. pulptu (pulpit)	pulpito
2. palptu (palpitation)	palpito
3. rka:ptu (material)	ricapito

(1) The Italian words are given in their orthography.

Non Semitic Maltese		Italian
4.	ta:vla (plank)	tavola
5.	a:lmu (courage)	animo
6.	po:plu (people)	popolo
7.	gvern (Government)	Governo
8.	dverna (tavern)	taverna
9.	ferla (giant fennel)	ferula
10.	vo:mtu (vomit)	vomito
11.	karga (undertaking)	carica
12.	tartru (dregs)	tartaro
13.	la:btu (scapular)	l'abito
14.	perglu (pulpit)	pergamo
15.	stonku (stomach)	stomaco
16.	kalci (chalice)	calice

(b) Second Process

As loan words are generally treated as in process (a) this comprises a smaller number of words. The countrified masses, however, apply this process to a few Italianate loans. While the educated classes say 'muzika, music; It. musica, Kattoliku, Catholic, It. Cattolico, Appostolika, Apostolic, It. Apostolica, the people in general prefer the S.M. measure mu:zka, but also muzi:ka, (in the villages), pubilku to 'pubbliku,

It. pubblico; dispu:ta to disputa; Affri:ka, Africa, to
Affrika; and the English word 'manager', a recent neo-
logism, has been adapted to manéjer by the Maltese bus
conductors.   But I have never heard foreign words of
more than three syllables, like Kattolika, subjected to
process (b).

(2) Stress is foreign when, according to rules already
described, it falls on the final syllable closed by a
long consonant with, or without, morphological adjuncts
and

(3) In Noun loan words, in contradistinction from verbs
(morphological criterion), where stress falls on 'a:l',
'a:t' and 'a:r', closing final syllable.

Examples:- arta:l, altar; indanna:t, damned; kacna:r,
kitchen drudgery.

D

SUPPLEMENT TO PHONOLOGY

Following is the transcription of part of an election bill which is certainly not a specimen of good literary Maltese, but its language being the typical colloquial of a professional, affords us excellent opportunity to illustrate how foreign words mix naturally with genuine Maltese bring about a harmonious interplay of the various phonological rules of Semitic and non Semitic Maltese that we have been establishing. All words under-lined are foreign, and here, to show how the multiple criteria may be applied with good result, we shall analyse phonologically the first thirty-two words in the list.

To illustrate the phonetic correspondence between the standard spelling now taught in the schools of Malta and the transcription, we have also repeated the same passage in the current orthography which should show easily now how far the established spelling is phonetic, and how far historical.

GVern Kolonya:li flezekuti:v

Meta lgvern imperya:li wara lissospendal
Kotituttsyo:ni neħħiha ʃalkolloʃ u ʃamel gvern kolonya:li
millaktar strett, il gvernatu:r ʃanno:m tarre seyyaħħli
ħalli niehu parti ʃat tielet darba flezekuti:v.
Ienaccettayt taħt zewg kondizzyoniyyiet:- lewwel li ʃeyn
ma yiji flezekuti:v kuntr:ryu ʃal principyi Nattsyonal-
isti, wit taeni li niɓqa fl-ezekuti:v sakenm flim kien
ma sha:bi yirneʃʃi:li nji:b kostituttsyoni oħra, aktar
libera:li minndi:k li kenna. Sewwasew ki:f ilgvernatu:r
ipprokla:mal kostituttsyo:ni ljdi:da, yiena tayt
iddimissyo:ni tiyyey ki: f kont weʃidt metaccet tayt.

Na:f li:bosta minn sha:bi ta lanti:k, bħal maw koll
bosta minn dawk li: flim ʃoddi sostnewni bilvo:t tanħom
ma ħadu:ʃ gost li:yienac-cettayt li nif forma ɓarti
millesecuti:v. U:ma raw flaccet tattsyo:ni tiyyey bħala
jest kontra linteressi ta:ɭpo:plu, izda yien ʃadni
naħsb e ki:f ħsibt metaccet tayt li:na ʃmel parti
millezekuti:v li yien m ʃa milt ʃ ħlief da:k li kien
semplice ment dove:r tiyyey.

ʃaʃ Accet tayt

Lewwel nett ʃa lieʃ deherli li:kien ta mi:n ma

yit ´lifʃ lopportunita li:lgvernatur: tħallieħ

´alkolloʃ fideyn ħies li´setɣew yew may kollomʃ idea

´justa tal bzonniyyiet tal ´po:plu yew ɣaʃ ma´yafu:ʃ

yew ɣaʃ mayri´du:ʃ , ittieni kien listess Gvern

i mperya:li li fti:t ´i:lu kien illicentsya:ni bħala

Ministru li ´kien ´qiɣed iseyyaħli´bħala konsultu:r;

´ittielet ɣaʃ ´nemmen win´ħoss li met´ɣandek okkazzyo:ni

li ´taɣmel iddo´ve:r´tiyyek´uwwa li:´taɣmel u mu:ʃ li

´toqɣod tit´ħaddet´biss. ´Illu:m, wara ´da:k li ´ɣadda

a´volya´rayt li ´rayt; ka´lunyi, ´gideb, infa:myi mindawk

li ´darba ´kienu´ħbieb´tiyyey´yiena ´ɣadni´nħoss li ɣa

´milt dakli´kien ´sewwa u m´ɣandi´libda dispyaci:r li

smayt´biss millvu:ci tal kuʃɣentsa´tiyyey u li ɣa

´milt da:k li deherli´kien ´sewwa.

The above prose passage in the standard spelling

GVern Kolonjali fl- eżekutiv

Meta l-gvern imperjali, wara li issospenda

l-Kostituzzjoni neħħiha għal kollox u għamel gvern

kolonjali mill-aktar strett, il-gvernatur, għan-nom tar-re,

sejjaħli ħalli nieħu parti għat-tielet darba fl-

eżekutiv, jien accettajt taħt żewg kondizzjonijiet: l-

ewwel li xejn ma jħgi fl- eżekutiv kuntrarju għal-

principji Nazzjonalisti, wit- tieni li nibqa´fl-

eżekutiv sakemm flimkien ma sħabi jirnexxili li nġib

kostituzzjoni oħra, aktar liberali minn dik li kellna.

Sewwa sew, kif il-Gvernatur ipprokklama l-kostituzzjoni

l-ġdida, jiena tajt id-dimissjoni tiegħi kif kont

wegħidt meta aċċettajt.

Naf li bosta minn sħabi ta l-antik, bħalma wkoll

bosta minn dawk li fl-imgħoddi sostnewni bil-vot tagħhom,

ma ħadux gost li jien aċċettajt li nifforma parti

mill-eżekutiv; huma raw fl- accettazzjoni tiegħi bħala

ġest kontra l-interessi tal-poplu, iżda jien għadni

naħseb, kif ħsibt meta aċċettajt li nagħmel parti mill-

eżekutiv, li jien m'għamiltx ħlief dak li kien semplice-

ment dover tiegħi.

Għax Aċċettajt

L-ewwel nett, għaliex deherli li kien ta' min ma

jitlefx l- opportunità li l-gvernatur tħallieh għal

kollox f'idejn nies li setgħu, jew ma jkollhomx idea

ġusta tale bżonnijiet tal- poplu, jew għax ma jafux, jew

għax ma jridux, it-tieni kien l- istess Gverħ imperjali

li ftit ilu kien illiċenzjani bħala Ministru li kien

qieghed isejjaħli bħala konsultur, it-tielet għax

nemmen u nħoss li meta għandek okkażżjoni li tagħmel id-

dover tiegħek, huwa li tagħmel u mhux li toqghod

tithaddet biss. Illum, wara dak li għadda, avolja rajt li rajt, kalunji, gideb, infamji minn dawk li darba kienu ħbieb tiegħi, jiena għadni nħoss li għamilt dak li kien sewwa u m'għandi l- ebda dispjacir li smajt biss mill-vuci tal-koxjenza tiegħi u li għamilt dak li deherli kien sewwa.

Phonological Description of Loan Words

1. **Gvern**, foreign by (1) consonant 'v' (2) Consonant sequence, (3) Vocalic position; it has been semitised only in the matter of stress, cf. It governs (historico-phonological criterion).

2. **Imperya:li** (Imperial) foreign by (1) Internal consonant 'p'. (2) Consonant sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence. Its only element agreeing with S.M. is position of stress (historical agreement).

3. **issospenda** (suspended) foreign by (1) Internal consonant 'p'. (2) Vocalic sequence, (3) Consonant sequence. Position of stress as in S.M. (historical agreement).

4. **Kostituttsyo:ni** (constitution) foreign by (1) internal consonant ts. (2) Consonant sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence. (4) Vowel o: . Stress as in S.M. (historical agreement).

5. **Kolonya:li** (Colonial) foreign by (1) Consonant sequence. (2) Vocalic sequence. Stress as in S.M. (historical agreement).

6. **Strett** (strict) foreign by (1) Initial consonant group. (2) Vocalic position.

7. __no:m__ (name) foreign by vowel o:

8. __re__; foreign by vocalic position. S.M. has only one such word. (Cf. Ph of S.M. vowel 'e').

9. __parti__; foreign by consonant sequence. Stress as in S.M. (historical agreement); vocalic sequence belongs also to S.M., but with a different semantic function (morphological criterion).

10. __ezekutiv__; foreign by (1) Consonant 'v'. (2) Consonant sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence.

11. __accettajt__; foreign by (1) Internal 'c'. (2) Position of initial a. (3) position of diphthong 'ay'. (4) Consonantal sequence. (5) Vocalic sequence.

12. __kondittssyoniyyiet__ (conditions) foreign by (1) ts. (2) Vocalic sequence. (3) Consonantal sequence.

13. __kuntra:ryu__ (contrary); foreign by (1) Consonantal sequence. (2) Vocalic sequence. (3) Position of semi vowel 'y'. Stress as in S.M. (historical agreement).

14. __principyi__ (principles); foreign by (1) Initial consonant group. (2) Vocalic sequence. (3) Position of 'y'.

15. __Nattsyonalisti__ (Nationalists) foreign by (1) ts. (2) consonantal sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence. (4) position of V. 'i'.

16. __yirne∫∫i__ (it succeeds) foreign by (1) Consonantal sequence. (2) Vocalic sequence.

17. __libera:li__ (liberal) foreign by (1) Vocalic and (2) consonantal sequence. (3) Position of final 'i'.

18. __Gvernatu:r__ (Governor) foreign by (1) initial consonant group. (2) Consonantal sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence. (4) Vocalic positions.

19. __ipprokla:ma__ (he proclaimed); foreign by (1) 'p'. (2) Vocalic sequence. (3) Consonant sequence.

20. __dimissyo:ni__ (resignation); foreign by (1) o:. (2) Consonantal sequence. (3) Vocalic sequence. (4) Position of final 'i'.

21. anti:k (antique); foreign by (1) Consonant sequence.
(2) by position of vocalic sequence, which is other-
wise Semitic.

22. Sostnewni (supported me with ni = me); foreign by
(1) Consonant sequence. (2) Position of 'ew'.

23. vo:t (vote) foreign by (1) v and (2) o:.

24. gost (pleasure) foreign by consonant sequence.
Positionally, o conforms to S.M.

25. nifforma foreign by (1) Consonantal sequence. (2)
Vocalic sequence.

26. accettattsyo:ni (acceptance) foreign by (1) 'c'.
(2) by 'ts'. (3) by o:. (4) Position of final i.
(5) Vocalic and consonantal sequence.

27. Jest (gesture); foreign by (1) Consonant sequence.
Vocalic position occurs also in S.M. cf. ferq, hair
parting.

28. Kontra (against); foreign by consonantal sequence.

29. interessi (interests); foreign by (1) Consonantal
sequence. (2) Vocalic sequence.

30. po:plu (people); foreign by (1) p. (2) o:.

31. semplicement (simply); foreign by (1) consonantal
sequence. (2) Vocalic sequence. (3) Position of final
'e'.

32. dover (duty); foreign by (1) consonant 'v'. (2)
Vocalic sequence.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

A

THE VARIABLE ELEMENT OF S.M. MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

In phonology, we dealt mainly with the formal
distribution of the vowels, in this part we deal with
the formal distribution of the consonant sequences plus
the correlative vocalic modifications or sequences that
give semantic definiteness to the unvowelled bases, which,
as such, only _suggest_ some sort of meaning too vague,
however, to be of any use for speech purposes. One
such vocalised consonant base has to be chosen and
fixed as a test pattern, whereby to compare and check
the formal behaviour of further scatter. We shall use
a Verbal pattern, morphologically corresponding to the
3rd person masculine singular, in which the second
radical features intervocalically. The particular voc-
alic sequences - and there are six of them - do not
matter at the moment, as we shall describe them more
fully when we come to deal with Verbal patterns. What
matters is the consonantal element of the Verbal Base
which we shall use throughout to symbolise a hypothetic-
al original base. We shall refer to this _test pattern_

as the Verbal Base, or as V.B. for short.

In Semitic and Semitised Maltese, morphological definiteness is a matter of the proper correlation of the vocalic and consonantal elements, which, between them, make up the vocabulary of the spoken language, and, by the force of linguistic imitation based on formal analogy, also the new words coined by the modern writers to express ideas for which the limited stock of current vocabulary does not provide, thus creating gradually a Neo-Semitic Maltese with which we shall deal briefly elsewhere.

The consonantal element of words, basic and scatter, will be represented by the three conventional radicals, Q - T - L, which we shall use throughout to symbolise any triconsonantal base with the three radicals that are constant as to position, and, formally, appearing in all the scatter of the original base, in contradistinction from others, also hypothetically triconsonantal but with one, and in a few instances, with two radicals — w, y — inconstant. The reason why they are called inconstant is that, in some of the scatter, unlike those constant, they disappear altogether.

These inconstant radicals may occur <u>initially</u>, <u>medially</u>, <u>finally</u> and, in the few instances of double radical inconstancy, <u>medially and finally</u>, as L - W - (Y),

H - Y - (Y), in which case, however, the second rad-
ical w or y, formally behaves like a constant radical
in that it always appears in the possible derivatives
of the base, in its right order, which brings us to
the formulation of the important principle that no mat-
ter how the correlative vowel or vowels may vary, in
all the possible scatter, the consonants always retain
the order established by their own basic sequence.
This applies also to 'w' and 'y', and to any of the
pharyngalised vowels featuring as radicals.

As a variant of V.B. Q - T - L, we have Q - T - T,
with the last two radicals the same, and which, in
spoken Maltese in the V.B. we have chosen as a test
pattern, amalgamate into one long consonant only to
split up into two separate, though phonetically ident-
ical, consonants in further scatter. To show what we
mean, we take 'medd', he stretched, as an instance,
which, by analogy with V.B. ʃeħet, he threw, formally
is supposed to be for hypothetical 'meded', and ˤradd',
he restored, which, by analogy with radam, he buried,
formally must be the phonetic implication of original,
radad. Cf. d-d positions in mimdu:d, stretched, with
positionally corresponding ħ and t in miʃħu:t, thrown,
and d-d in mirdu:d, restored with d-m, in mirdu:m,
buried.

This explains the convenience, for purposes of formal description, of hypothecating triconsonantalism throughout also for such patterns, and likewise for those with one of the radicals inconstant. There are, besides, Quadriliteral bases; bases made up of four radicals symbolised by Q - T - L - L, but in this case third and fourth radicals, which may or may not be different, phonetically, never amalgamate into one long consonant also when they are identical, as in gerbeb, he rolled.

With the quadriliterals, we should not confuse triconsonantal bases with medial radical morphologically lengthened as, ḥabbat, he struck, from ḥabat, though in the list of consonant sequences that we gave in 'Phonology', we have included a few such patterns, the triconsonantal base of which, though possibly still extant in Arabic, has ceased to exist, or function as such, in Maltese.

We now tabulate for reference the various Verbal bases:-

   (1)   Q - T - L

   (2)   Q - T - T

   (3)   W - T - L

   (4)   Q - (W) -L

   (5)   Q - (Y) - L

   (6)   Q - T - (Y)

The criterion for deciding that V.B. 4 and 5 have 'w'
and 'y' respectively for medial radical is based on
whether u, o, w in (4) or i:, i, y in (5) feature in
the scatter. This is, however, as far as the V.B.
itself is concerned, only a convenient assumption, though
not without a historical phonetic justification based
on analogical triconsonantalism; actually V.B. (4) and
(5) as test patterns are biconsonantal with medial a:
or ie. But the radicals absent in the V.B. appear in
the scatter.

Examples:

V.B. S - (Y) - B, to find is sa:b, or sieb, as
spoken, but isi:b, he finds (with inter-
consonantal 'i' for hypothetical 'y')
and misyu:b, found ('y' featuring as a
prevocalic radical).

V.B. Q - (W) - M, he got up, is Qa:m, as spoken,
but iqu:m, he gets up (with interconson-
antal 'u' for 'w'), and qawma, a resur-
rection, (postvocalic 'w' appearing as
a radical), which compare with habta, a
collision, from HaBaT, he struck, where
hypothetical w and b are, positionally,
analogous.

What we have explained, must have made it clear
that Maltese morphological patterns are essentially
variable as to form. This will be seen better from the
list of patterns which we have given in separate tables
with short introductory notes to explain them formally,
and also functionally where necessary.

With the Invariable Element we shall deal separately
in 'B'. We shall continue to use M.V. to indicate that
the pattern in question is also shared by foreign words
to an extent that will be discussed separately in the
Morphology of Non-Semitic Maltese, and S.M. to indicate
that the pattern has not affected any loan words.

Table 1

This Table includes a complete list of Nominal
patterns resulting from the corresponding Verbal Bases
(Col. iv.). Semantically, they denote 'action' or
'states' nominally conceived, as qari, (the) reading
from V,B. Q - R - (Y) and kruha, ugliness, from
K - R - H. The variety of the thirty three Nominal
patterns that are the scatter of such Verbal bases
depends on the variety of the vowel or vowels, in
some patterns also on the additional suffixes, and the
consequent arrangements of the consonant sequences as
described in Col. i. These nominals, denoting 'action'
or 'states', of which several examples are given in
Col. iii, are matched with a list of formally corres-
ponding nouns (Col. v), but which are not the scatter
of Verbal bases, though they themselves may be produc-
tive of such bases — referred to as denominative
verbs — and of the further scatter thereof as, for
instance, hajjar, he stoned; tahj:r, stoning, etc.
from noun 'hajar, stone. This, as the given example
shows, results from the phonetic lengthening of the
medial radical that may or may not be retained through-
out in all subsequent scatter as, for instance, tahji:r,

for the other form, also current, thajji:r, in which
the phonetic lengthening of the derived V.B. is re-
tained. In Col. iv the more frequent vocalic sequences
of the Verbal bases that give rise to the nominals in
Col. iii are not listed necessarily in the order of
the example in Col. iii.

Pattern Variability

Many of the examples given in Col. iii are subject
to further formal modification by the addition of suf-
fix 'a' to the last consonant, with consequent elision
of the unstressed vowel, if the word is dissyllabic
with medial radical intervocalic, as wahma, a wish, from
waham, desire; or to final 'i' or 'u' in open syllable
with their consequent change to 'y' or 'w' respective-
ly as jirya, a run, from jiri; and felwa, a filly, from
felu.   This will apply also to Descriptive patterns
(Table 4), where suffix 'a' has a purely gender func-
tion, as helwa, sweet (feminine) from helu, masculine,
in contradistinction from its

Semantic Function

in Noun pattern, where it may indicate -

(i)   unity of action (Col. iii), that is,
      action done once; as harsa, a look, from
      V.B. hares.

(ii) the way an action is performed (Col. III)
      as mi)ya, one's way of walking, gait;
      kitba, one's way of writing.

(iii) noun of unity or feminine gender. (Col.v)

In the last instance, the criterion is naturally

logical. For instance, 'warda' from 'ward', roses,

can only mean a (one) rose; kelba, from kelb, a dog,

can only mean 'a bitch'.

With other formal developments resulting from the

addition of the pluralising suffixes we shall deal

under the proper heading.

Table 1

"Nominal Scatter of V.B."

Nos.	Formal Description of the Patterns	The Patterns	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns)	Vocalic sequence of V.B.	Original Nouns with similar patterns. Also + a, as in (i), where logically possible to indicate noun of unity or the feminine gender.
(i)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
1	With 'a' between 1st and 2nd rad. the latter in phonological junction with 3rd rad. generally developed from 'transitive' V.B.	Qa T L (+a) (M.V.)	ḥars, looking; daḥk, laughter; daqq, music; bard, cold; fard, oddip qawl, motto; ḥayr, at-traction	a – a; a – e; i – e; (Q—w—L / "—y—")	qalb, heart; ward, roses.
2	As in (1) with 'e' instead of 'a'.	Qe T L (+a) (M.V.)	serḥ, rest; ferḥ, joy; ʃerf, wisdom; serg robbery; ferq, hair-parting; ʕelm, sign; leḥḥ, dazzling, wens, company; lewm, chiding; ḥeym, petting.	e – a; a – a; (Q—w—L / "—y—")	kelb, dog; belt, city; ʃerq, root; ʕemʃ, sun; melḥ, salt.
3	As in (i) with 'i' instead of 'a', developed from V.B. with initial rad. 'w'	Qi TL (+a) (M.V.)	wild, child; wirt, heritage; wiʃʃ, attraction. But note other V.Bases with first rad. w and third rad. 'l' or 'n' or 'r' have uʃiːl as pat. 3; ugieḥ, falling; uziːn, weighing, usieḥ, containing.	i – e	jild, skin; jibs, chalk; wicc, face; silj, ice; circ, drizzle; wirk, thigh; bint, daughter.

