

A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
SPOKEN DIALECT OF THE ḤARB TRIBE IN SAUDI ARABIA

A thesis presented to the University of Leeds
Department of Semitic Studies

by

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for

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 1975
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This dissertation has never been submitted to this or any other University.

PREFACE

The aim of this thesis is to describe and study analytically the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe, and to determine its position among the neighbouring tribes.

Ḥarb is a very large tribe occupying an extensive area of Saudi Arabia, and it was impracticable for one individual to survey every settlement. This would have occupied a lengthy period, and would best be done by a team of investigators, rather than an individual. Thus we have limited our investigation to two selected regions, which we believe to be representative, the first ranging from north-east Rabigh up to al-Madina (representing the speech of the Ḥarb in the Hijaz), and the second ranging from al-Madina to al-Fawwāra in al-Qasīm district (representing the speech of the Ḥarb in Central Arabia). We have thus left out of consideration an area extending from ^cOsfān to Rābigh, where some members of the Ḥarb, particularly those of the Muḥabbad, Bishr and Zubaid clan live. We have been unable in the northern central region, to go as far as al-Quwāra and Dukhnah.

However, some Ḥarbis from the unsurveyed area were met with in our regions, and samples of their speech were obtained and included.

Within these limitations, however the data collected are substantial and it is hoped comprehensive enough to

give a clear picture of the main features of the Harb dialect.

Since this study has been based upon practical fieldwork I am greatly indebted to very many people who generously helped me during the various stages of my investigation.

In particular I am grateful to all my informants, and wish to acknowledge their assistance and help. I am particularly indebted to my brother Ali M. Al-Hāzmy.

Among people in England, I should like first to express my gratitude to Dr. B.S.J. Isserlin, Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Leeds, who supervised this study with stimulating advice and constant encouragement.

I am also grateful to Dr. M.J.L. Young of the Department of Semitic Studies, who has read most of the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks also go to Professor T.M. Johnstone, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who kindly extended his advice to me before I commenced my investigation. I should also like to thank Mr. J.L. Woodhead of the Phonetics Department, University of Leeds, who arranged for me to attend a course on Phonetics, and very kindly checked with me some of the terminology used in the chapter on Phonology. Among people in Saudi Arabia I have to thank his Royal Highness Prince

Abdulmuhsin Ibn 'Abdul'aziz, Governor of al-Madina, and his Deputy, His Excellency Saad an-Nasir as-Sidairi, for providing me with a recommendation for the local authorities to help me in the prosecution of my research.

My thanks are also due to the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, who arranged for me to have the use of a jeep during my fieldwork.

I am also grateful to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Attache, Mr. 'Abdul'aziz at-Turki, and to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Office in London.

I am also grateful to the following Shaikhs of the Harb and other administrative officials: Muhammad bin Hsain amir Badr, shaikh Bakhit bin Nasir al-Binayyan, shaikh Mrayyib bin Hsain al-Ibaidi, Ibrahim al-Qadi al-Juhani, shaikh Muhammad bin Marzuq as-Sihaimi, Muhammad bin Haidi, shaikh Muhammad bin dhi'ar bin Sultan, 'Ali al-Jal'ud and Shaikh Muhammad bin Nihit.

I should like to thank Fahad bin Nusair al-Binayyan, and Braik bin Mabruk as-Subhi.

It remains for me to express my deepest thanks to the Government of Saudi Arabia and the University of King Abdulaziz, for granting me a scholarship to carry out this work. Finally I should like to record my thanks to the staff of the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, the Staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, in the University of London, and to the staff of the Department of Semitic Studies, in the University of Leeds.

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Abdulmuḥsin Ibn ʿAbdulāzīz, Governor of al-Madina, and his Deputy, His Excellency Sāʿad an-Nāṣir as-Sidairi, for providing me with a recommendation for the local authorities to help me in the prosecution of my research.

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I am also grateful to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Attache, Mr. ʿAbdulʿazīz at-Turki, and to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Office in London.

I am also grateful to the following Shaikhs of the Ḥarb and other administrative officials: Muḥammad bin Ḥsain amir Badr, shaikh Bakhīt bin Nāṣir al-Binayyān, shaikh Mrayyīḥ bin Ḥsain al-ʿIbaidi, Ibrāhīm al-Qāḍi al-Juhani, shaikh Muhammad bin Marzūq as-Siḥaimi, Muḥammad bin Hāidi, shaikh Muḥammad bin dhi'ār bin Sultān, ʿAli al-Jal'ūd and Shaikh Muḥammad bin Niḥit.

I should like to thank Fahad bin Nuṣair al-Binayyān, and Braik bin Mabruk aṣ-Ṣubḥi.

It remains for me to express my deepest thanks to the Government of Saudi Arabia and the University of King Abdulaziz, for granting me a scholarship to carry out this work. Finally I should like to record my thanks to the staff of the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds, the Staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, in the University of London, and to the staff of the Department of Semitic Studies, in the University of Leeds.

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TRANSCRIPTION

The transcriptions of consonants used in this study are generally based upon the IPA Chart.

Slight modifications, however, have been made regarding the two emphatic Arabic Sounds (ظ, ض), which are here transcribed as d̤, d̤̣

The table below sets out these symbols in detail

ا	ɔ	ق	d̤
ب	b	ط	t̤
ت	t	ظ	d̤̣
ث	θ	ع	c
ج	j gy, dy	غ	ɣ
ح	h	ج	f
خ	x	ك	g, g̣, dz, , q, ɣ
د	d	ك	k, ḳ, ts
د̤	d̤	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
س̣	ṣ	و	w
س̤	s̤	ي	y

Vowels

The short vowels are broadly transcribed as: a, ā, i, e, o, u and the long vowels as: aa, āā, ii, ee, oo, uu. This was found sufficient for our purpose and avoids typographical difficulties.

Notes

The sign (/) over the symbol g, k indicates a prepalatal pronunciation, while the dot (.) below the letter l, r, b is used to indicate Tafkhīm.

The consonant jim is a palato-alveolar affricate j, which occurs throughout this dialect. The symbol gy (g) indicates a hard palatal plosive, which is an allophone of j, and is mainly found among the Northern Central group of the Harbi. The dy sound (a front palatal accompanied by affrication) also occurs as a variant of j among the Harbi Bedouin.

The consonant gaf is a voiced velar plosive, while q (a voiceless uvular) stands for literary Arabic (ق)

G (a voiced uvular) occurs as an allophone among the Northern Central group. The names of places, tribes and informants are transliterated in accordance with the conventional system used by Arabists.

ABBREVIATIONS

- (a) Works referred to by short or abbreviated titles
- Abboud; P.F. The Syntax: The Syntax of Najdi Arabic
Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas,
Austin, 1964
- Abboud; P.F. Some Features: "Some Features of the
verbal system of Najdi Arabic" proceeding
of the 27th International Congress of
Orientalists 1967, Wiesbaden, 1971
- Bergsträsser; G. Sprachatlas: Sprachatlas von Syrien
und Palästina. ZDPN, 1915
- Blau, J. The Emergence: The Emergence and Linguistic
Background of Judaeo-Arabic, Oxford 1965.
- Cantineau; J. Etudes II, III: Études Sur quelques
Parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient, AIEO, II,
1936, 1-118 and III, 1937, 119-237.
- Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen: Die Demonstrativen
Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte, the
Hague, 1959.
- Il-Hazmy; A.M. A Critical: A Critical and Comparative
Study of the spoken Dialect of Badr and
District in Saudi Arabia, M. Phil. thesis
Leeds University, 1972.
- Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen: Von den Beduinen des
inneren Arabiens, Leipzig, 1938.
- Johnstone, T.M. EADS: Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies.
London, 1967.
- " " Aspects: 'Aspects of Syllabication in the
spoken Arabic of 'Anaiza'' BSOAS, XXX, 1967.

- Johnstone, T.M. The Affrication: 'The Affrication of 'kāf' and 'gāf' in the Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula' JSS, VIII, 1963
- " " The Dosiri: 'Some characteristics of the Dosiri Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait. BSOAS XXIV, 1961.
- " " Further: Further Studies on the Dosiri Dialect of Arabic as spoken in Kuwait' BSOAS, XXVII, 1964.
- Kofler; H. Reste : Reste altarabischer Dialekte WZKM, XIVII, XIVIII, XIIX, 1940, 1941, 1943.
- de Landberg; C. Langue: Langue des Bédouins 'Anazeh, Leiden, 1919,
- " Had. I: Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale, I Ḥaḍramout. Leiden, 1901
- Musil; A. The Manners: The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, New York, 1928.
- Sibawaihi; Sibawaihi, alkitāb, Cairo 1316 H.
- Socin, A. Diwan: Diwan aus Centralarabien Leipzig, 1900.
- AlToma, S.J. The Problem: The problem of Diaglossia in Arabic. Cambridge, 1969.
- Wallin, G.A. Über: Über die laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung, ZDMG, IX, XII, 1855-1858

- Wallin, G.A. Probe: Probe aus einer Anthologie neuarabischer Gesänge in der Wüste gesammelt. ZDMG, V, VI, 1851.
- Wetzstein, J.G. Sprachliches: sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der Syrischen Wüste ZDMG, XXII, 1858.

(b) Journals and Series

- AL'ARab AL'Arab, Riyadh
- AIEO Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger.
- Ar. Ling Archivum Linguisticum
- BASOR Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research. Baghdad, Jerusalem
- BEO Bulletin des Etudes Orientales
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
- EI Encyclopaedia of Islam
- IJAL International Journal of American Linguistics. Bloomington.
- IA International Affairs
- IQ Islamic Quarterly. London
- ISJ International Social Science Journal UNESCO
- JAL Journal of Arabic Literature. Leiden
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society, Newhaven.
- JRAS Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies

LA	Language: Journal of Linguistic Society of America. Baltimore.
MEJ	Middle East Journal. London
Med. J.	The Middle East Journal. Washington
MES	Middle Eastern Studies. London
MLA	Majallatu Majma'i allughati al'Arabiyya. Damascus.
MMA	Majallatu Majma'i allughati al'Arabiyya. Cairo.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift Für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.

(c) Other abbreviations and Symbols

ᶜAnaz.	ᶜAnazah tribe
Ḥar.	Ḥarb "
Juh.	Juhaina "
Muṭ.	Muṭair "
ᶜOt.	ᶜOtaiba "
RW	Rwala "
Sham.	Shammar "
Cl Ar	Classical Arabic
F. fem.	feminine
HJ.	Hijaz, Hijazi group
Imperf.	Imperfect.
Infor.	Informant
M. maṣ.	masculine

NC	Northern Central group
Pl.	Plural
perf.	perfect
S. sing.	Singular
<	arising from, deriving from
>	becoming, giving.

INTRODUCTION

Informants

The total number of our informants was 40; of these 26 came from the Harb region in the Hijaz, and 14 from the Northern Central region.

In the selection of these informants priority was given to older people (aged above 35 years) since these were most likely to give good examples of traditional speech unaffected by schooling, radio and other modern influences.

While most informants were settled (Madar) quite a good number of nomads and full Bedouin were also included; but we were unable to obtain any female informants.

The technique

Since our material was orally collected and taken down on tapes, not all of it has been utilized for this survey.

We excluded all recitals of poetry and also some specimens of speech of Informant No. 14 (from the Hijaz) as well as Informant No. 32 (from al-Ḥanākiyya in the Northern Central region). These two informants tried to "speak up" and conceal their original dialect.

Similarly a complete tape from ar-Rāyis the harbour

of Badr has not been included. This tape contains some nautical terms and typical seamen's speech, which may well form a separate study of its own; though the characteristic features of this speech facies make it still apparently a Harbi dialect.

Apart from these the gathered material has been transcribed phonologically on the basis of the symbols proposed by the International Phonetic Association's alphabet.

Slight modification, however, was made regarding some symbols (see p. x). Moreover, the terminology applied in this study is fairly conservative and mostly based upon Johnstone's book Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies.

Abstract and the arrangement of the material

The material is arranged in the following order.

1. Introduction: in this chapter we give a brief account of the previous dialect study of the North Arabian area adjoining ours, followed by a plan, description of how we collected our present data, and description of the area. We proceed thereafter to give a sketch history of the Harb tribe and some feature of their ancient dialect.

This chapter, also, contains introductory remarks discussing the main general features of the Harb dialect as a whole, and the distinguishing elements which divide the Hijazi group from the Northern Central group of the Harb

within this overall grouping. Similarly a brief summary of the influence of the Koine language on the traditional dialect is included.

(ii) The phonology: This chapter deals with the phonology of this dialect as a whole, without distinguishing the two groups (the Hijazi, and the Northern Central of the Harb) from each other in separate discussions.

This is due to the fact that the phonology is not markedly different among the two groups of the Harb; and we do not need to repeat items by discussing them individually.

However, during our description we shall refer to any differences among the two groups whenever they present themselves.

(iii) The morphology: in this in addition to the obvious basic description of the nouns, verb etc, several other points have been discussed, such as: The effect of the guttural sounds on the syllable structure, the non-appearance of the trisyllabic form in both nominal and verbal patterns and the common occurrence of the form $fi\overset{c}{i}il$, $fi\overset{c}{i}al$ in the perfect verb.

New elements in the phonology have also developed, such as the occasional disappearance of the diphthongs aw, ay among some informants, and their replacement by oo, ee. These elements, however, are not very obtrusive dialectal variations, and do not in fact diverge strikingly from their

counterparts in Classical Arabic. Others are :

The elision of terminal vowels in the 3rd person masculine singular imperative of verbs with final (ya), as ?iřtar "buy".

The fusion of the imperfect verb forms of verbs with final (y, w) with each other.

All the nominal patterns, and the influence of certain consonants in attracting certain prosthetic vowels have been discussed.

The broken plural and its various patterns are listed. Similarly the numeration has been discussed at length, where we have given the different forms of the cardinal numbers, and the occurrence of the older classical system which enumerates the masculine nouns by numeral forms of the opposite gender, and vice versa, besides the appearance of the new system which makes no such differentiation.

The demonstrative, personal, and relative pronouns, particles and prepositions are also treated.

(iv) Lexical features: Here a list of certain words and phrases found in the Ĥarb dialect is given.

Additionally we show the regional differences between the HiJaz, and the NC group. Besides these we discuss the foreign words encountered in this dialect.

(v) Syntax: This chapter deals briefly with the forms of verbs and moods appearing in this dialect. Moreover,

we discuss the main modifications which have taken place, and the use of certain verbs as auxiliaries to express different moods. Finally we show the way of expressing the indefinite noun and the various types of sentences and clauses.

(vi) Comparison and conclusion: in this chapter a comparison of our dialect with the neighbouring dialects from the aspect of phonology, morphology, and lexical items is offered; in the light of this comparison we draw our conclusion, and determine the position of this dialect among the dialects in the vicinity and its relationship to them.

Previous dialect studies

Until recently the study of the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula has been neglected. Several factors¹ have, perhaps contributed to this, the most important being the inaccessibility of Arabia and its lack of communications.

Apparently the first scholar to interest himself in the Arabian dialects was Wallin². As long ago as 1848 he made some detailed observations of the affrication of the consonants k, g³.

-
1. Sobelman, H., Arabic dialect studies, p.31. The same article appears in Med. J. Vol. 12, 1958, p.205-213.
 2. Sobelman, H. op.cit. p.31.
 3. Wallin, G.A. "Über die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung", ZDMG, vol. IX, XII, 1855, 1858, p.60 ff. see also, Johnstone, T.M. 'The affrication of kaf and gāf', Jss vol, VIII, 1963, p.210 ff.

Since then interest in these studies has grown steadily; many gaps, however, still require to be filled.

Some of the North-Central Arabian dialects can now be said to have been fairly comprehensively described and studied.

Quite a number of publications relating to these dialects and its subgroups appeared between the years 1900-1940.

These publications cover a wide area of Northern-Central Arabia, ranging from al-Qasim up to the Syrian desert and Iraq; they cover, in fact, a number of Arabian tribes, mainly the ^cAnaza, its subtribes, the Shammar confederation, and other nomadic tribes of Northern Arabia, Transjordan, and the Syrian desert¹.

The ^cAnaza dialect is generally known through Landberg's text, which was published in 1919².

The dialect of the Shammar tribe is mainly known from Montagne's publications between 1935-1945³.

Jean Cantineau contributed greatly to Arabian dialect study. He studied the dialect of ^cAnaza, Shammar, and other smaller nomadic tribes of the Syrian desert⁴.

-
1. Sobelman, op.cit. p.37f, see also, Cantineau, J. 'La dialectologie Arabe' Orbis, vol. IV, 1955, p.149 ff.
 2. de Landberg, C. Langue des Bédouins ^cAnazeh. Leiden, 1919
 3. Montagne, R. Le Ghazou de Sāye Alesāh (Conte en dialecte des Semmer du Negd, Sous-Tribu des Rmal) Mélanges Maspéro, vol. III, Cairo, 1935-40, 411-16.
 4. Cantineau, J. Études AIEO, II, III 1936-37.

His investigations extended from the Syrian-Arabian desert down to the Wādī Sirḥān; he included some samples of the spoken dialect of ar-Rass in al-Qaṣim¹.

A collection of Central Arabian poems was gathered and published in 1900 by A. Socin in his *Diwan aus Central-arabien*. The same service was performed for the Shammar tribe of al-Jazira where Montagne collected certain poems of this tribe². However, the value of these anthologies in the sphere of language studies is rather limited; since the stylistic structure of the poetry is completely different from the spoken language³.

The dialect of the Rwala (a subtribe of Anaza) of Northern Arabia can be reconstructed from Musil's book 'The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins' (New York, 1928). The same thing can be done for the Otaiba tribe of Inner Arabia from Hess' book 'Von den Beduinen des inneren Arabiens' (Leipzig, 1935).

Although these two works are not exhaustive their contribution to Arabian dialect studies is of considerable value.

However, virtually nothing of this kind exists for the spoken dialects of the Hijaz and the Ḥarb tribe either there or elsewhere in Arabia.

1. op. cit. p. 127.

2. Montagne, R. *Contes poétiques Bédouins* (recueillis chez les Sammar de Gazīre), *BEO*, Vol. V, 1935, 33-119.

3. Levin, S.R. Linguistic structures in poetry. the Hague, 1962

The only study from which the characteristics of the Hijazi speech can be inferred is the collection of proverbs published by Snouck Hurgronje in 1886¹.

This collection, however doesn't accurately represent the Hijazi dialect of that time and the diversity of Meccan speech. E. Jobee in 1943 published A Tale from Hejaz² originally narrated to him by a Hijazi woman, but he correctly stated that this tale 'doesn't represent the colloquial language as used by the common people in the true sense of the word'³.

In spite of this disclaimer, a fair number of characteristic features of the Hijazi city speech may be found in Jobee's tale.

European ethnologists and travellers who travelled through Arabia and described the topography of the peninsula, and its inhabitants were not interested in dialectal differences in Arabic.

Such writers as Doughty, Burckhardt, and Burton who were chiefly interested in the Hijaz say nothing about the spoken language, except to mention a few Arabic words; these are quite insufficient to give any insight into the spoken idiom. However, Burton⁴ did make allusion to the

-
1. Snouck Hurgronje, C. Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten. the Hague, 1886.
 2. Jobee, E. A Tale from Hejaz, Acta Orientalia, vol. xix, 1943, 21-32.
 3. op. cit. p.21.
 4. Burton, Sir. R.F. Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah, vol. II, p.25.

the pronunciation of the consonant g as hard g (this sound still occurs in the dialect of the Harb). More recently increasing interest has been shown in the Arabian dialects.

T.M. Johnstone has published several articles in BSOAS concerning the spoken dialects of the Eastern Arabia litoral⁵. ^{Further materials} have been published in the form of a book Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies 1967, London OP.²

The author concluded that these dialects represent a recent offshoot of the ^cAnazi dialect³ group.

Additionally Professor T.M. Johnstone traced the sound change of j to y in the Arabic dialects of peninsular Arabia, where he assigned this sound change to specific areas.⁴

A descriptive article dealing with the syllable structure of the dialect of the town of ^cOnaiza has also been published by Johnstone.⁵ In it he discusses the syllable formation of this dialect, and the occurrence of the vowel i in the open syllable instead of a, except in the vicinity of the guttural⁶ sounds and others.

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1. Some of these articles were included in his Ph.D. thesis London University, 1962.
 2. See Piamenta, M. MES, Vol. VII, 1971, 125-127, for a review of this book.
 3. Johnstone, T.M. EADS, p.17.
 4. Johnstone, T.M. BSOAS Vol. XXVIII, 1965, p.235 (map).
 5. Johnstone, T.M. "Aspects of syllabication in the spoken Arabic of Anaiza." BSOAS Vol. XXX, 1967, 1-16.
 6. op. cit. p.4 ff.

P.F. Abboud has studied the syntax of the Najdi Arabic of the town Hāyil using a generative approach. He has also discussed certain characteristics of the verbal system¹ of Najdi Arabic.

In the Hijaz an-Nadwi has investigated the spoken dialect of the region of Ghāmid and Zahrān².

G. Schreiber has published a study of the Meccan Dialect³.

Omar. al-Sasi has studied the proverbs and other folk literature of Mecca⁴.

B. Bingham has published an article in BSOAS entitled 'Some characteristics of Meccan speech'⁵. This article is mainly based on extracts from dialogues taken from a Jeddā television programme called (Mishgās). The work of Schreiber and Ingham contains some good observations, but they do not present a comprehensive picture.

Omar as-Sasi, a native speaker of Meccan arabic has published a critique⁶ of Ingham's work, in which he

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1. "Some Features of the verbal system of Najdi Arabic" Proceeding of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13-19th August, 1957, Wiesbaden, 1971.
 2. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University, 1968.
 3. Der Arabische Dialekt von Mekka. Bamberg, 1970.
 4. Sprichwörter und andere Volkskundliche Texte aus Mekka, Münster, 1972.
 5. BSOAS, Vol. XXXIV, 1971, 273-297.
 6. al-Sasi, Omar. "Zum arabischen Dialekt von Mekka". ZDMG Vol. 122, 88-92.

challenged many of the alleged characteristic features of Meccan dialect described by Ingham.

M.H. Bakalla investigated the morphology and phonology of Meccan Arabic using a generative approach¹.

The present study

Plan and methods:

The material of this study was collected over a period of time extending from the first of November 1972 to the end of January 1973, where different parts of the region inhabited by the Harb tribe in both Western and Central Arabia were visited.

In both Central and Western Arabia samples of speech including free conversation, talk and also stories related by various informants were recorded with a Grundig tape recorder ^{at} 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ speed from the vast region belonging to the Banu Harb, and which extends from the Red Sea coast north east to Rabigh as far as the al-Fawwara settlement in the al-Qasim district.

It must be said that no sharp social division existed among my informants. In general they are all involved as members of the Harb family. Occupation, also, has no clear affect on their social status. Most of them are engaged in agrigulture, cattle raising and grazing, honey making,

1. The Morphology and Phonology of Meccan Arabic. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1973

trading and other similar occupations; a few are Bedouins, but again I found no indication that socially the cleavage between settlers and nomads mattered much.

While, as we shall see, Harb have on the whole a definite dialect of their own without many obvious traces of outside influence, it is noticeable that some element of Koine language can be traced in what is otherwise their traditional speech. This mainly occurs in the speech of some of the farmers and tradesmen who may perhaps have been affected linguistically during their contacts with outside urban centres, as wireless and television have not yet spread in these parts and so play no role as Linguistic influences.

Within these areas inhabited by the Harb (Western and Central region) some samples of free speech from four informants belonging to the tribes of Juhaina, Otaiba and Muṭair, were also obtained. These specimens were included and utilized in the comparative chapter.

The area

Geographical position:

The region of the Harb is not one contiguous territory. Their Dīra from which our survey was collected consists of two parts separated by al-Madina.

In the Hijaz it extends inland from the coast of north Rabigh up to al-Madina.

It is a mountainous area crossed by two main roads, one being the ancient road (North-Eastern road)¹ which goes from Rābigh and pass either through Wādī al-Furuṣ, 'Abyār al-Māshi up to 'Abyār 'Alī, or passes through al-Ḡhayir and al-Qāḥa to al-Munṣaraf (al-Misaijīd)².

The second is the modern asphalted road leading up to Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra and passing Badr and other places to al-Madīna. This vast region is barren except for a few cultivated oases and Wadies. Some of these Wadies are cultivated and watered from springs or pump wells, while others only provide rough grazing after rain for sheep or provide substance for honey gatherers. It includes a number of Wadies and some other locations such as Wādī Ibwa³ (al Khiraiba) Wadi al-Furuṣ, Wādī al-'Arj, Wadi aṣ-Ṣafra, Tāsha, al-Qāḥa, al-Ḥafa, Bīr al-ghanam, Wirgān, Jibāl 'Awf, abyār al-Māshi al-Figra. Various subtribes and clans of the Ḥarb live here.