Nos. Formal Description of the Patterns.	The Patterns	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns)	Vocalic sequence of V.B.	Original Nouns with similar patterns. Also +a, as in (i), where logically possible to indicate noun of unity or the feminine gender.
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
4. As in (1) with 'o' instead of 'a'.	Qo TL (+a)	ʃorb, drinking; ḥolm, dreaming; ʃors, merriment.	o — o	ḥorj, knapsack; ḥobs, bread; qorq, sandals; moʃt, comb; sorm, backside; ʃoʃʃ, pudenda, mulieris; zobb, organum virile; ḥobb, bosom.
5. With medial red. between voc. seq. a - a	Qa TaL (+a with elision of second 'a') (S.M.)	sabar, patience; fagar, poverty; faraj, comfort; waḥam, desire.	a — a	laḥam, meat; hajar, stones; / araq, sweat; water, fiddle-strings.
6. As in (5) but with voc.seq. a-e, dialectically, a-i.	Qa Te L (+a with elision of e). (S.M.)	ʕajeb, wonder; hazen, evil.	a — e (QTie L)	ḥajeb, eyebrow; ḥajel, partridge; ramel, sands; ḥaneʃ, centipede.
7. As in (5) but with voc.seq. e-a.	Qe Ta L (S.M.)	beraḥ, open ḥair; beraq, lightning.		ʃedaq, jew; setaḥ, verandah; meraq, broth.
8. As in (5) but with voc.seq. e - e.	Qe Te L	seḥer, enchantment; meḥel, pause; deḥen, intelligence; seḥem, portion.	a — a	jemel, camel; seger, falcon; fenek, rabbit; kefen, shroud; semen, butter; jebel, stone.

Nos.	Formal Description of the patterns (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns, with similar patterns (v)
9	With medial rad. between voc. seq. o·-o.	Qo To L (S.M. for singular nouns; M.V. as a plural pattern.)	qosor, shortness; sokor, drunkenness; ʃoʃol, work; ʃomor, life; gofol, shutting; qorob, vicinity; qohob, whoring; zoʃor, infancy; kosor, breakage; boʃod, distance.	a - e / o - o / i - e (QTa:L)	mohor, a colt; ḫojor, lap; hodon, the breast.
10	With 2nd and 3rd rad. in phonological junction between voc.seq. a-a.	Qa TL a (M.V.)	baqʃa, position; laqʃa, reception; naqra, weeding out; barka, blessing; hawda, stirring; hayra, a liking for.	a - a / i - e / Q -(y,w) / - L	ʃatba, threshold; qamla, louse; karʃa, chaff.
11	As in (10) but with voc. seq. e - a.	Qe T L a (M.V.)	feima, opinion; dehra, vision; dehwa, attention; reqqa, thinness; ʃehha, stinginess; ḫejja, liveliness; tewba, penance; feyda, usefulness.	e - e / e - a (y) / - e / (Q-w-L) / (Q-y-L)	lehya, beard; felwa, filly; kewba, a star; leyla, a night; meyda, table; jenna, heaven; kenna, daughter-in-law.
12	As in (10) but voc.seq. i - a.	Qi T La (M.V.)	qirda, destruction; firda, separation; birda, coolness; kitba, way of writing; tinya, crease; fidwa, redemption; simna, stoutness.	i - e / e - a	sijra, tree; sinna, tooth; zibda, butter.

Nos. (i)	Formal Description of the patterns. (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns, with similar patterns. (v)
13	As in (10) with voc. seq. o - a.	Qo T La. (M.V.)	soɣba, repentance; soɣfa, disillusionment; soɣla, cough; toqla, pregnancy.	o - o	torba, soil; borka, wild duck; ħorja, knapsack; kobba, clew.
14	With 'a', in voc. sea. a - a: between first and second radical, the latter forming a consonant group (zero vowel) with the third radical which is followed by a:n.	Qa T La:n (S.M.)	sayra:n, cooking; tayra:n, flight; dawra:n, circling.	S - (y) - R T - (y) - R D - (w) - R	None
15	As in (14) with ie, second in the voc. seq., instead of a:	Qa T LieN (S.M.)	ħarjien, going out; ħarsien, protection; ɣadrien, compassion; mawrien, going; qawmien, getting up.	a - e a - (w) - L	None.
16	As in (14) with e, instead of a, in the voc. seq.	Qe T LieN (S.M.)	dewmien, delay; dewqien, taste; feyqien, cure; ħelsien, freedom; ɣeyjien, a living; telfien, perdition; telqien, relaxation; sewqien, driving.	D - (w) - M D - (w) - Q F - (y) - Q e - e i - (y) i - e e - a S - (w) - Q	None.

Nos	Formal Description of the patterns. (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns, with similar patterns. (v)
17	As in (16) with a:n instead of 'ien.	Qe·T La:n (S.M.)	serĥa:n, rest; ĥeyqa:n, cure; sewqa:n, driving.	Q — (y) — L Q — (w) — L	None.
18	As in (14) with final u:t instead of final a:n.	Qa·T Lu:T (S.M.)	√ĥaydu:t, rumour.	— (y) — D	None.
19	With 2nd rad., which may be lengthened, between voc. seg. a-u: and pharyngalised 'a' as first rad.	Qa·Tu:L (M.V.)	√ʕalu:q, shutting; √ʕaqqu:ʃ, difficulty.	a — a a — e	ĥanu:t, a ship; √ʕaru:s, bridegroom; zarju:n, twig; qattu:s, cat.
20.	With a: between second and third radical, the former being in phonological junction with first rad. (zero vowel)	Q Ta: L (M.V.)	ĥba:t, beating; lqa:t, picking; fsa:d, bleeding; ĥsa:d, reaping; gra:ʔ, confession; ĥra:r, itching; swa:t, beating.	a — a — a — Q — (w) — L	bza:r, pepper; ĥya:r, cucumber; fwa:r, vapour.
21	As in (20) with ie instead of a:	Q Tie L (M.V.)	gmieĥ, gathering; skiet, silence; swied, darkness; ĥrieq, burning; nbieĥ, barking; zwiej, marriage.	e — a	trieq, road.
22	With zero vowel between first and second radical, and a: — a between second and third radical.	Q Ta :La (M.V.)	nda:fa, cleanliness; ĥsa:ra, mischief; ĥra:ra, zeal; sĥa:na, heat; ĥya:ta, tailoring.	a — a — ie —	ĥma:ra, she-ass; nʕa:ja, sheep; dʕaysa, boat.

Nos. (i)	Formal Description of the patterns. (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns, with similar patterns. (v)
23	As in (22) with 'ie' instead of a:	QT ie La (M.V.)	ṣbieḥa, image; ḥniena, pity; zyieda, increase; sliema, safety; peace; fwieḥa, fragrance; ḥbiela, pregnancy.	e – a, – e –, – ie–, a: –, o – o	qbiela, money paid for rent; ṣlieṗa, ulceration at the corners of the lips.
24	With 2nd rad. between voc. seq. a.– i: and 1st rad. pharyngalised a.	Qa Ti: L (S.M.)	√ṣasi:r, squeezing; √ami:l, action; √asi:d, confusing.	a – a, a – e	√ḥali:b, milk; √ḥari:r, silk; √aji:n, dough.
25	As in (20) with i: instead of a:	Q Ti: L (M.V.)	qti:l, murder; bdi:l, exchange: kri:b, groaning; qri:b, nearness; ḥti:f, grasping.	a – a, a – e, o – o	tri:q, road; (cf. 21) nbi:d, wine.
26	As in (20) with u: instead of i: generally formed from Intransitive V.B.	Q Tu: L (M.V.)	dḥu:l, entrance; ḥru:q, conflagration; ḥru:j, exit; qtu:ḥ, cutting; final ḥ for V.B. radical √·nzu:l, descent; tlu:q, departure.	a – a, a – e, e – a, i – e	flu:s, money.
27	As in (26) with a, in open syllable after third radical.	Q Tu: La (M.V.)	ksu:ḥa, insipidity; fru:ġa, vanity; bluha, stupidity; bru:da, indifference; ḥʃu:na, thickness.	e – a, i – e, – ie–	None.

Nos.	Formal Description of the Patterns. (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic Sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns with similar patterns. (v)
28	With 3rd rad. between voc. seq. u–iyya, 1st and 2nd rad. being in phonological junction; developed from Nominal and Verbal Bases, (abridged N.B, V.B.)	Q Tu Liyya (S.M.)	rjuliyya, manliness; tfuliyya, boyhood; nfufiyya, dryness; smuriyya, brownness; ḥḍuriyya, greenness; tyubiyya, goodness; √elubiyya, leanness.	a – e (N.B.) i – e (N.B.) i – e (V.B.) Q Ta: L (V.B.) Q T ie L (V.B.) o – o	None.

Patterns from V. Bases with 3rd rad. Inconstant

Nos.	Formal Description of the Patterns. (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic Sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns with similar patterns. (v)
29	With 2nd rad. between voc. seq. a – i, the last vowel in final open syllable.	Qa.Ti (S.M.) for Qa Ti Y, by analogy with tri-radical patterns.	qeri, reading; ḥali, waste; ʿali, sorrow; ḥebi, hiding; hami, heating; qeli, frying.	a – a (y) e – a (y)	None.
30	As in (29) but with voc. seq. i – i, sporadically i – a.	Qi Ti (S.M.) and Qi Ta, in one S. word only, iwa, for iwi, roasting, also used.	kisi, covering; jiri, running; bini, building; mili, filling; wiri, showing; siwi, value; liwi, bending.	e – a – (y)	None.

Nbs.	Formal Description of the patterns. (i)	The Patterns. (ii)	Examples of Nominal Scatter (Abstract Nouns) (iii)	Vocalic sequence of V.B. (iv)	Original Nouns with similar patterns. (v)
31	As in (29) but with voc. seq. i - u.	Qi Tu (S.M.)	bidu, beginning; hidu, cessation; also hedu.	e - a (y)	jeru, pup; felu, colt; delu, mill vessel; helu, sweets.
32	With 3rd inconstant rad. 'w' between voc. seq. e - a, first and second being in phonological junction.	Q Te WWa. (S.M.)	hewwa, inflammation; hlewwa, sweetness; dnewwa, violence; ndewwa, humidity.	a - - a -(w) e - a (w) i - a (y) changes to 'w' in ndewwa.	None.
33	As in (32) but with 3rd inconstant 'y' between voc. seq. i - a.	Q Ti YYa. (M.V.)	htiyya, guilt; dmiyya, bloodshed; niyya, report; biyya, image; the last two from bases ʃ- N -ʃ, ʃ- B - h, respectively, by pattern assimilation but in orthography historical spelling maintained.	a - - a (y)	hneyya, arch; briyya, dandruff.

Table 2

While the Nominals listed in Table 1 result from
the internal Vocalic changes with the consequent
arrangement of the basic consonants, and, in a few
patterns, plus the additional suffixes, the list of
Nominals given in this Table, col. iii, results from
the prefixes t, ta, ti, st, sta, and in Pat. 7, infix
t, attached, as described in col. i, to the V.B. in
col. iv in most cases, morphologically increased or
modified.

Semantically, they express actions nominally con-
ceived, functionally corresponding to Eng. patterns re-
sulting from the addition of suffix 'ing' to Verbs as
'read' + ing; 'beat' + ing.

Pattern Variability

Excepting Nos. 5, 6 and 7, which do not admit
of further scatter, patterns included in the Table
can vary formally by the addition of suffix 'a' to
indicate unity of action, as tifki:ra, a remembrance;
and 'iet' to indicate the only plural thereof, as
tifkiriet, remembrances.

Table 2

Nominal Scatter formed by (a) prefixes or (b) infixes, plus vocalic modifications of the vocalic sequences of Bases which see in page 254 (Vocalic Sequences of the V.B.) and p. 256 (Derived Verbal Bases)

BASE : Q - T - L

Nos.	Formal Description of Patterns.	Patterns	Examples of Verbal Nouns.	(a) Original or (b) Derived Verbal Base for the formal description of which see pages 254 and 256 respectively.
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
1	First and second radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel) preceded by morphological 'ta' and separated from third rad. by i:	ta Q Ti: L (S.M.)	From base (a) col. iv. taqbi:z, leaping; taʃʃi:s, pressing; From base (b) col. v. taqsir, shortening; taʃʃi:m, teaching.	(a) Q - T - L (b) Q - TI - L
2	As in (1) morphological 'ti' instead of 'ta'.	ti QTi: L (M.V.)	From base (a) tinzi:l, descent; tiʃri:f, looking out of; tisri:r, packing; tifwi:r, evaporation; tigyi:s, measurement. From base (b) tifli:r, praisegiving; tusi:h, widening; tifli:f, dividing; tisyi:r, cooking; tizyi:ḥ, ornament.	As in (1)

Nos.	Formal Description of Patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	Examples of Verbal Nouns (iii)	Base (iv)
3	With initial 't' in morphological junction (zero vowel) with first radical; vocalic sequence a - i: after 1st and 2nd radical which is reduplicated.	tQa TTi: L (S.M.)	1. tnaqqi:ʃ, shiselling; 2. tʃʃalli:m, marking; 3. tnassi:s, trapping; 4. trabbi:t, binding; 5. trassi:s, crowding; 6. twaddi:b, throwing.	(b) Q - TT - L (w - TT - L) or (b) t Qa TT eL
4	As in (3) with vocalic sequence e - i: instead of a - i:	t Qe TTi: L, dialectically also with 'i' for 'e' in which case only it occurs in: (M.V.)	tkeffi:n, shrouding; tkerriħ, grimacing; tfelli:l, splitting up; twemmi:n, belief; tweddi:b, warning; (also twiddi:b).	(b) Qe TT e L -e - a -
5	As in (4) with medial radical short (unre-duplicated).	t Qe Ti: L (S.M.)	tberi:k, blessing; tbeʃʃi:d, taking away; tweli:d, birth; tweʃʃi:r, difficulty; tqeʃʃi:d, placing.	(b) Qie Te L (b) tQie Te L
6	As in (5) with vocalic sequence a: - i:	t Qa: Ti: L (rare) (S.M.)	tqa:ti:l, attack on one another.	t Qa: Te L

Nos.	Formal Description of patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	Examples of Verbal Nouns (iii)	Base (iv)
7	With 't' infixed after 1st radical followed by 'a' in voc. seq. a – i: with the letter between 2nd and 3rd radical.	Qt a Ti: L (S.M.)	ftaḫi:r, boasting; ftaki:r, remembrance; ftaqi:d, scrutiny; ḫtabi:t, trouble.	(b) Q ta T a L
8	With 'sta' or 'ste' pre-fixed to first radical in phonological junction with 2nd radical which is separated from 3rd radical by i:	sta Q Ti: L (S.M.) ste Q Ti: L (S.M.)	sta/ǰi:b, wonder; stari:ǰ, investigation. stedi:n, invitation; stenbih, awakening.	(b) sta Q T e L " – ie- –e.– " – e – –a.–
9	Morphological 'ti' prefixed to first two radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel) + iyya (or iyyiet, if plural).	ti Q Ti YY a (M.V.)	tismiyya, a mention; tiswiyya, repair; tidwiyya, cure; tijriyya, race.	(b) Se MMa (y) " Se WWa (y) " De WWa (y) " Je RRa (y)
10	Morphological prefix 't' in phonological junction with 1st radical, voc. seq. e – iyya (iyyiet, if plural) between 1st and 2nd rad. re-duplicated.	t Qe TT iyya (S.M.) foreign ad-aptations with 'a' for 'e'.	tneḫḫiyya, elimination; tḫeyyiyya, preparation; twelliyya, cession.	" Ne HHa (y) " Heyya (y) " Wella (y)
11	As in (9) with 'to' in-stead of 'ti'.	to Q T iyya (S.M.)	toqliyya, fried onions, etc. torbiyya, breeding.	(a) Qe La (y) (b) Ra BBa (y)

Nos.	Formal Description of Patterns. (i)	Patterns (ii)	Examples of Verbal Nouns (iii)	Base. (iv)
12	As in (10) with voc. seq. o – iyya instead of e – iyya.	t Qo TT iyya dialectically, also 'a' for 'o'. (S.M.)	tɹobbiyya, upbringing; tɹolliyya, bequest.	(b) Ra BBa (y) " Ha LLa (y)
13	With morphological 't' prefixed to 'u', the phonetic implication of interconsonantal junction with 2nd and 3rd radicals followed by 'iyya', developed from V.B. W – T –(y)	tu T iyya, with 'a' for radical 'w' (S.M.)	tuliyya, cession; turiyya, demonstration; tusiyya, precept; tutiyya, levelling.	(b) We LLa (y) (cf. No.10) " We Ra (y) " Wi a (y) " Wi TT a (y)
14	With 't' initially in morphological junction with 1st rad; voc. seq. a – i:, after 1st and 3rd rad. respectively. Developed from quadriliteral V.B.	t Qa T Qi: L (M.V.)	tɹabli:b, gossip; tbandi:l, swinging; twelwi:ħ, groaning; tħaʃwi:ʃ, rustling.	(a) lablab (b) tlablab " bandal " " waɫwaɫ " " haʃweʃ "
15.	As in (14) without prefix t. This happens generally with quadrilit, beginning with a consonant which 't' assimilates.	Qa T Qi: L (S.M.)	dardi:r, stirring; capci:p, applauding; zarzi:r, booming.	(a) darda:r; (b)idderdar for t + derdar etc.

Nos.	Formal Description of Patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	Examples of Verbal Nouns (iii)	Base (iv)
16	As in (14) with voc. seq. e - i:	t Qe TQi: L (M.V.)	tperpi:r, fluttering; tweswi:s, instigating; twerwi:r, fright, thebli:b, whirling.	(a) perper, or (b) tperper, etc.
17	As in (15) but with voc. seq. e - i:	Qe T Qi:L (S.M.)	cempe:l, ringing; dendi:l, hanging; tefti:f, groping; zerzi:q, sliding.	(a) cempel, or (b) iocempel for t + cempel, etc. (a) zerzaq or (b) izzerzqeq for t + zerzaq.

Tables 3a – b – c – d

Nominal Scatter with initial 'm'

Descriptive Rules

(I)   In Semitic Maltese, there are eighteen patterns
with initial morphological 'm', followed or not by any
of the five unpharyngalised vowels, and other seven lonely
forms which we shall describe separately, derived (a)
either from the Verbal Base or (b) from other nouns, the
original Verbal Base of which, extinct in Maltese, may be
historically traceable in its parent — Arabic.

In the lists of examples we shall indicate extinct
radicals by an asterisk.

(II) The formal behaviour of the consonantal and
vocalic elements that make up the different patterns is
illustrated in Table 3 a-b-c-d, the seventh and eighth
places of which show the further vocalic sequences or
modifications that may result either from the addition of
the suffixes of the determinate plural or the formal re-
construction of the pattern for the indeterminate plural,
which we shall explain under the heading 'Plural Patterns'.

(III)   The Vocalic sequences that determine the
forms of the eighteen patterns, given in the Tables, may
be divided into four classes:

(1)   Vocalic sequences that are correlated to
triconsonantal bases with second and third
radicals different.

(2)   Those correlated to triconsonantal bases
with second and third radical identical
(Pattern Q - T - T).

(3)   Those correlated to biconsonantal bases
with 'w' or 'y' as the medial inconstant
radical.

(4)   Those correlated to a biconsonantal base
with third radical 'w' or 'y'.

(IV) Prefix 'm' is followed by any of the five Vowels,
according to pattern, when the base it is attached to
has the first and second radicals in phonological
junction.   Thus an initial triconsonantal group is
broken up.

(V) In patterns 1 to 10, 14, 15, which have zero
vowel between the second and first radicals, morphologic-
al 'm' is separated from the first radical by an inter-
vening vowel; in pattern 17, in which the first radical
disappears, from the second radical, whereas in pattern
11 to 13 and 17 it forms a consonant junction (zero
vowel) with the initial radical.

                                    and 17
(VI) In pattern 1 to 7⁄ the second and third radic-
als are separated by an intervening vowel or by 'ie',

whereas in pattern 11 - 13 the first vowel in the sequence is followed by a long consonant with or without final 'a' in open syllable. In 8 - 10, they are in phonological junction.

(The formal descriptions that we have given may be supplemented by further study of the Tables, and the rules tested by the lists of words that we have given to illustrate each pattern separately).

SEMANTIC FUNCTION

The Semantic function of 'm', together with the correlative vocalic sequences, is to indicate

(a) the <u>place</u> where the action expressed by the original V.B. takes, or has taken, place. (Nouns of Place).

(b) The <u>instrument</u>, with which the action indicated is performed. (Nouns of Instrument).

(c) The <u>time</u> when an action has been fulfilled. (Noun of Time of which there is only one instance, Milied, Christmas; literally Nativity Day).

(d) A number of objects collectively conceived such as are individually denoted by the original pattern, in this case, a noun, as, mijfna, fleet; (collection of ships) from gifen, a ship; mizbla, pile of

rubbish, from zibel, rubbish, dirt.

(e) The 'conceptual abstractness' of the meaning expressed by the original V.B. (Abstract Nouns) as mhabba, love, affection, from habb, he loved; mahfra, forgiveness from hafer, he forgave.

Unlike classical Arabic which, in similar formations, uses 'mi' (in vocalic sequence i - a, i - a:, and i - a - a, pattern miqtala) to indicate the Nouns of Instrument, and 'ma' to indicate those of place and time, Maltese makes no such semantic differentiation, the function of the different vowels being purely phonological, as required by pattern.[1]

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(1) Arabic does not always maintain the differentiation; it has both غَزِل and غُزُل, for spindle, (M. maġżel); قِبَض and قَبَض for handle (M. maqbad).

Table 3 a.

Formal Behaviour of Nouns with initial 'm' derived from triliteral Base Q-T-L.

Patterns	Voc. seq. of base.	Q pl.A.	pl.1	T	pl.2 pl.3 pl.4	pl.5 pl.6	L	Suffixes of De-terminate plurals.	Patterns of Indeterminate Plurals.
1 ma Q T a L	a – a / e – a / i – e / o – o	ma	"	"	a		—	None	Cf. Table 5.
2 ma Q T e L	a – e	ma	"	"	e		"	"	
3 mi Q T a L	e – a	mi	"	"	a		"	"	
4 mi Q T e L	i – e	mi	"	"	e		"	"	
5 mu Q T a: L	a – a	mu	"	"	a:		"	"	
6 ma Q Tie L	e – a	ma	"	"	ie		"	"	
7 mo Q Tie L	a – a / a – e	mo	"	"	ie		"	"	
8 ma Q T La	a – a	ma	"	"	—	a	a	iet joined to pl. 5.	
9 me Q T La	a – a	me	"	"	i	a	a	iet joined to pl. 5.	
10 mi Q T La	a – e ( ) / i – e	mi	"	"	—	a	a	iet joined to pl. 5.	

Table 3 b

Similar Scatter derived from Bases (i) Q – T – T (ii) Q – T – (w) (iii) Q – W(y) – L (iv) W – T – L

Nos.	Base (i) Voc. Sequence of Base		Suffixes of Determinate plural.								Patterns of Indeterminate plurals. pl.8
			Q	T	T	T					
	Patterns		pl. A	pl.1	pl.2	pl.3	pl.4	pl.5	pl.6	pl.7	
11	(i) m Q a TT	'a' followed by long cons.	"	m	"	"	—	—			cf. Table 5
12	m Q a TT a	'a' followed by long cons.	"	m	"	"	—	a		} 'iet joined to pl.5.
13	m Qe TT a	'e' followed by long cons. e – e	"	m	"	"	—	a		

Table 3 c

Nos.	Base (ii) Voc. Seq. of Base									Patterns
			Q	T	Y (w)					
	Patterns		pl.A	pl.1	pl.2	pl.3	pl.4	pl.5	pl.6 pl.7	
14	M a Q T a	a – a	ma	"	"	"	a	—	—	iet joined to pl.3.
15	me Q T a	a – a	me	"	"	"	a	—		"
16	mi Q T a	e – a	mi	"	"	"	a	—		"

CF. Table 5

Table 3 d

Nos.	Base (iii) Voc.Seq. of Base	Q		W (Y)	L	Suffixes of Determinate plural	Patterns of Indeterminate plural.
	Patterns	pl.A	Pl.1 pl.2 pl.3 pl.4 pl.5 pl.6			pl.7	
17	m Qi: La: a: medial, between 1st ie and 2nd radicals for inconstant rad. 'w' or 'y'.	m	i:	" — —	a "	iet joined to pl. 5	cf. Table 5
	Base (iv) Voc. Seq. of Base	W		T	L		
18	mi Tie L Wi – e 'w' being semi- consonantal radical for Q.	m	—	" ie	" —	None	

EXAMPLES OF THE VARIOUS PATTERNS

We now give the whole list of the Nominal scatter
with initial 'm', taken from M. A. Vassalli's lexicon.
An asterisk means that the word is obsolete, and a cross +
that there is serious reason to believe that the derivat-
ive given in the Maltese dictionaries, but never heard
in the spoken Maltese, may have been evolved by analogy
though, as such, it may also have recently appeared in
literary Maltese. The vocalic sequence of the original
Verbal Nominal base, where it still survives, is given
in brackets.

(1) <u>Pattern m a Q T a L</u> :-

<u>Examples</u>:

⁺mabhar (a - a), censer; ⁺mabqar (a - a), herd of
cattle; mabrad (a - a), file; ⁺mabſar (a - a), many
news; mabzar (- a: -), pepper; * mabſar (a - a),
dung-hill; * madbah (e - a), altar; madhal (a - a),
entrance; madmad (none), yoke; * madrab (a - a),
doorway; *mafrad (extinct), dish; majmar (a - a),
fireplace; *mahrab (a - a), asylum; ⁺mahdar (a - a),
marriage guests; mahtab (a - a), pile of wood;
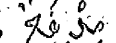
[+]maḥwar, druggist's shop; maksar (i - e), part of a loom; [+]manbar (a - a), pulpit; manqa (a - a), chisel; maqbad (a - a), handle; [+]maqbar (a - a) cemetery; maqdab (a - a) pruning knife; [+]maqḥab (o - o), brothel; maqsab (a - a) cane-field; maq ar (a - a), heap of husks; maq ad (a - a) seat; [+]marbaʿ (e - a), square; marqad (a - a), dormitory; masjar, (i - a), copse; matfaʿ[1] (a - a), rammer; matlab (a - a), oratory; matlaʿ (a - a), ascent; maʿʿar[2] (a - a), tithes.
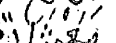
(2) Pattern m a Q T e L
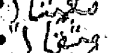
[*]maḥleb (a - e), milking pail; maḥbez (a - e), oven; maḥsel (a - e), washing place; marden (a - e), spindle; ma lef (a - e), fodder; ma zeb (extinct), stem of a plant; ma zel (a - e), distaff; maḥzen (a - e), magazine; [*]maḥwet (from hu:t, fish), fish market; ma jen (a - e), kneading basin.

(3) Pattern m i Q T a L

[*]mibzaq (e - a), spittoon; mitraḥ (e - a), mattress; minfaḥ (e - a), bellows; [*]midbaḥ (e - a) altar; misraḥ (e - a), open space; mitqal[3] (o - o or - a: -), the weight of (always used in construction with another noun or a pronominal suffix as yiswa mitqla deheb, it is worth its weight in gold, mitqal qantar, 'qantar' weight).

---

(1) Cf. A. مدفع , cannon.
(2) Cf. A. معشار , tenth part.
(3) Cf. A. مثقال , weight of a balance, HAVA.

(4) <u>Pattern m i Q T e L</u>

+midhen (e - e*), ointment; + mifles (i - e*), treasury; mijbed (i - e), shaft; *mijles (i - e*), narrow place; *mirkeb (i - e), ship; minfes[1] (i - e), nostril; minjel, scythe; minkeb (i - e), elbow; minzel (i - e), landing place; mizwet[2], pod; mizrek, lean person.

(5) <u>Pattern m u Q T a: L</u>

musma:r (a - a) nail; munqa:r, (a - a), beak; munqa:r (a - a), a saw.

(6) <u>Pattern mu Q T ie L</u>

musbieh (e - a), lamp; muftieh (e - a), key.

(7) <u>Pattern mo Q T ie L</u>

moqdief (a - e), oar; mohriet, plough;

> (Note: Strictly speaking, No.7 is hardly an essential pattern as it is only a variant of 6).

(8) <u>Pattern ma Q T La</u>

*mabhra (a - a), censor; majmra, fire-place; mahzna (a - e), store room; mansba (a - a), trap; mahfra (a - e), pardon; majjna (a - e), kneading basin; majrfa, spoon.

---

(1) Hardly ever used in the singular but, as other double parts of the body, in the Dual plural mnifseyn, the nostrils.
(2) <u>mizwet</u> and <u>mizrek</u> have no extant base in modern Maltese; cf." زوى and زرك .

(9) <u>Pattern me Q T La</u>

menqγa (a⁺ - a), a little pool; mentna (i - e), an of-

fensive stench; merħba[1], welcome; merħla, flock of sheep:

(10) <u>Pattern mi Q T La</u> with its two variants (a)

mi Q i T La and (b) im Q e T La.

mijfn (i - e), fleet, milqγa(a - a), meeting

place; *mintba, a hill; mintna (i - e), stench; *mistra

(a - a), secret place; mi∫tla (i - e), bed of plants;

*miksba (i - e), gain.

> (<u>Note</u>: When the second radical in the
>
> consonant group required by pattern is
>
> l, m, n, γ, a vowel must be inserted ac-
>
> cording to the rule of Maltese phonology.
>
> Cf. Preliminary Notes on Maltese Sounds
>
> —— The Liquids, Part I.)

<u>Examples of Pattern 10 (a)</u>

mi∫γll a, not mi∫γl a, illumination from V.B. (e∫el;

mibeγda, not mibγda, hatred; from V.B. baγad; *mileγba,

not milγba, playground, from V.B. laγab; midirsa, not

midrsa, quantity of corn to be threshed, from V.B. dires.

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(1) Cf. A ⌐‿⌐, to greet, which form has not survived
    in Maltese.

Examples of Pattern 10 (b)

imselha (e - a), broom; imserka (i - e), shuttle-quill.

(11) Pattern m Qa T T

mqass, scissors.

(12) Pattern m Qa TTa

mhabba (- a -), love; mhadda (- a -), pillow;
mhakka (- a -), grater; mhalla (- a -), reel; mramma[1],
thick wall.

(13) Pattern m Qe TTa

msella, packing needle; mkebba (e - e), a reel;
mredda[2], wet nurse.

(14) Pattern ma Q Ta

marfa[3], landing-place, surviving only as a place
name; marsa[4], anchorage-ground, also a place name; mahra
(a - a(y)), public convenience.

(15) Pattern mi Q Ta

midra (a - a), winnowing shovel; misqa (e - a),
vessel; milwa (e - a), skein; mitwa (e - a), cylinder;
mijya, (V.B. gie), coming.

---

(1) Cf. A. ـ to repair a wall.
(2) Orthographically, mreddgha (mredd a), from V.B.
    R - D - , semantically assimilated to pattern 12 in
    the sense of wet nurse; as a passive participle pat-
    tern it means also 'suckled'.
(3) Cf. A. ـ to bring a ship ashore, whence ـ , port.
(4) Cf. A. ـ , to moor (ship), whence ـ , port.

(16) <u>Pattern me Q Ta</u>[1]

    mer a (ra – a), pasture; mera, from V.B. ra: (he saw, looking-glass.

(17) <u>Pattern m Q i: La</u>

    mji:ba(ie), behaviour; *mhi:ba, (– ie –*), offer; msi:da, place name. Cf. A. مصيدة, net; *msi:ba, (– a: –, also – ie –), something discovered.

(18) <u>Pattern mi Tie L, from V.B. with 1st rad. 'w'</u>

    milied (i – e), Christmas; mizien (i – e), scales; mizieb (i – e*), gutter.

---

(1) If M. menza, staff, were really A. مِنضة, also مِنضة, it should be classed under pattern 16; but I have my suspicion that it is here a case of accidental similarity. The liquid 'n' usually voices a preceding 's' (voiceless) in non-Semitic Maltese. It is possible that menza is Italian mensola, whence mensla, M.stress, and finally, menza.

IRREGULAR NOMINAL SCATTER WITH INITIAL 'M'

		Base with Voc. Seq.
(1)	mo/driyya, compassion,	γ a De R
(2)	mo/diyya, passage,	γ a D^2 - Y
(3)	moħqriyya, oppression,	H a Qa R
(4)	misthija, bashfulness,	s t a H a
(5)	misthoqqiyya, worthiness,	s t H a Q Q
(6)	mistoħbiyya, concealment,	s t a H B a
(7)	mistoqsiyya, question,	s t a Q S a[1]

Lonely Formations

(1) <u>mera</u>, mirror, given under Pattern 16, from defective V. Base ra:, he saw. Formation: m + ra, which, with the intervention of a phonologically required vowel, gives mera.

(2) <u>moħba</u>, hiding place. From base H - B - (y), vocalic sequence e - a. Vassalli, followed by Falzon, gives a parallel form 'mojra', which is, however, generally pronounced mijra (Pattern 15).

---

(1) Cf. A: س‍م‍ي‍ع s'informer, Beaussier.

(3) m‿kenⱼ a place, historically and in literary Maltese, but actually used as an adverb: 'nowhere' m + V.Base, kien.

(4) m‿aʃ profit, literally 'what one lives by', financial means: im + V.Base √aʃ, as in (3).

(5) MRewha, fan, literally 'the instrument whereby one fans oneself', from V. Base R - W^2 - H, vocalic sequence e - a, formed by analogy with pattern 10 (b).

(6) Mʃedd: a girth, from base ʃ - d - d, m + the V. Base by semantic analogy with pattern M Q a TT, and (3) and (4) in the above list.

(7) Imtaħleb, place name, according to Falzon 'place in which the cattle are milked', from base H - L - B, vocalic sequence a - e, t being purely morphological increment; by analogy with pattern 2. Normal formation 'ma H Le B'.

Table 4

This Table includes a complete list of the descriptive patterns of Maltese. 'Descriptive' here is given a much wider meaning than is usually given to 'adjective', as we shall see from the seventyone examples which, between them, include all the morphological patterns that, syntactically, behave like adjectives.

For easy reference, they are divided into six classes (A - F), which we shall now describe separately.

A

Subdivided into (Ai) and (Aii)

In (Ai) from No. 1 to 18 are included descriptive patterns from triradical bases:

(1) Q - T - L
(2) W - T - L   (with first rad. inconstant)
(3) Q - T - T   (with medial rad. lengthened),
(4) Q - (w,y) - L (with medial rad. inconstant)
(5) Q - T - (y)   (with final radical inconstant)

resulting from a variation of the vocalic sequences only, that is without any internal consonantal additions or affixes.

It will be understood, by analogy with Pattern 3, that final 'i' of patterns 14, 15 is not a suffix, but part of the vocalic sequence a: - i. As an example, jieri, running, from JeRa(y), stands for Jieriy, with final 'y' assimilated to 'i', by analogy with 'R ie Q e D', asleep, from 'R a Q aD'.

(All), from No. 18 to 24, includes descriptive patterns resulting from (a) variation of the vocalic sequence plus (b) lengthening of medial radical.

B

This section (25 - 32), includes patterns resulting from (a) variation of the vocalic sequences plus (b) addition of suffixes (i) 'i' or (ii) a:n, ien.

C

This section (33 - 37) includes descriptive patterns resulting from the variations of the vocalic sequences of quadriliteral bases, represented by Q - T - L - L though the fourth radical is not necessarily the same as the third.

D

Subdivided into (Di) and (Dii).

(Di), (38 - 43) includes patterns shared by some triradical Nominals and some of the adjective patterns resulting from the infixing of 'ayya', 'ayye', 'eyya', 'eyye', 'ay', and 'ey', between second and third radicals with the first two in phonological junction.

(Dii) (44 -43) similar patterns shared by triradical nouns only resulting from the infixing of 'ay' or 'ey' between second and third radical, the first two being in phonological junction and the fourth preceded by 'e'.

E

Patterns 46 - 54 result from a process of vocalic variations with initial vowel 'a', 'e', 'i' or 'o' preceding first radical.

F

Subdivided into (Fi) and (Fii).

(Fi) (55-67) includes the passive participles of the original V.B.

(Fii) (68 - 73) includes the passive participles of

the original V.B., morphologically increased, or modified,
and pattern 68(ii)also the passive participles of quadri-
literals formally behaving in the same way as the tri-
radical with medial consonant lengthened.

The patterns result from 'm', 'ma', 'me' or 'mi'
prefixed to the first radical of V.B. plus the consequent
variation of the original vocalic sequence. Their in-
clusion here is justified by their syntactical behaviour,
which is analogous to that of the ordinary adjectives.

The Table is further divided into five columns; the
first on the left gives the reference numbers of the
patterns, described in col.(i), and shown in col. (ii)
with examples in col. (iii) related to the vocalic se-
quences of their Verbal bases as given in col. (iv),
with formally corresponding nominals in col. (v).

As already explained in Table 1, some of these
Nominals, though they do not link up with any Verbal Base,
may themselves by productive of descriptive or Verbal
Scatter, generally by lengthening of medial radicals,
as terraq, he walked a long way; from trieq (Demoninative
Verb), and (ǝ+) rju:li, manly; Demoninative Descriptive,
from ra:jel, man.

In col. (i) b, where necessary, we have explained
the Semantic Function of the patterns on the principle
that the formal and notional, or conceptual, phenomena
of morphology are inseparable.

Pattern Variability

The descriptive patterns that we have given, ex-
cluding those in 'E', being applicable only to males or
things considered masculine, (and to both genders only
when they are 'comparatives'), and to individual things
or persons, are subject to further pattern variation
that extends their applicability to females or things
considered feminine, and to a plurality of things or
persons, without any distinction of gender. While any
masculine pattern, excluding again those in 'E', subject
to the same restriction, may have its corresponding
feminine, resulting from the addition of 'a' to the orig-
inal masculine descriptive, not all descriptives follow
the same process for their plural pattern; some of which
result from an internal shifting with, or without,
lengthening of the medial radicals, while others result
from the addition of the pluralising suffixes 'n' or
'i:n', which is the only process followed by patterns
not included in Table 5.

Table 4.

The Descriptive Patterns

Nos.	(a) Formal Description Semantic Function (b) (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
1	◇ A1 (a) With medial rad. between vocal sequence a - i:	Qa Ti: L (S.M.)	mari:d, ill; qasi:r, short; nadi:f, clean; ħazi:n, bad;	a - a; a:; a:; ie	ħali:b, milk; ħarir, silk; aji:n, dough;
	(b) The expression of a physical or moral quality.		sabi:ħ, beautiful; hani:n, kind;	ie; e	ʃali:b, cross; ʃadi:n, monkey.
2	(a) As in (1) with first 2 radicals in phonological junction. (Zero vowel).	Q Ti: L (S.M.)	fqi:r, poor; shi:ħ, strong; lħi:ħ, avid; (hi:ħ, greedy; twi:l, long, tall; smi:n, fat.	a - a; a - a; e; e; a:a:; i - e	
	(b) The expression of a physical or moral quality.	As in (1)			
3	(a) As in (1) but voc.seq. a: - e (long a: retained also in fem.) instead of a - i:	Qa: Te L (S.M.)	ʃa:jeb, exaggerator; ʃa:qel, prudent; ʃa:ref, learned; ʃa:zeb, bachelor; ʃqa:res, sour;	ʃa - a; a:	ʃa:zel, linen; ra:jel, man; ħa:res, bogey; ha:kem, governor.
	(b) As in (1)				

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
4.	(a) As in (1) but vocalic sequence ie - e (b-) These patterns describe a personal quality, a state or a condition; evolved from intransitive Verbal bases. (Col.iv).	Qie Te L (S.M.)	1. diefiel, entering; 2. qie/ed, stagnant; 3. rieged, asleep; 4. hierej, going out; 5. hiemed, quiet; 6. hieles, free; 7. hifred, cool; 8. niezel, descending; 9. liebes, dressed; 10. fietel, tepid; 11. biezel, active; 12. sieheb, associate	a – a a – a a – a a – e e – e e – e i – e i – e i – e i – e 	
5.	(a) As in (4), but with voc. seq. ie – a, in words with h or g as third radical. (b) As in (4).	Qie Ta L (S.M.)	1. wiegaf, standing; 2. kiesah, cold; 3. riesaq, approaching; 4. riezeh, numb; 5. tielaq, departing; 6. jieraq, descent; 7. mielah, salt.	a – a e – a e – a e – a e – a e – a – ie –	(il +) bierah, yesterday.
6.	(a) With 2nd and 3rd rad. in phonological junction be— tween vocalic sequence a – a. (b) Feminine adjective; for mas— culine pattern cf. No. 46 and for plural either gender No. 8.	Qa T La	1. hamra, red; 2. hadra, green; 3. ranya, rich; 4. amya, blind; 5. kahla, blue.	– a: – – a: – 	 a – a (y) – a: –

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
7	(a) With 2nd and 3rd rad. in Qo T La phonological junction between vocalic sequence o - a. (S.M.)	Qo T La (S.M.)	1. ṭonya, wealthy; 2. ṭonya, blind; 3. ṭolya, high; 4. hobla, pregnant.	— e - a (y) ʸe - a (y) o - o	
	(b) Feminine descriptive, used also as a plural descriptive with feminine or masculine nouns.				
8	(a) With medial rad. between vocalic sequence o - o	Qo To L (M.V.)	1. komor, red; 2. kodor, green; 3. kokol, dark blue; 4. boyod, white; 5. ṭoroj, fierce. (Note sporadic colour plural, suwed, black, for sowod).		
	(b) adjective plural pattern of singular (6) except that with 3rd rad. y.				
9	(a) With 'a' between 1st and 2nd inconstant rad. 'y'. (S.M.).	Qa Y (S.M.).	ḥay, alive.		ray, free choice.
	(b) Descriptive function.				

Nos.	(i) (a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function	(ii) The Patterns	(iii) Descriptive Scatter	(iv) Voc. Seq. of V.B.	(v) Nominals with similar patterns
10	(a) As in (9) but with e instead of a. (b) Adjectival and Verbal Descriptive.	Qe Y (S.M.)	ney, unripe; ʃey, coming.		ʃey (also eyn), nothing.
11	With 'a' between 1st and 2nd lengthened radical.	Qa T T (M.V.)	ħarr, (the only instance), parched.		jarr, carriage; barr, uncultivated; land.
12	With 'i' between 1st and 2nd lengthened radical.	Qi T T	mizz, having a strong unpleasant smell. The only example.		qi ʃʃ, the refuse of something. mi ʃʃ, hiss, noise.
13	(a) As in (11) with inter-consonantal 'o' instead of 'a'. (b) As in (1)	Qo T T (M.V.)	1. morr, bitter; 2. ħorr, honest; 3. zorr, rude.	a:	1. ħobb, bosom; 2. ʕo ʃʃ, (mulieries pudenda). 3. zobb, organum virile. 4. qorr, frog.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
14	(a) Evolved from Verbal bases (iv) Q - T -(y) with second radical between voc. seq. a: - i final i, in open syllable, being phonetic implication of iy (positional criterion). (b) As in (1).	Qa: Ti (for Qa: Ti y from Q - T-(y)) (S.M.)	1. ħa:ti, guilty; 2. sa:fi, pure; 3. γa:li, high; 4. γa:ʃi, fainting; 5. ħa:li, prodigal; 6. ta:ri, tender; 7. ba:ti, slow.	a – a a – a o – a o – a e – a	
15	(a) As in (14) but with voc. seq. ie - i. (b) As in (1) and (4) the meaning of each descriptive being the criterion.	Qie Ti (for Qie Tiy) (S.M.)	1. biedi, incipient; 2. jieri, running; 3. ħieni, happy; 4. mieji, brackish; 5. siewi, valid; 6. niedi, wet.	e – a e – a	
16	(a) As in (14) but with voc. seq. a - i, instead of a: -i.	Qa Ti (y) (S.M.)	1. Qawwi [1], strong.		