The Banu Masruḥ branch of the Ḥarb and its various subtribes and clans is mainly found in the region along the ancient road. Other inhabitants from Banu Sālim⁴ branch

1. al-Batūni, M.L. ar-Rihla al-Hijāziyya, p.211

2. al-Ḥarbi, I. Kitab al-Manāsik. p.450, 51.

3. Ibwa is the local pronunciation for (al-abwā).

4. al-Bilādi, A. "ash-Haru awdiyati 'al Hijaz" al-'Arab, Vol. 9,10, 1974, p:547

of the Ḥarb are also found in this region where they share territory with the Banu Masrūḥ or live in a place near to them. The home of Banu Salim branch of the Ḥarb extends from 'Abyār¹ as Shaikh, Wādī al-ʿArj, Badr, Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra and al-Figra, up to 'Abyār 'Alī, beside some villages near Yanbo². The region along the old road is semi isolated while the land near Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra which crosses the main road from Mecca, Jedda and al-Madina is much more in contact with the outside world and the big cities of Mecca and Madina.

On the contrary along the old road the chance of the inhabitants being affected by the urban is much more limited, although some of them do travel to al-Madina and Rabigh for trading.

Bir Qaizi, a newly established settlement (Hijra) with a school and mosque and government office, is the centre for all people of al-Qāḥa as well as for places around it and the Bedouins of the mountain who come here for trading every Friday.

umm al-Birak has its small market place and school but has become less important.

In Wādī al ʿFuruṣ the village al-Faqīr has become of some importance, owing to the removal of the government

1. al-Makhzumi, M. ar-Rihla al-Hijaziyya, p.19,20

2. al-Jāsir, H. bilād Yanbo

office from al-Madhig to that place. Abu dhubār, and Umm al-Iyāl have their importance also, with their own market places, and other facilities. On the otherhand, a number of well established centres are now found along the new road. These include not only Badr¹ which has of course been a locality of some local importance since the rise of Islam, and now serves as a capital for the Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra region, but also al-Wāṣṭa which has become the second in importance. People come from all over the surrounding region to its market place to purchase and sell various articles. Generally speaking, the main activity of the inhabitants is cultivation of plants such as tomatoes, lemon trees, palm trees, water melons and other crops such as radishes, onions etc.

Sheep and camel stock rearing are mostly practiced by the Bedouin of this region. Honey making, ghee and other local industries are also practices by the Bedouins of the mountain who keep bee-hives.

However, the cultivation of plants which are watered from wells is becoming more important in this region.

The second region approximately extends on Wādī ar-Rumma from al-Madina as far as Onaiza in al-Qasīm district. It includes various settlements such as-Ṣuwaidera al-Ḥanākiyya, Arja, an-Nugra, Oglat aṣ-Ṣugūr, Abu Mughair, as-Shibaikiyya and al-Fawwāra. cf. map.

1. see, for details the present writer's M.Phil. disseration A Critical p.3.

Most of these settlements are located along the main road from al-Madina to al-Qaṣīm excluding as-Shibaikiyya, al-Fawwara and Abu Mughair. as-Suwaidera and al-Ḥanakiyya belong politically to al-Madina, while ḤArja, nugra, ḤOglat as Ṣugur, Ḥabu Mughair, as-Shibaikiyya, and al-Fawwara belong to al Qaṣīm. The inhabitants of this region are tradesmen, camel and sheep-rearers whereas the rainfall nomads move with their own stock about the region, and meet other members of northern and central tribes such as ḤAnazā, Shammar, and ḤOtaiba.

Small cultivation is also found in Arja, and Ḥanakiyya:

The Banu Ḥarb tribe

Their origin and history:

Ḥarb is a large Arabian tribe which originally¹ came from South Arabia (Yemen). The date of their emigration² from South Arabia up to North Arabia (Hijaz) is not clearly stated in the Arabic sources. However, in the light of facts mentioned in Arabic literary sources it appears that two waves of South Arabian tribal migration took place.

Before Islam, we find a conglomeration of South Arabian tribes who had moved up to the north of Arabia; some of them occupied the area along the western coast of the Red Sea while others went further inland as far as Syria and Iraq.

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, p.179

2. Oppenheim, M.V. Die Beduinen Vol, II, p.365

Specific territories in some cases have been theoretically allocated to these tribes¹.

However, the Ḥarb tribe is not mentioned among the tribes who migrated in this first wave.

A second wave of the Arabian tribal migrations appears to have taken place² in early Islam when the tribes participated in military campaigns and fanned out from Arabia in the wake of the Islamic conquests.

Arabic sources do not indeed mention a mass migration of Arabian tribes from south to north or vice versa. Certain gaps, however, do exist in the history of Arabia and its inhabitants.

But it is more than probable that the Ḥarb tribe emigrated as part of the second wave in the second century of the Hijra if not indeed earlier.

Arab scholars of the third century of the Hijra mention the Ḥarb tribe and the places held by the tribe in their time when giving descriptions of the Arabian peninsula and its topography.

Al-Hamadāni 334H in his book Ṣifatu Jazīrati al-ʿArab mentions the Ḥarb tribe as being neighbours of Muzaina, Juhaina, and Bili tribes³.

1. Rabin, C. Ancient West Arabian, p.14 (map no. 2)
See also EI Vol. I, p.891 (map)

2. c.f Ibn Khaldūn; al-Ibar vol. II, p.529, 643

3. al-Hamadāni, Ṣifatu Jazīrati al-ʿArab p.120, 130

Al-Iṣṭakhri 345 H states that a group of people came from south of Arabia bearing the name Ḥarb¹ and took over the al-Ḥarūc Was-Sā'ira village between Rabigh and al-Madina from the Ja'fariyyīn (descendants of Ja'far Ibn abi ṭālib).

Nashwān al-Ḥimyari 573H refers to the home of the Ḥarb² in a single line of his poem as the shore of Ḥawth (place in Yemen).

Al-Fākihi M. quotes al-Hamadāni (al-Iklīl) that in the year 300H the Ḥarb tribe entered Mecca and captured its ruler Ibn Mulāhiz³.

A. Sprenger reported only that the Ḥarb came from Yemen⁴ in Muslim times, no specific date was assigned by him to this migration.

Ḥamad al-Jāsir recently backdated⁵ the entering of the Ḥarb to the Hijaz into the second century of the Hijra.

Perhaps the most authoratitive source among all the above-mentioned is al-Hamadāni and more particularly al-Iklīl in which al-Hamadani mentioned the history of Banu Ḥarb.

1. al-Iṣṭakhri; Al Masālik p.22.

2. al-Ḥimyari, N. Shams al-ʿOlūm, p.29

3. Kitāb al Muntaqā fi akhbār umm al-Qurā vol. I, p.203.

4. Die alte geographie Arabiens, p.153.

5. fi shamāl gharb al-Jazīra p.27

Over and above such merely general statements data and information about the Ḥarb tribe are very scarce. Their ancient history is still to some extent memorized by their chiefs who sometimes give an account of their fights¹ with the Hudhail, Sulaim and Juhaina, and other tribes.

This scattered information, however, is insufficient to establish a sound or systemic ancient history of this tribe. Therefore and in the light of the forementioned account of the Arab scholars of the third century of the Hijra, we can say that the ancient territory of the Banu Ḥarb before Islam is in Yemen; and approximately fluctuated in Southern Yemen² (bilād widāca of Hamadan).

This approximation is strongly substantiated by the absence of a clear location of most of the ancient tribes of Arabia. On the otherhand, the immigration of the Ḥarb into Central Arabia is a recent phenomenon. According to Oppenheim, it has taken place since the days of the first Wahhabi State³. The Ḥarb arrived in 1815-16 with the Turkish-Egyptian army and stayed.

The Ḥarb tribe at the present day

Their home and division:

At present the Banu Ḥarb tribe occupies a fairly

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1. al-Bilādi; A. "ash-Haru awdiyati al-Hijāz". al'Arab, vol. 5,8,9, 1973. Vol. 5, 1973, 1974.
 2. al-Hamadani, op.cit. p.135.
 3. Die Beduinen, Vol. II, p.367, Vol. III, p.63.

large part of Saudi-Arabia ranging from the Hijaz (where their territory is delimited to the south by a line extending roughly from al-Qunfuda on the Red Sea¹ to al Madina; while in the north their habitations reach to the north of Hijaz proper) into Central Arabia (where they extend into the al-Qaṣīm² district, as at al-Quwara). cf. map. The Ḥarb tribe is divided into Bedouin who carry on a nomadic life and Hadar living as cultivators in permanent villages like those found in Wādī aṣ-Ṣafra, Wādī al-furuṣ, al-Figra, ḤOsfān, Rābigh, and Badr etc.

Similarly most of the Ḥarb tribe in Central Arabia have been resettled in the Hajar (small settlements) which were recently founded by the King Abdul-Aziz³. However, within both Hijaz and Central Arabia one may also find members of the Ḥarb tribe still carrying on a nomadic life; thus in the Hijaz they live in the al-Khabt outside the village and travel during the rainfall with their cattle.

Indeed until very recent times most of the Ḥarb tribe were a semi-nomadic people.

Statistics on the total number of the Ḥarb tribe are not complete, and should be regarded as a rough and provisional estimate. According to figures cited by al-Mukhzumi (ar-Rihla al-Hijaziyya p.19,20) the total number of

1. Abu al-ḤOla; M.T. The geography of the Arabian Peninsula, p.15

2. al-Barakātī; Sh.A. ar-Rihla al-Yamāniyya, p.137.

al-Kamālī; Sh. al-Shi'r 'ind al-Bado, p.29.

ḤO Abbas al 'Azzāwī quoted by O. Kaḥhala Mu'Jam Qabā'il al 'Arab Vol. I, p.259 that some members of the Ḥarb tribe are found in Iraq who were pushed by Ibn Sa'ud during their fight with him, but they returned back to their original home in Arabia.

3. Rentz; G. Ikhwān EI Vol. III, p.1064 ff.

Banu Sālīm are	30,000
Banu Masrūḥ are	60,000
	<hr/>
	90,000

But al-Barakātī has stated that the total number of Banu Ḥarb are 300,000 (ar-Riḥla al-Yamaniyya p.138). This is the available figure for the Ḥarb of the Hijaz. On the other hand, the total number of the Ḥarb of the northern Central (Najd) could be estimated as 29200. This figure is obtained by computing the total number of the houses given by (V.M. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen Vol. III, p.63 ff) by assuming that every house contains at least 4 persons. Cf. the number of houses given by Oppenheim:

Banu Sālīm	2900
Banu ʿAmr	2900
Banu ʿAli	1500

The branches of the Ḥarb

Geneologically the Ḥarb tribe is divided into two main branches:

Banu Sālīm and Banu Masrūḥ

The Banu Sālīm is further subdivided into two branches:

Marāwiḥa (Ḥawāzim) and Maymūn

Each one of these two branches comprises a number

of subtribes and clans¹.

Similarly the Banu Māsrūh is divided into three branches:

Banu^cAwf Banu^cAmr and Zibaid

under each of these three main branches come again various subtribes and clans².

As in the case with other Arabian tribes the Ḥarb tribe does contain some element which belonged originally to other ancient Arabian tribes, or section of tribes, but who for some reason affiliated into, or entered into the Ḥarb tribe.

Thus Muzaina now is regarded as a section of the Banu Sālim of the Ḥarb³ but it was originally an independent tribe⁴. Again Banu Husayn (a group of Sharifian descent) has affiliated with Banu^cAwf of the Ḥarb⁵.

Political position

Since Ḥarb is a large tribe occupying a very important territory in Arabia, this has affected their position among the neighbouring Arabian tribes. Before the

1,2. for details concerning these branches of the Ḥarb see: al-Barakati, op.cit. p.137 ff. Hamza, F. Qalbu Jazīrati al-ʿArab p.147 ff. Oppenheim, M.V. op.cit. p.379 ff. Burton, R. op.cit. p.119ff.

3. al-Bilādi, A. "ash-Ḥaru awdiyati al-Hijāz", al-ʿArab, vol. 5,6, 1974, p.376

4. al-Hamadani; op.cit. p.130.

5. al-Jāsir, H. Fi shamāl gharb al-Jazīra, p.179

unification of the tribes of the Arabian peninsula under the Saudi Arabian State, the Ḥarb tribe was semi-independent politically and economically (this largely applies indeed to most tribes of Arabia).

Ḥarb was a tribe engaged in rivalry and sometimes intertribal warfare with Muṭair,^c Otaiba, Sulaim, Juhaina, and^c Anaza.

In the Hijaz where the Ḥarb controlled most of the roads leading to the holy cities (Mecca and Madina) through which the pilgrim's caravans had to pass, a large sum of money was paid by the Turkish Government to this tribe, especially the Banu Sālim branch, to ensure the safety of the Egyptian and Syrian caravans, officially as compensation for escort and other services¹.

Raiding between neighbouring tribes was, during that period, generally carried out in the drought season.

They were very powerful and never subject to any authority; their loyalty was in the hand of their chiefs who might (or might not) acknowledge and support the local leaders residing within their territory².

It is sufficient to mention the fact that during the period of tension or acute conflict in Arabia between

1. Basha, I.R. Mir²āt al-Ḥaramain, vol. II, p.19. See also Burton, R. op.cit. Vol. II, p. Wellested, J.R. Travels in Arabia, vol. II, p.231.

2. Burckhart at his time stated that 'before the Wahhabi invasion the Bani Ḥarb had never known a master, nor had the produce of their fields ever been taxed' Travel in Arabia, p.308.

the rival princes of the houses of Ibn Saūd In Najd, the sharif of Mecca, and Ibn Rashīd in Ḥāyil, quite often there was an attempt to gain the controlling influence over the Ḥarb in order to have their support as a fighting force against others.

In Central Arabia the Ḥarb tribe was then an independent party who were not really controlled by any power, including the Sultan of Constantinople.

Sometimes, however, they acknowledged Ibn Rashīd¹. Again they engaged in tribal war with^c Otaiba, Muṭair and Shammar².

When the influence of Ibn Saūd spread among those sections of the Ḥarb found in Central Arabia, they joined Ibn Saūd in his campaigns, and fought on his side. Moreover some of them became followers of the Ikhwān movement³, and indeed some still adhere to it. This is particularly the case among the inhabitants of the Hajar (a settlement established by King 'Abdul 'Aziz for the Bedouins in Central Arabia).

On the other hand the Banu Ḥarb of the Hijaz⁴ recognised the sharif of Mecca as their lord. They sided with him in most of his campaigns against Ibn Saūd.

1. Musil, A. Northern NeĠd, p.277

2. bin Khamis, al-MaĠāz bain al-Yamama wal-Hijāz, p.81,82, 106,112,166.

3. Rentz, G. 'Ikhwan' El vol, III, p.1064 ff

4. Musil, A. op.cit. p.265, 266, 284.

But when the influence of Ibn Saūd, and the creed of Muhammad Ibn Abdul-Wahhab gained a foothold in parts of the Hijaz, and the sharifs of Mecca began to lose their influence over the Hijaz and its inhabitants, then the Hijazi section of the Ḥarb tribe also surrendered to Ibn Saūd.

Trading and Market Places

There is not much effective contact between the two groups of the Ḥarb, the Hijazi, and those of Northern Central. Their main outside relationships are linked with trade. Now those Ḥarb who live in Central Arabia, for trading, usually go to the Central Arabian markets such as Buraida in al-Qasim. Some of them also who live in Suwaidera occasionally come to the market of al-Madina, but their contacts do not go beyond this trading; and frequently they meet other northern or some central Arabian tribes in al-Madina market.

The Ḥarb of the Hijaz attend their own regional markets such as the ones at Badr, al-Wasta, in Wadi as-Safra Bir Qaizi in al-Qaha, Saḍk as-Suwaig in Yanbo 'Abu dhuba, in Wadi al-furu or Rabigh, and that of al-Madina. Most of their contacts are usually with one another and with their neighbouring Hijazi tribes such as Sulaim and Juhaina etc.

This fact obviously might have influence on the language as we shall see in due course.

The ancient dialect of the Ḥarb tribe

Owing to the scarce and unsystematic information about the ancient Arabian dialects it is difficult if not impossible to state to which Arabian dialect group the ancient speech of the Ḥarb should be attributed. Al-Hamadani in his book Sifatu Jazīrati al-ʿArab describes the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe as that of people who have Imala in all their speech¹.

Rabin was uncertain what al-Hamadani meant by Imala; he said: "Does Hamdani mean to say that they², contrary to other inhabitants of the province (Yemen) pronounced long (a) as (ae) or the like. Then he added 'But Hamdāni may have meant something else by Imala'. This is the only definite mention of the Ḥarb dialect in our sources.

Therefore one of the ancient characteristic features of the Ḥarb dialect is Imala whatever the exact meaning of the term was.

General View

The main characteristic features of the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe

The characteristic features of the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe can be briefly summarized as follows:

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1. al-Hamadāni, op.cit. p.135.
 2. Rabin, C. op.cit. p.29,31.

(a) This dialect constitutes essentially a non-ḥaḍari dialect, which is as yet influenced neither by the Koine Language in general nor by any urban speech in particular.

The dialect of the Ḥarb also shares a large number of important features with the neighbouring (North Central Arabian) dialects, particularly with those of the ^cAnaza, Shammar and ^cOtaiba tribes. While this matter will be dealt with systematically later, we may here itemize some of the more outstanding points in order to provide a first introductory survey. We may usefully begin by turning to phonology and to certain features shared with the ^cAnaza, Shammar and ^cOtaiba.

i. These features are not shared by all the Ḥarb with all neighbouring tribes, but mainly by those of the Ḥarb who belong to the same Northern Central group as certain other tribes, especially the ^cAnaza, Shammar and ^cOtaiba, extending from aṣ-Ṣuwaidera to al-Quwāra (cf. map), where there in general occurs the affrication of the sounds k, g into ts, and dz.

ii. Occasionally in the same region the consonant (j) is pronounced as (gy) ḡ.

iii. The affrication of k, g into ts, dz, and the pronunciation of (j) as (gy) are found in the Hijaz among the Rubuga and Mishā^cila clans of the Banu ^cAmr of the Ḥarb in Wādi al-Furū^c, and among the Sihliyya of the ^cAwf (branch of the Ḥarb) in Wādi an-Naqi^c south east of al-Madana.

Such features do not, however, appear universally among the Ḥarb of the Hijāz, but rather among those aforementioned families which are all connected socially with the Ḥarb of Najd.

(The sound (gy) occurs among the^cAnaza and Shammar tribes (cf. Cantineau, *Études* II, p.25,26). It has also appeared in the^cOtaiba dialect, as my own sample of the speech of this tribe shows.

(b) Features occurring in the dialect of the Ḥarb as a whole and shared by the Northern Central Arabian dialects

The dialect of the Ḥarb shows the following additional features which are also found in the dialects of the Shammar and^cAnaza tribes and the dialect of ar-Rass¹.

i. A tendency to emphasize the consonant (b) in certain environments, such as ḥoṣal 'onion' for baṣal.

ii. The influence of certain sounds, such as the bilabial consonants, among others on vowel quality, as maṭar > moṭar 'rain', and gawi > guwi 'strong'.

(c) Features typical of the Ḥarb dialect are, however not all shared with those of their neighbours, or the greater part of them. These are:

i. The occurrence of prepalatal k', g'; this is

1. Cantineau; J. *Études* III p.129, 130 149f.

especially found among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group, and occasionally it appears among the Northern Central group.

ii. The occasional pronunciation of j as dy, as dyibal < jabal 'mountain'¹.

iii. The preservation of the diphthongs aw, ay, and the frequent replacement of ay and sometimes aw by aa.

iv. The frequent occurrence of c instead of the medial Hamza of the verb saʔal > sacal 'to ask'.

Morphology

In its morphological aspect our dialect shows the following interesting parallels with the Northern Central Arabian dialects (cf. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.6ff).

i. The influence of the gutturals on the syllabic structure. Thus the following classical Arabic forms have become:

facla	>	fcala	ṣxara	rock
afcal	>	facal	cawar	one eyed
mafcił	>	mfacił	myarib	evening
mafcuul	>	mfacuul	myaluub	conquered
yafcił	>	yfacił	ycaarif	he knows
yafcul	>	yfacul	yḥaṭub	he collects firewood

ii. The absence of the trisyllabic forms corresponding

1. Kay; S. Alan, states that sound dy instead of J occurs in the dialect of al-Madina, (as well as in some parts of Najd) 'Arabic Ziim' Linguistic vol. 77, 80, p.59.

to Classical Arabic fa^calat, fa^caluu, and fa^cala.

Thus the following examples occur instead

ḥṣalat	it happened
šrudaw	they flee
zbanam	they took refuge
rguba	neck
xšiba	piece of wood

iii. The presence of the vowel i instead of a in the open syllable in both verbal and nominal forms, except in words whose open syllable contains gutturals or r, l, n. e.g.

sikan	he inhabited
Jibal	mountain
siciif	supporter

But

ḥalab	he milked
šarad	he escaped
balah	dates
bana	he built

The dialect of ^cOnaiza shows the same features¹.

Features not to be found among the Ḥarb

i. The feminine ending of nouns in the dialect of the Ḥarb is (-a, -ah) as nxala, 'palm tree', xšibah 'a piece of wood' as opposed to (-ih) in the dialect of Shammar²,

1. Johnstone, T.M. Aspects BSOAS, vol. XXX, p.4ff

2. Cantineau, J. Études, III, p.165.

and that of 'Onaiza'.

In this respect the Ḥarb corresponds with the dialect of the 'Anaza and 'Otaiba tribes, as well as with the EAD; (cf. Johnstone p.7,8).

ii. Compare also the personal suffixes¹ of the 3ms, 3fs, and the verbal suffix of the I.C.s in our dialect (-ih, uh, u, -ha, ni) with those of Shammar (-uh, -ah, -an)¹, and those of 'Anaza (-ah, -ha, -ni)².

As against such general features, the Ḥarb dialect displays, however, also some traits which divide it into two fairly well defined regional varieties - NC and Hijazi.

Features occurring only among the Hijazi group

i. The prepalatalization of k, g to k', g'.

ii. The replacement of the consonant m by n in the word ḥamd > ḥind 'praise'.

iii. The disappearance of Tanwīn (this trait excludes the Bedouin, who preserve the Tanwīn).

iv. The lengthening of the vowel of the imperative verb type baac as biic 'sell' and gaal guul 'speak'.

v. The occurrence of the particle kiid^{kid} instead of the Classical particle gad.

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.229, 230.

2. Cantineau; J. Ibid. III, p.233-234.

vi. The use of the ba with the imperfect to indicate the intention, as in babi-aha, 'I am going to sell it'.

Features occurring only among the NC group

- i. The affrication of k, g into ts, dz.
- ii. The occasional appearance of gy instead of J.
- iii. The preservation of the Tanwīn (-in) without distinction of case.
- iv. The imperative form of the Hamzated verbs, the Hollow, and the Geminate Verbs are CiC e.g. xid 'take', riḥ 'go', ṭigg 'knock', as against the Hijazi forms xud, ruḥ, ṭugg.
- v. The frequent occurrence of the form abi, tabi, nabi 'to want', in contrast to the Hijazi aba, taba, naba.
- vi. The occasional use of the negative maahuub- as in maahuublukum 'it does not belong to you'.

Other Features and General Observations

The dialect of the Ḥarb as a whole preserves a number of features found in Classical Arabic. Thus the pattern ficiil < faciil is still used to denote the passive participle e.g.

dibiiḥ 'killed' kisiir defeated

Several other patterns of nouns show archaic characteristics, as dimi, pl. damm blood, and xfaaf 'light' (adjective).

Similarly, the particle gad which precedes the perfect of verbs to indicate the accomplishment of an action, is still widely used among the Hijazi group (with modification in the pronunciation from gad to kid/kiid).

The verb wadda 'to wish' > widdi is used among the Hijazi and the Northern Central group as an auxiliary verb to express the idea of 'wishing'. This is again a somewhat archaic usage (cf. Qurʾān, 3-62). Sentences, expressing a wish, in a number of instances occur with the verb in the perfect, as in Classical Arabic, and with similar word order, particularly among the Hijazi group, and occasionally among the N.C. group - e.g.

baarak ʔallafiik	may God bless you	HJ
ʔaal ʕumrak	may God prolong your life	NC

However the imperfect is also used to express wishes in other phrases. But, in fact, this dialect is itself divided into two main groups,

- (i) the NC group (ii) the Hijazi group

The Northern Central group, which originally spread out around¹ 1815-16 from the Hijaz, their original home, in their new homes acquired the affrication of k, g into ts,

1. Oppenheim; M.V. Die Beduinen, vol. III, p.63.

dz as well as the use of some morphological and some lexical items (see p. 84, 100, 159).

This is due to their contact with the^cAnaza, Shammar, Muṭair, and^cOtaiba tribes.

The Hijazi group, on their part, show some traces of contacts in a different direction, in the acquisition of features typical of the urban speech of the Hijazi cities, such as the lengthening of the vowel in the imperative of verbs of the type gaal, baac.

Similarly, certain lexical items of foreign origin have found their way into the Hijazi group (through the same urban contacts), as bayki, balki 'perhaps', bardū 'also'. Despite all these differences, these two groups form essentially one dialect group, and share many important features distinguishing them from the^cAnaza and Shammar dialects (see p. 219).

Furthermore, a considerable number of lexical items very typical of the Ḥarbi speech, are equally well preserved among the two groups, (cf. p. 156).

Non-local speech

There is no outside element among the inhabitants of our dialect areas. All the settlements are of the Banu Ḥarb. Small groups of other Arabs, such as persons of Sharifian descent occasionally are found within the region of the Ḥarb in the Hijaz, particularly in Badr, but their dialect is not markedly different from the Ḥarb dialect,

since they follow the same pattern of life and intermarry with the Banu Ṣubḥ of the Ḥarb.

Civil servants and teachers are mainly recruited from among the local Arabs of this area.

Teachers and medical servants from other Arab countries, such as the Sudan, Jordan and Palestine are occasionally found in our region, but their influence on the local speech is untraceable.

It is true that quite a number of the Ḥarb now live in the cities, particularly in the Hijaz, and do come into contact with others. In spite of this they still preserve their dialectal speech, and do not show the distinguishing features of the city speech, which may be described on the phonetic level as the change of the interdental consonants θ to t or s and δ to d or z.¹

Up to the present the only words to show instability in this dialect are jadd 'to cut the fruit of palm trees' and jidc 'trunk of palm tree'. They were pronounced with (d) instead of (δ) by some informants especially the Banu Ḥarb of the Hijaz.

Among the younger speakers the word digmin² 'beard' is frequently heard (for the older liḥya), and this exhibits the change from (δ to d), but this is probably

1. for details Cf. the present writer's M.Phil dissertation A Critical p. 15, 84f

2. The weakening of δ to d. is an old phenomenon in Arabic, cf. Siyuti al-Muzhir vol. I, p.544 ff.

an import from city speech and not to be taken as a feature of the Harbi dialect.

The influence of the Koine language

This linguistic type appeared in the speech of some of my informants, particularly those who were exposed to contact with people from their area outside. They used certain speech elements which are easily recognised as non-dialectal (urbanized). These may be summarized as follows:

At the phonetic level the following Standard Arabic pronunciations are retained:

j for y; k and g for prepalatal k' and g' or ts, dz; and n for m in the word ḥamd 'praise' e.g.

<u>dialectal</u>		<u>Koine</u>
masyid	mosque	masJid
caayiz	unable	caaJiz
riyaaJiil	men	riJaaJiil
sikka	road	sikKa
suug	market	suug
dzidir	pot	gidir
warts	thigh	wark
ḥindella	praise to God	ḥamdella

Morphological patterns, however, are not greatly affected;

the perfect forms ficil and fical corresponding to Classical Arabic facila and facala are normally used e.g.

3.m.s.	širib	he drank
3.f.s.	širbat	she drank
3.m.s.	šidag	he told the truth
2.m.s.	šidagt	you have told the truth

But in the imperfect of verbs the first root letter of which is a guttural a reversion to Classical Arabic pattern is found in speakers affected by Koine e.g.

nhalib	becomes	nahlib	'we milk' and
ncarif	becomes	nacrif	'we know'

Similarly the trisyllable forms of Standard Arabic may be retained as in zaracuu instead of zracaw/sracam 'they planed', and gahwa for ghawa 'coffee'.

Nominal patterns are also affected. Thus the patterns fical and ficiil have retained their normal Classical forms, e.g.

jamal instead of the dialectal jimal 'camel' and šahiih for šihiih 'true'.

The nunation is no longer found in this type of speech except in some common words or phrases e.g.

ahlan	welcome
kullan	everyone

New phrases and lexical items frequently replace the previous old dialectal ones, as:

<u>dialectal</u>		<u>Koine</u>
ni [◌] ma	much of thing	kaθiir
γawwas [◌]	boil	γala
bandar	market	suug
-	any how	cala kull ḥaal
-	for example	maθalan

In Syntax the order of the words is generally the same as in the dialect. Nevertheless, new analytical conjunctions have developed as: ba[◌]deen 'thereafter', ca[◌]saan/calaa[◌]saan 'in order to', lajil 'because'.

Similarly literary conjunctions are occasionally inserted, such as ida 'when', ci[◌]ndama 'when, while' and kullama 'whenever'.

All this might be viewed as the influence of the Arabic Koine which is progressing in the Arab World.

PART. I

The Phonology

The phonological system of the spoken dialect of the Ḥarb tribe will be treated here as a whole, i.e. by taking together the two different areas investigated (the Hijazi Region and the Northern Central Region between al-Madina and al-Qasīm).

This does not involve overlooking the regional differences and ignoring the linguistic facts, but in this way we shall avoid unnecessary repetition.

In making reference to the differences between the various speakers of this dialect, we give their number, their settlement or the name of their location and clan.

The speakers of the Northern Central Region clearly show some phonological features typical of the Northern Central Arabian dialects (see p. 55, 60f).

The occurrence of these elements is mainly due to the fact that the members of this second group (NC), although they spread out from the Hijaz, the original home of the Ḥarb tribe, acquired certain Northern Central Arabian linguistic features as a result of their contact with the tribes in the vicinity.

Quite a number of phonological features encountered in this dialect as a whole are possibly to be regarded as

archaic survivals of ancient Arabian dialects. Examples of these features are the replacement of the diphthong ay, and sometimes aw, by aa¹ and the prepalatalization of k,g².

New elements in the phonology have also developed, such as the occasional disappearance of the diphthongs, aw, ay among some informants, and their replacement by oo, ee. These elements, however, are not very obtrusive dialectal variations, and do not in fact diverge strikingly from their counterparts in Classical Arabic.

1. Rabin; C. op.cit. p.65,

2. Sibawaihi; al-Kitāb. Vol. II, p.404.

The Consonants

The table below illustrates the consonant system of the Harb dialect

	<u>plosive</u>	<u>fricative</u>	<u>affricate</u>	<u>liquid</u>	<u>nasal</u>
Labial	b		w		m
Labiodental		f			
Dental	t d		ts dz	l	
Interdental		ð	ð		
Denti-alveolar		s z			n
Emphatic	ṭ	ṣ	ð̣		
Palato-alveolar		s	j (gy) dy	r	
Palatal			y		
Velar	k (k') g (g')	x	ɣ		
Uvular	q G				
Pharyngeal		ħ	c		
Glottal	ʔ	h'			

Glottal stop

The glottal stop presents a number of interesting features. It is frequently either elided or replaced by another sound e.g. the pharyngeal sound c.

We here illustrate the varying behaviour of the Hamza. In the initial position it is frequently pronounced in both nominal and verbal forms, eg.

ʔaxad ^h	he took
ʔabad	never
ʔibin	son of

The last word is sometimes pronounced without the Hamza as bin 'son of'. Similarly, the proper name ᵇibraahiim becomes braahiim in this dialect.

In Bedoun speech i.e. the dialect of (al-khabt) the desert plains and the mountain dwellers, the Hamza of the nominal pattern ᵇafcaḷ tends to disappear, especially in the contiguity of gutturals e.g.

ḥamar	<	ᵇaḥmar	red
cawar	<	ᵇacwar	one-eyed

The following words are commonly pronounced without Hamza:

bil	for	ᵇibil	camels
raad	"	ᵇaraad	he wills
raadᵀ ᵇalla	"	ᵇiraadatu ᵇallaḥi	God's will

Generally, the initial glottal stop in verbs and nouns is omitted when it is preceded by a conjunction, preposition or other particle. Cf. the following examples:

wibin	and son of
biᵀᵀ caan ᵇalla	by God's permission
maaxadᵀ	he has not taken

The imperfect Hamzated verb is often pronounced with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as a substitute for the Hamza, as in:

yaaxudᵀ	he takes	HJ
yaakel	he eats	NC

Hamza in this type of verb is retained only in the speech of sophisticated speakers who are affected by the literary language e.g.

ya>xud† he takes

Initial Hamza in Hamzated verbs of the I and II forms (e.g. >alif to become familiar), and their derivatives, ^{may} become (w), e.g.

>alif	>	walaf	he get used
>aliif	>	wiliif	associate, companion
>ann	>	wann	to sigh
>aniin	>	winiin	hum

The Hamza of the following derived forms has become either (w) or (y) as:

tiwannas	for	ta>annas	to be amused
tiyassas	"	ta>assas	it was established HJ

The passive voice of the perfect verb >axad† is usually wixid† 'it was taken' particularly in the Bedouin speech.

The following interrogative particle and conflated phrase show the sound (w) instead of the glottal stop:

waan, ween	<	>ayn	where
waas, wees	<	>ayu say>in	what

The glottal stop of the verb sa>al 'to ask' is usually

replaced by the pharyngal sound (ʕ), especially in the Bedouin speech, e.g.

sacal	he asked	HJ, W. Şafra
ʕin sacaltooni	if you would have asked me	HJ, al-Qāḥa
yasʕalk	he is asking you	NC, Fawwāra

Similarly, in the Hijazi group the interrogative ʕayyu 'which' has become ʕayyaat 'which one'.

In contrast to this the Hamza of the verb saʕal is elided or replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This phenomenon frequently appears in the speech of the Banu Sālim of the Ḥarb of both groups (NC, Hijazi) e.g.

ʕinselt	if you have asked	HJ	Badr
maasaal	he has not asked	HJ	W.Şafra
tisaali	you ask	NC	Fawwāra

In the medial position the Hamza is no longer pronounced in the following nouns, but is replaced by ^aglide, e.g.

ḍiib	wolf	HJ
yaas	desperation	HJ
muumin	believer	HJ
misaayil	affairs	NC
raayfa	merciful	NC
rayyis	chief	NC

Final Hamza is frequently elided in both verbs and nouns,
e.g.

nīṣa	he grew	HJ
maa	water	

However, some speakers, including Bedouins of camel and sheep rearing preserve the final Hamza in these nouns and verbs as:

maa>	water	NC, HJ
walaa>	fealty, friendship	NC
jaa>	he comes	NC, HJ

The retention of the Hamza in the above examples generally occurs in the pausal position and with a stressed final syllable, otherwise in continuous speech the Hamza is not sounded.

In addition, the glottal stop may even be added in some particles and nouns, such as

laa>	no
ihnaa>	here

The bilabials consonants b, p

The pronunciation of the consonant (b) is similar to that found in modern literary Arabic, e.g.

baḥar	sea
rabc	people

The voiceless (p) does not occur in the Ḥarb dialect; in the case of foreign loan words it is normally replaced by the voiced (b), e.g.

The English packet thus became bakat, the Persian pandar became bandar 'market'.

On many occasions an emphatic (b) is noted among both groups of the Ḥarb (Hijazi, NC group), cf the examples below

ḥog̣ar	cow	HJ
ḥoṣ̣al	onion	HJ
ḥorroṣ̣iid	IbnRashīd	NC
ḥij̣baal	mountain	NC

S. Moscati regards this sound (the emphatic b) as a new development which now occurs in many modern semitic languages, including some modern Arabic dialects¹.

I have, however, not observed any sound which can be described as (p), not even in consonant clusters of the kind reported by Cantineau, in ḥṣ̣ala 'onion' and others².

The replacement of b by m

The consonant (b) sometimes interchanges with the consonant (m) especially among the Hijazi group of the Ḥarb e.g. in the word mirzam 'type of star' instead of

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1. Moscati; S. An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, p. 25, 26
Jean Cantineau states in his book Etudes de Linguistique Arabe that the consonantal system of the ancient Semitic Languages was a traingular one (p,ḥ,b). The plosive (p) is replaced by (f) in Arabic, see p.16ff, 27ff.
 2. Cantineau; J. Etudes II p.22, III p.132.

mirzab. Such a replacement of the sound (b) by (m) was in fact an old phenomenon of some ancient East Arabian dialects¹.

The replacement of the nasal sound m by b

This again occurs among the Hijazi group e.g.

biddat	< middat (muddat)	since
sbint		cement

Liquid Consonants

The lateral (l) and the rolled (r)

The two liquid sounds l and r both possess an allophonic counterpart in this dialect.

^{kh}
Mufakḥama l, r occur beside the normal l, r.

In common practice, the word ɔallah is usually pronounced with an emphatic (l) in isolation, but in the construct state the normal (l) appears e.g.

minfadilella 'by the grace of God'

The emphasisation of (l) is usually heard in contiguity with the consonants (ʃ, ʈ)² e.g.

1. Anīs; I. al-lahajāt p.118.

See also Kofler; H. Reste WZKM p.69ff.

2. See ad-Dāni; al-Oirā'āt as-Sabʿ. (edit by Pretzl) where he discusses the treatment of (l) in the Waṣh's reading p.58

ṣalla	he prays
ṣallaṭ	he gave strength to overpower
ṭall	dew; he visited

In the dialect of Banu^cAwf, and of some of the cībida clan of Banu^cAmr (both ^cAwf and cībida) from the Banu Masrūh branch in the Hijaz, Tarqīq (diemphatisation) of the consonant (l) occurs, as in:

ʾgelt	I said
ʾgaal	he said

The Tarqīq of the consonant (l) seems to result from the slight imāla of the vowels (u, aa), a feature which is quite common among the Banu^cAwf clan.

In both dialect groups (the Hijaz and NC group) the consonant (l) has become (n) in the following words:

ḥismaaciin	<	ḥismaaciil	proper name
jibriin	<	jibriil	angel name

Similarly, the verb laḥan 'to curse' has generally become niḥnubu 'curse to his father'.

The rolled consonant r

The consonant r is pronounced as a rolled palato-alveolar e.g.

rabb	God
dahar	famine

^{kh}
Mufakhāma (r) occurs on several occasions, as in

yabraaha he exculpates her infer. 23

garaanaah we have read it infer. 21.

Tarqīq is rarely encountered among the speakers of this dialect.

Informants no. 21, 36 occasionally have muraggaga in:

ɔiraaɕiih he was looking at him HJ

taraah well he is... NC

The consonants c, θ, ḍ

In the Bedouin dialect of the Hijazi group/ ^{in one foot} the pharyngal (c) has become a voiced velar fricative (ɣ) e.g.

cumqaha > yumqaha its depth

Similarly, the interdental (ḍ) has become (d) among the farmers of the Hijazi group in the following words:

jaḍḍ to cut the fruit of palm trees

jiḍc trunk of palm trees

The dialect of the Banu Salim section of the Hijaz shows the replacement of (θ) by (f) in the word jādaθ grave jādaf, in the following phrase:

malcun ɔaljidaf the cursed nature or origin

But, aθaaθi 'the three stones supporting the cooking pot'

is widely used instead of aθaafi in the whole dialect of the Harb.

The consonant x > γ

In the dialect group of the Hijaz the consonant (x) has become (γ) in the word γabba / yiyabbi 'to hide' instead of xabba / yuxabbi.

The consonant s

It is regularly pronounced as a voiceless dental-alveolar fricative. However, some few words show a replacement of (s) by the emphatic (ṣ). Thus the two groups of the Harb tribe (the NC and the Hijazi group) pronounce the following words with (ṣ) instead of (s) e.g.

ṣuur	<	suur	fence
ṣuur	<	su>r	remnant of food

In addition, frequently in this dialect as a whole, the consonant (s) may become an emphatic (ṣ) when near the emphatic (ṭ) or velar sound (x) e.g.

baṣiit	trivial
ṣaxaṭ	warth
ṣaxxar	he subjugated

The following words show a dissimilation where the consonant (s) has become (ṣ) e.g.

√ sas	< >asaas	foundation	HJ Bedouin
√ sazzal		he recorded	"
√ msazzil		tape recorder	"
√ sawzan		type of rifle	NC
√ sawzar		" " "	"

These words, excluding >asaas > saas > saas, are loan-words; sajjal, musajjil are probably borrowed from the cities of Hijaz; it is also to be noted that such dissimilation occurs only in the Bedouin speech.

The emphatic consonant د ض and د ظ

These two consonants are entirely merged with each other; the sound (د) (a voiced emphatic fricative) has replaced both (د) ض and (د) ظ.

Several examples of the interchange of dad with zā with each other were long ago recorded by the Arab grammarians and philologists¹.

Compare the following examples, in which (د) ض and (د) ظ are fused in our dialect.

ħadḏ	luck
ḏuhur	noon
ḏaha	forenoon
ḏuwaahi	suburbs
yardḏaa	to be contented
yardḏac	to suck

1. Kofler; H. Reste WZKM. p.95f.

Nevertheless, very occasionally a sound which may be roughly defined as a voiced interdental plosive (between d^h and d) is observable among the Bedouin and the sheep and camel rearers of the Harb.

This sound also occurs in the speech of the al-Khabt people of Badr and Wadi aṣ-Ṣafrā; some speakers of the al-Khabt retain the sound (ḏ) ض.

In the light of the additional newly collected material from this region we should like to state again that this sound is not completely identical with the d^h of the Classical language, it is rather midway between (d^h) and (d) ض. Cf. the following examples:

yraad	<	ayraad	things
araadi			lands
alxadar			nickname of person

Palatalization

The consonant j does not vary considerably in its pronunciation among the Harb tribe. It is usually pronounced as a palato-alveolar affricate, d_3 a sound which may be described as closely similar to the sound represented in the English judge, John etc.

In the NC group of the Harb, although the palato-alveolar affricate (j) is very prevalent a free variant

1. The author's M. Phil dissertation, A Critical p.20.

gy(g) also occurs among quite a number of speakers.

This sound may be described as a hard palatal plosive. It is neither like the Cairene (g) nor like the Yaminiyate (ǧ), but is a sound lying midway between them. Moreover, a front palatal (dy), accompanied by affrication is widely found among the sheep and camel rearing Bedouin of the Ḥarb.

In what follows we shall examine more in detail the consonant (j) and its variant allophones in this dialect.

Hijazi group

In this group the consonant (j) is usually a palatoalveolar affricate in all positions e.g.

rijac	he returned
jimiic	all
xaraj	he went out
rojjaal	man

Among the Bedouin sheep rearers of the Hijaz the sound (dy) for (j) is heard, especially in the initial position.

Cf. the following examples:

dyimal	camel
dyibaal	mountain
waadyid	much
dyimaacatna	our people
dyaahil	young

The sound j is replaced by k among the Bedouin of the Hawāzim of Banu Sālim in the word ṣaṣnak, instead of ṣaṣnaj 'deaf'.

Similarly, among the fishermen of the Banu Ṣubḥ near ar-Rāyis from the Banu Sālim branch, and members of the zuba'id branch in ar-Rayis harbour itself, we find the replacement of j by g in migdaaf for mijdaaf 'oar'. But the root of the same verb is always jaddaf / yijaddif 'to row'.

j > y

The following words are commonly pronounced with y instead of j in the Hijazi group:

masyid	mosque
misiid (only among the Bedouin)	mosque
caayiz	unable
√ siyara	tree
√ siyar	trees
riyaajiil	men (sic)

The Northern Central group

Similarly, the pronunciation of (j) as a palato-alveolar is generally encountered in this group, e.g.

jarat	it happened
min [jaj]	from here

mijlaad	sheep-skin full of dates
darja	small round charge of gun powder

Frequently, and in all positions the sound gy is found among this group.

Cf. the following examples.

rigya<	(riga<) +	he comes back again
>agynaab	(>agnaab) +	strangers
>algyiziira	(>al giziira) +	al-Jaziira (country of Shammar tribe)
gyaa>	(gaa>) +	he comes
rigyaalin	(rigaalin) +	man

The same sound also occurs among the Rubuga, Mishacila of the Banu^c Amr, and Sih^c liyya of Banu^c Awf in the Hijazi group.

The sound dy (af front palatal, accompanied by affrication) is also noticeable in the NC group among the camel and sheep rearing nomads in the Suwaidera,^c Arja,^c Othaima, and Thādiq, e.g.

waadyid	much
>idyibaal	mountains
>idyiih	he comes to him

y instead of j

This frequently occurs in the following words:

masyid	mosque
riyaajiil	men (sic)
ṣiyar	trees

The consonants k, g

The pronunciation of these two consonants is not quite the same among the whole Ḥarb tribe; a number of allophones, corresponding to the Classical k, g, occur. Some of these are very common among specific subgroups, while they are not so among others.

Thus the Hijazi group (with the exception of the dialect of the Bedouin in the mountains and the al-Khabt people) mostly pronounce the (k) in all positions as a voiced velar plosive. e.g.

karam	generosity
sikan	he inhabited
baarak ʔallafiik	may God bless you

On the other hand the Bedouin of the mountains, especially among the Banu Masrūḥ branch including the ʿAwf, Ṣawāʿid, Laqāmīn and their neighbour the Ṣubḥ of the Banu Sālim branch, and the Banu Ayūb in al-Khiraiba (Wādī al-Abwāʿ) and ʿibida of Banu ʿAmr in Wādī al-Furuʿ, show a prepalatal k as a variant of k.

This sound usually appears with Tarqīq and in the contiguity with the ultra-open Imalized a, i, u and aa, ii, ee. Cf. the examples below

kenna	we were
sikka	road
makka	mecca
kees	sack

miskāani	my place
kiid < gad	really, already

It occurs also in final position as:

ddrrak	he held
fakk	he opened
mbayriik	proper name
baraayik	small palm trees

The prepalatal k is also attested in the speech of the al-Khabt people of the Banu Sālim branch among the Hawāzim, Aḥāmida, Maḥāmīd and Ṣubḥ, e.g.

keef	how
kalb	dog
kiwaayin	fight
mikaan	place
brayk	proper name

But the prepalatal k does not occur in the contiguity of the vowels u, a, i when they are pronounced without Imāla, as among the Bedouin of the Hijaz, examples:

bukra	tomorrow
kiθiir	much
bakra	young she-camel
baakuur	long curved stick

Compare also the following, where the normal voiced palatal fricative k occurs with the diphthongs aw, and thier variants:

kawt	coat
koor	black slave
ḥokayt	I wept

The prepalatal k appears occasionally among the camel and sheep rearers of the Northern Central group of the Harb, i.e. among the Wuhūb Siḥmān and the Fruda. e.g.

kaθra	numerous	Infor. no.30) Ṣuwaidera
ruuḥak	your soul	Infor. Oglat aṣ-Ṣqūr
riik	name of mountain	Infor. No.35

The consonant g

The most common pronunciation of this consonant is realized as a voiced velar plosive among the Hijazi group as:

giṣṣa	tale
garya	village
garaa	he has read

In both groups NC and Hijazi the sound for (q) customary in literary Arabic (a voiceless uvular) occasionally occurs with those informants who are affected by the literary language through their various contacts, e.g.

qibaayil	tribes
qaal	he said

Similarly a voiced velar fricative (ɣ) a variant of (g)

is heard with some informants in the Hijazi and North Central groups as

γibaayil tribes HJ and Şuwaidera
lyannicuh he convinces him Fawwāra

The bedouin of the mountains including the sheep rearers, the honey-makers of the Banu Masrūh, including the ʿIbida, Bilādiyya of the Banu ʿAmr and the Şubh, frequently show the sound ǧ. This sound ǧ may be described here as a prepalatal sound, similar to the one which is mentioned by Sibawaih; in his grammar¹.

Again, such sounds are usually found with the muraqqāqa, and in contiguity with the vowels (a, i, u, aa) with strong Imala.

examples:

ǧamh	wheat
liǧi	he found
naaǧa	she-camel
wirǧaan	name of mountain
ǧiltlak	I said to you
ǧirǧaab	necks
hǧǧ	justice

In Wādi aṣ-Şafra and al-Figra this sound is also noticeable among the Banu Sālim of al-Khābt, including the Mahāmīd, Aḥamīda, and Hawāzim. Compare the following examples:

1. al-kitāb vol. II, p.404.

ḡem	rise
ḡaayla	midday hot
cidḡ	bunches of millet

But this sound is absent when near the vowels (u, uu, a, aa and i, ii) when they are not Imalized, e.g.

guwi	strong
guul	speak
ḡaggat	belonging to
giliil	little

In the dialect of the Banu Sālim in the Hijazi group, and only in the verb gatal, gattal 'to kill', the g has become k as kital, kattal.