(1). Qawwi for Qawwi(y) cf. A. قوِيّ with lengthening of medial semi vowel 'w' which is a feature of Maltese phonology.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Description Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
17	As in (14) but with vocalic sequence e - u.	Qe Tu (w) (S.M.)	1. ṅelu, sweet.	e - a	1. delu, mill hopper; 2. felu, colt:, 3. jeru, puppy.
18	**Aii** With first 2 radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel) and u: between 2nd and 3rd radicals.	Q Tu: L (S.M.)	1. sňu:n, warm; 2. tru:ʃ, deaf.	a - a	rdu:m, precipice.
19	(a) With lengthened medial radical between vocalic sequence a - a:	Qa TTa: L a (ȳ) WW YY (S.M.)	1. ʃarra:d, odd number; 2. qamma:s, restive; 3. ḥatta:f, rapacious; 4. qama:t, tight— fitting; 5. ḥarray, filthy; 6. bayya:d, whitening; 7. sayya:r, digestive; 8. hawwa:d, intriguer; 9. fawwa:r, pouring; 10. ʃawwa:t, singeing; 11. zawwa:l, contemptible..	a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a a - a	
	(b) These descriptive patterns imply intensity of feeling; a quantity expressed with some emphasis suggesting frequency.				

Nos.	(A) Formal Description (a) / (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
20	(a) As in (19) but with vocalic sequence a - ie, or a - ey, with the latter diphthong as the phonetic implication of ie + y (inconstant radical of Verbal Base).	Qa TT ie L eY YY WW (S.M.)	1. halliel, pilferer; 2. hammien, pensive; 3. 7ajjiel, rash; 4. 7assies, watchful; 5. 7affief, weakening; 6. 7ayyien, tired; 7. sayyied, watchful; 8. qawwiel, loquacious; 9. 7anney, singing; 10. 7addey, passing; 11. 7awwey, howling;	a - e a - e a - e a - e a - e a - e — — a - a a - a a - a	
	(b) As in 13 b.				
21	(a) As in (19) but with vocalic sequence e - ie, or e - ey, the latter diphthong being the phonetic implication of ie + y.	Qe TT ie L e Y YY WW (S.M.)	1. ferrieñ, joyous; 2. jellied, quarrelsome; 3. gerried, destructive; 4. feyyied, useful; 5. mewwiet, deadening; 6. jerrey, swift; 7. nessey, forgetful; 8. werrej, indicating; 9. heyyey, preparatory; 10. dewwey, curing	e - a e - e e - e e - e e - e e - a e - a — e - a e - a	
	(b) As in 19.				

(a) Formal Description Nos.(b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
22 (a) As in (19) with vocalic sequence i - ie. (b) As in (19 b)	Qi TT ie L (S.M.)	1. wizzien, heavy, weighing; 2. nittien, lascivious; 3. wikkiel, having good appetite.	i - e; i - e; - ie -	fiddien, Maltese place name.
23 (a) As in (19) with vocalic sequence a - i: (b) Descriptive and Nominal.	Qa TT i: L (S.M.)	1. qaddi:s, holy;	a - e	qassi:s, priest.
24 (a) As in (19), with vocalic sequence i - u: (b) Descriptive and Nominal.	Qi TT u: L (S.M.)	1. fissu:d, spoilt, pet.	i - e	
25 [B] (a) With descriptive suffix to Nominal pattern. Q tu: L, and other nominal patterns with elision of unstressed vowel. (b) Descriptive and Nominal.	Q Tu: Li (S.M.)	1. aħu:li, sociable; 2. kbu:ri, proud; 3. klu:bi, ravenous; 4. qlu:qi, fickle; 5. laħmi, fleshy; 6. qabri, sepulchral; 7. ʃaħmi, fatty; 8. jobni, cheesy.	a - a i - e u - e u - e laħam qabar ʃaħam jobon.	

No.	(i) (a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function	(ii) The Patterns	(iii) Descriptive Scatter	(iv) Voc. Seq. of V.B.	(v) Nominals with similar patterns
26	(a) With suffix a:n or a:ni, attached to pattern Qa T L. (b) With colour descriptives it corresponds to English 'rather' + colour -ish, as baydan = rather white, whitish. Otherwise the pattern just describes without any modification of meanings; cf. at a:n, = thirsty, not 'rather thirsty'[1].	Qa T La:N (+i) (S.M.)	1. bahma:n, silly; 2. daħka:n, laughing; 3. barra:n, external; 4. warra:n, backward; 5. ʃatʃa:n, thirsty; 6. ʃarga:n, perspiring; talba:n, prayerful; 7. bayda:n, whitish; 8. ħadra:n, greenish; 9. kaħla:n, bluish; 10. safra:n, yellowish; 11. samra:n, brownish;	– – a – a – a: –	
27	(a) As in (26) with suff. -ien instead of a:n. (b) No colour descriptives included.	Qa T L ie N (+i) (S.M.)	1. ħarkien, diligent; 2. galbien, courageous; 3. ʃazzien, lazy;		
28	(a) With suffix a:n added to pattern Qe T L. (b) As in 26 (b) but no colour descriptives included.	Qe T La:N (S.M.)	1. felħa:n, strong; 2. ferħa:n, merry; 3. jewʃa:n, hungry; 4. ħelwa:n, sweet; 5. ʃewga:n, desirous.		

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
29	(a) As in (28) with suffix 'ien' instead of a:n.	Qe T L ie N (S.M.)	1. belhien, silly; 2. sewdien, darkish; 3. le∫bien, sportive.	- ie -	
30	(a) As in (26) with suffix a:n added to pattern Qi T L. (b) As in (26).	Qi T L a:n (S.M.)	1. sikra:n, drunk.	i - e	
31	As in (30) with 'i' instead of 'i'.	Qo T L a:n (S.M.)	horma:n, libidinous.		
32.	(a) Suffix 'ien' attached to pattern Q o T L (b) As in (26).	Q o T L ien	1. so∫bien, sorrowful; 2. ∫o∫fien, disillusioned.		
◇ c	(a)				
33	With second and third radicals in phonological junction between vocalic sequence a - a:	Q a T La: L (M.V.)	1. farta:s, bald;	a - a	qarta:s

Nos.	(a) Formal Description / (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
34.	(a) As in (33) but with vocalic sequence a - ie, instead of a - a:	Qa T L ie L (+i) (S.M.)	1. ħabriek, industrious; 2. ħawtiel, ingenious; 3. maħmieħ, wheezing;	a - e a-(w) - e a - a	na nieħ, mint; za zieħ, a kind of plant.
	(b) Expressing intensiveness.				
35	As in (33) but with vocalic sequence a - u:	Qa T Lu: L	1. ʃandu:r, smart; 2. ʃayyu:r, jealous;	a:	
36	(a) As in (33) but with vocalic sequence e - ie	Qe T L ie L (i) (S.M.)	1. gemgiem, disgruntled; 2. sefsief, inquisitive; 3. seksiek, prying; 4. hewdien, raving.	e - e e - e	—
	(b) expressing intensiveness as in (34).				
37.	(a) As in (36) but with vocalic sequence e - u: instead of e - ie.	Qe T Lu: L (S.M.)	1. cefcou:q, blear-eyed; 2. cercu:r, tattered; 3. germu:d, sooty; 4. gergu:r, grumbling; 5. temtu:m, stammering; 6. gemgi:m, grumbler.	— e - e e - i - e e - i - e e - i - e e - i - e	
	(b) As in (34)				

(i) Formal Description (a) Nos. (b) Semantic Function	(ii) The Patterns	(iii) Descriptive Scatter	(iv) Voc. Seq. of V.B.	(v) Nominals with similar patterns
Di				
38 (a) With 'ayya' infixed between second and third rad. of a triradical adjective or nominal, with first and second radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel). (b) (i) with Nominals, it expresses 'smallness' or 'gracefulness' or both attributes combined. (ii) with adjectives, it corresponds to English 'rather + adjective'. The masculine pattern of Nos. 41, 42.	Q Ta.yy a L (S.M.)	1. fgayyar, rather poor; 2. sfayyar, rather pale; 3. shayyah, rather strong; 4. (a) rgayyaq, rather thin.	- a: - - a: - - a: - - a: -	1. ḥtayyar, small stick, or small graceful stick.
39 (a) As in (38) but with infix 'ayye' instead of 'ayya'. (b) As in (38)	Q Ta.yy e L (S.M.)	1. dᵉayyef, rather weak; 2. tᵂayyeb, goody goody, - kind.	- ie - - ie -	
40 (a) As in (38) but with infix 'eyya' instead of 'ayya'. (b) As in (38).	Q T eyy a L (S.M.)	1. sbeyyaḥ, pretty.	- ie -	

Nos. (i)	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
	(a)				
41	As in (38) but with infix 'eyye' instead of 'eyya'.	Q T eyye L (S.M.)	1. jweyyed, quiet;	e – a(w)	bweyyet; small pocket.
	(b) As in (38)		2. fleyyu[1], sweettish.		
	(a)				
42	With first two radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel), and 3rd rad. Voc. seq. ay-a (in open syllable).	Q T ay La (S.M.)	1. fqayra, rather poor, fem. gend.	– a: –	1. tayta: small, nice, sea shore.
	(b) The fem. pattern of (38) and (39).		2. smayra, brownish, fem. gend.	– a: –	2. tfayla, a young woman.
	(a)				
43.	As in (42) but with infix 'ey' instead of 'ay'.	Q Tey La (S.M.)	1. ʃweyha, oldish;	– ie –	1. jbeyna, small cheese.
	(b) The Feminine pattern of Nos. 40, 41 with masculine infixes 'eyya' and 'eyye'.		2. sbeyha, pretty.	– ie –	2. jneyna, small niče garden.

(1) From the adjective h e lu, radicals ḥ – L – U (w), evolved thus: ḥl + ey + u, with intervocalic 'y' lengthened ⟹ fleyyu.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter. (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
	D ii				
44	(a) Developed from quadriliteral Nominals with 3rd rad. sequence ay – e, the first two radicals being in phonological junction (zero vowel) (b) The diminutives of quadriliteral Nominals with vocalic sequence a–u:	Q Tay L e L (S.M.)		a – u: (Nominal base).	1. Qtaytes, small cat.
45	(a) As in (44) but with vocalic sequence ey – e. (b) As in (44) but vocalic sequence of Nominals e – u:	Q T ey L e L (S.M.)		e – u: (Nominal base)	1. fleyles, small chick; 2. gneydes, small bull; 3. fineyzer, small pig.
	E				
46	(a) From triradical base, with first two in phonological junction (zero vowel) between vocalic sequence a – a. (b) Colour and physical descriptive. Masculine patterns, for feminine cf. No. 6. Also comparative patterns of descriptives with 3rd radical 'q' Cf. Nos. 26-16.	a Q T a L (S.M.)	1. artab, soft; 2. afidar, green; 3. afimar, red; 4. akbar, greater; 5. afiya:r, better; 6. anqas, less; 7. aqwa, stronger for aqway by analogy.	– a: – ; – a: – ; – a: – ; i – e ; a – a	

(1) I have never heard this 'form, given by Vassalli, and repeated by later, uncritical lexicographers. My suspicion is that most of the quadriliteral diminutives are analogical formations that never belonged, at least, never formed a conspicuous feature, of spoken Maltese.

(2) For more regular pattern ahyar (Cf. A. اخيار better, H A V A.) better, H A V A.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (I)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
47	(a) As in (45) but with vocalic sequence e - e instead of a - a. (b) Comparative patterns of descriptives that may belong to Nos. 1, 2, 3, 46, 50.	e Q T e L (S.M.)	1. eḥref, fiercer; 2. eḥzen, worse; 3. eḥjen, stouter; 5. eṭref, wiser; 7 eẓzez, dearer; 4. eqdem, older; 6. eqreb, nearer.	a: ie ie ie - a - o - ɵ	
48	(a) As in (46), but with vocalic sequence i - a. (b) Colour descriptives, and comparatives of patterns that may belong to Nos. 1 and 2.	i Q T a L (S.M.)	1. ibtar, tail-less; 2. isfar, yellow; 3. ismar, brown; 4. izraq, blue; 5. idyaq, narrower; 6. isbaḥ, lovelier; 7. ishaḥ, stronger; 8. irḥas, cheaper; 9. ibʿad, remoter; 10. idwal, brighter:	a: ie o - o	
49	(a) As in (46), but with vocalic sequence i - e. (b) Colour descriptives, and comparatives of patterns that may belong to Nos. 2 and 4.	i Q T e L (M.V.)	1. iswed, black; 2. isfel, below; 3. ismen, fatter; 4. iṭref, tougher; 5. ityeb, better; 6. ibkem, dumb; 7. ibleḥ, foolish.	ie i - e a: o ie ie	

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
50	As in (46) but with vocalic sequence o - o. (a)	o Q T o L (M.V.)	1. oꭍon, stouter; 2. orꭍos, cheaper.	a: / o- o	
51	(a) With first radical between vocalic sequences a - a, the latter followed by long radical. (b) This comparative pattern is obsolete.	a Q a TT (S.M.)	1. asaẖẖ, stronger; 2. asamm, more solid; 3. aʃaẖẖ, more close-fisted.	- a - ; - a - ; - e -	
52	(a) As in (51) but with vocalic sequences e - e instead of a - a. (b) As in (51).	e Qe TT (S.M.)	4. eʃedd, tighter.	- e -	
53	With second radical between vocalic sequence u - a, first vowel being the phonetic implication of 'uw', 3rd. radical 'q' or 'ɣ'. (Base W - T - L).	u Q a L (S.M.)	1. usaʕ, wider; 2. utaq, firmer;	a - a	
54	With second and first radical in phonological junction (zero vowel) between vocalic sequence o - a, the latter being the phonetic implication of final 'ay' or 'aw'.	o Q T a (S.M.)	1. oḥla, sweeter; 2. oʕla, higher; 3. oʕma, blinder;	a - a (y); o - a (y); e - a (y)	

Nos. (i)	(a) Formal Description Semantic Function (b)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
	Fi				
55	(a) From tri-radical Verbal base with 'ma' prefixed to first two radicals in phonological junction (zero vowel) with u: between second and third radical.	ma Q T u: L¹ (dialectical variant₂ moqtu:l). (S.M.)	1. maħru:q, hoarse; 2. maħru:q, burnt; 3. maħmu:j, dirty; 4. maħsu:l, washed; 5. maħbu:b, loved; 6. maˤdu:d, added; 7. maˤju:t, nourished; 8. maˤju:b, vanished;	a – a / a – a / a – e / a – e / – a – / – a – / – a: – / – a: –	maħlu:t, kind of mixed grain; maqru:t, a kind of paste fried in oil. maħlu:j, cotton, with the seed removed. Cf. also maktu:r, handkerchief.
	(b) Corresponds to English passive participle, e.g. 'written', 'driven' etc., with Descriptive and Nominal function.				
56	(a) As in (55) but with prefix 'me' instead of 'ma'.	me Q T u:L (S.M.)	1. merħu:ħ, preserved; 2. meħbu:l, crazy; 3. meħyu:m, spoilt; 4. mehmmi:z, pinned; 5. meħyu:t, sewed; 6. meˤju:n, helped;	e – a / e – e / e – e / e – e / – ie – / – ie –	
	(b) As in (55).				

(1) Following M. A. Vassalli, Falzon includes maħdu:l, benumbed, e – e; maħu:s, freed, e – e; and maħyu:t, sewed, – ie –, under pattern maqtu:l. I have always heard these words pronounced on the analogy of Patt.56 as given by Caruana.

(2) Only with certain words, as 'moħru:j, brought out; moqħu:t, thrifty; moˤju:t, fed, for maħruj, etc.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
57	(a) As in (56) but with prefix 'mi' instead of 'ma'. (b) As in (55)	mi Q Tu: L (S.M.)	1. mibru:m, twisted; 2. miblu:ħ, swallowed; 3. miʃhu:d, witnessed; 4. mifhum, understood; 5. mitlu:g, forsaken; 6. mirku:b, dominated; 7. miʃru:b, extenuated; 8. miblu:l, wet; 9. misdu:d, obstructed; 10. misyu:r, ripe; 11. midyu:b, brought.	a – a a – a e – e e – e e – a i – e o – o – e – a: a: ie.	
58	(a) With second and first radical in phonological junction between prefix mi and vowel e. (b) Descriptives and Nominals; but not Verbal as the other patterns in F.	mi Q T e L (S.M.)	1. midneb, sinful; 2. mizrek, sinny 2. midilka, lazybones.	i – e i – e ———	

(1) Used only in this feminine pattern but applicable to female and male alike, we deduce its hypothetical masculine pattern 'midler' parallel with midneb, with vowel 'i' intervening between first and second and third radicals in phonological junction by rule.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
59	(a) With second radical between prefix 'mi' and u:, 'mi' being the phonetic implication of 'miw' from bases W - T - L.	Mi T u: L (S.M.)	1. mi ju:ħ, aching; 2. milu:d, born; 3. miflu:j, paralysed; 4. miru:t, inherited;	a. -a i -e i - e i - e	
	(b) As in (55).				
60	(a) As in (59) but with sequence me - ie instead of mi - u:	me Q T ie L (S.M.)	1. meħtiej, needed; 2. meħyiej, courageous; 3. meɣliel, infirm; 4. mesyieħ, maudlin.	- ie -	
	(b) As in (55).				
61.	(a) As in (60) but with prefix 'mi' instead of 'me'.	mi Q Tie L^1 (S.M.)	1. midyieq, strait; 2. midyien, in debt; 3. miryieħ, windy; 4. midliel, sickly; 5. miɟdiem, leperous; 6. misnieħ, rancid; 7. miʃtieq, desirous; 8. miɟwieħ, hungry; 9. milwiem, rainy.	ie a:	
	(b) As in (55).				

(1) I have also heard used the pattern mi Q T a: L in mila ab, a slobberer; and mila aq, glutton; also 'servile', from la aq, to lick. These words are not in the Maltese dictionaries.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
62	(a) As in (61) but with sequence mo - a:, not i - ie. (b) As in (55).	Mo Q Ta: L also mi Q T a: L (S.M. only foreign descriptive, mocpa:r)	1. mudla:m, dark; 2. mohda:r, green; 3. mosfa:r, pale; 4. mohra:r, acrid; 5. mocpa:r, misty; 6. mohja:r, stony; 7. mosha:b, cloudy; 8. mosha:b, sturdy; 9. moswa:f, woolly; 10. motra:b, dusty; 11. mozqa:q, glutton.	a - a — a: — — a: —	
			1 mogziez, filthy; 2. mo'liewi: expensive. No. 2 has an additional 'i' to support final 'w'. Also me'liewi, pat. 60	a - a (y) a - a (y)	
63.	As in (62) but with sequence o - ie instead of o - a:	Mo Q T ie L (S.M.)			
64	Developed from bases with medial 'a' preceded by one radical and followed by long radical and, with 'm' in phonological junction with first radical between vocalic sequence o - i (in open syllable).	(?) m Qo T Ti dialectically, also with 'a' for 'o' in which case it occurs in M.V.	1. (?) mñolli, left; 2. (?) mroddi, passed; 3. (?) mrotti, covered; 4. (?) msoffi, cleansed.	a - a (y) a - a (y) a - a (y) a - a (y)	With 2nd radical lengthened. Cf. 67.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
65	(a) With 2nd and 1st radical in phonological junction between sequence 'me' and 'i', the latter, in open syllable, being phonetic implication of i Y, from base with final semi vowel. (b) As in (55).	me Q T i (S.M.)	1. merħi, let loose. 2. mehli, sluggish.	e — a (y) ———	
66	(a) As in (65), but with initial 'mi' instead of 'me' — 'mi' is favoured by base of which the initial radical is not, ħ, q, r, or ʕ. Cf. pattern 67. (b) As in (55).	mi Q T i (S.M.)	1. midʒfi, blasphemous; 2. mibdi, commenced; 3. mibki, lamented; 4. mibni, constructed; 5. mifni, harrassed; 6. mitfi, extinguished; 7. middi, shining.	a — ʕa (y) e — a (y) e — a (y) e — a (y) e — a (y) e — a (y) i — a (y)	

(1) I have heard the Verbal Base used but not its corresponding descriptive given by Vassalli, and by the later Maltese lexicographers.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
67	**(a)** As in (66) but with 'mo' instead of 'mi', the former being phonetically favoured by bases with initial radical h, q, r or . **(b)** As in (55).	mo Q T i (S.M.)	1. mogri, read; 2. moħbi, hidden; 3. mogli, fried; 4. mormi, cast out; 5. moʃmi, blinded; 6. moʃwi, incited.	a - a (y) e - a (y) e - a (y) e - a (y) e - a (y) e - a (ɟ)	

F ii

Nos.	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
68	Developed from tri-radical bases with middle radical lengthened; morphological 'm' in phonological junction with 1st rad. and medial lengthened radical between vocalic sequence a – a etc. **(b)** Nominals and descriptives, Grammatical Passive Participles of tri-radical V.B.2 Cf. V.B.2 and quadriliteral V.B. p256 and 262 respectively.	**(a)** tri-radical with middle rad. lengthened. m Qa TT ea L (M.V.) " a " e (S.M.) " e " a (S.M.) " e " e (S.M.) " i " e (M.V.) **(ii)** Same pattern with quadriliterals M.V. with vocalic sequence a – a, e – a, e – e:, i – e.	**(i)** 1.(e) mħaṣṣar, cancelled; 2.(ʏ) mħarrek, excited; 3.(a) mbellaħ, silly; 4.(ə) mħedded, threatened; 5.(ʏ) mkisser, broken. **(iii)** mħanʃar, gorged; mħandeb, in ruins; mtertaq, pounded; mkeskes, instigated; mbiʃkel, foiled.	The same voc.seq. of V.B.2 see page 256. As in (68). The same seq. of quadriliteral V.B. See page 260.	