The prepalatal ḡ is occasionally met with in the Northern Central group of the Othayma Shibaykiyya, and Fawwara. Compare the following:

ḡigḡ	three year old camel
cirḡ	vein
migbaas	firebrand
ligi	three year old young camel

The affrication of k, g

The affrication of k, g into ts, dz is undoubtedly the characteristic feature of the NC group of the Ḥarb. It is mostly noticeable in words with front vowels, aa, i, ii, and ee; e.g.

tseef	how
fatstsir	think
bowaatsiir	sticks
bin tsimi	Bin Kimi (proper name ¹)
dzidir	pot
swaahiidz	name of mountain
midzfi	retreated
catiidz	proper name

The affrication of k, g also appears in contiguity with the vowels a, and aa e.g.

m-claadz	hanger
tsaff	palm
-intsaan	if
braytsaan	proper name

The explanation suggested by T.M. Johnstone for the occurrence of the affrication of these sounds near the vowel (a and aa) depends in fact essentially upon the quality of the vowel². He accurately states that (a) and (aa) when near these affricated sounds are regularly fronted³ and this tendency seems in fact to be present in our aforementioned examples. Compare also the following examples where the affrication of k, g appears in the final position:

-
1. The chief of all the Banu Masrūh branch for a time before the establishment of the Ottoman State.
 2. Johnstone, T.M. The affrication, pp.218, 219. Jss, vol. VIII, 1963
 3. *ibid.*

warts	thigh
firdz	group

The 2 f.s. suffixed personal pronoun is also pronounced with affrication among the N.C. group e.g.

waladats	your son
caleets	upon you

Among the variant sounds occurring in the N.C. group is the pronunciation of (g) as a voiced uvular (G), particularly in the verb gaal > Gaal 'he said'.

The affrication of k, g among the Hijazi group

The affrication of k, g into ts and dz is not one of the characteristic features of the Hijazi group of the Ḥarb. However, it does appear in the speech of the Rubuga, the Miṣacila of the Banu^cAmr in Wādi al-Furu^c1, and the Sihliyya of the Banu^cAwf in Wādi an-Nagī^c. The social ties of all these families with the Ḥarb of Najd are in any case very strong.

Examples:

caraadziib	hamstrings	Rubuga
tsinna	we were	"
tsilaab	dogs	Sihliyya
almitaaridza	chief from Muṭair tribe	"

1. The original home of the Banu^cAmr is Wādi al-Furu^c in the Hijāz, most of them emigrated to Najd, some of them still own palm-trees in Wādi al-Furu^c, and they come every summer to collect their dues from the persons who look after them.

Assimilation

Consonant assimilation is frequently found in the Ḥarb dialect. These cases of assimilation are usually of a regressive type.

In a number of cases, such assimilation occurs after the disappearance of short vowels which had originally separated the two consonants. The following examples describe such assimilations:

The Hijazi group

Verb + suffixed pronoun

dt	>	tt	ɔacwadit	>	ɔacwatt	I became old
dt	>	tt	ʃidit	>	sitt	I cough
dt	>	tt	ħimidit	>	ħimitt	I thanked
đt	>	tt	ɔaxadit	>	ɔaxatt	I took
ln	>	nn	wiʃilna	>	wiʃinna	we reached
ln	>	nn	ħilna	>	ħinna	we went searching for pasture
ln	>	nn	yaakulni	>	yaakunni	it hurts me
nl	>	ll	ʃubbinli	>	ʃibbilli	pour me
jz	>	zz	yajzac	>	yazzac	he gets annoyed

Nouns including participles

tj	>	jj	mutajawiriin	>	mijjaawriin	neighbourings
tđ	>	đđ	mutađayyif	>	miđđayyif	honoured as guest
ts	>	ss	mutasannica	>	missannica	in good shape

Assimilation can also occur between adjoining words, e.g.

min + m	minmakka	>	m ⁿ imakka	from Mecca
min + m	minmaa	>	m ^m imaa	from the water
min + l	minluḥuumi	>	milluḥummi	from my relative

Progressive assimilation

This type of assimilation is rarely found in this dialect. Compare, however, the following examples from the Hijazi group.

ḥh	>	ḥḥ	ḍabbaḥahum	>	ḍabbaḥḥum	he killed them
ṭṭ	>	ṭṭ	xabaṭatu	>	xabaṭṭ	I strike
xh	>	xx	wasax ^h hd	>	wuṣaxxa	its dirt

Assimilation among the NC group

Verb + suffixed pronoun

Similar cases of assimilation are found among this group; the examples below give such cases:

Regressive assimilation

dt	>	tt	niṣadit	>	niṣatt	I asked
dt	>	tt	qiṣadit	>	qiṣatt	I recited
nl	>	ll	fiṭinlahu	>	fiṭilleh	he comprehended his aim
nr	>	rr	ḥinraḥḥil	>	ḥirraḥḥil	we start moving
jz	>	zz	yajzaak	>	yazzaak	he rewards you

Assimilation also occurs between the end of one word and the beginning of the next one

caws ^v iza	for	cawsija	kind of tree	HJ
zcayr	for	jicayr	the male of hyena	NC

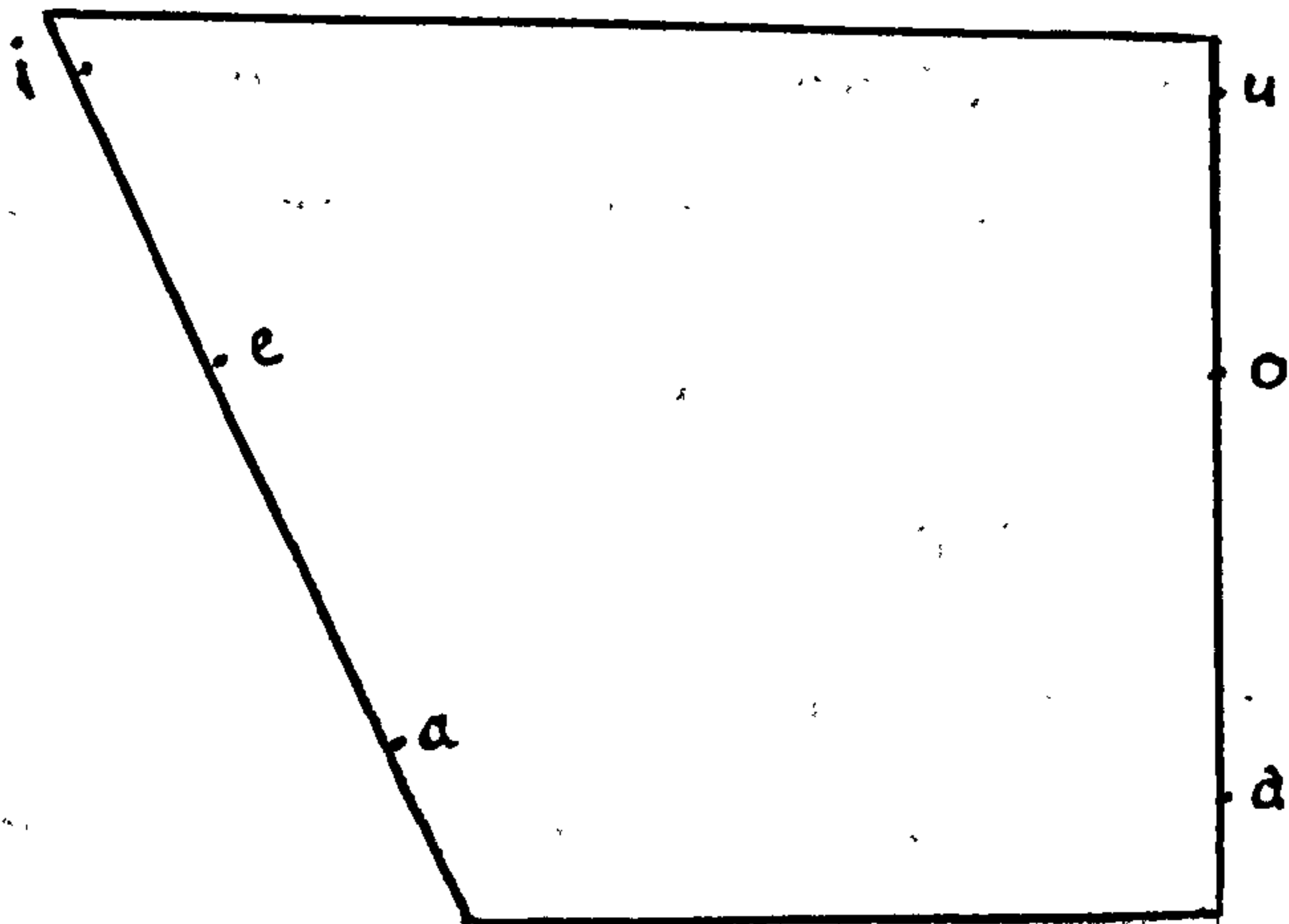
Vowel System

(a) Short vowels

In contrast to Classical Arabic, this dialect shows six short vowels, i, e, a, α, o, u.

i	girba	water skin
e	This vowel has usually resulted from <i>ia</i> rounded vowels, as in	
	gelt	I said
	secalaat ħarb	the nucleus of the Ĥarb tribe
	binteh	his daughter
a	rabc	people
α	fajer	dawn
o	It is frequently found instead of α in the contiguity with bilabial consonants and some others i.e., b, f, m, g, d, k, e.g.	
	boṣal	onion
	al-fowwara	al-Fawwāra
u	xuwwah	friendship

Cf. the following diagram indicates the approximate tongue position of the short vowels



b) Long vowels

Again there are six long vowels *ii, ee, aa, αα, oo, uu.* e.g.

ii *riic* mountain

This vowel also corresponds to the Classical Arabic diphthong ay e.g.

<i>siidi</i>	<	<i>sayyidi</i>	my lord
↓ <i>sii</i>	<	↓ <i>say</i>	thing

ee A mid-front spread vowel, usually corresponding to the Classical Arabic diphthong ay as:

↓
ḍeef guest

aa This vowel is front-open, with slight retraction

raaḥ he went

αα This vowel is a variant of the diphthongs ay and aw, e.g.

↓
sααx chief

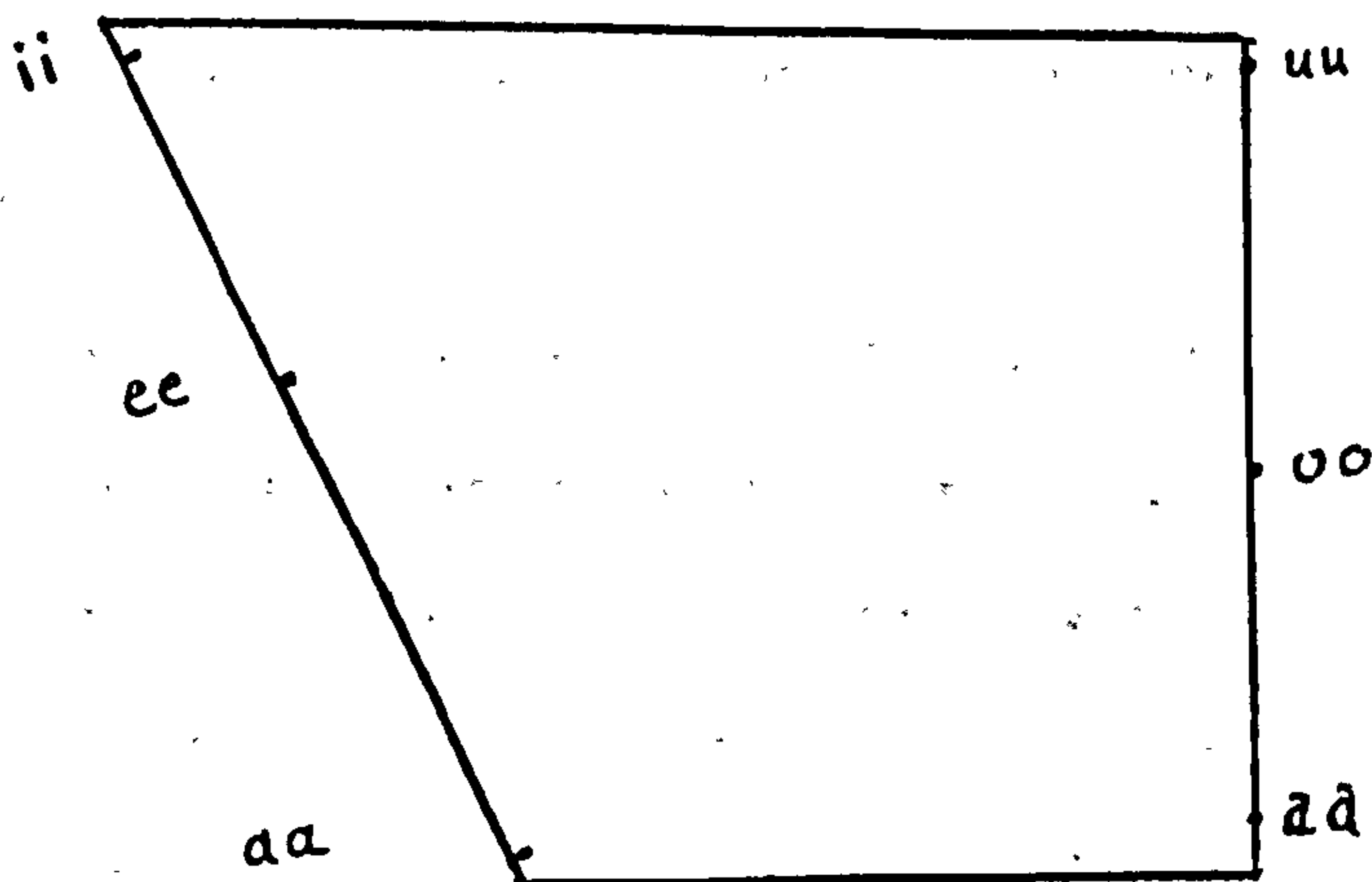
daαla state

oo It is a mid-back rounded vowel, corresponding to aw or uu, in Classical Arabic cf,

nooc type
jaaboo they brought

uu This vowel usually occurs among the Hijazi group in the imperative of verbs of the type gaal as guul 'say'

The diagram below describes the approximate tongue position of the long vowels:



Diphthongs aw, ay

The diphthongs aw and ay are generally preserved in the Ḥarb dialect. Additionally, and very often, the diphthong ay, and less frequently aw, alternate with aa.

The latter variant is encountered in the speech of those who may fairly be presumed to be still unaffected by the Arabic Koine. However, the monophthongisation of aw and ay resulted in oo and ee; corresponds of course to aw and ay generally appears throughout the Ḥarb dialect, particularly in the case of those speakers who appear to have contact with speakers outside their own dialectal area, and who have been exposed to modern influences, including Koine Arabic.

But the aa variant of these diphthongs is still found in the dialect of this latter group, particularly in words derived from assimilated verbs with initial (w), e.g. maajuud 'existing' for mawjuud and maaluud 'new-born baby' for mawluud etc.

The following tribal names are generally pronounced with aa instead of ay in this dialect:

jihaana	Juhaina
miṭaar	Muṭair
ictaaba	^c Otaiba

The word yawm, when used as a conditional particle with the meaning when, is generally pronounced yaam.

When it means day, it is pronounced either yawm or yoom.

Thus it can be stated as a general rule that the aa variant of ay is widely used in the Hijaz among the cIbida, Rubuqa, the Bilādiyya of the Banu^cAmr in the Wādi al-Furu^c, and the Banu^cAwf, including Lihaba, LiQāmin Ṣuwacid in al-Qaḥa, and the Banu Ṣubḥ in Jibal Ṣubḥ, and the Banu Ayub and the Banu Muhammad in al-Khiraiba (al-Abwā^c).

It occurs also in the dialect of the Banu Salim branch in the region of Badr and Wādi aṣ-Ṣafrā, Abyār aSh-Shaikh and al-FiQra among the Ṣubḥ, Hawāzim, Mahāmid and the Aḥamida.

However, ee is also found in the speech of the above-mentioned people, especially among those who have been exposed to contact with other speakers from urban centres, i.e. Madena, Mecca etc.

The Banu Ḥarb of the Northern Central group commonly use aa as a free variant of ay; this branch includes the inhabitants of aṣ-Ṣuwaidera, Ḥanakiyya, ^cArJa, NaQra, ^cOqlat aṣ-Ṣuqūr, Shibaikiyya, Abu Mughair and al-Fawwāra.

The ee diphthong also occurs in this group.

The following are examples of the diphthongs and their variants:

HiJazi group

aw and ay preserved

dayn	debt	W. al-Furu ^c
fawz	success	"
γayθ	cloud, heavy rain	W. al-Qāḥa
ṣawm	fasting	"
gawm	enemy	Jibal Ṣubḥ
layl	night	Jibal Wirgān
cayn	spring	W. aṣ-Ṣafrā
θawb	garment	"

aw, ay > oo and ee

yoom	day	commonly heard in the speech of settled people
beet	house	
biir geedi	place-name in	Wādī al-qāḥa
mihbeela	trap	Wādī al-qāḥa
noocēen	two types	jibal wirgān
xeer	good things	wādī al furu ^c

ay > aa

xaal	horse	wādī alqāḥa
ṣaax	chief	"
baanhum	among them	wādī al Furu ^c
baarag	flag	"
laalak	your night	jibal wirgān
calaana	upon us	Wadi aṣṢafrā
laan	until	"

aw > aa

maaluud	new-born baby	al-Khirayba, Wādi al-Abwā
xaaf	fear	wādi alqāḥa
yaam	when	" al Furu ^c
ḥaadḥ	water basin	" aṣ-Ṣafra
daala	state	"

The Northern Central group

aw, ay preserved

gawm	enemy	Ṣuwaidera
ᵛaṣṣayf	summer	"
yawminḥaani	another day	Ḥanākiyya
ḥawbaha	her garment	"
sayl	flood	Arja
lawm	blame	Naqra
ḥitayba	^c Otaibat-tribe	"
ḥawl	year	^c Oqlat as Suqur
ḥayd	parallel	ash-Shibaykiyya
bayt ᵛalla	house of God	Fawwara
yawmgyaa	when he came	"

aw, ay > oo and ee

joozaha	her husband	Ṣuwaidera
beerag	flag	Ḥanākiyya
seef	sword	Naqra

been	between	°Othayma
gdeemi	dagger	°Oqlat aş-Şuqūr
θoobaha	her garment	Fawwara

aw, ay > aa

ṃyaar	name of settle- ment	Şuwaidera
saaxak	your chief	ḤanaKiyya
faaşal	proper name	°Arja
calaaha	upon it	°Othayma
yaam	when	Nagra
raaḏa	meadow	°oqlat aş-Şuqūr
xaar	good thing	Fawwara

Words derived from Hollow verbs (CVC) frequently retain the diphthong throughout the Ḥarb dialect e.g.

jawca	hungry people	NC
hawša	quarrel	HJ
sawra	honey gathering	NC

Moreover, several place names preserve the diphthongs, CF. the following examples:

ᵛalxayf		HJ
ᵛalmiraybid		HJ
brayda	i.e. Buraida (town in al-Qasim)	NC
ᵛalxisaybi		NC

It will be seen from the above that the aa variant of the ay diphthong (and to a lesser extent of aw) is widely used among the Ḥarb tribe, irrespective of the dialectal area.

It is found in both groups (the NC, and the HiJazi), including those which have ee and oo as variants. This phenomenon is also present in the dialect of the^cOtaiba tribe, as recorded by Hess¹. Similar examples of this variant also appear in the samples collected from my^cOtaibi informant from^cOqlat aṢ-Ṣuqūr in al-Qasīm.

The tribes of Muṭair and Juhaina also show this characteristic feature; some samples of their speech were obtained in the Wādī al-Furu^c from Muṭairi and Juhani retainers (Khawi).

C. Rabin has noted that the Jewish colloquial of Central Yemen occasionally alternate aa with ay e.g. waan for wayn < ḥayn where².

It is significant that the tribe of Hamadan and its neighbouring tribes change ay to aa, as ḥawaalaa for ḥawaalay³.

Arab grammarians state that the Banu Balḥārith (a south Arabian tribe) have aa instead of the diphthong ay⁴.

1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen. p.100, 101, 120.

2. Rabin; C. Ancient West Arabian, p.65

3. Hamadāni; al-Iklil vol, X, ed. by Muḥibuddin al-Khaṭīb, p.214.

4. Cf. Rabin; C. ibid. p.65.

It seems highly probably that aa for ay is ancient and characteristic feature of some Arabian dialects.

Classical Arabic, which is based on the Northern Arabian dialects (represented by the dialect of Quraish) of course has ay and aw.

Accordingly, oo and ee are clearly secondary variants of aw and ay, and are probably to be associated with Middle Arabic, which developed outside Arabia¹.

These oo and ee variants are still not widely used at the present day among the Arabian tribes as we have seen, but they have begun to be employed by those speakers who are influenced by Arabic Koine.

Consonant Clusters

Two consonant clusters, due to the loss of short vowels, frequently occur in initial positions, especially where an unstressed short vowel is elided e.g.

Initial position

tcarif

you know

şxara

rock

kbaar

older people

Three-consonant clusters are absent, since such clusters are always avoided by the introduction of an anaptyctic vowel after the second radical,

1. Cf. Fück; J. Arabiyya. Berlin, 1950 for a comprehensive picture of the emergence of Middle Arabic. also Cf. Blau; J. The Emergence, p.1ff, 121 ff.

yadbi ^h hoon	they kill
ya ^v srudoon	they escape

Similarly the preposition cind with the personal pronoun suffixes, is usually found with preservation of an anaptyctic vowel e.g.

c ^v induh, c ^v indeh	he has	
c ^v indaha	she has	
c ^v indak	you have	
c ^v indik	you have	HJ
c ^v indits	you have	NC
c ^v indihum	they have	
c ^v indihin	they have	

Gemination

The initial gemination of a consonant may occur in normal conversation as in

r-rjuu ⁹	rain	NC
c-c ^v sar	kind of desert plant	HJ
š-š ^v yar	trees	both groups

Final geminate consonants do also occur in

ladd	he turns back
damm	blood

With pronominal suffixes the word damm is usually without gemination, as dimeh 'his blood', damk 'your blood'.

In contrast, in kull, kill the gemination is frequently retained e.g.

kulluhum	all of them	HJ
killeha	all of it	NC

Prosthetic vowels

This type of vowel is usually inserted in front of a word as compensation for the loss of unstressed short vowel. e.g.

intanassam	we take a break	HJ
imbayriik	proper name	

Prosthetic (u) may be inserted only in front of the noun, e.g.

usbuur	watchmen during the raid
--------	--------------------------

note the s > ş

Stress

If the final syllable is CVVC or -CVCC, the stress usually falls on this final syllable, as:

si ^ˈ rhaan	wolf
di ^ˈ biih	killed
sa ^ˈ calt	you have asked
za ^ˈ ract	I have planted

The examples below show that the stress regularly falls on the second syllable, a feature which is of normal occurrence among the speakers of this dialect:

kallamk	he has spoken to you
srudat	she escaped
rgubti	my neck
zhara	blossom

Among the Bedouin too the stress usually falls on the second syllable, e.g.

cnab	grape
hfar	pits
ctaf	alley

The stress also ~~Sometimes~~ falls on the definite article. Cf. the following words:

balalaḥ	date
balcarab	Bedouin, wife
annaxal	palm trees
addaxal	income

PART II

The Morphology

The morphological system in its basic structure does not differ widely from the Northern-Central Arabian Dialects (Cf. Johnstone map 1, p.3 EADS).

The base form of the verb shows vowel change where vocalization other than those of Classical Arabic occur (see p.81, 84).

The effect of the gutturals on the syllable structure is apparent among this dialect.

Thus, the perfect of verbs which begin with a guttural consonant or where syllables contain the consonants r, l, n, retains the normal classical pattern, as in ḥafar 'he dug', ṣarad 'he escaped'.

But with pronominal suffixes of 3fs, 3m.pl. etc., the short vowel is elided, leading to a change in syllable structure e.g.

ḥfarat	she dug
ṣrudaw	they escaped

All forms corresponding to Classical Arabic are found, and no substitution is made between masculine, and feminine, whereas some urban dialects mix ^{the} two genders¹, or employ

1. Cf. the Meccan speech where the form yistaylu 'they work' is used for both the 3 m.pl., the 3 f.pl. Schreiber; G. op.cit. (text. p.190).

the masculine instead of the feminine throughout. In common with most Arabian Dialects the dual form has already disappeared in this dialect. Only one informant, no. 33, from al-Hanakiyya used the dual form.

The passive voice for both perfect and imperfect verbs appears fairly commonly; form VII may also be used to express passiveness.

Prosthetic vowels (i, u) may develop in front of the perfect and imperfect of verbs, resulting from the elision of the unstressed short vowel, e.g.

in-carif	we know
um ^v suṭat	she combed

These helping vowels are less frequent in the dialect of the Hadar and among sophisticated speakers.

Additionally the terminal vowel of the 3 m.s. imperative of verbs with final y may be elided; such phenomena are frequently met among the Bedouin in cases where the stress is shifted from the penultimate to the first syllable, e.g.

ḥim ^v s	go
ḥi ^v star	buy
xall	leave

Commonly, and in fact with a quite considerable number of speakers, the 3 m.pl. of the perfect verb facaluu has become (aw) as rikbaw 'they rode'. Sometimes, however (am) appears instead of uu > oo > aw, e.g.

ibḥaṭam they searched
rabbacam they had a good spring

Finally, the following verb patterns occasionally appear in this dialect:

foocal	soolaḤ	he chatted	NC
	doobaḥ	he became old	HJ
tifeecal	timeezar	he wrapped himself	NC
	timeedax	he pretended	HJ

The Strong Verb

The simple verb

a. Perfect tense

The most frequent form of the perfect tense of the simple verb is:

a-	ficil	rikib	he rode	širib	he drank
b-	fical	ḏibaḥ	he killed	kitab	he wrote
c-	facal	šarad	he escaped	daxal	he entered

Verbs with unstable patterns may occur in two alternative forms:

fical and ficil; giḏab "to hold" and giḏib.

The Bedouin usually has ficil beside fical. In contrast the Hadari type shows facal, e.g. nazal, gaḏab. The form facula of Classical Arabic has generally become ficil as:

kibir	he grows bigger
šiyir	he becomes less

The tabulation below gives the conjugate of the perfect verb.

<u>form fi^cil; rikib</u>	"to ride
3 m.s.	rikib
3 f.s.	rikbat
2 m.s.	rikibt
2 f.s.	rikibti
3 m.pl.	rikbaw rikbam
3 f.pl.	rikban
2 m.pl.	rikibtu (rikbtum)
2 f.pl.	rikibtin
1 c.pl.	rikibna

<u>form fi^cal; dibaḥ</u>	"to kill
3 m.s.	dibaḥ
2 f.s.	dbaḥat idbaḥat
2 m.s.	dibaḥt
2 f.s.	dibaḥti
1 c.s.	dibaḥt
3 m.pl.	dibaḥaw
3 f.pl.	dibaḥan
2 m.pl.	dibaḥtu
2 f.pl.	dibaḥtin
1 c.pl.	dibaḥna

Note that the (uu) of the 3 m.pl. generally becomes (aw).
oo in the ending as a variant of (uu) may occur especially

with pronominal suffixes e.g. idbaḥooḥ 'they have killed him'.

In quite a number of cases as shown in (p.81) an (am) variant of the 3 m.pl. ending (uu) occurs, e.g.

nzalam < nazaluu they alighted

form facal

This type of form appears with verbs whose first or second radical is a guttural sound or the medial syllable contains (r, l, n). However, the conjugation of this type of verb shows a tendency towards the elision of short vowels.

Cf. the example below:

<u>verb; ḥalab</u>	"to milk"
3 m.s.	ḥalab
3 f.s.	ḥlibat
2 m.s.	ḥalabt
2 f.s.	ḥalabti
1 c.s.	ḥalabt
3 m.pl.	ḥlibaw
3 f.pl.	ḥliban
2 m.pl.	ḥalabtu(m)
2 f.pl.	ḥalabtin
1 c.pl.	ḥalabna

b. Imperfect tense

The pattern of the imperfect of verbs which have the base form ficā in the perfect is either yafca like yadbaḥ 'he kills' or yafci as in yaktib 'he writes'. The imperfect verb of ficil form is yafca as yaṣrab 'he drinks', yarkab 'he rides', yalhadz 'he catches' (NC). But the imperfect of verbs which have the base form facā in the perfect is mainly yafcu among the Hijazi group as tagcu 'it remains, lasts', except in the Hijaz Bedouin of sheep rearers yafcu may vary towards yafce in certain contexts as when near (r) e.g.

yamreg	he enters
namreṣ	we strip

By contrast the Northern Central group has yafce instead of yafcu e.g.

yadxel	he enters
yagṣed	he recites

However, occasionally the normal pattern is found in the following examples:

yanḡuṣ	it decreases
yagluṭ	he comes, enters
yagnuṣ	he hunts

This could be due to the emphatic sound (ṣ, ṭ) which has prevented the Imāla of (u) to (e).

The table below gives the conjugation of the imperfect tense of the perfect form ficā and ficil:

verb dībah

"to kill"

3 m.s.	yadbah
3 f.s.	tadbah
2 m.s.	tadbah
2 f.s.	tadbihiin
1 c.s.	ʔadbah
3 m.pl.	yadbihuun
3 f.pl.	yadbihin
2 m.pl.	tadbihuun
2 f.pl.	tadbihin
1 c.pl.	nadbah

verb kitāb

"to write"

3 m.s.	yaktib
3 f.s.	taktib
2 m.s.	taktib
2 f.s.	taktibiin
1 c.s.	ʔaktib
3 m.pl.	yaktibuun
3 f.pl.	yaktibin
2 m.pl.	taktibuun
2 f.pl.	taktibin
1 c.pl.	naktib

The 2, 3 m.pl ending (-uun), and the 2 f.s. (-iin) are very frequent in this dialect; sometimes (-oon), and (-een) replaced (-uun) and (-iin).

<u>verb širib</u>	"to drink"
3 m.s.	yašrab
3 f.s.	tašrab
2 m.s.	tašrab
2 f.s.	tašrobiin
1 c.s.	ʔašrab
3 m.pl.	yašrubuun
3 f.pl.	yašribin
2 m.pl.	tašrobuun
2 f.pl.	tašribin
1 c.pl.	našrab

The imperfect form of verbs of type caraf and ħafar shows the elision of the unstressed short vowel of the performative. Such elision is usually due to the effect of the initial guttural consonant on the syllable structure.

An anaptyctic or prosthetic vowel may be added to resolve the consonant cluster.

Cf. the example below:

<u>verb caraf</u>	"to know"
3 m.s.	yicarif
3 f.s.	tcarif

2 m.s.	itcarif
2 f.s.	tcarfiin
1 c.s.	ɔacarif
3 m.pl.	ycarfuun
3 f.pl.	ycarfin
2 m.pl.	tcarfuun
2 f.pl.	tcarfin
1 c.pl.	ncarif

Sophisticated speakers among the Hadari type, on the other hand, retain the old vowel preformative e.g. naḥfir. This could be explained as the influence of the literary language.

The Weak Verb

Hamzated verbs

(i) Initial Hamza

The imperfect patterns of this type of verb are not identical among our dialectal group.

Thus the North Central group tends to have the vowel (e) instead of (u) in the second syllable.

Conversely the Hijazi group usually has yafcul; but among the Bedouin of the Banu^cAwf, the Banu^cAmr, and the Banu Sālim yafcel occurs, e.g. yaakel 'he eats'. Cf. the table below for the conjugation of the verb ɔaxad 'to take'

	<u>Perf.</u>	<u>Imperf.</u>	
3 m.s.	ʔaxaḏ	yaaxed	yaaxud
3 f.s.	ʔaxaḏat	taaxed	taaxud
2 m.s.	ʔaxatt	taaxed	taaxud
2 f.s.	ʔaxatti	taaxḏiin	taaxḏiin
1 c.s.	ʔaxatt	ʔaaxed	ʔaaxud
3 m.pl.	ʔaxaḏaw	yaaxḏuun	yaaxḏuun
3 f.pl.	ʔaxaḏan	taaxḏin	yaaxḏin
2 m.pl.	ʔaxattu (m)	taaxḏuun	taxḏuun
2 f.pl.	ʔaxaḏtin	taaxḏin	taaxḏin
1 c.pl.	ʔaxaḏna	naaxed	naaxud

Note the assimilation in the (2 m.s., the 2 f.s., the 1 c.s.) of perfect.

The verb ʔata 'he has come' is not commonly used; the Bedouin of the Hijazi group among sheep rearers occasionally use weet 'and he has come'.

(ii) Medial Hamza

This type of verb is very rare; in particular most speakers of this dialect tend to use the verb naṣad 'to ask' instead of the otherwise common verb saʔal. However the verbs saʔal 'to ask' and raʔas 'to head' are sporadically heard.

This type of verb reveals several somewhat interesting features,
e.g.

verb saʔal > saʔal 'to ask'

perf

3 m.s.	saʔal	W. aṣ-Ṣafrā
2 m.pl.	saʔaltoonī	W. al-Qāḥa

Imperf.

3 m.s.	yaʔal	NC (al Fuwwara)
2 m.s.	taʔal	NC (Ṣuwaidera)
1 c.s.	naʔal	W al-Furuʕ

Also by elimination of Hamza and vowel lengthening saʔal > saal e.g.

Perf

3 m.s.	saal	W. aṣ-Ṣafrā
2 m.s.	silt	jibal Ṣubḥ

Imperf.

3 m.s.	yisaal	NC (al-Fawwara)
2 m.s.	tasaal	W. aṣ-Ṣafra
1 c.s.	tisaal	" "

The phenomenon probably occurs in the case of raʔas > raas "to head". The table below gives specimens of the conjugation of the verb raʔas "to head"

Imperf.

3 m.s.	yruus
2 m.s.	truus

3 m.pl.	yruusoon
1 c.pl.	inruus

On the other hand in the Hijazi group of the speech of the fishermen in ar-Rāyis (harbour of Badr) among the Banu Ṣubḥ and the zibaid the verb yriis 'to direct the ship' is found. It is possible that the yriis like yruus is derived from ra>as > raas¹

In any case this verb conjugates as follows:

3 m.s.	yriis
2 m.s.	triis
3 m.pl.	yriisoon
1 c.pl.	nriis

(iii) Final Hamza

Hamza in this type of verb is no longer found as amorphemic component. It is reduced either to a zero element or replaced by lengthening of the preceding vowel. Two verbs of this type which are commonly used in this dialect are gara < gara>, 'to read', and mala < mala>, 'to fill'.

The Hijazi group (urban speakers) in particular sometimes uses the form II instead of I, thus mala 'to fill or to bring water' is replaced by malla yimalli.

The tabulation below illustrates the conjugation of the verb mala 'to fill'

1 See Ibn Munzūr, Lisān al-^cArab, vol. 6, p.103.

	<u>perf.</u>	<u>Imperf.</u>
3 m.s.	mala	yamla
3 f.s.	malat	tamla
3 m.pl.	malaw	yamloon
3 f.pl.	malan	yamlan
1 c.pl.	maleena	namla

It is relevant to mention that the Hamza of verb gara 'to read' may be retained with some of our informants, but this phenomenon does not seem to be linked with any class of speakers or regional variation. It is rather due to the influence of the literary language.

Verbs with initial (w)

The main characteristic feature of this type of verb is the occurrence of the vowel (i) in the stem of both perfect and imperfect verbs, e.g. wiṣil / yiṣil. Furthermore the 3 m.s., and the 3 f.s. of the imperfect frequently are vocalized as yaafcal, as in:

yaaşal	he arrives	<u>NC (Nagra)</u>
yaagaf	he stands firm	W. al-Furu ^c

This type of pattern is also found in the dialect of Badr and Wadi as-Safra, (Cf. A. Critical, p.35).

Sibawaihi states that 'some Arab: s¹ use the 3rd imperf. masculine yaajal to be frightened. It is

1. Sibawaihi; al-Kitāb, vol, II, p.409

very interesting to see that such archaic patterns are still found.

The table below gives the paradigm of the verb waşal and wagaş.

verb wişil < waşal 'to arrive'

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>	
3 m.s.	wişil (woşal) ²	yişil	(yaaşal)
3 f.s.	wişlat (woşlat)	tişil	(taaşal)
2 m.s.	wişilt	tişil	
3 m.pl.	wişlaw	yişloon	

verb wigif < wagaş 'to stand firm'

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>	
3 m.s.	wigif	yigif	(yaagaş)
3 f.s.	wigfat	tigif	
3 m.pl.	wigfaw	yigfoon	
3 f.pl.	wigfan	yigfin	

Verbs with initial (y)

The only current verb in this dialect is yibis < yabisa 'to become dry'. It is usually used by farmers; no other verb of this type was encountered. It conjugates as follows:

2 the form between brackets also occurs frequently among the speakers of this dialect.

	<u>perf.</u>	<u>imperf</u>
3 m.s.	yibis	yaybas
3 f.s.	yibsat	taybas

Hollow Verbs

In Classical Arabic the Hollow verbs are vowelled in accordance with their second root letter w or y. For instance gaad 'to lead' has the pattern yaguud in the Imperfect, and gudtu for the 1 c.s. of the perfect; the verb saad 'to hunt' conjugates as yašiid and šidtu in the perf.

This rule generally is preserved in our dialect. Certain exceptions, however, present themselves. Thus, the imperfect of the verb baat 'to sleep' is ybaat instead of yabiit. Similarly the 1 c.s., and the 2 m.s., 2 f.s., of verbs of the type gaal 'to say' have the characteristic vowel (i) instead of (u) in the perfect among the speakers of the NC group. The Hijazi group on the otherhand put gult, gunna < qulna. But the Bedouin of the Hijazi group usually has the gilt pattern.

The following paradigm gives the inflection of the Hollow verbs;

Hijazi group

	verb: <u>gaal</u>	'to say'	
	<u>perf</u>	<u>Bedouin</u>	<u>Imperf</u>
3 m.s.	gaal	gaal	yguul

	<u>perf</u>	<u>Bedouin</u>	<u>Imperf</u>
3 f.s.	gaalat	gaalat	tguul
2 m.s.	gult	gilt	tguul
1 c.s.	gult	gilt	aguul
3 m.pl.	gaalaw	gaalam	yguuluun

Northern Central group

	verb <u>raah</u>	'to go'	
3 m.s.	raah		yruuh
3 f.s.	raahat		truuh
2 m.s.	riht		truuh
1 c.s.	riht		ɔaruuh
3 m.pl.	raahaw		yruuhuun
3 f.pl.	raahan		yruuhin

The conjugation of the verb baat 'to sleep' is identical in both our groups, Cf. the table below:

3 m.s.	baat	ybaat
3 f.s.	baatat	tbaat
2 m.s.	bitt	tbaat
2 f.s.	bitti	tbaatin
1 c.s.	bitt	ɔabaat
3 m.pl.	baataw	ybaatoon
3 f.pl.	baatan	tbaatoon
2 m.pl.	bittu	tbaatin
2 f.pl.	bittin	tbaatin
1 c.pl.	bitna	inbaat

Defective verbs

The conjugation of this type of verb has the characteristic vowel -a or -i in the imperfect. Verbs final w like yaza are usually terminated with -i (less frequently with -a, as saħa / yaħa 'to be awaken') instead of the Classical termination -u. The following examples give the paradigm of the defective verbs:

verb naha 'to rebuke'

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>
3 m.s.	naha	yanha
3 f.s.	nahat	tanha
2 m.s.	nahayt	tanha
1 c.s.	nahayt	anha
3 m.pl.	nahaw	yanhawn
3 f.pl.	nahaytin	yanhan

verb dawā 'to come'

3 m.s.	ḏowa	yadwi
3 f.s.	ḏowat	taḏwi
2 m.s.	ḏowayt	taḏwi
1 c.s.	ḏowayt	aḏwi
3 m.pl.	ḏowaw	yadwoon
3 f.pl.	ḏowan	yadwin

verb ḡaza 'to raid'

3 m.s.	ḡaza	yḡazi
2 m.s.	ḡazeet	tḡazi

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>
1 c.s.	γazeet	ɔayazi
3 m.pl.	γazam	yγazoon
2 m.pl.	γazaytu(m)	tγazoon
1 c.pl.	γazayna	inyazi

The same type of conjugation is met with in the case of the verbs daca 'to pray' which becomes yadciih among the Hijazi group and γada 'to become' > tiydi among the Northern Central group.

Verb ṣaḥa Classical yashu 'to be awaken'

This verb occurs among the Hijazi group. It conjugates as follows:

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>
3 m.s.	ṣaḥa	yashā
3 f.s.	ṣaḥat	taṣḥa
2 m.s.	ṣaḥeet	taṣḥa
2 f.s.	ṣaḥeeti	taṣḥeen
1 c.s.	ṣaḥeet	ɔaṣḥa
3 m.pl.	ṣaḥaw	yashoon
1 c.pl.	ṣaḥayna	naṣḥa

Similarly the verb baya 'to wish' has become nabya, naba (the Classical paradigm is nabyi)¹.

1. The verb nabya is used as auxiliary verb in this dialect Cf. syntax

Other variant conjugations of this verb are also met.

Thus the Bedouin of the Hijazi group has ɔabɔy 'I want' with diphthong, while the Northern Central group uses ɔabi, tabi etc.

But forms with diphthong e.g. yabay 'he wants' are found among speakers of al-Fawwāra in the Northern Central group.

Doubly Weak Verbs

The verb jaa 'to come' is frequently used; it conjugates as follows

	<u>perf.</u>	<u>imperf.</u>
3 m.s.	jaa	yiji
3 f.s.	jaat (jat NC group)	tiji
2 m.s.	jeet	tiji
2 f.s.	jeeti	tijiin
1 c.s.	jeet	ʔaji
3 m.pl.	jaw	yijoon
3 f.pl.	jan	yijin
2 m.pl.	jeeta	tijoon
2 f.pl.	jeetin	tijin
1 c.pl.	jeena	niji

Note the 3 f.s. is always shortened to jat among the NC group.

Verbs like waca 'to awake' are found in this dialect. The patterns of waca is similar to those of Classical Arabic. Sometimes the 3 m.s., and 3 f.s. are yaafcal, taafcal Cf. the example below:

3 m.s.	yaaci	he awakes	W. aṣ-Ṣafra
3 f.s.	taaci	she awakes	<u>NC</u> al-fawwāra
1 c.pl.	nici	we awake	W. al-Furuḥ

Geminate verbs

The conjugation of this type of verb is characterized by the appearance of the vowel (i) in the imperfect, Cf. the table below:

Verb ṣadd 'to depart'

	<u>perf</u>	<u>imperf</u>
3 m.s.	ṣadd	yisidd
3 f.s.	ṣaddat	tṣidd
2 m.s.	ṣaddeet	tṣidd
2 f.s.	ṣaddeeti	tṣiddiin
1 c.s.	ṣaddeet	aṣidd
3 m.pl.	ṣaddaw	yṣidduun
3 f.pl.	ṣaddan	yṣiddin
2 m.pl.	ṣaddaytu	tṣidduun
2 f.pl.	ṣaddaytin	tṣiddin
1 c.pl.	ṣaddeena	nṣidd

The Imperative

The initial preformative of the imperative of the strong verbs is (i) before (i) and (a) or (u) before (u) e.g.

<u>verb hafar</u>	'to dig'
2 m.s.	ɔihfir
2 f.s.	ɔihfiri
2 m.pl.	ɔihfiroo
2 f.pl.	ɔihfirin

Verb samic > simic 'to hear'

2 m.s.	ɔismaɕ
2 f.s.	ɔismici
2 m.pl.	ɔismicoo
2 f.pl.	ɔismicin

Verb gacɔd 'to sit'

2 m.s.	ɔugɕud
2 f.s.	ɔugɕudi
2 m.pl.	ɔugɕudaw
2 f.pl.	ɔugɕodin

Informant (no. 1) shows a variation in the vowel preformative of the imperative form of the verb naɕar 'to look' e.g.

2 m.s.	ɔundur
2 m.s.	ɔindur

The second example is not identical with the Classical rule.

Another type of variation involving transfer to a different category is shown by Informant (no. 21) who uses ɔurkubi 'ride' (for the 2 f.s.) instead of ɔirkabi.

Verbs with initial (w)

The imperative form of this type of verb is different from those of the Classical language e.g.

2 m.s	ɔigif	stop
2 m.s.	ɔuʃal	reach
2 m.pl.	ɔugofoo	stop

Disagreement is found in our dialect between the Northern Central and the Hijazi groups in the ways the imperative of the Hamzated, the Hollow, and the geminate verbs are formed.

Thus the Northern Central group generally has the characteristic vowel (i) in the imperative of all these categories.

Cf. the following examples for the 2 m.s.

xiḍ	take
riḥ	go
ṣibb	light
ḥiṭṭ	put
ṭigg	knock

But the 2 f.s. of the Hollow verb, and the 2 m.pl. of the Hamzated verb have the paradigm cuuci and cucuu. e.g.

2 f.s.	ruuḥi	go away	Ṣuwaidera
2 m.pl.	xuḏoo	take	Fuwwāra

On the contrary, the Hijazi group usually retains the basic Classical imperative form of the Hamzated, and the geminate verbs e.g.

2 m.s.	xuḏ	take
2 f.s.	xuḏi	"
2 m.pl.	xuḏoo	"
2 f.pl.	xuḏin	"
2 m.s.	ṣibb	light
2 m.s.	ḥuṭṭ	put
2 m.s.	ṭugg	knock

But the imperative of the Hollow verb among this group is characterized by lengthening of the vowel.

Thus the Classical pattern cuc, cic has become cuuc and ciic e.g.

2 m.s.	guul	say
2 m.s.	biic	sell

However, this excludes the dialect of the Bedouin of the Hijazi group who have the vowel (i) throughout in the imperative of the Hamzated, the Hollow, and the geminate verbs. Cf. the examples overleaf.

2 m.s.	kil	eat
2 m.s.	gim	rise
2 m.s.	ṣibb	pour

Imperative of verbs final (y)

The imperative of this type of verb frequently occurs without the terminal vowel, e.g.

2 m.s.	ḥims ^v	go	NC
	ḥistar ^v	sell	HJ
	taḥass ^v	eat	NC
	xall	leave	HJ

However, the Hijazi group especially among the Hadar may retain the terminal vowel, e.g.

2 m.s.	ḥisgi	water
"	ḥirmi	throw
"	xalli	leave

Passive Voice

The passive voice is frequently found; its structure, however, is dissimilar to the Classical pattern. Vowel changes present themselves. Thus the passive of the perfect verb has the pattern fcil < fucila as dbih 'it was killed' < (ḍubiha), while the imperfect is yifcal < yufcalu as in yidkar < (yudkaru) 'to be mentioned'.

Classical patterns occasionally appear, especially with Hamzated verbs and verbs initial (w) e.g.

yuujad to be found

yuuxad† to be taken

The examples below illustrate the pattern of the passive voice.

Perf. dbiḥ he was killed

 dibḥat she was killed

Imperf. yidbaḥ to be killed

 tidbaḥ to be killed

 tidkar to be remembered

from Hamzated verbs

Perf.

The initial Hamza has usually become (w) e.g.

wixid† it was taken

wikil it was eaten

from Hollow verbs

ybaac to be sold

ygaal to be said

from Defective verbs

yisga	to be watered
yiška	to be persecuted

from Geminate verbs

yidagg	to be pounded
yişabb	to be poured

Quadrilateral verbs

The table below gives the most current verbs of this type:

<u>perf.</u>	<u>Imperf.</u>	
laalaa	yilaali	to shriek
ħanšal	yihanšil	to steal
bahđal	yibahđil	to annoy
rafrāf	yirāfrif	to flap

Derived forms

Not all the Classical forms of the derived themes seem to be present in the Ḥarb dialect. Some forms may take priority in usage over others. Thus forms II, VII, X, VIII and V are much used; while forms III and VI have become less frequent. Form IX has totally disappeared from this dialect.

Occasional interchange and replacement of one form by another was noted; such replacement does not normally give the same semantic significance as the form which has been replaced. However, in cases like the use of *ṣaffar* (II) 'to become yellow' for *ṣiṣfarr* (IX) no change of meaning need be assumed. Sometimes the replacing form extends the meaning of the replaced one by adding special shades of meaning or by intensifying the action conveyed e.g.

<i>nikarrimuh</i> (II)	'we honour him greatly'	instead of
<i>nukrimuh</i> (IV)	'we honour him'	
<i>ṣiftakkaw</i> (VIII)	'they freed by force'	instead of
<i>fakkuu</i> (I)	'they freed'	

Newly coined forms are also derived from nouns and adjectives e.g.

			<u>root</u>
II.	<i>bayyaḏ</i>	become white	<i>ṣabyaḏ</i>
	<i>sawwad</i>	become black	<i>ṣaswad</i>
IV	<i>ṣaḥwad</i>	become old	<i>ḥawd</i>
V	<i>tiṣabba</i>	work as servant	<i>ṣabiy</i>
VI	<i>tisaamal</i>	went northward	<i>ṣsamaal</i>

Note that these newly derived forms are largely restricted to forms II, IV, V and VI. The Hijazi group applies these newly coined forms somewhat more frequently than the Northern Central group e.g.

cassal	become honey
zahha	become yellow date
raṭṭab	become dates

Finally the imperfect preformatives of most of the derived forms are yi-, ti-, ni-, and c-. Exceptions, however, are met occasionally with some forms as in:

IV	yadxilooneh	they bring him
X	yastafzic	he asks for support

In the following we shall list the basic forms of the derived themes which occurred in this dialect.

	<u>perf.</u>	<u>imperf.</u>	
II	gaddad	yigaddid	to tear
III	xaaṣar	tixaaṣir	to share
IV	ᵛamsa	nimsi	to enter evening
V	taḥaddar	yitaḥaddaroon	to go down
VI	tikaawan	ntikaawan	to fight
VII	ᵛinkisar	yinkisir	to be defeated
VIII	ᵛictaraḍ	yictiriḍ	to intercept
IX	This form seems to be not current in our dialect.		