(i) (a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function — Nos.	(ii) The Patterns	(iii) Descriptive Scatter	(iv) Voc. Seq. of V.B.	(v) Nominals with similar patterns.
(a) 69 With morphological 'm', in phonological junction with first rad. of which the second is between vocalic sequence a: -e. (b) Descriptive and Nominal with meaning derived from V.B.3, which see on page 257.	m Qa: T e L (S.M.)	1. (ə) mħa:res, protected 2. (ə) mqa:reb, undisciplined 3. (ə) mjaʃal, compelled also (ə) mijieʃel, pattern No. 70.	a: - e a: - e a: -	
(a) 70 With morphological ( ) 'm' in ( ) phonological junction with first radical, with second radical between vocalic sequence ie - a. (b) Descriptive with meaning derived from V.B.3. See page 257.	m Q ie T eL (S.M.)	1.(ə) imfiehem, explained; 2.(ə) imrieʃed, tremulous; 3.(ə) imsieɲeb, associated 4.(ə) mjieʃel, compelled 5.(ə) imwieʃed, promised	ie—a ie - a ie— e a —a ie —e	Same voc. seq. of V.B. See page 257.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns. (v)
71	(a) With phonological 'mit' pre-fixed to first radical from base with medial radical lengthened between vocalic sequence i - e Cf. V.B. 5, p. 258. (b) Passive participle of V.B.5.	mit Qi T T el[1] (S.M.)	1. mitki∫∫ef, spied; 2. mitkellem, spoken; 3. middeyyen, indebted; with initial mid. as the phonetic implication of 'mitd'. There is also the sporadic 'mitkabbar', proud.	i - e e - e a - a	Same voc. seq. of V.B. 5. See p. 258.

(1) The only word given by the Maltese dictionaries is mitki ef; this form, very common in classical Arabic (تكشّف > V.B.5. كشف) and the dialects has died out in spoken Maltese, though a few other sporadic words may still be extant; scholars, however, at times develop some forms by analogy, thus increasing the stock and variety of Neo-Semitic Maltese.

Nos.	(a) Formal Description (b) Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
72.	(a) As above but with second unlengthened radical between vocalic sequence i.e. —.—.e. (b) Passive participle of V.B.6 Cf. p. 258	mit Qie Te L (S.M.)	1. mitmiehel, retarded; 2. mitbie7ed, remote; 3. mittiekel, worn out; 4. mitbiedel, changed; 5. mitwieled, born; (very rare).	Same voc. seq. of V.B.6. See page 258.	
73.	(Note:- For semantics of various patterns included in col.iii, cf. V.B.10, p. 260. Grammatically, they are passive participles).	With initial 'mist' phonological prefix, derived from the various Verbal bases, which see and compare separately in col.iii.	The only descriptives of mixed patterns with initial morphological 'mist' as a prefix are:—	Note: the vocalic sequences given are of V.B.10; unless otherwise indicated from descriptive the V.B. of which still exists in Maltese.	

(a) Nos. (b) Formal Description Semantic Function (i)	The Patterns (ii)	Descriptive Scatter (iii)	Voc. Seq. of V.B. (iv)	Nominals with similar patterns (v)
73		1. mistaħrej, investigated;	a – e	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		2. mistaʔjeb, amazed;	a – e	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		3. mistaɣdar, stagnant;	a – a	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		4. misteyger, revived;	ey – e	
		5. mistenbaħ, awakened;	e – a	(V.B. 2 and 10).
		6. mistenni, expected;	e – a(y)	
		7. mistħi, bashful;	a – a(y)	
		8. mistħoqq, deserving;	a – a	
		9. mistħayyel, fancied;	ay – e	
		10. mistieden, invited;	ie – e	
		11. mistienes, escorted;	ie – e	
		12. mistkenn, sheltered;	e –	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		13. mistkerrah, abhored;	e – a	(V.B. 2 and 10)
		14. mistmerr, hated;	e –	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		15. mistoħyi, reviewed;	a – a (y)	
		16. mistoħbi, hidden;	e – a	(V.B. 1, and a–a V.B.10)
		17. mistoqsi, questioned;	a – a	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		18. mistqarr, confessed;	a –	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		19. mistʔan, helped;	a: –	(V.B. 1 and 10)
		20. mistʔal, utilised.	a –	(V.B. 1 and 10)

Plural Patterns

Maltese pluralises its singular nominal and descriptive patterns in two ways, (a) by external vocalic or consonantal additions with or without modifications of the original vocalic sequence, or (b) as in Table 5, which gives a complete list of the various patterns, by internal changes in the vocalic sequence of the 'singular' patterns with or without the addition or elision of the semi consonants W or Y, occurring in the singular patterns.

Process (a) may be subdivided into two:-

Process (a.i) formed by the addition of the suffixes ayn, eyn, teyn, to a few singular patterns[1], the semantic function of which is mainly to denote 'two' of the objects expressed by the singular patterns (Dual), but also to indicate just the plural without any idea of duality.

Process (a.ii) by the addition of the suffixes:-
(1) n, (2) i:n, (3) yi:n, (4) a:t or iet, (5) iyyiet,

---

(1) The dual only survives in a few words referring to (a) parts of the body existing in pairs, (b) some numbers and measures of time and weight, (c) and in other sporadic words. In Neo-Semitic Maltese one comes across duals formed by analogy.

(6) a:n, (7) ien, (8) a; the <u>semantic function</u> of which

is to pluralise the object expressed by the singular

pattern by stressing the idea of its individual com-

ponents (Determinate Plural) in contradistinction from

the plurals resulting from process (b) which express the

'collective plurals' of the singular patterns, corres-

ponding in a sense to such English words as 'fleet',

'flock' etc. which explains why, syntactically, these

patterns may behave like their singular patterns as they

may also do in English.

Now we deal with the various processes separately:

Process a1

Under this process we have: –

I. The Dual resulting from the addition of 'ayn' to

nominals, generally ending in ħ (sound substitution for

original ʕ in final position, by which it is replaced

interconsonantally in the dual) and in 'q'. 'ie' changes

to 'a'.

Examples:	Singular	Plural
	sieq, foot;	saqajn
	drieħ, arm;	dirʕayn[1]
	sabaʕ, finger;	subʕayn[2]

---

(1) An irregular formation for draʕayn which may be heard
   in hurried continuous speech.
(2) Dialectically, also sabʕayn.

II. Dual resulting from the addition of 'eyn' to
nominals other than those described above and not ending
in 'a', (1) affecting only the vocalic quantity of mono-
syllables but (2) eliding the unstressed vowel of the
singular dissyllabic pattern. As in I, 'ie' changes to
'a'.

Examples II. 1

Singular	Plural
elf, a thousand;	elfeyn, two thousand:
ḥadd, check;	ḥaddeyn;
ḥadd, check;	ideyn
i:d. hand:	jumeyn
wirk, a thigh;	wirkeyn

      II. 2.

difer, nail;	difreyn
rijil, leg;	rijleyn
ʃahar, month;	ʃahreyn.

III. Dual resulting from the addition of 'teyn' to final
consonant in words ending in the feminine or unity suf-
fix, 'a' in open syllable, with diphthongs 'ay' and 'ie'
where they occur, changed to 'a'.

Examples:

Singular	Plural
sena, a year;	senteyn, two years
darba, once;	darbteyn, twice
sieɣa, hour;	saɣteyn
bayda, egg;	badteyn
qatta, truss;	qatteyn, for qattteyn.

(Note: widneyn, literally two ears, but in usage just ears, apparently the dual of widna, ear, must have developed from widen (Process II.2) which is still used in Maltese contextually[1], not so much in the sense of ear, as of 'the hearing', though 'ear' may have been the original meaning, hence the dual in question).

Process a ii

I. Plural patterns with suffix 'n' result from descriptives with final 'i' in open syllable.

Examples:

Singular	Plural
dħu:li, sociable;	dħuli:n
raħli, peasant;	raħli:n
ʃitwi, wintry;	ʃitwi:n

---

(1) Used in the idiom 'ta widen' literally corresponding to English 'he gave ear' (listened to) and Italian dare orecchio, cf. A. أُذُن ear.

II. Plural Patterns with i:n result from the addition
of this suffix to singular descriptive patterns ending
in a consonant, with the following internal vocalic
modifications.

(a) Singular vocalic pattern ie - e or ie - a   or 'a'
change to e - i: or i - i:

Examples:

Singular	Plural
bniedem, man;	bnedmi:n or bnidmi:n
niezel, descending;	nezli:n, or nizli:n
wieqaf, standing;	weqfi:n or wiqfi:n
wiesaʃ wide;	wesʃi:n or wisʃi:n
maħru:b, fugitive;	maħrubi:n
meħlu:s, freed;	meħlusi:n
mirbu:ħ, conquered;	mirbuħi:n
moʃju:b, pleased;	moʃjubi:n
muʃaʃar, hairy;	muʃaʃri:n

The above descriptive patterns admit of only this plural
form.

(b) Interconsonantal 'ayye' and 'eyye' or singular
adjective patterns change to ay - i: and ey - i respect-
ively. (Singular patt. Qayyel = Pl. Patt. Qay Li:N, sing.
QeyyeL; pl. QeyLi:n.)

Examples:-

Singular Adj.	Plural Adj.
seyyer, going;	seyri:n
meyyet, dead;	meyti:n
tayyeb, good;	taybi:n
mqayyem, awakened;	mqaymi:n

III. (a) Plural patterns with suffixes yi:n result from
the addition thereof to Descriptive Patterns:

(1) Qa:Ti or (2) Qie Ti.

Examples:

1 <u>Singular</u>   <u>Plural</u>

1 Singular	Plural
ʕa:li, high;	ʕalyi:n
ħa:ti, guilty;	ħatyi:n

2 <u>Singular</u>

| hieni, happy; | henyi:n, also hinyi:n |
| niedi, damp; | nedyi:n, also nidyi:n |

(b) From Descriptive Patterns mi Q Ti, mo Q Ti,
and (2) m Q o T T i.

(Note:- initial 'm' in pattern III (b) does not belong
to the radical consonant sequence of the base.

Examples:

Singular Pattern mi Q Ti	Plural
mikri, hired;	mikriyi:n
miʃtri, bought;	miʃtriyi:n
mikwi, heated;	mikwiyi:n

Pattern mo Q Ti	
mohli, wasted;	mohliyyin
moqri, read;	moqriyyi:n

Pattern (⊕) m Q o T T i	
mʃolli, boiled;	mʃolliyyi:n
imrobbi, reared;	imrobbiyyi:n

IV. Plural Patterns with suffix a:t or 'iet' result from the addition thereof to the final consonant of any words ending in 'a' in open syllable without affecting the preceding vocalic sequence.

a:t is the suffix generally attached to consonants ħ, q, and ʃ a; but even with these consonants a:t and 'iet' may interchange.

Examples:-

	Singular	Plural
(1)	bettiña, melon;	bettiña:t or bettiñiet
	jimɣa a week;	jim a:t
	ferɣa, branch;	ferɣa:t
	ʃitla, plant;	ʃerɣat
	kisra, piece of bread;	kisriet
	zyara, visit;	zyara:t, (also iet)
	ħsa:ra, mischief;	ħsara:t
	Alla, God	alla:t

Exceptions to the rule are: smewwiet, heavens, pl. of sema; mara has nisa as its plural. I have heard children use 'mariet' by the simple process of analogy.

VI. Plural Patterns with suffix 'iyyiet' result from the addition thereof to the final consonant of certain words which it is not possible to identify beforehand by definite rules.

Examples:-

Singular	Plural
omm, mother;	ommiyyiet
ʃoɣol, work;	ʃoɣoliyyiet
zmien, time;	zmeniyyiet

VI. Plural suffix a:n is attached to singular nouns with interconsonantal 'ie', closed by final h, for Original ⊁ , by which it is replaced in the plural or with interconsonantal 'ay', which, with the shifting of the accent, changes to 'i'.

Examples:

Singular	Plural
qieħ, bottom;	qiɤa:n, not qiha:n
sieħ, measure;	siɤa:n, not siha:n
ħayt, wall	ĥita:n

VIII. Plural suffix 'ien' is attached to final consonant of singular nominals with interconsonantal 'a', 'a:', 'ie' and 'i:' which, with the shifting of the accent, change to i, but where the initial sound is ɤa, or ɤi the change is to ɤe.

Examples:

Singular	Plural
qies, measure;	qisien
bies, hawk;	bisien
bieb, door;	bibien
tiej, nuptials;	tijien
wied, valley;	widien

Singular	Plural
fa:r, rat;	firien
ja:r, neighbour;	jirien
na:r, fire;	nirien
ħasi, capon;	ħisien, also ħosien
ʕa:r, cave;	ʕerien
si:d, owner;	sidien
ʕeyd, for i:d;	ʕedien
ʕatu, lid;	ʕetien, also ʕotien

Note:- torjien and torbien are peculiar plural formations of taraj, stairs; and tra:b, dust, respectively.

IX. 'a', the primary function of which is that of the feminine singular and/or that of 'unity', but which serves also as a plural suffix, is attached to the final consonant of the singular Nominal Pattern with vocalic sequence a - ie or e - ie (M.V.). With the addition thereof to other descriptive patterns interconsonantal 'ayya', 'eyye' or 'ayye' change to 'ey' and 'ay' respectively.(Cf. also IIb.)

Examples:

Singular	Plural
(1) ħaddiem, workman	ħaddiema, workmen:
(2) kennies, scavenger;	kenniesa
(3) ħay, alive;	ħayya
(4) jey, coming;	jeyya
(5) tayyeb, good;	tayba[1]
(6) ġweyyed, quiet;	jweyda
(7) meyyet, dead;	meyta
(8) smayyar, brownish	smayra
(9) maqtu:l, killed;	maqtu:la

---

(1) In such forms as tayba jweyda, meyta, etc. ortho-
graphically, tajba, ġwejda, some Maltese authorities
(Vassalli, Saydon) write tayyba, jweyyda, considering
long y as a consonant element of the singular pattern.

Table 5

"Plural Patterns of (i) Nominals (2) Descriptives resulting from internal changes"

No. (i)	Formal Description of Plural patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(iii) (a) Plural formations with (b) the corresponding singulars.			
			(1) NOMINALS		(2) DESCRIPTIVES	
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b) or
1	1st and 2nd radical in phonological junction with a: between 2nd and 3rd radicals.	Q T a: L (M.V.)	bra:j, tra:f, rta:l, qta:r, ʃfa:r, dwa:l, dya:r	heaps from borj; edges " tarf; rotolos " ratal; drops " qatra; edges " ʃafra; lights " dawl; houses " da:r;	fqa:r, qsa:r, kba:r, zɣa:r, twa:l	poor from fqi:r; fqi:ra short " qasi:r; great " kbi:r; small " zɣeyr; long " twi:l;
2	As in (1) but with 'ie' instead of a:	Q T ie L (M.V.)	hrief, ftiem, fbieb, kmiem, dnieb, dwieb, ryleh	lambs, from haru:f; rings " ħatem; friends " habib; sleeves " komma; tails " denb; mares " debba; winds " rieh.	qliel, sbieh, hrief	fiery, from qali:l; qali:l beautiful " sabieh; brisk " hafi:f.
3	As in (1) but with i: instead of a:	Q Ti: L (S.M.)	hmi:r	asses, from hma:r (This is the only M. instance.)	None.	

No.	Formal Description of Plural patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(a) Plural formations with (b) the corresponding singulars		
			(1) NOMINALS (iii)		(2) DESCRIPTIVES
			(a)	(b)	
4.	As in (1) but with u: instead of a:	Q Tu: L.L. (M.V.) and ʃe Tu:L, when 1st rad. is a pharyngealised vowel.	qru:n, horns, from ʃnu:b, sides " ʃmu:ʃ sums " ʃlu:d, skins " mʃu:ħ, minds " ʃju:b, old people " ʃenu:q, necks from ʃeru:q, roots " ʃeyu:n, founts " ʃeʃu:r, tithes " elu:f (by analogy) thousands, from elf.	qarn; jenb; ʃemʃ; jild; moħħ; xieħ. ʃonq; ʃerq; ʃayn; ʃaʃra; thousands,	None.
5	As in (1) but with 'a' in final open syllable after third radical.	Q T a: La (S.M.)	nsa:ra, Christians; from nisra:ni, qra:ba, relatives " qari:b.		None.
6.	As in (5) but with 'ie' instead of a:	Q T ie La (S.M.)	bdiewa, peasants, from bidwi; rsiera, slaves " rsi:r; ltiema, orphans; " lti:m; ʃhieda, witnesses, " ʃhu:d; Qriema, Curmi people " Qormi.		None.

No.	Formal Description of Plural patterns. (i)	Patterns (ii)	(a) Plural Formations with (b) the singular correspondences (iii)	
			(1) NOMINALS	(2) DESCRIPTIVES
			(a) (b)	
7	As in (5) but 3rd rad. between vocalic sequence a: - i	Q Ta: Li (M.V.)	sta:li, pails, from satal tra:bi, babies " tarbiyya tʃa:bi, loads " taʃbiyya qsa:ri, flower-pots " qasriyya dra:bi, occurrences " darba.	None.
8	As in (7), but vocalic sequence ie - i.	Q T ie Li and e T·ie Li, when 1st rad. is a pharyngalised vowel.	gtieʃey, frights, from gaʕʕa; dwieli, vines " dielya; ʃtiewi, winters " ʃitwa; ʕewiedi, promises " weʕda; flieli, portions " felli; ʕetiebi, thresholds "ʕatba; ʕelieqi, fields " ʕalqa.	None.
9	As in (5) but with vocalic sequence u: - a	Q Tu: La (Note that phonetic implication of medial rad. ʕ + u = ʃ(ew). (S.M.)	ħbu:la, ropes, from ħabel; ħtu:ra, staffs " ħatar; bʕu:la, mules " baʕal; nʃu:la, horseshoes " naʕla; rħu:la, villages " raħal.	None.

Formal Description of Nos. Plural patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(a) Plural Formations with (b) the singular correspondences	
		(1) NOMINALS (iii)	(2) DESCRIPTIVES
		(a) (b)	
10 With the 3 radicals in phono-logical junction between vocalic sequences i – a, of which the first is initial and the latter in final open syllable.	i Q T L a (S.M.)	isqra, hawks, from seqer ijsma, bodies " jisem ilsna, voices " lehen isfma, portions " sehem isqfa, roofs " saqef iftla, stallions " fahal ibfra, seas " bahar iktba, books " ktieb. (Note: I heard the last plural which is not in the dictionaries, in Gozo.)	None.
11 As in (10), but with vocalic sequence o – a.	o Q T L a (S.M.)	oftra, staffs, from hatar; oqbla, tribes; " qabi:l, oqbra, graves " qabar, oqfsa, cages, " qefas oqfla, laces, " qefla oqmra, moons, " qamar oqsma, farms, " qasam otbla, drums, " tabal.	None.

Nos.	Formal Description of Plural patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(a) Plural Formations with (b) the singular correspondences (iii)		(2) DESCRIPTIVES	
			(1) NOMINALS			
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b) or
12	With 2nd and 3rd radical in phonological junction between vocalic sequence o - a	Q o T L a (S.M.)	tobba, doctors, from tabi:b; jonna, gardens "	jmien;	jodda, new, from jdi:d; morda, sick, " mari:d torya, tender " ta:ri ʃonya, rich " arni ʃonya, blind, " ami	jii:d ta:rri "ta:rry " " " "
13	With middle radical between vocalic sequence a - a	Q a T a L (M.V.)	basal, onions, from labar, pins, " tamar: dates, " ʃarab, Arabs, " sarar, bundles " ʃaɣaq, clothes)	basla; labra; " tamra; " ʃarbi; " sorra; " ʃogga.	None	
14	As in (13) but with vocalic sequence a - e	Q a T e L (M.V.)	halel, corn stacks, qatet, trusses, " ʃalel, products ʃases, guards, raded, furrows;	from halla; " gatta; "ʃalla; "ʃasse; " radda.	None	
15	As in (13) but with vocalic sequence i - e	Q i T e L (M.V.)	fided, silver material from fidda; sikek, ploughshares tikek, dots, qirer, frosts,	" sikka; " tikka; " qirra.	None	

Nos.	Formal Descriptions of Plural Patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(a) Plural Formations with (b) the singular correspondences (iii)			
			(1) NOMINALS		(2) DESCRIPTIVES	
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
16	With middle radical between vocalic sequence o – o	Q o T o L (M.V.)	toqob, holes, from toqba; sodod, beds " sodda; toroq, roads " trieq; romol, widows and widowers, from armel or armla.		boyod, white from abyad or bayda, ḥoroš, fierce, from aḥraš or ḥarša; boloh, foolish, from ibleh gr belha, toroš, deaf, from truš or tru:ša.	
17	As in (16) but with vocalic sequence u – e	Q u T e L (S.M.)	None.		suwed, black, from iswed or sewda.	
18	With 'eyye' infixed between 3rd radical and the first two in phonological junction.	Q T e yy e L (M.V.) and ʕe T e yy e L when 1st rad. is a pharyngalised vowel.	beyyem, beasts, from bi:ma; ḥjeyyej, fires " ḥujjieja; nbeyyed, wines " nbi:d; ṯweyyej, clothes, " ħa:ja; ʕereyye, cots; from ʕari:š; ʕemeyyel, acts " ami:l; ʕeleyyel, produces " ʕalla.			
19.	As in (18) but with infix 'eyya' instead of 'eyye'.	Q T e yy a L (S.M.)	fweyyaḥ, odours, from fwieḥa; dweyyaq, distress " dieqa; ħleyyaq, creatures " ħlieqa; rweyyaḥ, smells " rieḥa; qreyyaq, brood hens " qroqqa.		None.	