The Hijazi group particularly among the farmers uses form II instead as xaḍdar 'to become green' for ᵛixḍarr

X	ᵛistafzac	yastafzic	to ask for help
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Additionally this dialect shows two forms i.e. foocal, tifeecal .

In a table provided by T.M. Johnstone for Eastern Arabian Dialects form foocal was listed as IIIa.

It is appropriate here to mention that the above forms are also found in the Ḥarb dialect; soolaf (to chat) is much used among the Northern Central group while the Hijazi group has doobaḥ (to become old)¹ Cf. the examples below:

<u>perf.</u>	<u>imperf.</u>		
soolaf	ysoolif	to chat	NC
doobaḥ	ydoobiḥ	become old	HJ
timeezar	ytimeezar	to wrap	NC
timeedax	ytimeedax	to pretend	HJ

The nominal patterns

The following discussion is intended to examine nominal patterns, and their syllable structure; including the verbal noun, the active and passive participles and the plurals of nouns, and adjectives. In respect of nouns, both primitive and derivative nouns are found in this dialect.

As in the Classical Arabic some noun patterns tend to have specific meanings which are in turn related to the basic root.

Thus e.g. jammaal of type faaal denotes a (habitual) or professional 'camel driver'.

1. doobaḥ also occurs among NC group in poetry from al-Fawwāra e.g. doobaḥanna ḥalliyaali the succession of nights 'have weakened us'.

Noun

A considerable number of noun patterns current in our dialect are still similar to those of the Classical Arabic; and they will be described, with references, later during our discussion of the various patterns of nouns. Other types, however, differ due to changes in vowel quality, or the elision of original vowels, or vice-versa, the addition of new ones.

Biconsonant nouns

The pattern of this type of noun has remained the same as the Classical Arabic, with only some occasional changes e.g.

ḥabb	grain of wheat	famm	mouth
ṣaṭṭ	half, part	damm	blood
gann	customary law	camm	uncle
hijj < hajj	pilgrimage	simm < summ	poison

(with doubling of the second root letter)

Fac1

The fac1 nouns show some degree of stability in their pattern. This is especially true for words which end with one of the following consonants, (b, ḡ, k, ṣ, t) e.g.

darb	way	kars	belly	
rabc	people, relative	warts	thigh	NC
xabt	desert, low tract of ground			

But the stability of facl is less with others. Two different paradigms one with and one without anaptyctic vowels are to be seen in the same word at the same time, e.g.

▷ahl / ▷ahil

relative, family

wasm / wasim

brand, early rain

facl > facil

It may furthermore happen that facl is changed completely into facil through the addition of anaptyctic vowel (i). This occurs frequently with nouns ending with (l, m, and n) e.g.

samin

ghee

ħabil

rope

baṭin

stomach

xašim

nose

facl > facal and facul

This is similarly due to the introduction of anaptyctic vowels (a, u). It is generally met with in words whose final consonant is (r) e.g.

facal

facul

baħar

sea

gabur

grave

ṡahar

month

fagur

poverty

dahar

famine

wakur

cave

The NC group may transform the facul into facel e.g.

fajer	dawn	caşer	afternoon
tamer	dates	şager	hawk

facla

It is similar to the Classical Arabic in the following nouns:

sarha	kind of tree	badra	water skin
wajba	ration of water	darja	rounded gun powder
zarba	cattle pen	cadwa	raid

But facla usually is reduced to fcala (except with urban speakers). Such reduction is due to the effect of guttural sounds¹ e.g.

şxara	rock	zhara	blossom
glaca	castle	byawa	kind of tree
		ghawa	coffee

ficl

This pattern is fairly like the Classical Arabic; ficil forms owing to anaptyctic are met in words which end with the consonant (r) Cf. the examples below:

<u>ficl</u>		<u>ficil</u>	
bint	girl	dzidir	pot NC
cirg	vein	sitir	protection HJ
wirc	small boy	đikir	reputation

1. Cf. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.5, 80.

ficla

The ficla form is identical with Classical Arabic,

e.g.

nicma	much, blessing	sidra	tree
xidma	service	sikka	way
giṣṣa	tale	dzirba	water skin NC

fuc1

This pattern tends to become ficl among the Bedouin of NC and the Hijazi groups, e.g.

<u>fuc1</u>	<u>ficl</u>	
ḍulc	ḍilc	mountain
rumḥ	rimḥ	spare
ṣubḥ		morning
cumr		age
ruxṣ	rixṣ	cheapness
	xibz	bread

But the following examples have always the ficl pattern in this dialect

θilθ	one third
bi<d	farness

fuc1 > fucul

The fucul variant due to anaptyctic usually occurs with nouns terminating with (l, m, n, and r). Cf. the examples

below:

suḡul	work	xuṣum	appendix
yuṣun	branch of tree	juḡur	cave

fucla

Two different paradigms appear for this type of pattern: the normal fucla and ficla as variant eg.

fucla

guṡra	drop of water	ḡufra	whole
zuba	heap	rufga	friendship
xuṡwa	step	ḡurma	women

ficla < fucla

It is found in both dialect groups of the Harb, e.g.

yisra	left hand	ḡirwa	top of mountain
cirwa	handle	yitwa	lid

facal

Two different patterns occur: the Classical facal and variant :

facal

ficla

walad	boy	liban	milk
faras	horse	yiman	south
carab	bedouin	jimal	camel

facala

The pattern of facala has acquired three variant paradigms. Two patterns of this variant fcula and fcila are very frequent; while facla is occasionally met.

Such variants are again due to the effect of the guttural¹ sounds on the syllable structure Cf. the table below:

fcula

rguba

neck

ħruka

movement

gṣuba

tube

fcila

x^vsiba

piece of wood

xzima

type of tree

slima

type of tree

facla

barka

blessing

HJ

ħasna

good deed

NC

ṣadga

charity

HJ

Biconsonantal nouns with pronominal suffixes

When pronominal suffixes are appended to biconsonantal nouns they usually lose the gemination of their last consonant in this dialect, e.g.

damm 'blood' but dimi 'my blood'

famm 'mouth' but famk 'your mouth'

1. Cf. Johnstone, T.M. 'Aspects' BSOAS, Vol. XXX, p.6, 11

The pattern fiɿl, fuɿl, faɿl, faɿal and pronominal suffixes

The patterns fiɿl, and fuɿl usually lose epenthetic vowels added to them when found in isolation e.g. rijil 'feet' rijli 'my feet', ʃuxul 'work' ʃuxlak 'your work'. The same rule also applies for the pattern faɿl e.g. xasim 'nose' xasmu 'his nose'.

By contrast, the pattern faɿal with 1 c.s., and 3 m.s. pronominal suffixes shows different structure e.g.

ɿlidi	<	waladi	my son
wilideh	<	waladahu	his son

faciil; faciila

The normal Classical pattern of this type of noun usually occurs in this dialect where the initial consonant is a guttural¹. e.g.

<u>faciil</u>		<u>faciila</u>	
ɿariib	stranger	ħafiira	well
ɿadiir	stream	caɿiiba	wounded, lame horse
ħaʃiil	benefit	ħagiiga	true
ɿaʃiin	branch		

Occasionally, however, ficiil, ficiila are found in words where the initial consonant is a guttural, e.g.

ɿalgiʃim	Qasim	ħiliila	wife
ħiliib	milk	ħigiiga	true

1. see Johnstone, T.M. EADS, p.6, 81ff.

But the ficiil, ficiila variant of faciil and faciila frequently occurs where the initial consonant is not a guttural sound, e.g,

<u>ficiil</u>		<u>ficiila</u>	
biciir	camel	miliila	fire
šiciib	dispersed, gulf	ṭiriiga	way
šiḥiib	friend	šiciiba	difficult
jimiir	lock of hair	ḏihiiba	lost

Among the Bedouin the second radical of faciil may be doubled, e.g.

šac̣iir	barley
carṛiis	bridegroom

ficaal, fucaal

Furthermore these two patterns have been reduced to CCVC all over our region. This resulted from the elision of the unstressed short vowels i and u, as in:

ḥjaaz	Hijaz
kraac	feet

Occasionally, however, a prosthetic vowel may be added e.g.

idhaan	grease
iḥwaar	young camel

facaal

It is similar to Classical Arabic in the following

words:

nahaar day, and proper name

kalaam speech

But it becomes ficaal or fcaal with elision of short unstressed vowel in cases of the following examples:

˘simaal north

˘ysaar left hand

facaala

It is generally similar to the Classical patterns e.g.

˘sahaada martyrdom

karaaθa name of tree

This pattern may, however, change into ficaala as in:

jimaaca group, people

˘sijaaca courage

fucaal

This pattern is rarely found in this dialect, most nouns of the type fucaal become fcaal e.g. ɣuraab > ɣraab 'raven'; only the word ṣabaah† may have the variant ṣubaah† among the speakers of our dialect e.g.

ṣubaah† early fighting or raiding in the morning

In this case the emphatic consonant (ṣ) may play some role

in changing the quality of the vowel from a to u

ficaala

siyaala name of tree

kidaada name of tree

faclaan

qhataan name of tribe

Note the effect of the guttural sound on the structure of the pattern.

ficlaan

sirhaan wolf

wirgaan name of mountain

facuul

caruus bride

fucuula

Two different patterns are found for this type of noun the normal one which is usually met with in the dialect of those who are influenced by literary Arabic e.g.

hukuuma government

The second pattern facuula is frequently used, as in:

hakuuma government

Further other nominal patterns are found but not commonly used, and they describe names of trees, places, and other objects, e.g.

saahuug	name of mountain
ḍarbuun	name of insect
harmuuzā	name of tree
yiḥriyaana	name of tree

The Hijazi group shows the use of the pattern fcaliyya, facaliyya, and mfacaliyya to express timing¹, e.g.

zhawiyya	the time of the appearance of the yellow date
caṣriyya	during the afternoon
mṣarbiyya	during evening

Verbal nouns and participles

The table below gives the pattern of the verbal nouns and participles commonly met in this dialect.

<u>verbal noun</u>		<u>active partic.</u>		<u>passive partic.</u>	
ḍabḥ	killing	ḍaabih	killer	madbuuh	killed
ḥaxḍ	taking	ḥaxid	taker	maaxuud	taked
ṣulb	defeat	ṣaalib	dominant	mṣaluub	defeated
beec	sale	baayic	sellers	mabyuuc	sold
ḥaṭṭ	putting	ḥaat	putter	mḥaṭuut	put

1. This pattern also is used in Meccan dialect see Snouck Hurgronje, C. Mekkanische sprichwörter und Redensarten

	<u>verbal noun</u>	<u>active partic.</u>	<u>passive partic.</u>	
II	tardiid	repeating		
III	msaacada	helping	msaacid	helper msaacad
IV	ᵛiḥsaan	charity	miḥsin	proper name
V	tiṣḡiggi	curiosity	mitsḡaggi	curious
VI	taraakum	accumulation	mitraakim	accumulated
VII	ᵛinḡinaa	return	minḡini	retreated
VIII	ᵛixtilaaf	difference	mixtilif	different
IX				
X	ᵛistilaam	receiving	mistilim	receiver

The active participle of the feminine differs everywhere from the normal Classical pattern through the loss of the short vowel: e.g.

faasda < faasida decayed
yaawya < yaawiya lost

The Northern Central group retains the normal pattern faacila only when pronounced with Tanwin, e.g.

ᵛsaacirtin poetess

Again the pattern faaciliy has become faacli with the attributive suffix as in

saalmi from Banu Salim

mcaamri one who looks after the beehive

The gender of nouns

The feminine gender

Most feminine nouns have the ending (ah/a) in the absolute state

e.g. yazwa 'raid' and naxlah 'palm tree'

The feminine ending of Classical Arabic (aa) alif maQsūra and (aa>) alif mamdūda generally merge presenting (aa) for both, e.g.

ʔacmaa / cmaa	blind
ḥamraa	red

As in Classical Arabic words may be in feminine gender without possessing a feminine ending. Cf. the following words which occur in our dialect:

nāar 'fire', šams 'sun, rijil 'foot, cijuz 'old woman', umm 'mother'.

Adjective

The following examples give some of the patterns denoting the adjective in this dialect:

(i) ʔafcal as ʔahmar 'red'.

This pattern frequently becomes facal among the Bedouin as ḥamar 'red'.

The feminine form of ʔafcal is facalaa as sawdaa 'black'

(ii) faciil and its free variant e.g. caṣlib 'difficult', bixiil and bixiila 'mean'.

- (iii) faclaan as bardaan 'getting cold', fasgaan 'unthankful'
(iv) fucaal > fcaal as kbaar 'great', xfaaf 'light'
(v) mfawcal < mufawcal. This pattern is found only in the Hijazi group e.g.

mrawgaṭ speckled snake

Dual

The dual in this dialect is usually formed by adding the morpheme (-een) to the singular, e.g.

yoomeen	two days
leelteen	two nights
ṣaṭṭeen	two halves

The practice in replacing the dual by the use of the numeral ṣiṭneen and ṭinteem before the noun¹ which is found in some Arabic dialects as in the Egyptian dialect² is completely absent in the dialect of the Ḥarb.

The dual form is usually used when enumerating two objects, e.g.

naagteen	two she-camels
ulideen	two sons

Members of the body occurring in pairs like cayn 'eye', rijil 'foot' and yad 'hand' always appear in dual form as:

-
1. Blanc; H. 'Dual and Pseudo-Dual in the Arabic dialect' p. 43, 44, Language, vol. 46.
 2. C.F. Wise; H. 'Concord in Spoken Egyptian Arabic', Archivum Linguisticum, p. 11, 12, vol. III, 1972

cayneen

two eyes

simceen

two ears

yideen

two hands

Confusion sometimes, however, is present through the use of the forms yideen and rijleen as a plural forms particularly with the addition of the pronominal suffixes (-hum, -naa) etc., e.g.

rijleenhum

their feet

ydeenhum

their hands

ydeenna

our hands

The plural form rjuul 'feet' nevertheless occurs; while ḡayaadi 'hands' is found only among the speaker of Hijaz especially the Bedouin, e.g.

induggu balaayaadi we pounded it with our hands

A particular meaning may also be implied e.g.

ḡalaayaadi

the hands (the helpers)

Diminutive

In the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin the 'diminutive' frequently occurs, e.g.

crayg

vein, side of the mountain

uleed

small boy

binaydig

small gun

Such a phenomenon on the other hand is rarely encountered among the Northern Central group. But the words grayyib 'very near' and şiyayyir 'small' occur throughout our dialect.

The two groups of the dialect of the Harb also form a plural from the diminutive of nouns by appending the (-aat) morpheme to indicate plurals of paucity, e.g.

ḍleecaat	few small mountains
işnayyaat	few pairs of palm trees
ibdeeraat	few small water skins

Collective nouns

This type of noun is usually distinguished by the fact that the suffix (-ah (a)) may be added to indicate individuals or whole. Cf. the following examples:

<u>sing.</u>	<u>Collective</u>	
ṣiyara	ṣiyar	trees
bgara	bugar	herd of cows
nxala/naxla	naxal/nixiil	palm trees
cawsija	cawsaj	kind of trees

The Plural

The speakers of this dialect tend to use the broken plural more than the sound plural.

However, we do meet with examples of the sound plural particularly those with the -iin ending, eg...

yaaziin	raiders
mawjuudiin	presents
mislimiin	muslims

Examples of the feminine sound plural are found e.g.

yaaflaat	unaware women
myiiraat	group of horses on attack

Note that the short i of the second syllable is elided. It is of interest to note that the plural form of the facla (فلاة) nouns is faclaat, which is remarkably different from the Classical¹, e.g.

ḍabhaat	killling
ṭalbaat	appealing
kasraat	kind of verse

The same paradigm is followed in the case of the word kalima 'word' which is pronounced kalma² in this dialect (plural, kalmaat 'words')

Broken plural

Although the Arab grammarians brilliantly formulated fixed rules for the many different paradigms of

-
1. The Classical usually inserts an a (facalat), but not when the second radical is w or y; for details see Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Vol. I, p.192, 193.
 2. The pronunciation of kalima as kalma is reported in Classical see lbn Mālik 'al-Fiyya, p.9.

broken plurals; yet they noted that certain patterns¹ of nouns may show more than one form of plural. This may perhaps be due to the different dialects² spoken by the tribes in Arabia before the codification of Classical Arabic.

Basically the system of the broken plural in the Ḥarb dialect is fairly similar to the Classical system. However, one should note that the unstressed short vowels (i, u) may be eliminated or reduced to ultra short vowels with some forms. Vocalizations other than the Classical ones also occur, and this could be due to the influence on the vowels of certain nearby consonants, e.g. ḍuwaahi 'suburbs' for ḍawaahi.

Occasionally some Classical forms may be replaced by others such as biibaan 'doors' for ḥabwaab.

In the following we shall list the main broken plural patterns according to their frequency of appearance in our dialect:

a. ḥafcaal

The type ḥafcaal is frequently used among the speakers of this dialect³. It is usually employed as a

-
1. See Sibawaihi, al-Kitāb vol. II, p.175 ff; Zamakhshari; al-Mufassal, Vol. V, p.114ff.
 2. Sibawaihi, op.cit. p.175; Samarrā'i, Ibrahīm Sumer Vol, 16, p.25ff. Ḥūsan, A. al-lugha Wan-Naḥw, p.64
 3. This agrees with the finding of A. Murtonen in his statistical study Broken Plurals, p.1

plural of facl, fucl, ficaal, ɔafcali. e.g.

ɔayyaam	days
ɔaθlaaθ	quarters
ɔagṭaar	lines of camels
ɔajnaab	aliens

Instead of this type of plural, ficaal¹ is used as an alternative, particularly among the Hijazi group as in

biyaar	wells
ɣraaḏ	things

Instead of ɔayyaam 'days' the form ɔayyaamah² occurs among the Northern Central group of aṣ-Ṣuwaidera.

Conversely the Hijazi group has ɔayyaamat especially in the Construct state, e.g.

ɔayyaamat-atturk	at the time of the Turks
ɔayyaamataljahal	at the time of childhood

b. ficaal (shortened to fcaal with loss of unstressed short vowel i). Usually from forms facl, facal, facla, ficla, e.g.

klaab	dogs
jmaal	camels
rgaab	necks
dyaar	villages

1. Sibawaihi reports in alKitab vol, II, p.179 that biɔr may have the plural form ficaal.

2. See Bravmann; M. 'On the Case of the Quantitative Ablaut in Semitic' OR, Vol. 22, p.9, 10.

Note the unstressed short (i) is elided apparently without exception. In contrast to Classical Arabic the Hijazi group occasionally shows the form ficaala as in diyaaba 'wolves' for di>aab. Short (i) is preserved here.

c. facaayil < facaa>il

Most nouns of form faciila, some of form facuul and fucl have the facaayil plural e.g.

ca ^v saayir	tribes
caraayis	brides

This type of plural may have the vowels i, or u in alternation e.g.

gibaayil	tribes
kuwaayin	fighting

d. ficlaan

The following pattern of noun usually have the plural form ficlaan.

<u>sing. form</u>			<u>plural</u>
fucaal	yuraab	raven	γirbaan
facuul	xaruuf	young sheep	xirfaan
faciil	s ^v aciib > s ^v iciib	water course	s ^v icbaan
facl	baab	doors	biibaan

e. fuclaan

Occurs as a plural for the patterns facl
ɔafcal, faciil, e.g.

ḍubbaan	lizard
suudaan	blacks
γudraan	streams

This type of plural becomes ficlaan in the following cases, as:

ricyaan	shepherds
bildaan	farms
ṣidgaan	friends

f. fucuul for fucl as in tsbuud livers NC

An anaptyctic vowel may be added in the front
as guruun > igruun lock of hair

g. ɔafcul It uses as a plural of ficaal, facl e.g.

ɔadruc	arms
ɔaṣhur	months

h. facealiin Usually from ficlaan, facluul, fuccaal, faciil. e.g.

saraaḥiin	wolves
ḍarabbiin	kind of small worm
bacaariin ¹	camels

1. The Northern Central group has ɔabaacir 'camels'

i. faciil from facl, fucla, e.g.

cabiid slaves

hariim women

j. facaalil As a plural of faclal; e.g.

ɔaraanib rabbits

ɔowaarig flags HJ

biyaarig flags NC

k. facaaliil from fuccaal as in

sanaaniir kind of birds HJ

riyaajiil men both group (sic)

l. mafaacil This has the variant mifaacil; it is the plural of mafcal, mifcaal, mifcal, e.g.

mahaamil camels-borne litter HJ

maxaamil belts NC

misaayil river beds

midaafic canons

m. mafaaciil This also has the variant mifaaciil.

It is usually used as a plural of mifcaal, e.g.

macaaɣiir whirlwind

micaadiir excuses

n. fical for ficla as in gṣaṣ 'tales'

Note the elision of the short i

o. fucal for fucla, e.g. zbar 'heaps'

p. tafaaciil This has the variant tifaaciil, e.g.

tiṣaabiḥ early raiding

tiṯaawiir explosives

q. fucalaa < fu alaa > for singular faciil, ḡumaraa
'princes'

r. ficl for facuul e.g. cijz 'old women'

s. ḡafaaciil This type of plural usually occurs
among the NC group for the noun baciir as ḡabaacir 'camels'.
The Hijazi group also show this type of plural as in

ḡayaadi hands

ḡaraadi¹ lands

t. facali for facla, e.g. gahaawi 'cafe'

u. fuc for faciil, e.g. yurb 'strangers'

v. ficl variant of fucul. This type of plural
occurs only in the Northern Central group e.g.

kitb

books

1. The Classical plural of ḡard 'earth' ḡaraduun, see
Sibawaih, Vol. II, p.96.

w. facla usually of faacil, fa'ccil, e.g.

moota dead people

joo'ca hungry people

x. fucillun This is a very archaic type, and it is not widely used in the Classical Language.

However, Arab grammarians and lexicographers listed this pattern¹.

The speakers of this dialect frequently used ficill as plural of damm 'blood', e.g.

dimiyy bloods

The following patterns of plural are commonly used in the Hijazi group.

faccaala for faccaal, e.g.

jammaala camel drivers

ḥaṭṭaaba wood fire collectors

facaaliyya for facaali, e.g.

ḥaraamiyya robbers

jalaawiyya driven away people

Again the Hijazi group shows two forms of plural for gunu < ginwun 'bunch of date' and dalu < dalwun 'bucket', e.g.

1. See Sibawaih; op. cit. p.190.
Ibn Manzūr, Lisān, Vol. 14, p.258
al-Jawhari, Siḥāḥ, p.475

gnaah / giniyya	bunches of date
dlaah / diliyya	buckets

Tanwīn -an, -in

Nunation occurs generally in the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe but to a varying degree within our dialectal area. In fact the nunation has almost completely disappeared among the settled people of the Hijazi group, like those of Wādī aṣ-Ṣafrā, Wādī al-Qāḥa and Wādī al-Furuṣ.

Nevertheless, the nunation -an only in the accusative form occurs frequently in adverbs such as kullan 'every', yaṣban, jabran 'forcibly'.

Newly arrived forms with nunation -an as tagriban 'approximately' maḥalan 'for example, as', tabcan 'of course' are usually encountered in the speech of those people who are influenced by the literary Arabic, and Koine language through their contacts with urban speakers.

On the other hand the nunation occurs frequently among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group. These include speakers from al-Qāḥa particularly those occupied in sheep rearing and from Wādī al-Furuṣ as well as the Bedouin of al-Khabt in Wādī aṣ-Ṣafrā.

The case endings, (-un, -an, -in) are not distinguished among these speakers; (-in) is exclusively used throughout.

(Semi educated forms like maṭalan, jiddan are not used by them).

Examples from the Hijazi Bedouin

ḍab [̣] cin Kibiir	big hyena
ḥan cilmin moḍa	matter had passed [after great difficulty]
yimiinin billah	an oath by God
ḡadiirin waahid	one stream

On the contrary the nunation form (-in) but not (-an, -un), is normally preserved among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb throughout.

The occurrence of Tanwīn follows certain rules. Thus in pause it is usually omitted; while in continuous speech it is retained in the middle of a breath-group. But distinctions of the cases (-un, -an, -in) are absent; (-in) is commonly used.

Examples from the NC group

waah [̣] din daahya	a shrewd man
saarat bintin leh tarwi	one of his daughters went to bring water
fraydiyyin xayyaal	a cavalier from Furuda Clan
fazcitin liṣweehil alfirm	as a support for Shiwaiḥil al-Firm

The Construct state

Both types of noun masculine and feminine whether they are singular, dual or plural remain unchanged in the construct state, except that in Classical Arabic the feminine ending of the singular noun like naxlat 'palm tree' > nxala retains the ending -at in the construct, Cf. the example below.