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Nos.	Formal Description of Plural patterns. (i)	Patterns (ii)	Plural Formations with (a) / (b) singular correspondences (iii)		
			(1) NOMINALS		(2) DESCRIPTIVES
			(a)	(b)	
20	As in (18) but with infix 'ayye' instead of 'eyye'.	Q T ayye L and ʃa T ayyeL if 1st radical is a pharyngalised vowel. (S.M.)	dʃayyes, boats, from à ayse; btayyeL, holidays " bta:la; blayyet, rocks, " bla:ta; ʃarayyes, brides and bridegrooms, from ʃaru:s or ʃaru:sa.	None.	None.
21	As in (18) but with infix 'ayya' instead of 'eyye'.	Q T ayya L and a T ayya L if 1st radical is a pharyngalised vowel.	ʃbayyar, poultices, from ʃba:ra; qtayyaʃ, crowds, " qatʃa; rqayyaʃ, patches, " roqʃa; snayyaʃ, crafts; " senʃa; zyayyar, visits, " zya:ra; ʃadayyar, ponds " ʃadi:ra; ʃemayyar, furnitures, " ʃama:ra;	None.	
22	With 3rd radical between vocalic sequence a: - a, the first two being in phonological junction and vowel 'a' closed by 4th radical; phonetically identical with the 3rd. Evolved from tri-radical singulars.	Q Ta: L a L in which 2nd radical may be 'w' and the 4th is different from the 3rd. (S.M.).	(1) dba:bar, ulcers, from dabra; ʃfa:far, blades " ʃafra; dwa:war, circuits, " dawra; ʃwa:war, spices; fwa:war, eruptions " fawra; swa:baʃ, fingers " sabaʃ.	—	None.

			(a) Plural Formations with			
			(b) singular correspondences. (iii)			
Nos.	Formal Description of Plural patterns (i)	Patterns (ii)	(1) NOMINALS		(2) DESCRIPTIVES	
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
22 cont:	As in (1) but evolved from quadriliteral singulars.	as in (1) (M.V.)	gra:tas, paper bags, gra:tal; baskets, z7ázañ, youths,	from qarta:s; " qartalla; " z7ázu:ñ;	fra:tas, bald, from farta:s., or farta:sa.	
23	As in (22) but with vocalic sequence a: - e, which, excepting sla:leb, crosses, from sali:b, are evolved from quadri-literal singulars, or triliteral with middle radical lengthened.	Q T a: L e L (M.V.)	dña:ħen, smoke, from duñña:n; qta:tes, cats, ʃga:ʒef, shards, tla:leb, beggars, ʃya:ten, devils;	qattu:s, ʃaqqu:fa, talla:b, ʃita:n.	None.	
24	As in (23) but with vocalic sequence ie - e and 2nd radical a consonant, or semi-vowel 'w', in the latter case, evolved from a triconsonantal singular.	Q T ie L e L (M.V.)	fkieren, tortoises, griezem, throats, brieʃed, fleas flieles, chickens, gniedes, oxen, jrieden, mice, twiebet, coffins, kwiekeb, stars, dwiefer, nails, zwiemel, horses, qwieleb, cheese forms qwiebel, midwife	from fekru:na; " gerzu:ma; " berʃu:d; " fellu:s; " gendu:s; " jurdien; " tebu:t; " kewba; " difer; " ziemel; " qa:lab; " qa:bla.	mjienen, crazy, from mijnu:n; criecer, shabby, from cercu:r.	

Nos.	Formal Descriptions of Plural patterns. (i)	Patterns (ii)	(iii) NOMINALS (1) {(a) Plural formations with / (b) singular correspondences.}		(2) DESCRIPTIVES	
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
25	As in (23), but with vocalic sequences ie - a, closed by 'h' or 'q'.	Q T ie L a L (S.M.)	bziezaq, bubbles, from buzziega; jwienaḥ, wings, " jewnaḥ; mwielaq, whetstones, " meylaq; ḥnienaq, collars, " ḥanniega; ftietaq, trifles, " fettu:qa; trietaq, shattered bits, from tertu:qa.		cfiecaq, blear-eyed, from cefcu:q.	
26.	With 2nd and 3rd radical in phonological junction be- tween vocalic sequence o - ie, the latter pre- ceding 4th radical.	Q o T L ie L (S.M.)		ollieq, bramble, from olliega; ozzieb, bachelors, from azeb; horrieq, nettles, " hurriqa; ollief, agnails, " sulliefa; olliel, gradrangle stone. Note: Last three words (a) can also have 'u' for 'o'.	orrief, wise, from oref/aref.	
27.	With 2nd radical between vocalic sequence e - e, the former being an initial radical, and 3rd radical 'w' followed by 'a', inter- vocalically lengthened. The pattern of one lonely form.	e T e LL a (S.M.)		edewwa, enemies, from adu.	None.	

The Plural Patterns of Nominal Scatter with Initial prefix 'm'. Cf Table

No.	Formal Description	Patterns	Examples	Singular Patterns. Cf. Table 3 a-b-c-d
28	With morphological prefix in phonological junction with 1st radical, the 2nd being between vocalic sequence a: - a.	m Qa: Ta L (S.M.)	mqa:bad, handles, from maqbad; msa:jar, copses, " masjar;	ma Q T a L
29	As in (28), but with vocalic sequence a: - e.	m Q:a Te L (S.M.)	mħa:zen, magazines, from maħzen; mħa:sel, washing places, from maħsel; mqa:def, oars " moqdief;	ma Q T e L mo Q T ie L me Q T L a in ma/rfa only, its usual plural being by suffix 'iet' attached to 3rd. radical.
30	As in (28) but vocalic sequence ie - a	m Q ie T a L (S.M.)	mtierah, mattresses, from mitrah; mniefah, bellows, " minfah; msiebah, lamps, " msbieh; mtieraq, hatches, " mterqa.	mi Q Ta L mu Q T ie L m Q e T L a
31	As in (28), but with vocalic sequence ie - e	m Q ie T eL (S.M.)	mniejel, scythes, from minjel; mziewet, pods, " mizwet; msiemer, nails, " musma:r; mriehel, flocks, " merħla; m(ietel, seed beds, " mi(tla.	mi Q T e L mi Q Ta: L me Q T La mi Q T La
32	With morphological prefix 'm' in phonological junction with 1st radical, the 2nd identical with the 3rd between vocalic sequence a - e.	m Q a T e T (S.M.)	mqases, scissors, from mqass; mħakek, graters, " mħakka; mħalel, reels, " mħalla; mħaded, pillows, " mħadda.	m Q a TT m Q a TT a

No.	Formal Description	Patterns	Examples	Singular Patterns. Cf. Table 3 a-b-c-d
33	As in (32) but with vocalic sequence e - e.	mQe Te T (S.M.)	mselel, needles, from msella; mkebeb, reels, " mkebba; imserek, shuttles, " mserka.	m Qe TT a m Qe T L a
34	With morphological increment 'm' in phonological junction with 1st radical, 2nd radical between vocalic sequence ie - i, the latter in open syllable evolved from V.B. with 3rd radical (y).	m Q ie Ti, and also m Q ie Li, same pattern with T for 2nd radical and L for 3rd in original base.	mliewi, rolls, from milwa; mdieri, winnowing shafts, from midra: mtiewi, cylinders, " mitwa; same pattern mrieʃi, pastures, " merʃa; with final ʃi, phonetically =ʃey) mḥiebi, offers, from mḥi:ba.	mi Q T a me Q T a m Q i: L a
35	As in (31) but 1st radical 'w' Cf. singular pattern for its disappearance.	m W ie T e L (S.M.)	mwiezen, scales, from mizien, mwiezeb, pipes, from mizieb.	mi T ie L

Table 6

(1)   In this Table we give the various Verbal patterns, denoting an 'action' or 'a state' as modified by the semantic criteria which we shall explain separately.

(2)   The Table is sub-divided into six columns: (i), (ii) and (iii) describe the vocalic and consonantal structure of the command and present tense patterns respectively, whereas Col. (v) describes the past tense patterns.

(3)   These columns describe the time-action criteria which, together with the gender criterion in the case of the third person singular, account for the formal and semantic variety of the Verbal patterns.

(4)   The Table is further sub-divided into parts A - E.

A (1-8) - describes the formation of the Command and Request patterns, the Present and Past Tense patterns evolved from bases with the three radicals constant (M.V. only with second radical lengthened).

B (9-10) - from bases with middle radical 'w' or 'y'. (S.M.)

C (11-15) - from bases with third radical 'y'.

D (16) - from triconsonantal bases with second and third radicals identical. (S.M.).

E (17-21) - from quadriliteral bases resulting from (i)

    the onomatopoeic repetition of a biconsonantal base

    (S.M.), (ii) from radicals of which three or four

    consonants are different (M.V.).

Vocalic Sequences of the V.B.

When this is triradical:-

(1.) These may be any of the following six:-

    (1) a - a (M.V.) h̄aT̲aF, he snatched; DaRa, he got
                          used to;

    (2) a - e (M.V.) h̄a̲ Fe̲ R, he forgave (None with any of
                          the radicals inconstant;)

    (3) e - e (S.M.) Fe̲ he̲ M, he understood; ʃeh̄eT, he threw
                          (excluding those with an in-
                          constant radical).

    (4) e - a (S.M.) Se̲ Ra̲ Q, he robbed; h̄eLa, he wasted;

    (5) i - e (M.V.) Ni Ze L, he came down; (excluding
                          those with 2nd and 3rd rad.
                          inconstant).

    (6) o - o (S.M.) h̄o Lo M, he dreamt; (excluding those
                          with an inconstant radical).

(2.) Note that hypothetical 'awa' or 'aya' of Verbal

    bases with medial radical inconstant phonetically = a:

    or ie, as D - (w) - M, for da:m or diem.

(3.) The Vocalic sequences of quadriliteral bases are:

(i) a - a (S.M.) or e - e (M.V.) when made up of the repetition of a biconsonantal base like farfar, he brushed; and gemgem, he grumbled.

(ii) a - a (M.V.); a - e (M.V.); e - e (M.V.); e - a (M.V.); i - e (M.V.), when three of the radicals or the four are different as harbat, he ruined; qandel, he carried heavy things; zegleg, he shook; berbaq, he squandered; fiʃkel, he put spokes in the wheel.

(4)   Interconsonantel vowel of V.B. with 2nd radical lengthened may be 'a' or 'e' as, radd, he restored, medd, he stretched.

(5)   The V.B. may vary formally by (i) The 'Time' or 'Tense' and 'Command' Criteria; (ii) 'Number' and 'Subject' Criteria; (iii) the Gender Criterion only in the 3rd person singular.

(i) The Tense and Command Criteria.

Semitic and Semitised Maltese varies its verbal patterns according as they convey that an action is taking place (Col. iii), or that it has already taken place (Col. v-vi), or that the action is expressed as an order or a request (Col. ii).

(ii) <u>Number and Subject Criteria</u>.

Like Nominals and Descriptives, Verbal patterns can be singular or plural. As to subject, there are no different patterns for 1st and 2nd person singular when the action is described as performed (Col. v-vi), and no different pattern for 2nd person singular, any gender, and third person feminine, when the action is expressed as still taking place (Col. iii); otherwise the patterns differ formally according to the subject referred to.

(iii) <u>The Gender Criterion</u>.

The gender affects the form of the Verbal pattern only in the third person singular, where two different patterns are used for third person masculine and third person feminine.

DERIVED VERBAL BASES

The triradical V.B. may be modified morphologically by prefixes, by infix 't', in one pattern only, and by vocalic variation, the factor of the formal modification being throughout purely semantic.

The derived Verbal bases, resulting from (1) Qa Ta L, are:-

(2) Qa TT a L (M.V.). V.B. modified by lengthening of middle radical.

Generally, the vocalic sequence of V.B.1 is maintained, but i - e, may change to e - e as in dellek, he smeared from V.B.1 dilek; in one instance, to a - a, kabbar, he augmented, from V.B.1. kiber. Vocalic sequence o - o, changes to a - e, as ḥallem, he caused to dream from ḥolom, or to a - a, as γ‾addas, he plunged, from γ‾odos.

Semantics: It indicates that action expressed by V.B.1 has been done frequently and/or intensely, as K iSS e R, he smashed, broke to pieces; from K iS e R, he broke. Those with medial radical (w) or (y) lengthen the semi vowel intervocalically, as De WW e M, he delayed, from D - (w) - M, and Sa YY a R, he cooled, from S - (y) - R.

(3) Qa: Ta L or Q ie Te L (S.M.). V.B. modified with lengthening of first 'a' in the sequence, or its change to 'ie'.

Semantics: It expresses causation, as BieγeD, he caused to go away; Fie he M, he made to understand.

(4) i QT a L or a Q Ta L, sporadic forms, surviving as formular; historical function lost.

(5) t Qa TT a L (M.V.).   Prefixed 't' in phonological
junction with first radical of V.B.2.   For possible
phonetic implication when it comes in contact with certain
consonants as 't' in issi:b you find, for t + tsi:b, cf.
Phonology: Consonants in Phonological Junction.   Vocalic
sequence of V.B.2.

Semantics: (Reflexive of V.B.2):
as ʕa LL aQ, he hanged, tʕaLLaQ, he hanged himself.

(6) tQa: Ta L or t Q ie T aL (S.M.), prefixed 't'
in phonological junction with first radical of V.B.3.
Vocalic sequence of V.B. 3.

Semantics: (Reflexive of V.B.3): as BieReK, V.B.3,
he blessed; tBiereK, he was blessed.

(7) n Qa Ta L (S.M.) prefixed 'n' in phonological
junction with 1st radical of V.B.1.   Vocalic sequence of
V.B.1.

Semantics: (Reflexive or passive or V.B.1), as
ħaRaQ, he burnt; nħaRaQ, he was burnt; FiReD, he se-
parated; n Fi Re D, he separated himself.

V.B. 7. has two formal variants, semantically corres-
ponding.

Pattern (1) int Qa Ta L, that is, with initial 'int'
made up of 'n' characteristic of V.B. 7, plus 't'
characteristic of V.B. 5 and 6, in morphological junction
with 1st radical of V.B.1.   It is the only pattern of

V.B. with initial 'r', 'n' or 'w'[1], in the last case 'int'
changing to 'inti' as the phonetic implication of int + w,
while other V.Bases beginning with other consonants may,
or may not, have it side by side with the more usual pat-
tern V.B.7.

Examples: intbalaʕ, also inbalaʕ, it was swallowed,
from V.B. bala ; intqa:l, also inqa:l, it was
said, from V.B. Qa:L; intrema, never inrema,
it was thrown away, from V.B. Rema(y);
intmess, never nmess, it was touched, from
V.B. mess; intizen, it was weighed from V.B.
wizen.

In Pattern (2) 'n' and 't', the latter in this case
characteristic of V.B.8, are separated by 1st radical of
V.B.1 which is generally s, ʃ , or ħ.

Examples: insta:b, it was found, from V.B. sa:b;
insteraq, it was stolen, from V.B. seraq;
inʃtamm, it was smelled, from V.B. ʃamm.

(8) Qt a Ta L (S.M.) with 't' infixed in phono-
logical junction with 1st rad. of V.B.1. Vocalic sequence
of V.B.1.

Semantics: Reflexive of V.B.1: FtaQaR, he became
poor; S t a B a T, he fell on his face.

_____

(1) Note sporadic form intwera, it was shown for
[int +]wera, he showed.

(9) Q Ta: L or Q T ie L (S.M.). 1st and 2nd rad.
in phonological junction with interconsonantal 'a' or 'ie'.

Semantics: the acquisition of a physical or moral
quality, as T W a: L, he became tall; S B ie h, he grew
beautiful.

(10) Sta Q T a L (S.M.): with sta, but st, if V.B.
is pattern Q - T - T. Ex: stKeNN, he sought shelter,
st + kenn, prefixed to 1st rad. in phonological junction
with 2nd. rad. followed by an interconsonantal vowel 'a'
or 'e'. For various vocalic sequences see Table 4, No. 73,
Col. iv.

Semantics: to have the opinion that someone or some-
thing is, etc. as stKeRRaẖ, he abhorred, he considered
repulsive, from ikreẖ, ugly.

The Quadriliterals

Pattern Q - T - L - L, which may be described as
quadriliteral V.B.1. has only one derived form resulting
from the addition of morphological prefix 't' in phono-
logical junction with 1st radical, with the possibility
of complete assimilation, as we explained in the first
part (Quadriliteral V.B.2).

<u>Semantics</u>:   Reflexive of quadriliteral V.B.1.

   <u>Examples</u>:   tbandal, he swung himself; tka⟩kar,

   he crept; tfarfar, he brushed himself; iccaqlaq,

   he moved himself, for t + caqlaq; iddardar,

   it was disturbed (water) for t + dardar.   Cf.

   Consonants in Phonological Junction, Part I.

<u>Present and Past Tense Patterns of Derived Verbal Bases.</u>

(1)   As in the case of the original V.B., the present
tense patterns result from the addition of the same pre-
fixes and suffixes to the command or request patterns, as
described in Col. iii.

(2)   The above derived Verbal bases are also singular
command or request patterns, the plural of which is ob-
tained regularly by suffixing 'u', as kisser (i) he broke
to pieces (ii) break to pieces'. - command, n + kisser,
I break to pieces; kissru (plural command pattern),
whence n + kissru = n + kiss(e)ru, we break to pieces.
The consequent elision of unstressed 'e' is according to
the rule of Maltese Stress.

(3) As for the past tense pattern (cf. Col. v and vi),
V.B.2 and 5 behave like the quadriliterals, (cf. pat.
17-21, E,) with final 'e' changing to 'i', when followed

by a consonant group, as kisser, he broke; kissirna, we broke; by analogy with quadriliteral werwer, he terrified; werwirna, we terrified.

(4)   In the past tense patterns of V.B. 3 and 6, a: or ie, is retained throughout, the formal scatter being otherwise regular as described in Cols v and vi. Thus, while from fehem, he understood, we get fhimt, I understood, by analogy with qtilt, I killed, from V.B. Q a T e L; from fiehem, he made to understand, we get fehimt, change of unstressed 'ie' to 'e' being according to a phonetic rule already explained.

(5)   In the past tense pattern of V.B. 8 'a' is retained throughout, thus breaking up an initial triconsonantal junction. It is otherwise regular. Thus FtaKaRT, I remembered, not F t K a R T.

(6) V.B. 7, 9, 10, are regular as described for the original V.B.

(7) To avoid unnecessary repetition of patterns in the following Table, we shall only describe the formal behaviour of the various types of the original Verbal Base, the derived bases of which can be easily built up as explained.

TABLE 6

Base Q - T - L

Formal Description of the Command or Request Patterns in (a) and (b) in Col. (ii). (i)	Nos.	Command or Request Patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (ii)	Present Tense patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (iii)	Voc. Seq. of Verbal Base. (iv)	Formal Description of 'Past Tense' Patterns. (v)
A					(i)
(a) Singular Command or Request Pattern with 1st and 2nd rad. in Phonological junction between a <u>variable</u> vocalic seq. as underlined in col. (ii).	1.	(a) <u>a</u> Q T <u>a</u> L (b) <u>a</u> Q T L u	(a) By prefixing to (a) in col. (ii) 'n' for I. 't' for thou (you), and she; 'y' for he, it.	(1) a – a (2) a – a γ	Taking Qa Te L as base: he killed; voc. seq. a – e, 3rd pers. fem. sing. and the plural of both are formed thereof by the addition of the suffixes 'et' and 'u' respectively, with consequent omission of unstressed vowel in test base.
	2.	(a) <u>o</u> Q T <u>o</u> L (b) o Q T L u		(1) o – o (2) a – a (3) a – e (4) e – a	
(b) With the 3 rad. in phonological junction between a voc. seq. of which the first is the same as that of the sing. pattern and therefore likewise variable, and the second in open syllable is the 'Verbal' pluralising suffix 'u'.	3.	(b) (a) <u>i</u> Q T <u>a</u> L (b) i Q T L u	(b) By prefixing to (a) in col. (ii) 'n' for we, 't' for you, 'y' for they. (Any gender).	(1) a – a (2) e – a (3) e – a γ	(ii) First person and 2nd pers. singular result from 1st and 2nd rad. in phonological junction plus vowel 'a' or 'i', or 'o' plus suffix 't'.
	4.	(a) <u>i</u> Q T <u>o</u> L (b) <u>i</u> Q T L u	(1) Example from Pat. 5. (a) n) t) ahdem, y) work;	(1) a – a (2) e – a	Plural (we – you) In 1st person pattern singular suffix 't' changes to 'na', and in 2nd pers. sing. suffix 't' changes to 'tu'.
The omission of the unstressed vowel of the singular pattern on the addition of the plural suffix is according to the rule of the Maltese stress whereby stressed syllables cannot be followed by more than one unstressed syllable.	5.	(a) <u>a</u> Q T <u>e</u> L (b) <u>a</u> Q T L u		a – e	(iii) Vocalic Criterion of 1st and 2nd Pers. singular. (a) when vocalic base is: (1) a–a (2) e–a
	6.	(a) <u>e</u> T Q <u>e</u> L (b) e Q T L u	(b)	e – e	(i) when vocalic base is: (1) a – e (2) e – e (3) i – e
	7.	(a) <u>i</u> Q T<u>e</u> L (b) i Q T L u	n) ahdmu t) " (土) " y) " (ẏ) "	e – e i – e Note: When V.B has w for 1st rad. i(Col. ii) = iw.	(o) when vocalic base is: o – o
	8.	(a) <u>e</u> Q T <u>a</u> L (b) e Q T L u	(2) Pattern 3. n) t) ista , y) can.	e – a	
			(b) n) t) ist u, y) phonetically, ew		(iv) Phonetic implication of $a\gamma$, from bases, Q – T – γ, in patt. Q T a L t is 'ay'; and ń in one sporadic word as zbayt, also zbańt, I painted from Z – B – .

Formal Description of the Command or Request Patterns in (a) and (b) in Col. (ii). (i)	Nos.	Command or Request patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (ii)	Present Tense patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (iii)	Voc. Seq. of Verbal Base. (iv)	Formal Des of 'Past Patter (v)
B With long 'i' between first and final radical plus 'u' in (b), developed from V.B. with medial radical (y).	9.	(a) Q i: L (b) Q i: Lu	**B** (a) and (b) as already explained in Col. (iii), only instead of initial 'y' that precedes a vowel, we have initial 'i' unless, in continuous speech, it is preceded by a vowel with which then it forms a diphthong. Ex: isibu, they find; but iri:du ysibu, they want to find.	a: or ie for hypothetical 'aya'.	**B** (i) Taking 'Sa SieB[1] as tl bal Base, : pers. fem. plural (an; der) resul‍ the additi the suffix and 'u' re: tively. (ii) 1st and 2n sing. resul from interc sonantally fixing 'i' 'o' variabl from bases Q-(W)-L and invariably from bases Q-(Y)-L bet first rad. final rad. phonologica junction wi suffix 't', 'na'.
As in (9) only with interconsonantal 'u:' instead of 'i:', developed from V.B. with medial radical 'W'.	10.	(a) Qu: L (b) Qu: Lu		a: or ie for hypothetical 'awa'.	
C In both (a) and (b) with 1st and 2nd rad. in phonological junction between a variable vocalic seq. derived from Verbal Bases with 3rd rad. inconstant. Ex: (11) QaRa(y), he read; (12) BeDa, he began; (13) heba, he wasted; (14) BeKa, he wept.	11. 12. 13.	(a) a Q T a (b) a Q Ta W (a) i Q T a (b) I Q Te w (a) a Q T i (b) a Q T u	**C** As explained for triradical bases in Col. (iii) (a) and (b). With patterns (D – E), beginning with a consonant, an initial ( ), orthographically i, may have to be added when, in continuous speech, it is preceded by a consonant, as irri:dinholl, I want to unloose; but tri:dninholl, do you want me to unloose ?	a – a with 2nd vowel in open syllable. e – a 2nd vowel as above. e – a 2nd vowel as above.	**C** (i) Taking QaRa, he read; a: Verbal Base, 3rd per. fen and 3rd per: pl. are form by the addit of a:t, but variably 'ie when voc. se is e – a or ie – a; and always 'ew' vocalic seq. e – a or i – respectivel; first two ra in phonologi junction.

(1) Dialectical; the 'Imale' in this particular word is generally used in Gozo.

Formal Description of the Command or Request Patterns in (a) and (b) in Col. (ii). (i)	Nos.	Command or Request patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (ii)	Present Tense patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural (iii)	Voc. Seq. of Verbal Base. (iv)	Formal Description of 'Past Tense' Patterns. (v)	
	14.	(a) i Q T i (b) i Q T u	For description, see A, Col. (iii).	e – a i – a 2nd vowel as above. (11)	(ii) First and second pers. sing. with 'ayt' suffixed to final 2 rad. in phonological junction or suffix 'ayna' in 1st pers. plural.	
As in pat. 11 but developed with initial a or e.	15.	(a) oᵧTa or eᵧTa (b) oᵧTew or eᵧTeW		ᵧa – a (y) ᵧe – a (y)	Note: With vocalic sequence in V.B. e – a or i – a, the diphthong 'ay' and 'aw' change to 'ey' and 'ew' respectively.	he γo... she γo they γo I γo thou we γo you γo
D With variable vowel e, i, or o, between first and second long rad. plus 'u' in (b) derived from monosyllabic Verbal Bases with 2nd rad. lengthened.	16.	(a) (1) Q e TT (2) " i "" (3) " o "" (b) Sing. Pat. plus u.	**D** For description see A, Col. (iii).	(1) e (2) " (3) a	Patt. 16. (i) Taking 'medd' he stretched, as the V.B., 3rd pers. fem. and plural are formed by the addition of suffixes 'et' and 'ew', less frequently 'u'. (ii) First and 2nd pers. sing. with suffix 'eyt' to V.B; 'eyn', 1st pers. pl. and eytu, 2nd pers. plural.	**D** Patt. 16. he hal... she hal they hal I hal thou We hal you hal
E With 2nd and 3rd rad. in morphological junction between vocalic seq. a–a from quadriliteral verbal bases with 4 rad. different or 1st and 2nd repeated. Ex: harbat, he destroyed; farfar, he polished.	17.	(a) Q a T L a L or Q a T + Qa T (b) Q a T L L u or Qa T Q T u	**E** Verbal base has the same vocalic and consonantal Pat. as in (ii), a.		Patt. 17-21. (i) Taking canfar, he scolded, as V.B, 3rd pers. fem. and 3rd pers. pl. are formed by the addition of suffixes 'et' and 'u' respectively with consequent omission of the unstressed vowel in V.B.	**E** Patt. 17. he can... she can they can I can thou we can you can
As in (17) but with voc. seq. a – e, and rad. different. Ex: QaRBeN, to give Holy Communion; habrek, to be active.	18.	(a) Q a T L e L (b) Qa T L L u			(ii) First and sec. pers. sing. result from the addition of suffix 't' to Verbal base, with consequent shifting of stress on final syllable. 1st pers. pl. from the addition of suffix 'na' and 2nd pers. pl. suffix 'tu' with consequent shifting of stress on final syllable.	

Formal Description of the Command or Request Patterns in (a) and (b) in Col. (ii).	Nos.	Command or Request patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural	Present Tense patterns. (a) Singular (b) Plural	Voc. Seq. of Verbal Base.	Formal Description of 'Past Tense' Patterns.	Past Tense Patterns
(i)		(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
						Note the following patterns, from V.B. **Ze B L a H**, he despised, and for position of L, see Liquids, in Phonology.
As in (17) but with voc. seq. e - a. <u>Ex:</u> werzaq, he screamed; zeblah, he despised.	19.	(a) Q e T L a L (b) Q e T L L u cf. 20.		Verbal base has the same vocalic and consonantal patt. as in (ii) a.		(ii) he ʼzeblaḥ she zébilḥet, not /zeblḥet. they zébilḥu, not zeblḥu.
As in (17) but with voc. seq. e - e. <u>Ex:</u> legleg, he drank heavily; gerbeg, he rolled; eblek, he turned.	20.	(a) Q e T L e L (b) Q e T L L u		"		
As in (17) but with voc. seq. i - e. <u>Ex:</u> fikel, he opposed.	21.	(a) Q i T L e L (b) Q i T L L u		"		(ii) I ʼzebláḥt Thou " " we zebláḥna you zebláḥtu

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VERBAL BASES WITH 'W' AS INITIAL RADICAL (W – T – L)

I.   The Command or Request patterns are:

(i) a T a L, sing., a T L u, from Verbal bases with vocalic sequences a – a, with initial 'a' as the phonetic implication of analogical 'aw'.

(ii) e T e L – e T L u, vocalic sequence of Verbal Base e – e, with initial 'e' as the phonetic implication of analogical 'ew'.

(iii) i T e L – i T L u, vocalic sequence of Verbal Base i – e, with initial 'i' as the phonetic implication of analogical 'iw'.

II.   <u>Present Tense Patterns</u> result from the combination of pronominal prefixes with imperative patterns, as explained in Table 6, Col. (iii), (a) and (b).

III.   <u>The Past Tense Patterns</u> are regularly formed as those of triconsonantal bases in Table 6, Col. v–vi, remembering, however, that as the initial radical 'w' which must always be followed by a vowel, cannot likewise form a phonological junction with the following radical, the vocalic sequence of the original Verbal Base is retained. This may be (1) a – a, (2) e – e, (3) i – e, (4) ie – e. With vocalic sequence (4), the initial radical 'w' is retained also in the

Command or Request Patterns. In such context, the phonetic implication of initial 'wa', 'we', 'wi', when unstressed, may also be, optionally, 'u'. This would not apply to the third person singular pattern (either gender) or plural, when these initial diphthongs are stressed. So, we can say, waqayt, I fell; or uqayt, weñiltu or uñiltu, you failed; wizinna or uzinna, we weighed. It will also be remembered that the phonological junction of third radical 'ʃ' with the prenominal suffixes 't' or 'na', required by pattern analogy, gives 'ay' as the phonetic implication thereof. For instance, waqayt, I fell; for waqaʃt, waqayna, we fell; for waqaʃna. But waqʃet, she fell; and waqʃu, they fell; by pattern analogy with Q a T L e t, she killed; Q a T L u, they killed.

Examples:

Command or Request Patterns¹		Present Tense² Pattern	Past Tense³ Pattern
(i)	(ii)	Regular Formation by prefixing pronominal connotations as explained in Table 6, Col.(iii)	cf. Col.(i)
singular	plural		
(a) asal, arrive;	aslu		(a) wasalt, I (thou) arrived.
(b) aqay, fall;	aqʸu, phonetically, aqʸew.	Examples given with pat. (e) Col. (i)	(b) waqayt, I (thou) fell.
(c) eħel, stick;	eħlu,	(a)	(c) weħlet, she got stuck.
(d) iret, inherit,	irtu,	(ʸ) n) t)wieʸed (promise). i)	(d) wiritna or uritna, we inherited.
(e) wiejeb, answer;	wiejhu		(e) wejibtu, you answered.
(f) wieʸed, promise,	wieʸdu.	(b) (a) n) wieʸdu. t) i)¹	(f) wieʸdu, they promised.

(1) Initial 'y', which must always be followed by a vowel, and never by a consonant or semi vowel, changes to 'i' when it is not so followed.

Lonely Formations

A

Waqaf, he stopped. (1) <u>Command or Request</u>
<u>Pattern</u>: (a) ieqaf, (b) ieqfu; (2) Present Tense
Patterns, regular formations from Pat. (1). <u>Past Tense</u>
<u>Patterns</u>: regular.

B

Waja ⁄, it ached; also Weja ⁄. (1) <u>Command or</u>
<u>Request Pattern</u>: (a) uja ⁄, (b) uj ⁄ u: (2) Present
Tense Patterns, regular formation from Pat. (a) and (b).
(3) Past Tense Pattern, regular.

B

THE INVARIABLE ELEMENT OF S.M. MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

In 'A' we dealt with the variable element of Maltese morphology showing briefly the formal interaction between such variability and semantics. In 'B' we shall deal with the comparatively little invariable element left, that is with words that are not morphologically productive of further scatter[1] and that are not themselves - ignoring history for the moment - the regular product of a pattern analogy, though a few of these words accidentally conform to some of the morphological patterns we listed as, fost, for fi + wost, amongst; feyn, for fi + eyn, where; formally agreeing with hobz, bread, and deyn, debt, respectively. The

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(1) Sporadically, however, we can also derive verbal bases from the prepositions as beyyen, to insert, to interrupt, from, beyn, between; jewwen, to treat as intimate from jewwa, inside. But note that the prepositions as such remain morphological invariables.

criterion of morphological invariability is not affected because these formulas may link up with suffixes, with consequent phonological modifications, as, in this case, we have not new morphological patterns but composite words made up of morphologically divisible parts.

This part will therefore cover the following divisions- (1) Article, (2) Pronouns, (3) Numerals, (4) Adverbs, (5) Prepositions, (6) Conjunctions, (7) Interjections. As the contextual usage thereof is a matter for syntax, in the same way as the contextual occurrence of vowels and consonants is a matter for phonology, we will only enumerate them here, with their English meanings, adding any pertinent explanations that we may think necessary.

(1)

Article

IL, the; incapable of any morphological variability in any context, but for its phonetic modification, when in phonological junction with certain consonants see 'l' in 'Complete Assimilation (Consonants In Phonological Junction, Part I.).

(2)

Pronouns

(i) Personal
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These are: (1) yien,I;(2) int or inti[1] thou; (3) u;
(he, orthography 'hu', (4) i: she, orthography 'hi';
(4) ahna, we; (6) intom, you; (7) u: ma, they; ortho-
graphy huma.

(ii) Pronominal Suffixes attached to (a) Nouns
(b) Verbals
---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ----

(1) (a) — i; — ya, my; the first suffixed to a final
consonant and the second to vowel. (b) — ni, me; — li,
for me, to me.

Examples: i:di, my hand, for i:d + i; √ayneyya, my
eyes, for √ayney + ya; hobbni, love me, hobb + ni;
si:bli, find for me, si:b + li.

(2) (a — b) — ek; — ok; — k, thy or thee, and (b) — lek,

---

(1) Note that morphological invariability does not ex-
clude alternative patterns.

- lok, to thee; ek and lek, attached to Nouns and Verb
patterns respectively, with interconsonantal vowel other
than 'o', in which case 'ok', or 'lok' is used; - k
attached to Nouns and Verb patterns ending in a Vowel.
Examples:- rijlek, your leg; rij(e)l + ek; note elision
of unstressed 'e'; ommok thobbok, your mother loves you,
omm + ok thobb + ok; yinjorlok, he polishes for you,
yinjor + lok.

(3) (a - b) - u (a) - h, his or him; (b) lu, for him,
to him, the first suffixed to final vowel in open
syllable, the second to final consonant of verb patterns.
Examples:- qalbu, his heart; yoqtlu:h, they kill him;
hrijtlu, I defrayed expenses for him.

(4) (a - b) - a, her; (b), la, to her.
Examples:- qalba, her heart; qa:lla, for qa:l + la, he
told her.

(5) (a - b) - na, us; (b) -lna, and -'ilna, to, for, us,
when attached to final consonant.
Examples:- ru:hna, our soul; sa:bna, he found us
(sa:b + na); jielna, he called on us, jie + lna;
sabilna, sa:b + ilna, he found for us.

(6) (a - b) - kom, you; (b) - lkom, for you.

Examples:- da:rkom, your house; ra:kom, he saw you;
ra:lkom, he saw for you (revised, corrected, etc. for you).

(7) (a - b) - om (orthography hom), them; (b) lom, for them (orthography lhom).

Examples:- ja:rom, their neighbour; jarrom, he carried them; jarrlhom, he carried for them.

(i) Phonetic Influences of The Pronominal
Suffixes Attached to Nouns

(A) When pronominal suffixes are added to Nouns with vocalic sequence i - e, the latter unstressed vowel disappears if the suffixes added are (1) - i; - ek; and - u; but it changes to _stressed i_ when the added suffixes are (2) - a; - ni; or - om.

Examples:- isem, name; difer, nail; zibel, rubbish; lehen, voice.

$$\text{difr + zibl + le}\tilde{\text{h}}\text{n + ism +} \quad (1) \begin{cases} i \\ ek \\ u \end{cases}$$

(2)

$$\text{difir + zibil + lehin + isim + } \begin{cases} \text{a} \\ \text{na} \\ \text{kom} \\ \text{om} \end{cases}$$

(B) When any of the foregoing pronominal suffixes is attached to Nouns with final 'a' in open syllable, this vowel disappears and is positionally replaced by a non radical consonant 't'[1], to which the pronominal suffix is attached.

Examples:- sahhti, my health, from sahha, health; martek, your wife, from mara, woman.

(C) When the third person feminine suffix, a, orthography ha, or any of the plural suffixes - na; - kom, - om, orthography, hom, is added, the consequent consonant group thus formed is generally, though in some words not necessarily so, broken up by an intervening stressed 'i' after non radical 't'.

Examples:- ħayti, my life; from ħayya, life, but ħayyitna, our life; ħayyitkom, your life; ħayyithom, their life; ʃewqti, my wish; ʃewqtek, your wish, from ʃewqa, wish; but ʃewqita, (also, less frequent,

(1) Corresponding to the 't' marbuta of Arabic.

ʃewqta,) ʃewqitna, (less frequent, ʃewqtna) our wish.

(D) If the word with final 'a' has ɣa, or a liquid as
a third radical, or medial q, or ɣ, when any of the
pronominal suffixes is added, the interconsonantal vowel
of the original word is repeated also interconsonantally
between second and third radical, the latter followed by
non radical 't'.

Examples:- senɣa, craft; hofra, hole; toqba, hole;
naɣja, a shee:.

seneɣt + hofort + toqobt + naɣajt + $\begin{cases} -\text{ i} \\ -\text{ ek, } -\text{ ok} \\ -\text{ u} \\ -\text{ a} \\ -\text{ na} \\ -\text{ kom} \\ -\text{ om} \end{cases}$

(ii) Phonological Modifications resulting from
addition of Pronominal Suffixes to Verbal Patterns.
- - - - - - - - -

To illustrate such modifications, we give the
'Present' and 'Past' tense verbal patterns that are
described in Table 6, col.iii and v-vi respectively;
then the same patterns as modified by suffixes.

1. Present Tense Patterns

(a)   (b)

(1) yien, I; /nahdem, work   (4) 'ahna, we; 'nahdmu, work.

(2) int(Thou, /tahdem workest   (5) 'intom, you; 'tahdmu "
    i: (She,   works

(3) u:, he, 'yahdem, works   (6) 'u:ma, they, yahdmu "

2. With the Pronominal Suffixes

(1) ´nahŏm + (ek); nahŏmi +   - ni; - li

(+ la; + lkom; + lom); other-   - k - ek - ok - lek -
                                                                    lok
wise nahŏim +; (2) ´tahŏm +

(ek); tahŏmi + (la; lna;   - h, - u, a + final
                                                vowel; u +   final
lkom; lom) otherwise tahŏim   consonant; - lu

+, (3) ´yahŏm + (ek); yahŏmi +   - a; - la.

(la, lna, lkom; lom) otherwise   - na; - lna

yahŏim (4) nahŏmu: +; (5)   - kom; - lkom

tahŏmu: +; (6) yahŏmu: +   - om; - lom

1. Past Tense Patterns

(a)   (b)

(1) Yien ḧdimt, worked   (4) /aḧna ´ḧdimna, worked
    int "

(2) u: ´ḧadem   "   (5) intom ´ḧdimtu   "

(3) i: ´ḧadmet   "   (6) u:ma ´ḧadmu   "

(1) ḧdimti + (- la; - lna;   - ni; - li

- lkom; - lom) otherwise   - k; ek; ok; - lek; - lok;

´ḧdimt. (2) ´ḧadm + (ek);   - h; - u (h + final vowel;
                                                u + final consonant)
ḧadim + (- ni; li; lek);   - lu

hadmi + (la; lna; lkom; lom).   = a; - la.

(3) hadmi´ti + (la; lna; lkom;   - na; - lna

lom); otherwise hadmit (4)   - kom; - lkom

ḣdimnie[1]. (5) ḣdimtu: (6)   - om; - lom

ḣadmu:

Note:- When the suffixes are added to the command patterns, the stress moves from the first syllable to the penultimate, according to the rule; as ikteb, write but iktiba, write it (her); register her; i tri, buy, but i trilna, buy for us.

(iii) The Demonstratives

(1) da:n, or heda:n; da:na, or heda:na, this, masculine.

(2) di:n, or hedi:n; di:na, or hedi:na, this, feminine.

(3) dawn or hedawn, these, any gender.

(4) da:k, or heda:k; da:ka, or heda:ka, that, masculine.

(5) di:k, or hedi:k, di:ka, or hedi:ka, that, feminine.

(6) dawk or hedawk; dawka or hedawka, these.

(7) i:, some.

(8) liema, which.

(iv) The Interrogatives

(1) i, what ?

(2) mi:n, who ?

---

(1) Note, change of final short 'a' in the pronominal suffix na to 'ie', which is generally the variant of long 'a' as in werqiet, leaves, for werqa:t. For historical reason, cf. long 'a' of classical Arabic in (na:)

(3) liema, which ?

(4) γala, why ?

(5) γalieʃ why ? - because.

(v) Indefinite Pronouns

These are:- Koll, every; kullma, whatever; kulhadd, everybody; kolloʃ , everything; ilkoll, all; unanimously; ḥaddiehor, some one else.

3 Numerals

While the cardinal numbers formally behave like nouns, and may therefore be classed with them, their ordinal correspondences are invariable.