.kiriimiin alaṣil	of noble descent
·miteen xuruuf	two hundred lambs
diirat ḥarb	the Dīra of the Ḥarb
ḡazwat alxfa:yr	the raid of al khfayr

The dual nouns usually have the ending (-ee) not (-een) when the pronominal suffixes are attached, e.g.

yideeh	his hands
rijleey / rijleeni	my feet

The word ḥagg

The word ḥagg is frequently employed in this dialect particularly among the Hijazi, and occasionally among the Northern Central group to indicate a construct relationship between two nouns or to express possession; it becomes haggat if referring to a feminine noun. But the plural is not attested in our sample, e.g.

ḡassibal ḥagg algamḥ	the ears of wheat
ḡaḥḥamra ḥaggat ḡaḥḥalḥ	the fruit of the pollen

Comparison of adjective

afcal

The form afcal is always employed to express the relative of the adjective, e.g.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| ▷int ▷akbar minni | you are older than I am |
| yacani ▷inna ▷akθar minhum | I mean we are more than them in number |
| jaana ▷agwa minha | we encountered stronger than her |

The following words are widely used among the speakers of this dialect in the comparison of adjective ▷akθar ▷askl 'more', ▷aqall, ▷aduun 'less', as

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| ▷aduun minha | less than her |
|--------------|---------------|

Superlative

The superlative generally occurs in the construct form Cf.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| ▷abrak saaca | the best moment |
| ▷askal ▷algiṣaṣ | most of the tales |
| ▷akbar ṣiyyab ▷arrubuga | the most elder man among the Rubuqa family |

Concord in number and gender is normally absent in the comparison of adjectives, but the Classical feminine pattern fucla is occasionally met with:

darb guṣwa minna a very long way from here

The following form of comparison of the adjective occurs only among the Hijazi group:

min ᵅabdac laykuun in better shape

min ᵅaḥsan laykuun in best form

The numerals

Cardinal numbers from one to ten

Most speakers of this dialect agree in the form of Cardinal numbers from one to ten which they use. Some speakers of the Hijazi group may, in addition, employ the numeral form waḥhada for the feminine of one. The form ᵅaḥad someone (masculine), nevertheless, occurs in both groups. Cf. the following examples:

	<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem</u>		
1	waḥid	ᵅaḥad	waḥda	waḥhada	<u>HJ</u>
2	ᵅiṯneen, ṯineen		ṯintayn, ṯinteen		
3	ṯalaaṯ		ṯalaaṯa		
4	ᵅarbac		ᵅarbaca		
5	xams		xamsa		
6	sitt		sitta		
7	sabc		sabca		
8	ṯamaan		ṯamaanya ṯamaaniya ¹		

1. Note the two forms for the number eight in the fem.

	<u>Mas.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>
9	tisc	tisca
10	casir, casur, casar ¹	casra

Apart from the use of waahid and wahda to indicate an indefinite² number, these are also used as adjectives, e.g.

rijjaalin waahid	one man	NC
yadiirin waahid	one stream	HJ
naagtin wahda	one she-camel	NC
mara wahhada	one wife	HJ

The Classical feminine form ihda 'one' appears in the modified form hada in the Northern Central group among speakers from Suwaidera as:

cala hadayaalbiyaar	on one of the wells
maca hada haal mahaal	with one of those barren lands

The Numerals from 3 to 9

With regard to the Cardinal numbers from three to nine two types of numeral system occur in this dialect:

- a- The old Classical system which enumerates the masculine nouns by numerals of the opposite gender, and the feminine one by the masculine numeral e.g.:

-
1. These forms are regularly heard in this dialect
 2. The numeral ahad is also used as an indefinite number in this dialect.

θalaaθa ^v aashur	three months
saḡa biwaarig	seven flags
θamaan kiyal	eight Kayla
θalaaθ sniin	three years

b- The other system which is also current in most of the Arabic dialects is the nondifferentiating system¹. That is to say the numbers from three to nine have only one form without any gender discrimination as is found in Classical usage².

Examples

arbaḥ ḥirgaab	four necks	HJ
xams liyaal	five nights	NC
sit ḥayyaam	six days	HJ

The Northern Central group also uses the feminine form as in the following example:

sabḥit xayyaala	seven
θalaaθit ^v aashur	three months

Furthermore, the numerals from three to nine in isolation without mentioning the enumerated noun use the feminine form, e.g.

θalaaθa	three
tisḥa	nine

1. see Bloch, A.A. "Morphological Doublets in Arabic Dialect" JSS, Vol. XVI, p 53ff
2. op. cit. P.53 ff

The Cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 are given below

11	iḥḍačš	16	sittāčš
12	θnačš iθnačš	17	sabcaṭačš
13	θalaṭačš	18	θamaantačš
14	arbaṭačš	19	tiscaṭačš
15	xamaṣṭačš		

Note that the sound appearing nearby is (ṭ) not (t) and is used where indicated.

The forms given above are usually employed in isolation, without a following noun, but when the enumerated noun is mentioned then the form becomes čsar as against čaš e.g.

⊃iθnačšar	rujjaal	twelve men
θamaantačšar	keela	eighteen kayla

The numeral 20 to 100

This is called by the Arab grammarians the half-score decade; it always ends with the iin morpheme in this dialect, as generally in modern Arabic.

20	čisriin	60	sittiin
30	θalaaθiin	70	sabciin
40	⊃arbiciin	80	θamaaniin
50	xamsiin	90	tisciin
		100	imya, imyah, miyya, maaya ¹

1. The form maaya usually occurs in the Bedouin speech of the Hijaz especially among the Banu saalim. It is also used in the dialect of al Fawwara among the Banu Sālim.

Numbers above 100

200	miiteen
300	θalaaθmiit, miyat, miyya, maaya
400	θarbac miya
1000	θalf
2000	θalfeen
8000	θamaantalaaf

Ordinal numeral

	<u>Mas.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>
1	θawwal ¹	θawwala
2	θaani	θaanya, θaaniya
3	θaaliθ	θaalθa
4	raabic	raabca
5	xaamis	xaamsa
6	saatt ²	saatta
7	saabic	saabca
8	θaamin	θaamna
9	taasic	taasca
10	caasir	caasra

1. It should be noted that haadi is met with in this dialect especially among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group. Similarly the numeral θalhaadiθ occurs in a᠑-Suwaidera (NC group) as a variant of the Classical numeral θlhaadi casar

2. Saatt also occurs in the dialect of Onaiza, Cf. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.66.

Personal pronoun

The table below gives a review of the personal pronouns occurring in the dialect of the Harb.

It will be noted similarly that the hinna pronoun of the 1 c.pl. is most frequently used among the speakers of this dialect. The ihna pronoun, however, is occasionally found¹ in the speech of some younger people among the Hijazi group especially those who have been out of their region, and are affected by the type of dialect found in the cities of the Hijaz².

The singular

1 c.s.	ana	com.
	aana	com. in the Hijazi, rarely among the NC
2 m.s.	int	com.
	inta	in the Hijaz and Suwaidera of NC
	ant, anta	NC group only
2 f.s.	anti	NC group only
	inti	Hijazi, NC group
3 m.s.	huu	Com.
	huw	Com.
	huwah	HJ
	ihwah	HJ

1. See the present writer's M.Phil dissertation A Critical p.65, 84 eḥna is found in the dialect of Rwala Cf. Musil, A. The Manners p.533

2. op.cit. p.65

3 f.s.	hií	Com.
	ihyah	HJ

It seems appropriate here to state that the dual personal pronoun such as huma' etc. is not attested in this dialect.

The plural

1 c.pl.	hinna	Com.
2 m.pl.	antum	NC
	intum	HJ
	intu	HJ, NC groups
2 f.pl.	intin	Com.
3 m.pl.	hum	Com.
	ihmah	NC suwaydira
3 f.pl.	hin	Com.

The pronominal suffixes

	<u>with noun</u>	<u>with verb</u>
1 c.s.	-i	-ni
2 m.s.	-ak	-ak
2 f.s.	-ík <u>HJ</u>	-ík HJ
	-its <u>NC</u>	- no example met
3 m.s.	-uh, u(ih)	-uh, -u, -ih ¹
3 f.s.	-ha- a	-ha - -a

1. It should be stated that the Northern Central group frequently used ih. ih occurs only among the Bedouin of the Hijāzi group.

The plural

	<u>with noun</u>	<u>with verb</u>
1 c.pl.	-na	-na
2 m.pl.	-kum	-kum
2 f.pl.	-kin	-kin
3 m.pl.	-hum	-hum
3 f.pl.	-hin	-hin

Demonstrative pronouns

The common form of demonstrative pronouns for near, and distance object are given below:

The Singular

	<u>near object</u>	<u>far object</u>	
	"this"	"that"	
m.s.	haada	hadaak	
f.s.	haadi	hadiik	HJ
		hadiits	NC

Note that the NC group affricates the k in the feminine form.

The Hijazi group has in addition the demonstrative da, and di used predicatively and also to qualify a noun CF the example below

near object

m.s.	ḍa jibāl	this is a mountain
f.s.	ḍi x̣siba	this is a piece of wood

Sometimes ḍi is pronounced with diphthong as ḍiy, ḍiyya

far object

m.s.	ḍaak wirgaan	that is Wirgān
	ḍiik sarḥa	that is a tree

the plural

near object

far object

	"these"	"those"
c.pl.	ḥaḍooli	ḥaḍooliik

It is used for both genders, mas., and fem. The Northern Central group has also ḥaḍoola 'these' and ḥaḍoolak 'those', used similarly without distinction of gender.

The feminine form ḍalli 'these' frequently occurs among the Hijazi group e.g.

albanaat ḍalli these girls

The same form is also heard among al-Hanakiyya of the NC group as in the following couplet of verse.

ḍalli manaatsiif uḍalli myiiraat these are returning
and these are attacking

The demonstrative haal and haak

This type of demonstrative constitutes an important feature of the Northern Central group; It is frequently employed e.g.

haarrajil	this man ¹ .
haalhamra	this red she-camel
haakalwagt	that time

On the contrary the Hijazi speakers usually use ḏaak, ḏiik and ḏiy e.g.

ḏaak annahaar	that day
ḏiikḏarriciyya	that flock of sheep
ḏiyya lmarkuuba	this riding she-camel

Occasionally, however, haal and haak occur in the Hijazi group among the Bedouin from al-Qāḥa, Wādi al-Furuḥ, and Wadi Aṣ-Ṣafra e.g.

haak alwagt	that time
nḥaruḥfihaalblaad	we till in this land

On quite a number of occasions the demonstrative ḏa, ḏi and ḏiyya follows the noun in the order. This is frequently noted among the Hijazi group, but only occasionally with the Northern Central group, e.g.

1. Cf. Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen p.85, for the occurrence of this type of demonstrative among the^cAnaza, and Shammar tribes.

ᵔannagaᵔᵔi	this she-camel	NC
ᵔalfaarisᵔᵔa	this cavalier	HJ
ᵔalgiᵔra ᵔalbiyaᵔᵔa ᵔi	this white peel	HJ

haadaᵔhaani, haadiᵔhaani

This type of demonstrative frequently appears in the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin of the Banu Saᵔlim as:

haadaᵔhaani naxal	this is palm trees
haadiᵔ haani tagᵔᵔabᵔalma	this is to hold the water

Demonstrative of place

The two groups of the ᵔarb dialect are identical in the forms of this type of demonstrative e.g.

<u>near object</u>	<u>far object</u>
"here"	"there"
hina	hnaak
hna, ihnaa	hinaak
hinaaᵔ	

Frequently the demonstrative hina 'here' appears with the diminutive suffix -iyya throughout the ᵔarb tribe e.g.

hinayya	here
ihnayya	here

There is a semantic implication in the above examples that the place indicated is very near. When hina 'here' and hinaak 'there' are preceded by the preposition min, the (h) is frequently elided and the forms shortened as follows:

minna	from here
minnayya	from here
minnaak	from there

The active present participle of the doubly weak verb jaa "to come" is used as a demonstrative of place in this dialect e.g.

Jaay	here
min Jaay	from here

The demonstrative yaadi 'there' occurs only in the Hijazi group among the bedouin, as in¹

min yaadi	from there
-----------	------------

The demonstrative haada, haadi, hina, with pronominal suffixes

The following examples are generally found in the Hijazi group e.g.

haadaahu	here he is
haadaahi	here she is
hnahu	there he is
hnahi	there she is
hnahaa	there it is

1. Cf. Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen, p.131, for Comparable forms among the ^cAnaza and ar-Rass.

Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun is the invariable ḥalli . It is employed indiscriminately for both genders and refers to nouns either in the singular or the plural. min 'who' and maa 'that' are very frequent in this dialect they agree in their employments with Classical use, see the Chapter of Syntax.

Particles

Preposition

The most current prepositions in this dialect are:

(a) fi 'in' bi 'in, with, by' li 'to'

Their short vowel (i) is usually replaced by (a) through assimilation to the (a) of the definite article (al) when these prepositions are employed before nouns with the definite article; but they are retained before proper names, and before nouns without the definite article, e.g.

billa	by God
faljbaal	in the mountain
fiḥjbaalaha	in it mountain (fawwara)
li-amru bin naḥil	it belongs to Amru Ibn Nāḥil

Frequently the Northern Central group, and to a certain lesser extent some of the Hijazi group especially the Bedouin may interchange the prepositions fi and

bi¹.

barriic	<	farriic	in the mountain	NC
balyiman	<	falyaman	in the south	HJ
īfnafseh	<	binafsihi	by himself	NC

ka 'as, like' It is usually found among the NC group,
e.g.

kaxiddaam	as servants
kanaazil	as dweller

The Hijazi group show no examples of this type of preposition, the words zay, miθl, miθil, kima are used by them instead e.g.

zay>annaas	as the people
kimaahum	as them

wa occurs in oaths, as in walla 'by God'

(b) min 'from' - the (n) may be assimilated to the adjoining consonant, as mimṭaar < min mṭaar 'from Muṭair tribe'

ḥila 'to' may fuse with la; many speakers of this dialect have la instead of ḥila e.g.

lal midiina	to al-Madina
inhiil lalyiman	we go southward

1. Such interchanges is reported by J. Blau for middle Arabic Cf. A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Vol. I, p.242 246, 247.
Cf. also Bergsträsser; Sprachatlas, p.38, and Grotzfeld; H. Syrisch Arabische Grammatik Dialekt von Damaskus. p.72.

Occasionally ɔila > ɔilya among both the Hijazi and NC groups e.g.

ɔilya aṣṣibeetsiyya to ash-Shibaikiya

ḥatta, ɔileen (ɔila ɔan), liya 'until'

ḥattaɔ almyarib until the evening comes

ɔileen ɔalfrays until al-Fraysh

liya ṭalcat aṣṣams until sunrise

ibdoon, bala, blayya "without" e.g.

ibdoonaha without it

ḥalaal blayya rjaal cattle without men

iftaraf, ifheed 'beside, parallel to', e.g.

ifheed waadi arrisa beside Wādi ar-Risha

fisadd 'beyond' as in ifsadd ɔaljibaal 'beyond the mountain'

fi, cala wasq 'above, on top of' e.g.

ifwasq aljibal on top of the mountain

fiḥaṭin 'inside' fbaṭin attamur 'inside the date'

fijamb 'beside, next to'

(c) been/baan 'between' cind 'at' bidal 'instead of'

tahaṭ 'beneath' ḥadur, ɔasfal 'under' ḥawl, ḥawaali

yam, soob, tiwaali 'towards' e.g.

yam>al gaaḥa towards alQāha

soob>alḥaḍur towards the urban

tiwwali makka towards Mecca

farc, cilow, wasq 'above' doon 'near to, before, instead of'

farc >alḥamraa above the village of al-Ḥamrā

doon badur near, before Badr

fida doon >bayd >alla as sacrifice instead of Obaid Allah

cugb, bacd 'after' wara 'beyond'

yimkin, >imdiih 'perhaps' e.g.

yimkin >aljimaaca dooli perhaps these people

>imdiik ḥafart biir perhaps you have dug a well

Note: >imdi occurs only in the Hijazi group. It is usually followed by pronominal suffixes.

(d) cala^vsaan, ca^vsaan, lajil cala sibab 'because'; saagāt,

ṭiriig 'after' e.g.

uṭridi bsaagāt >algicuud and she ran after
the young camel

misa ṭiriigehum he walked after them

yahkum, yḥakum 'about' It appears only among the Hijazi Bedouin of the Ḥarb, e.g.

cumri yḥakum xamsiin caam my age is about fifty years

Adverbs of time, manner, and place

The following list gives the most frequent relevant adverbs used in this dialect:

daḥiin HJ halḥiin NC duwaan¹, ḍulwaan is more
common among the Banu Sālim of both groups 'now'
kull, kill + saaca², yawm, sahar, ḥiin, waḡt, marra, 'every
time, day, month, time, morning, year' bukra 'tomorrow'
ḥams 'yesterday' ḥawal ḥams 'the day before yesterday' HJ
ḥalcaam 'lasy year' ḥammalawal 'the year before last year' HJ
ḥaddaayra 'the coming year' HJ ḥalbaariḥ 'last night'
ḥawal 'first' ḥatla 'last' ḥalmarra ḥaluxra 'the second
time' NC
ḥalmarra ḥaḥḥaanya the second time HJ ḥeeḥ 'where'
ḥind 'at'

Additionally, the Hijazi group has the following:

noob, nawba, noobaat 'sometimes' ḥalḥazzadi 'nowadays'
daayim 'always' barḍu, kamaan 'also' doobuh 'just now'

Conjunctions

(a) Conditional Conjunctions

The most common conditional conjunctions in this dialect are:

1. Cf. Fischer; W. Die Demonstrativen. p.149 ff
2. Saaca in this dialect means moment, time

ɔin, ɔinkaan 'if' la, liya, ɔilya, 'when, if' law, lo
'if' yawm, yaam, lama 'when' umma - walla, 'whether - or'

Additionally the Hijazi group has ɔin kaad 'if', and
kinni, kinnak 'If I, you'

Other compound conjunctions formed out of kull and baɕd
etc + maa are also current in this dialect e.g.

kullma 'whenever' baɕdma 'after' cindma 'while'

Other Conjunctions

θem, θemeen 'and, after' wa, u 'and' aw, walla 'or'
laakin, meer 'but' baɕdeen 'therefore'

Interjunctions

caad 'well' bass, yeer, laayer 'only' ḥaggɔalla 'by God'
wallacaad 'well, but' xalaas 'enough'

Interrogative particles

Several particles of Classical origin are
still current in this dialect. Compare the following
examples:

kayf, keef 'how'

kayf ɔalbiṣiira how do we find a solution?

mita 'when'

mita jaakum ɔalmoṭar when did the rain come to you?

ween 'where'

ween baayi	where are you going?	
kam 'how much'		
bikam saraytahā	how much did you pay for it?	
wes 'how'		
wes loon harb	how have you found the Harb?	
wes kuθur alcaasal	how much honey do you have?	
gaddees 'how much'		
gaddees tcaasloon minha	how much (honey do you obtain from the beehive?	
minhu 'which one'		
cayyatt 'which one'		<u>HJ only</u>
calaamak 'what is the matter with you?		<u>HJ only</u>
waraah 'what is the matter with him?		<u>NC only</u>
weshi 'what is it'		
leeh 'why'		
leeh maatascaal canni	'Why do you not ask about me?	
gaṭṭ 'ever'		
gaṭṭ zaract	Have you ever plant	<u>HJ only</u>
maagaṭṭ ḥṣalat beenak ubeen'ahad hawsa	Have you ever quarrelled with someone?	

PART III

Lexical features

The lexical features of this dialect do not vary widely from one group to another. Items covering various facets of tribal activity, such as agriculture, camel-rearing, etc. are to be found in both the Hijazi and NC groups. Indeed many elements of lexis commonly occur among neighbouring tribes (for comparison see p. 223f).

The occurrence of such identical items in the region under consideration and within the Ḥarb tribe and its various subtribes and clans is due to a number of factors; one of the most important of these is that the history and the social-cultural background of the tribe and its subtribes are synonymous. Moreover the social and economic conditions prevailing in the past within the tribe were shared by most of its clans and the neighbouring tribes.

Thus such Lexical similarities as exist are largely due to those common historical and social cultural experiences¹. In the words of ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzawī "most of the tribes and clans which are ethnically related to each other or have had close contact through living in the same region speak identical dialects².

1. see Hertzler; J.O. A Sociology of Language p.102ff

2. "al-lahajāt al-ʿArabiyya" MMA vol. 20, p.61-97.

The following is a list of some of the words and phrases commonly used by the members of the Ḥarb tribe:

Verbs

fizac	to go to help	galat	to come
ziban	to take refuge	baxaṣ	to know
dayyan	to become a wahhābi	gafar	trace the matter
dawbaḥ	to become old	ḥablaṣ	to trouble
haaz	to dare to attack	zamm	to lift
ḍakka	to slaughter	bahaṣ	to be joyful
ḍuwa	to come	ḥaaṣar	to share
waca	to awake	taḥrra	to wait
hawwid	to be still, calm down	komax	to hit on the head
cayya	to refuse	kaawan	to fight
wiig	to peep through	darrak	to hold
jalla	to drive away	lifa	to come
cazal	to put aside		

Nouns and adjectives

ḥiss	voice	ṣiit	reputation
matn	back	wirc	small boy
saxa	generosity	hariid	lamb
siciif	helper	ḥadiyya	share, gift
darja	gun powder	mijlaad tamur	dates stored in a sheep skin
niga	purity	ṣowiib	wounded
cagb	offspring	rufag	friendship
bnaaxiih	son of his brother or sister	nisaama	brave, good people
ṣaayis	excited, nervous	kraac	foot

cimil, cmaal agreement

daayik

one who mixes things up

Phrases

wara albohurr

outside, overseas

kullubooha, killebooha

all of it

lihaalu, ilhaaleh

alone

şibiy ɔalharb

death

siwiid ɔalwajh

dishonest

haada tuul kraacaha

it has died

saasin cala saas

old, of noble descent

bulyat jiwaabi

the essence or the core of the matter

biyaad ɔalwajh

honour

Certain items connected with tribal law also occur, but they cannot be fully discussed here, Cf. the following examples:

lizam

guaranty

cawaani

protege

sadd ɔalwajh

guaranty for protection

yagrac

to stop an avenger

dixiil

supplicant

farg

share paid for blood money

The words raaci, şaahib, ɔahl¹

These words are used among the Harb to give

1. The word raaci also occurs in the dialect of Iraq see Altoma, S.J. The problem of Diaglossia in Arabic p.102.

the meaning 'owner', the word raaci being the most frequently used. e.g.

raaci ɔannaaga	the owner of the she-camel
ɔahl ɔasal	owner of honey
ɔaahib dukkaan	owner of shop
ɔaṣhaab mizaaric	owner of farms

Compounds formed with ɔabu, umm

The most frequent examples of this type are:

ɔabu seereen	small snake
ɔabu kraac	one-legged
ɔabu milh	salt water
ɔabu alḥsayn	fox
ummgrayn	one-horned goat
ummhamayd	palm tree
ummfitiil	matchlock

Regional differences

It has been noted that certain words may not be found in part of the area under investigation, and that other words are used in their stead.

Such differences can be described as regional peculiarities. This type of difference is met with in our region where the inhabitants of the NC group use words

different from those found in the Hijazi group.

The following are examples of this:

Northern Central group

Hijazi group

şifiri	xiriif	autumn
gişiir	jaar	neighbour
tigaaşiraw	itjaawiraw	they become neighbours
fardaha	zmaam	nose-ring
sibiili	yalyuun	pipe
xibz	cays ^{v1}	bread
fiṭin	intibah	become aware
halhiin	ḍahiin	now
kidaalak	kamaan	also
aaḍa < ayḍan	būrḍu	
yimkin	yimkin, balki	perhaps
yarkid	yajri	he hastens
awwar		he forced the she-camel to rise to milk her
saṭṭar		he put aside
nankis	narjac	we return

Phrases

NC group

Hijazi group

ṭaal cumrak	may God prolong your life	baarak alla fiik	God bless you
maayxaalif	It does not matter	maacaleeh	
waraah	What is the matter with him	eṣbuh, calaamu	

1. The word cays^v > cees^v is also used in the dialect of Egypt, Cf. Willmore; J.S. The Spoken Arabic of Egypt p.112.

Foreign Words

It may be noted that Turkish loanwords occur in the Hijazi group to a greater degree than in the Northern Central group. This is partly due to the extended Ottoman rule over the Hijaz, during which many Turkish words crept into the speech of the people, and partly because the inhabitants of the Hijaz have had considered contact with people from other Arabic speaking countries such as Egypt and Syria, the dialects of which contain many Turkish words¹.