4 Adverbs

(i) Of Place

Feyn, where; also fey; mneyn, whence; leyn, towards; kullfeyn, wherever; jewwa, inside; barra, outside; fuq, above; tahtniyyiet, under; waraniyyiet,[1] backwards.

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(1) 'iyyiet', as an ending to 'wara' and 'taht' indi-
cates direction; but as this semantic function oper-
ates only with these two sporadic words, we consider
them as formulas, that is, words that have survived
as invariables, as the plural suffix en in Eng. oxen.

(ii) Of Time

ilbierah, yesterday; ilbierahtlula, the day before
yesterday; lewliemes, the day before yesterday; illu:m,
today; issa, now; ʃada, tomorrow; bikri, early;
pitʃada, the day after tomorrow; bijri, malayr, suddenly;
i:l + pronominal suffixes, ago; long since, ʃad, still,
yet, not yet.
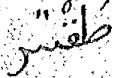
(iii) Of Quantity

daqs[1], as much as; kemm, how much.

(iv) Negations

ma ... ʃ; not, with final ʃ attached to verbal patterns
which it negates.
mu:ʃ not; la, do not; ʃa... ʃa (write, speak, etc). + ʃ ,
added to verbs which it negates; *la ... la;* neither..... nor.

5. Prepositions

bi, b, with; bla, without; fi, f, in; beyn, between;
and beynit + pronominal suffixes as beynitna, between
ourselves but also beynna; bhal, like; bhalma, as;

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(1) Cf. Arabic loan from the Greek, قانُون , tax,
contribution, (Dozy; Kazimirski).

fost, among; fuq, on, above; hada, hdey, near, by the side of; biswit + pronominal suffixes, by the side of, or opposite to; lil, to; ma, with; minn, from; ɣayr, except; ɣal, against, towards, for; ɣħand, at, in the possession of; qabel, before; quddiem, in front of; taɣ, of; taħt, under; wara, after, behind.

6 The Conjunctions

u, and; yew, or; izda, but; yekk, if; a: , because; illi, li, who, that; billi, whereas; meta, when; filli, malli, when, as soon as; milli, for minn + l, than; la, since, as la qallek ɣeydli, since he told you, tell me.

7 Interjections

iva, iwa, yes; ya, O; jahasra, alas !; yalla, would to God; yabbni or yibbni, indeed !; (ironical); yommi, what ! expressing surprise; jobbni, being originally for ya + ibni, O my son, and yommi, for ya + ommi, O my mother.

This concludes the list of words, each of which independently of its history, has survived in the language, as a formula, morphologically invariable.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF NON SEMITIC MALTESE

The Variable Element

A general principle to remember is that loan words are incorporated into Maltese in three ways:-

(i) by conforming to a Semitic pattern, not necessarily morphologically corresponding, as in the case of foreign verbs conforming to noun patterns,

(ii) by conforming to Semitic Maltese phonologically but not morphologically,

(iii) by retaining their historical phonology, with or without a phonetic modification of the quality of the consonants and the vowels. The phonetic modification is as a rule, always noticeable amongst the uneducated masses, but much less so amongst the educated classes such as legal people, doctors, and priests, especially in Valletta and the neighbouring towns.

Taking the loan words in the morphological order of the Tables, we shall now give examples of these processes. The following are loan words conforming to Nominal Semitic patterns marked M.V. in Table I (process (i)): The patterns are numbered as in their respective Tables.

Patterns marked v have a verbal function.

Because of the light that is shed on Maltese phonology and phonological adaptation, the loan words are explained in their original language Italian. (It. for short) or Sicilian, briefly Sic. and English.

(1) Q a T L: M. mant; It. manto; Eng. mantle - M. bank; It. banco; Eng. bank: - M. latts; It. laccio; Eng. lace. With final 'a', conforming to S. pattern 'qatla', we get words, historically corresponding like M. farsa, It. farsa; Eng. farce:- M. tattsa; It. tazza; Eng. glass.

(2) Q e T L: M.-Sic:cens; It. censo; Eng. emphyteusis. M. metts; It. mezzo; Eng. means.

(3) Q i T L: M-Sic:cint; It. recinto (Lat. cintus); Eng. edge of a wall. M. cipp; It. ceppo; Eng. stocks.

(4) Q o T L: M. kors; It. corso; Eng. course; M. boll, It. bollo; Eng. stamp.

(11) Q e T L a: M. lentsa; It. lenza; Eng. fishing line. M. renta; It. renta; Eng. rent.

(12) Q i T L a: M. kitla; Eng. kettle; M. virga, It. verga; Eng. wand. M. villa; It. villa; Eng. villa. (cf. Semitic pattern, sinna, tooth).

(13) Q o T L a; M. borza; It. borsa; Eng. bourse
(purse). M. bottsa; It. bozza; Eng. bulb.

(19) Q a T u: L; M. vapu:r; It. vapore; Eng. ship.
M. madu:m; It. mattone; Eng. bricks. M. ballu:n;
It. pallone; English, ball.

(20) Q T a: L; M. fra:r; It. febbraio; Eng. February.
M. spta:r; It. ospedale; Eng. hospital.

(21) Q T ie L; M. stwiel; It. stollo; Eng. beam.

(22) Q T a: L a; M. gra:da; It. grata; Eng. gate.

(23) Q T ie L a; M. skieda; It. scheda; Eng. schedule.
M. spieda$^{(v)}$; sic. speddiri; Eng. to finish.

(25) Q T i; L; M. fri:z; It. fregio; Eng. frieze;
M. gri:z; It. grigio; Eng. grey.

(26) Q T i: L a; M. cni: sa; Sic. ginisa (Lat. cinis);
Eng. charcoal dust; M. stri:na; It. strenna; Eng. a
new year gift.

(27) Q T u: L; M. spyu:n; It. spione; Eng. spy;
M. tmu:n; It. timone; Eng. rudder.

(28) Q T u: L a; M. blu:sa; Eng. blouse;M.stu:dya$^{(v)}$
It. studiare; Eng. he studied.

(29) Q T i y y a; M. triyya; It. triade; Eng. triade.

    Instances of loan words conforming to Semitic
Maltese phonologically but not morphologically are words
like pulptu, pulpit; dispu:ta, dispute, the historical

ante penultimate accent of which is still retained by the
educated classes.

Instances of noun-laons, retaining their historical
phonology, would be words like virtu; It. virtu,
Eng. virtue;Mkarita; karita; It. caritā; Eng. charity;
M. mirakoli; It. miracoli; Eng. miracles, with which we
class also those loans, in which the only phonological
difference or modification is final 'i' in open syllable
for Italian 'e' and 'u' for It. 'o'.
Examples:- M. meravilyi; It. meraviglie; Eng. marvels;
M. parti; It. parte; Eng. part; M. ballu; It, ballo;
Eng. ball.

Such historical phonology in some of its elements
very often agrees with Semitic Maltese. Take, for in-
stance, 'a' in loan word 'parti', part, and in the
Semitic word, 'qalbi', my heart - it occupies the same
position in two formally similar, but morphologically
different, patterns. Morphologically, processes (ii) and
(iii) include the larger number of loan words.

Vocalic Endings of Loan Words

These are (1) <u>a</u>, common to foreign nominals and descriptives denoting a feminine gender, thus agreeing with Semitic Maltese, unless the noun indicates a male like pa:pa, pope. Examples:- karta sabiha, beautiful paper; mara bra:va, brave woman; ruh indanna:ta, damned soul.

(2) <u>u</u>, common to foreign nominals and adjectives; indicates masculine gender. Examples:- tra:vu kbir, big beam; ra:jel bra:vu, brave man.

(3) <u>i</u>, pluaralises foreign descriptives and nominals ending in 'a' or 'u'. Examples:- karti sbieh. nisa bra:vi; erwieh indanna:ti; tra:vi kbar; rjiel bra:vi.

Cf. TABLE 2

Nominal scatter formed by prefixing non radical 't', with or without a following vowel, to the first radical of the semitised V. B.

(2) ti Q T i: L. tibci:r, butchering from V.B.2. biccer: ticki:n, belittling from V.B.2. Cekken.

(4) t Q i T T i: L; tbicci:r, butchering from V.B.2. biccer as in (2), tbicci:c, cutting to pieces from biccer.

(10) T Q a T t i y y a, also with 2nd radical unlengthened. tpaʃʃiyya, self-indulgence from V.B. paʃʃa;

tbatiyya, suffering, from V.B. bata(Lat. pati);

tfisqiyya, swaddling, (with 'i' for Semitic 'e'), from

V.B. fesqa (Lat. fascia).

(9) t i Q T i y y a; tikciyya, expulsion from V.B. kecca.

(14) t Q a T Q i: L; tbandi:l, swinging from quadriliteral

bandal, tbaski:t baking hard, from V.B. baskat; trampi:l,

hooking from V.B. rampel.

(16) t Q e T Q i: L; tbenji:l, bruising; from V.B. benjel;

tberfi:l, trimming from V.B. berfel; tberdi:l rowdiness

from V.B. berdel.

Many other verbs develop a morphologically corres-

ponding non Semitic scatter by adding a:r to the V.B.,

historically corresponding to 'are', one of the Italian

and Latin infinitive endings.

Examples:- imbutta:r, pushing from V.B. imbotta;

inforna:r, baking, from V.B. inforna; spyuna:r, spying

from spyuna; sfrutta:r, exploiting from sfrutta.

Cf. TABLE 3

All patterns included in this Table are purely

Semitic. There is not one loan word that has been sub-

jected to this process.

cf. TABLE 4

Descriptive Scatter

(8) Q o T o L; M. foloz, pl. of sing. falts, It. falso;
Eng. false.

(11) Q a T T; M. baʃʃ; Sic. basciu (It. basso); Eng.
low (base). M. mans; It. manso; Eng. tame.

(12) Q i T T; M. liʃʃ; It. liscio; Eng. smooth including
foreign nouns like diʃʃ, Eng. dish.

(13) Q o T T; M. rotts; It. rozzo; Eng. rude; M. tond;
It. tondo; Eng. round.

(32) Q a T L a: L; pasta:s; Sic. vastasu; Eng. vulgar;
M. payza:n, It. paesano; Eng. fellow countryman.

(47) i Q T e L; iprem; It. primo (first); Eng. superior;
M. ifrem; It. fermo (firm); Eng. firmer.

(62) m Q a T T i; mbaʃʃi; humiliated from V.B. Baʃʃa;
It. abbassare; mfalli; bankrupt, for V.B. falla; It.
fallire.

(66) (i) m Q a T T a L; mfallats, falsified, from V.B.
iffaltsa, It. falsare; mbiccer, butchered; from V.B.
biccer, sic. bucciriari.

  (ii) mbandal, swung from V.B. bandal, Sic.
panduliari (Lat. pendulas) mfernaq, flaming up from V.B.

fernaq, Lat. fornax.[1] mfernez, maddened from V.B. fernez
It. frenesia; mbi kel, embroiled; from V.B. bi kel.

I. The foreign descriptives conforming to Semitic patterns
are comparatively very few; as a rule, most of them con-
form to the exigencies of Maltese phonetics and phonology
in some of their constituents, generally vowels and stress,
but otherwise retain the original morphological pattern.
Examples:- gustu:s, charming; vanitu:s, vain; spiritu:s,
bold; witty; nervu:z, nervous; in each of which final u:s,
conforms to It. oso. Also, krudi:l, cruel, It. crudele;
inyurant, ignorant; It. ignorante; stu:ptu, stupid; It,
stupido; bra:vu, well done; It. bravo; inu:tli; useless;
It. inutile.

2. As for patterns included in F.i and F.ii, most foreign
verbs develop their morphological equivalents in a
formally different and non-Semitic way by the addition of
a:t for the singular masculine, a:ta for the singular
feminine and a:ti for the plural, either gender, added to
the last consonant or semi vowel 'y' of the V.B.
Examples:- indanna:t, indanna:ta, indanna:ti, damned,
from V.B.; indanna, as in ruh indamm:ta, damned soul

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(1) Whence also North African ﻣﺮﻧﻒ m,   ,
    fourneau d'étuve de bain (Beaussier).

(mixed phraseology); traskura:t, careless or neglected;
traskura:ta, traskura:ti, from V.B. traskura; irrabya:t,
irrabya:ta, irrabya:ti, from V.B. irrabya; studya:t,
studya:ta, studyati, studied, from V.B. stu:dya.

Cf. TABLE 5

Plural Patterns by vocalic internal changes
----

(1) Q T a: L; M. fra:n; It. forno; Eng. oven; M. bra:m,
It. bruma; Eng. the ship worm.
(2) Q T ie L; dwieh, sing. duh; It. doga; Eng. stave;
M. sriep, sing. serp; It. serpe; Eng. snake.

(4) Q T u: L; M. vru:s, sing. vers, It. verso; Eng.
verse; M. cnu:s, sing. cens, It. censo; Eng. emphytheusis.
(7) Q T a: L i; M. qra:ti; sing. qorti; It. corte; Eng.
law courts; M. swa:li, sing. sa:la; It. sala; Eng. drawing
room.
(8) Q T ie L I; M. cwieri, sing. ciera. It. cera; Eng.
looks, M. cmieni, sing. cumniyya, Eng. chimney.
(14) Q a T e L; M. baned, sing. bands, It. banda, Eng.
band. M. lanec, sing. lanca, It. lancia; Eng. launch.
(15) Q i T e L; M. nicec, sing. nicca, It. niccia, Eng.
niche. M. birer, sing. birra, It. birra; Eng. beer.

(16) Q o T o L; M. boroz, sing. borsa, It. borsa; Eng. bourse (purse); M. jonot, sing. jonta, It. giunta; Eng. joint.

(18) Q T eyy e L; M. vreyyes, sing. vers; It. verso; Eng. verse; M. ~~xxixx~~ speyyez, sing. spi:za; It. spesa; Eng. expense.

(21) Q T ayya L; M. ʃmayyar, sing; ʃma:ra, Sic. sciumara, Eng. river.

(22) Q T a: L a L; M. psa:tas, sing. pasta:s; Sic. vastasu; Eng. vulgar (porter). M. qla:fat, sing. qalfa:t, It. calafato; Eng. calker. M. qra:daʃ, sing. qarda:ʃ , Lat. cardus, Eng. a card.

(23) Q T a: L e L; M. sta:ten, sing. suttana, It. sottana, Eng. cassock. M. bra:mel, sing. barmi:l, It. barile, Eng. barrel.

(24) Q T ie L e L; M. vrieden, sing. virdu:n, It. verdone, Eng. greenfinch; M. crienen; sing. curniena, Sic. ciernera; It. carniera; Eng. bag.

Other Plural Formations

Most loan words from their plurals in four different ways, in the first three instances by means of the semitic suffixes (i) 'a', (ii) 'iet', or 'iyyiet', in the

fourth instance by means of vocalic suffix (iii) 'i',
which as a pluralising ending is not Semitic.

(i) Suffix 'a'

This is the only plural suffix of disyllabic or
trisyllabic loan words with 'ie' + one consonant in final
syllable.

Singular		Plural
barbier,	barber	barbiera
arjentier,	silversmith	arjentiera

(ii) Suffixes 'iet' and 'iyyiet'

'iet' is added to the consonant preceding final 'a'
in open syllable, and 'iyyiet' to a vowel other than 'a',
or to a consonant.

Note that while in Semitic Maltese these suffixes
denote feminine gender, in Non Semitic Maltese they are
added also - and very frequently - to masculine nouns.
Examples:- Kartiet, papers, from fem. sing. karta; but
also papiet, popes, from sing. pa:pa; patriyyiet, friars,
from sing. pa:tri; soriyyiet, nuns from sing. so:ru;
votiyyiet, votes, from sing. vo:t.

(iii) malyi, bathing costumes, from sing. malya; familyi, families, from sing. familyi; torti, tarts, from sing. torta; bra:vi, clever, sing. bra:vu, (masc.) or bra:va, (fem.).

Cf. TABLE 6

Verbal Patterns

(1) Foreign verbal bases either conform to a Semitic pattern or follow patterns that are only partly so, especially in the present and past tense scatter.

(2) In the first instance they conform to (i) the Semitic V.B.2. and 5 with third radical a consonant (denominative verbs) and possible vocalic sequences a- a; e - e; and i - e, or with third radical 'a', hypothetically, to maintain Semitic analogy, a[y] and (ii) to quadriliterals with three or four consonants different and vocalic sequences a - a; a - e; e - e; e - a.

Examples:- (i) fallats, (V.B.2.), he falsified, whence tfallats (V.B.5.) he grew malicious; bettsen, (V.B.2.) he made cakes, whence tbettsen, (V.B.5.), it grew big like a cake; - baʃʃa (V.B.2.), he lowered - humiliated, whence tbaʃʃa (V.B.5), he humbled himself; patta (V.B.2) he was quits, whence tpatta (V.B.5.) it was compensated.

(ii) bandal, he swung; tbandal, he was swung; partat,

he exchanged, tpartat, it was exchanged; martel, he

hammered, tmartel, it was hammered; fesdaq, he shelled

beans, etc., tfesdaq, it was shelled (a pod); bi kel, he

cheated, tbiʃkel, he was taken in.

Partly Semitic Patterns

(1) These are Semitic only in so far as they, especially

in the present and past tense patterns, conform to V.B.2,

and less frequently to V.B.1, with third radical a[y];

non Semitic in that (i) they have different vocalic

sequences (ii) begin with an initial consonant group,

which is never the case in S.M. unless the V.B. is

morphologically increased by a consonant prefix (iii)

begin with vowels 'a' or 'i', (iv) may consist of more

than two syllables.

Examples:- fada, he trusted; spa:ra, he shot; sti:ma,

he esteemed; stu:dya, he studied; iʃʃa:la, he enjoyed

himself; abbandu:na, he abandoned; imbolla, he stamped.

(2) In their scatter, to which we have just referred,

they employ the pronominal affixes of the Semitic V.B.,

and they are likewise subject to the same formal changes

provoked by the Tense, Number, Subject and Gender Criteria.

Command Patterns

The various verbal bases with final 'a' in open syllable, which we have described, are also singular command or request patterns, the plural thereof resulting from the addition of diphthong 'aw' to the last consonant; as, irranja, put in order, pl. irranjaw; iggwerra, wage war, pl. iggwerraw.

Present Tense Patterns

As in Semitic Maltese, they result from the command pattern, by the addition of the same prefixes. Examples:-

Singular	Plural
n+ (iggwerra, wage war.	n+ (iggwerraw, wage war
t+ {	t+ {
y+ (	y+ (

Past Tense Patterns

Also as in S.M., conforming in the matter of suffixes, to V.B. QaRa, he read, which we described formally in Table 6, Col. v-vi, pat. 11-15.

Examples:-

u: = iggwerra	(yien = iggwerrayt	
	(int = "	
i: = iggwerra:t	ahna = iggwerrayna	
u:ma = iggwerraw	intom = iggwerraytu	

B

THE INVARIABLE ELEMENT

The contribution of Non Semitic Maltese to this
part includes:-

(1) [a] <u>Reflexive Pronoun</u>, 'stess', self, which means also
'same', as 'Yien <u>stess</u> raytu yaqra <u>listess kotba</u> ma
<u>listess ra:jel</u> u ma <u>listess mara</u>," I <u>myself</u> saw him read
the <u>same books</u> with the <u>same man</u> and the <u>same woman</u>.

[b] <u>Indefinite Pronouns</u>, certu, a certain (man, etc.);
kwalsivolya, whatever; kwalunque, whoever, any.

(ii) <u>Adverbs of [a] Time</u>, mentri, whilst; tsobtu, suddenly;
malayr, soon; kmieni, early.

<u>Adverbs of [b] Manner.</u>

Semitic Maltese does not easily express adverbs of
manner; in this case, it copies Italian by adding 'ment'
to the last consonant, or to 'a' after a semi vowel 'y'
of the foreign adjective. This usage, however, is still
very much restricted, rare in the villages, but frequently
employed by the educated classes. Examples are:- seryament,
seriously; serya + ment; probabilment, probably, probabli
+ ment; intortament, uselessly.

<u>Adverb of [c] Quantity.</u>

There is only the much employed 'tant' in the sense
of 'so much'. Examples:- Talab tant u taytu tant,' he

asked for so much and I gave him so much; 'tant kemm
bkiet,   ayneya sa:ru na:r, 'she wept so much that her
eyes became (red) like fire.

(iii) <u>Prepositions</u>; cirka, also incirka, about, as cirka
o ri:n ruh, about twenty persons, also o ri:n ruh
incirka; kontra, against; versu, towards, for, as
limhabba versu lpro mu, love for one's neighbour
[generally confined to priests' sermons]; skond, accord-
ing; vici:n near; permetts, by means of.

(iv) <u>Conjunctions</u>, 'o', or; antsi, not only; what more;
pero, however; intant, meanwhile.

(v) <u>Interjections</u>, ayma ! alas !; aybu ! pooh !;
addiyyu ! Goodbye !; arrivederci, au revoir ! bonjornu !
Good morning !; bonasi:ra, good evening; evvi:va, long
live !, hail !

Conclusion

In Phonology we noted the various positional agreements of the vocalic and consonantal elements of foreign and Semitic Maltese, in Morphology the many word-pattern agreements and adaptations, but all through we have also noted that Maltese, the language spoken by a Christian people, half way between North Africa and Sicily, has developed phonetic, phonological and morphological characteristics of its own, some of them completely Indo-European, others half way between Semitic and Indo-European.

It is these characteristics that, with other syntactical developments, differentiate Maltese from the Arabic and the Romance dialects.

As a comprehensive description, we might say that, linguistically, Maltese is a unique cross breed of East and West, with the individuality of a separate language, compounded of Semitic and Aryan elements; but still essentially a Semitic tongue.

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