In addition, in both the NC and the Hijazi we encounter some loanwords of persian origin, some of which at least probably entered Arabia through trading or other contacts. Newly adopted words of European origin are also to be found²

Examples:

Hijazi group

Turkish loan words

tanbal	lazy
ku ^{vv} ssaan	decree, permission
³ kasim	form

-
1. see Abdur-rahim, F. 'Turkish Words in Modern Arabic dialects' MLA, vol, XIV, 1970, p.143-150.
al-kawaKibi, M. 'Foreign Words in the Arabic Language' MLA, vol. XLVIII, 1973, p519-550.
Willmore, J.S. op.cit. p.44
Driver; G.R. A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine p.144ff.
 2. Cf. the present writer's M. Phil. diss. A Critical p.76ff
 3. Monteil; V. L'Arabe Moderne, p.153.

Turkish loan words

gay	rope
duub	just now
barḍu	also
bayki, balki	perhaps
caṭas ^v	¹ gun
jumboxaan	ammunition
boya	paint
tanaka, tnuka	tin
dasta	dozen
baasa ^v	pasha

Persian loan words

Hijazi

NC group

saṭil	saṭil	bucket
gandiil	gandiil	lamp
juux	juux	kind of wool
ṣarhiid		cannon
baxsiis ^v	² darbiil	binoculars
bandar		tip
baxat		market
		luck

European loan words

mitir ³		metre
kilo	kilo	kilo

-
1. ates in Turkish means fire cf. Hony; H.C. A Turkish English Dictionary p.22
 2. In the Hijaz the word naaḍuur is used instead
 3. Although this measurement is widely used, the Hijazi group still use the old measurement draac gaama, etc.

<u>European loan words</u>		<u>N.C. group</u>	
<u>Hijazi group.</u>			
sfilt		zfilt	asphalt
mikaayin		mikaayin	machine
handl			handle
waayit (i.e. Eng. white)		waayit	truck carrying water
mowaaṭiir		mowaaṭiir	pump, motor
loori		loori	truck; lorry
sijaara		sigara	cigarette
daraḳtal			tractor
bank			bank, rich
sbint		sbint	cement
bakataat (i.e. Eng. packet)			packet
		mowaatir	lorries
taanki			storage of water

Finally it should be mentioned that a fairly large number of foreign words relating to nautical terms are used in the harbour of ar-Rāyis of Badr. A full discussion of these, however, falls outside the scope of the present dissertation.

PART IV

Syntax

The following chapter is an attempt to evaluate the main syntactical features comprising various types of sentences and clauses found in this dialect. It is based on the examination of a considerable number of texts and samples from our collected data undertaken in order to see to what degree the syntax in this dialect relates to or differs from Classical Arabic, and what are the major distinctive features that set it apart from other Arabic dialects. We may here summarize some of our main results in what may serve as introductory remarks:

(i) The absence of any disruption by an outside influence, such as the interference of other non-Semitic Languages, on the traditional word order, (such interference is found in modern Arabic¹). The non-occurrence of other dialectal forms belonging to other dialects, such as the typical Iraqi phrase xoos naas² 'nice people'. This type of adjective xoos has found its way into the dialect of Eastern Arabia³. Similarly the word xoos has also crept into some type of urban dialect of Najd⁴.

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1. Monteil; V. L'Arabe Moderne.
Mcloughlin; L.J. 'Towards a definition of modern standard Arabic' Archivum Linguisticum vol, III, 1972, p.60.
 2. AlToma; S.J. The Problem. p.78
 3. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.145, 147
 4. based upon my observation during a conversation with some educated people from Najd.

(ii) The construction of the sentences, on the whole, shows no complete departure from the traditional classical order; however many elements of 'high style' of the classical Arabic are no longer found. This is due to the occurrence of the analytical type of sentence instead of the synthetical one.

(ii) Many particles of Classical Arabic which had an important role to play when prefixed to the verbs, have either completely disappeared or been replaced by new ones, e.g. The sa and sawfa which were sometimes prefixed to the imperfect of verbs in order to express the future tense have been replaced by the verb nabya, naba or ba as in banyazi 'we are going to raid' abi agsid 'I am going to recite a Qasida'.

(iv) Following the disappearance of end vowels in verbs several particles followed in Classical Arabic by subjunctive and jussive of verbs like an, lan and lam, lamma have gone out of use. It is thus impossible to find the subjunctive after kay, kayma etc., or the jussive after e.g. (li).

New conjunctions have developed in their stead to express the above mentioned types of moods e.g.

casaa ^v n yjiib balaḥ	in order that he bears date
min xoof tṣiiḥ	In fear that she cries
xallih yadxil	let him in

(v) Fusion between the negative and the interrogative sentences may be expressed in maa + verbs e.g.

maajaa	he has not come
maa jaa	has not he come?

The distinction between the two sentences obtains only through intonation.

(vi) The occurrence of the Tanwīn; form (-in) is used exclusively to mark the indefinite nouns as:

γaza cala naasin he raid some people

If the nunation is dropped the Classical order is maintained without any device to show the indefinite e.g.

naas min ʔalmidiina some poeple from al-Madena

Also bacḏ is occasionally used to indicate the indefinite e.g.

bacḏ rjaal some men

These are some of the prominent features given here as an introduction, full discussion of the syntax of this dialect will follow.

The verb

perfect

The perfect indicates an act happened in the past It appears generally in narrating stories as:

jaani diib ucada cala lyanam a wolf came and attacked the sheep

ligayt ḥarb ʔalaaʔa ʔaʔlaaʔ I found the Ḥarb divided into three parts

Also in vivid narrating story the imperative may appear instead of the finite tense to express action in the past e.g.

uxud [†] ʔarrumh [†]	and he took the spear
uruuh [†] libin [†] -asim	and he went to lbn 'Asm

In Classical Arabic the particle (gad) on occasion precedes the verb in the perfect to ascertain that the action has happened in the past. This kind of modification appears frequently in the dialect of the Hijazi group especially among the Bedouin. The particle (gad) however, is modified in its pronunciation. e.g.

kid raah [†]	he has gone
kiid farr	he has run away

Note the lengthening of the vowel of kid < gid in the second example.

The perfect also occurs with several clauses such as the conditional and temporal clauses and the sentence expressing a wish (see p. 181f).

Imperfect

The imperfect usually indicates incomplete action which is in the process of happening either in the present or in the near future. In this dialect habit or continuous action is normally expressed by the imperfect. Cf. the following examples:

nazrac naxal unisgiih	we grow palmtrees and water it
namsi [✓] min Jidda leenniṣil ʔaddiira	we walk from Jidda until we reach the village

uhuw yarkab cala mitiyyitih	and he rides his she-camel
yadfacha yaba ysallim cala	pushing it forward wishing to
ɔalɔiyaal	receive his sons

Frequently a sentence expressing a wish has the imperfect tense and its subject is always at the beginning e.g.

ɔalla ybaarik fiik	may God bless you	HJ
ɔalla yɕawwil cumrak	may God prolong your life	NC

This type of sentence also occurs with the perfect verb where the Classical Arabic order is retained. This is frequently noted among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group and occasionally among the NC group, e.g.

baarak ɔalla fiik	may God bless you	HJ
caafaak ɔalla	may God give you health	HJ
ɕaal cumrak	may your age be prolonged	NC

Way of indicating the future

We have already alluded on p.164 to the absence of the particles (sa, sawfa) which Classical Arabic used to express the future.

However the future in this dialect usually occurs after the auxiliary nabya > naba (or ba) e.g.

naba nazraɔduxun	we are going to sow millet	HJ
naba nyaziihum	we shall raid them	NC
baruuh lahal	I am going to my family	HJ

Imperfect + auxiliary verbs

A considerable number of auxiliary verbs are used before the imperfect to express certain moods and states. The occurrence of these auxiliary of course is contrary to the Classical rule; but these auxiliary verbs usually replace lost synthetic elements caused by the disappearance of inflectional endings to indicate the moods. Thus verbs like *nabya*, *raah*, are employed to indicate the intention e.g.

ʔabi ʔagʃid I want to recite a Qaʃida NC
raah yansid borrosiid he went to ask Ibn Rashid

Similarly the active participle of nabya gives the same meaning as in:

baayiin niçti dihsa cirmaan we intend to marry Dihsa to ^ʕIrman

Conversely the active participle of raah does not occur in our dialect.

widd,¹ gaʃd

widd, *gaʃd* are frequently followed by pronominal suffixes and both are used as auxiliary verbs to indicate intention. *Widd* is commonly used among the Harb e.g.

widdih yʔiir he wants to attack NC

widdi ʔawallim ʔalghawa I want to prepare the coffee HJ

1. The dialect of Mecca uses bididi Cf. Schreiber; G. Arabische Dialekt von Mekka. p.44ff.

Also the Syrian employs bididi see Grotzfeld; H. Syrisch Arabische Grammatik Dialekt von Damaskus. p.72.

By contrast *gaṣd* occurs only among the Hijazi group particularly those of Banu^cAwf and^cIbida e.g.

gaṣdih yṣabbi cala lwalad he wants to hide (the matter)
from the son

(Note the $x > \gamma$ in the verb *xabba*).

gaam, gacad and saar

These verbs usually precede the imperfect to indicate the beginning of the action, e.g.

<i>gaam ylaatsim</i>	it began to move	NC
<i>gacad ytiṣabba</i>	he began to work as sheep boy	HJ
<i>saar yagnuṣ</i>	he started to hunt	NC

Also the imperfect of these two verbs (*gaam, gacad*) conveys the same meaning, e.g.

<i>uyagcud ytigahwa</i>	and he begins to drink coffee	HJ
<i>wiyguum yḥanniṯ ɔalcinizi</i>	and the man from ^c Anaza tribe started to swear an oath	NC

Subjunctive and Jussive moods

The subjunctive and jussive moods are no longer extant in this dialect; as in other modern Arabic dialects most of the particles governing the subjunctive and jussive in Classical Arabic, such as kay, lan, lam and lamma etc., are out of use. But in the subordinate clause ɔin it occurs in contexts which in Classical Arabic would have required the subjunctive with the normal imperfect, e.g.

urabbi naṭlubu ḥin yjiibinna alḡayṯ And we pray God to
bring us rain

uhuw ytanaagaḍ ḥin yruuḥ and he feels ashamed to go

ḥin can be omitted, and indeed frequently is, in such sentences:

laayimtikin ḥaḥaḍ yḡazicalēeh nobody dare to raid him

In subordinate clauses new elements to indicate purpose or fear have been developed to replace the Classical likay لِكَي liḥalla لِيْحَلَّا etc: these are calasaan, minxoof; and they are frequently encountered in the Hijazi group, e.g.

ḥasaan yjiib balāḥ In order that to bear date

min xoof tṣiiḥ In fear that she cries

The normal imperfect is always used in contexts which in Classical Arabic would have required the Jussive expressing prohibition e.g.

laayadxil not to enter NC

laayistirik not to share HJ

The verb xalli 'leave, let' is commonly used as auxiliary verb followed by the imperfect to indicate a wish or command e.g.

xalleh yadxil let him enter NC

xalloona nazbin let us take refuge HJ

cayya + imperfect

This is used to express refusal e.g.

cayya yiċtirif he refused to confess NC

cayyat tasraħ balyanam she refused to take the sheep
for grazing.

The active participle

The active participle may be used to express continuous action e.g.

huw jaay min makka and he was coming from Mecca

u Jaayib ɔalaJnaab Iħarb and you are bringing the
strangers to Ĥarb.

Sometimes the active participle is used to indicate accompanying circumstances in the past. This usually occurs when the active participle functions as a predicate as in:

walabu caarif and the father knew that

The passive participle

The passive participle is rarely employed to express the passive voice; but finite tenses in the passive are found in this dialect. Cf. the examples below with passive participle expressing the passive voice:

hiy maɣsuuba she was taken by force

ɔalbiir mahfuura min awal the well was dug a long time ago

Concord

verbs

The verb agrees in number and gender with its subject; such agreement is rigorously maintained irrespective of whether the subject precedes or follows it e.g.

ʔinta maat ⁺ rif ʔalga ⁺ aha	you do not know al-Qaha
gaalat yaawalad ween baayi	she said oh man where are you going
ubintih taaci	and his daughter awoke
kinna bidwaan	we were Bedouins
gaalaw wes ^v ʔalhiila	they said what is to be done
uniṣarhum ʔalla	and God had granted them victory
ʔanniswaan yṣayhin	the women was crying they
yihsibinneḥ mayyit	think he was dead

The use of the verb in the dual in concord with a dual noun is not attested in our dialect.

Negation of the verb

Both tenses, the perfect and the imperfect, are negated by the particles maa, and laa. In the case of the perfect; maa is used much^{as} in Classical Arabic, while laa with the perfect tends to be used where Classical Arabic employs lam with the jussive.

Cf. the following examples

maayada minha law haasi waahid	not a single young camel had even been lost	NC
laayimtikin aahad yiṣliḥ	no one dares to approach him	
maanazrac say yeeru	we did not grow anything else than this	HJ
ulaasimic kalaamuh	and he did not appreciate his advice	HJ

When the negation is repeated after the conjunction (wa, u) it usually appears with the negative particle laa e.g.

maamoda ulaasaar caleena say	nothing had happened or come to us	HJ
uradd laha haak aalguuud aalli	and he gave her back that young camel which cannot be driven or led	NC
laayinsaagulaayingaad		

Frequently in the Hijazi group, and occasionally in the dialect of aṣ-Ṣuwaidera of the NC group the negation is strengthened by the addition of the word cumur + pronominal suffixes instead of the classical gaṭṭ 'ever' e.g.

cumri maasiftu	I have ever seen it	HJ
yadbahhum dabhin	He killed them in the most merciless way	
laacumra jaa	which to my knowledge ever happened	

The noun

Indefinite noun

The indefinite character of noun may be indicated by certain devices other than those used in Classical Arabic.

The word waahid, ḡahad is frequently used before the noun and is designed to convey indefiniteness e.g.

waahid fraydi one from Fruda clan of the Harb
ḡahad annas one of the people

Sometimes waahid, ḡahad stands alone without being followed by a noun to express the indefinite 'someone' e.g.

waahid Jaa	someone has come
ḡahad cindu xeer	someone has a fortune (money)
waahid maacindu	someone has none

Nunation which is used in Classical Arabic to indicate indefiniteness is very widely used especially among the Northern Central group, and the Bedouin of the Hijazi group. In such cases the indefinite noun with the (-in) without change to indicate case, occurs and it may or may not be followed by an attribute. Cf. the following examples:

ḡabcin kibiir	a big hyena	HJ
mritin xibla	a crazy woman	NC
haada rijjalin	this is a man	NC

Much more frequently, however, the indefinite noun is always recognizable without any special device by the use of what was originally a pausal form without the definite article which arises as a result of the dropping of the Tanwin. e.g.

jaayariib	a stranger came
utiji caleehum dabha	and they suffer a killing

The classical phrase which expresses the indefinite by the grammatical device of using the indefinite noun followed by the preposition min, with the same noun in the plural but in the definite form, is frequently found; it appears either with or without nunation, e.g.

naaga min	▷annyaag	a certain she-camel
leela min	▷alliyaali	a certain night
fisanatin min	▷assiniin	a certain year
saaliftin min	▷assiwaalif	a certain tale

Noun

To express the idea of the whole or the part the Ḥarb dialect uses kull, baḥḍ, e.g.

kull	▷alḥurbaan	all the bedouins
baḥḍ	mṭaar	some of Muṭair tribe

Similarly, as in Classical Arabic, the use of kaafa is found among the Ḥarb e.g.

kaafat	ḥarb	all the Ḥarb
kaafat	masruuh	all Masruḥ branch

Quite frequently kull may be followed by buu suffixed with pronominal suffixes e.g.

kullubuum	all of them	HJ
killibuuha	all of it	NC

Sometimes the definite article al may be prefixed to the

word kull which is not attested in Classical Arabic e.g.

ɔalkill maaytacadda cala aθθaani every one will not
attack the other

walkull minhum yictizi every one of them
tracing back his descent

Noun and qualifying adjective

Concord is usually maintained and the qualifying adjective agrees in gender, number and definiteness or indefiniteness with the noun it qualifies.

It should be noted that the qualifying adjective occurs in the masculine form when it qualifies a singular masculine noun, whether this latter denotes something human or non-human creatures e.g.

rijjaal kibir old man

mukaan ṣiḥiḥ healthy place

Compare also the following examples of the feminine adjective where it agrees with the noun it qualifies:

ṣiḥtin ṭayba good tree

naagtin ḥamra red she-camel

An analogous distinction in usage fem. sing. or fem. plural prevails in the case of the feminine e.g.

dabḥaatin ṭiwīla long raids, fighting NC

ṭalbaat ṭiwīla long discussion (for settling the dispute) HJ

But

banaat kiθiirat	plenty of girls	NC
haadi min banaat ʔalhalaaal ʔaʕʕiijiiqaat.	this is one of the good brave girls	HJ

The adjective qualifying the collective noun, which indicates the individual by the addition of the morpheme (h) usually takes the broken plural form e.g.

grab ʕyaar	small water skin	NC
yanam ʕyaar	small sheep	NC
ʕsiyar kbaar	tall trees	HJ
jraad kbaar	big locust	HJ

The adjective denoting colour agrees with the noun which it qualifies in number and gender much as in Classical Arabic e.g.

ʔaijbaal ʔalhumur	the red mountains	NC
ʕirbaan suud	black ravens	HJ

However certain broken plurals may be qualified by masculine or feminine singular adjectives. This is frequently found among the Northern Central group e.g.

siwaalfin waajid / waajda	many tales
tiʕaabiĥ waajid / waajda	many raids

Negation of the noun

The particle maa is frequently used to negate the

noun, and nominal sentences. laa is occasionally found, while laysa is completely absent, e.g.

▷annisda maafiiha say	asking is not harmful	HJ
maahi xaabra	she does not know	HJ
maahum waajid	they are not many	NC

In the dialect of the Šuwaidera of the NC group the negative form mahuub occurs only with informant no 28 e.g.

haada maahuublukum	this is not yours
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Otherwise such a type of negation has not been met with among the rest of the Northern Central group so far as our material shows.

The negative neither nor which is represented by maa - ulaa occurs in this dialect e.g.

▷ana laani jammal ulaani ▷amiir	I am neither a camel-driver nor a prince
---------------------------------	--

The same phenomenon is present in the common saying which is used among the Hijazi group e.g.

laani min▷albaraamka ulaa ▷albaraamka minni	I neither am a Barmacide nor are the Barmacides connected with me
---	---

Vocative

The particle of vocation is yaa for both near and distant e.g.

yaayiba

oh my father

The classical particle wa which is used to express sorrow or pain also occurs e.g.

waakabdi

oh my heart

HJ

waamaali

oh my property

HJ

Sentence structure

There are three types of sentence in our dialect:

a- nominal sentence b- verbal sentence c- zarfiyya sentence

Nominal sentence

As in Classical Arabic the structure of this type of sentence consists of subject and predicate; normally the subject comes first and is followed by the complement e.g.

ana saakin falgaaha

I am living in al-Qāḥa

hadoola kbaar harb

those are the chiefs of the Ḥarb

ummaha mṭayriyya

her mother is from Muṭair

Casus pendens

It is quite common in this dialect to find a sentence commencing with casus pendens or sentence inversion leading to the subject being placed before the predicate

alinθa cruftu

the woman had recognized him

algamh inaθθrih

the wheat we sow it

This phenomenon is reported in Classical Arabic, and may be explained logically in accordance with the general rule¹, but it has become one of the frequent features of modern colloquialism in general.

Verbal sentence

This type of sentence constitutes an important part of syntax. It attracted the attention of ancient grammarians as well as contemporary ones. Its structure begins (in our dialect too) with the verb followed by the subject e.g.

jat² ɔabooha ucallimteh she came to her father
and told him

hajj ujaa he went to pilgrimage
and come back

zarfiyya sentence (usually expressing to have and there is).

Most of the Arab grammarians did not classify this sentence as one of different type. They often included it with the nominal sentence³.

In our dialect the zarfiyya sentence is generally used to express the English verb 'to have' or 'there is', especially when it is annexed to a prenominal suffixes e.g.

1. Cf. Sibawaihi; al-kitāb vol, 1 p.47.

2. note the shortening of the vowel of jaat to jat which is one of the characteristic features of the NC group.

3. Ibn Hishām divided the sentence into three types: nominal, verbal and prepositional (zarfiyya) Cf. al-Mughni, Vol, II, p.376, this type of division has been criticized by modern linguistics Cf al-Makhzumi; Mahdi The Arabic Syntax. Critique and Instruction Fian-Nahw al-ʿArabi nagdun watawjih p.50 ff

cindi manaayih

I have a sheep

fiih giṣṣa

there is a tale

Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are usually introduced by

ḥin, ḥinkaan, ḥinkaad, kaanni, law, laa and ḥilyaa.

(These are the commonest conditional particles in this dialect).

ḥida, min<man are used less frequent; they occur occasionally among some Hijazi speakers who have been affected by literacy Arabic e.g.

wida ṣaahib faras tiḥna caleeh fassidaad

and if he is owner of horse the horse will be held as ransom until he paid the due

umin bidal ḥalḥagg min nafseh ḥalla mi<ih

and who gave the Justice voluntarily God will be with him HJ

The conditional clauses introduced by (ḥin) 'if' usually have the verb in the perfect in the protasis e.g.

ḥin ḥiyiina ḥalyoom ḥinna maanmuut bacdeen

If we survived today do we not die after or later on NC

Note In this case the verb in the apodosis is in the form of question beginning with the 1 c.pl. personal pronoun followed by the particle maa + the imperfect. Compare also

the following example in which the apodosis is a nominal sentence without the conjunction (fa) which is not found in this dialect e.g.

ʔin bayaytana hinna halk If you chose us we are
your folks NC
(note ʔahluka > halk)

The structure of the sentence is thus not in line with the Classical rules as seen, in e.g. Wright, vol, II, p.345.

Moreover the apodosis may be in the form of command without (fa) e.g.

win bayayt ʔahalk tiwakkal cala ʔalla and if you want your
tribe,go ahead NC

Similarly the conditional particle (ʔinkaan) 'if' is commonly used. It is followed either by the perfect or by the imperfect in the protasis. Rarely, however, the nominal sentence of zarfiyya occurs as aprotasis after (ʔinkaan) e.g.

ʔin tsaan lirjaal yasturuunni If I have men they will
protect me NC

Compare also the following sentence which has the preposition (fii+h) in apodosis:

ʔin kaan tabya ʔalbayyinaat fiih If you want the evidence
it is there HJ

(fiih here replaces something like fahiya mawjuudatun).

It is very interesting to note the occasional survival of the conjunction (fa) in the apodosis among the Hijazi Bedouin e.g.

ɔinkaannah yɔayyid fahuw ɔana ɔaba ɔayyidbih If it is not prohibited to slay it as sacrifice I shall slaughter it. HJ

ɔinkaad, kaanni

These two conditional particles occur frequently among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group e.g.

wes liyya ɔinkaad ɔallamt balli radd ɔalbil what is my reward if I told you the one who saved the camels (from the raiders).

kaani ɔaba biicaha maabiicaha ɔalayk if I want to sell (the she-camel) I will not sell it to you HJ

Occasionally (kaan) 'if' stands by itself as a conditional particle among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group, e.g.

kaan babiicaha ɔabiicaha ɔala waahid yigdiha
If I want to sell/^{it} I shall sell it to someone who looks after it.

Law

In this dialect the meaning of this particle is practically the same as that of (ɔin) 'if' The verb used with (law) in the protasis is either in the imperfect or the perfect. Cf. the following examples:

law tihaṣṣil minha baṭin yɔiidak falbiṭuun ɔaθθaaniya
If you have one child from her you would be satisfied and want no more from the others NC

law, however, also conveys the meaning of a hypothetical clause, e.g.

law jaatu ʔimdiih tijannan If she had come to him (the
she camel) he would have gone
mad. HJ

Note the particle ʔimdiih 'then, perhaps' which occurs only among the Hijazi group.

lawmaa ydarrak tbaciju utaaklu If it had not been kept safe
(the honey) they (the worms)
would have dented and eaten it
HJ

lawmaahi sikka gaayma ʔana ʔaruuh macak If it had not been a
straight way I would have
accompanied you HJ

Note law in the hypothetical clause is always in our dialect followed by maa.

Quite commonly in this dialect phrase or clause expressing wishes or command may be preceded by (law) which is also reported in Classical Arabic (cf. Wright vol. II, p.9). Compare the following examples which appear in our dialect:

caṭna law casra biyuut give us (recite) though even if it is
only ten couplets.

laa walla ʔugtulu law tamiih by God kill it (the snake) even if you
shoot it (with your gun).

la, ʔilya < ʔida

This particle is rarely used in conditional sentences; occasional examples, however, occur e.g.

ɔilya jaana ɔalhagg maandawwir yeerih

If justice is given we do not seek anything instead HJ

Temporal clauses

Most of the temporal clauses are introduced by one of the following particles: yawm, yaam, laa, ɔilya, liya and laamin 'when', e.g.

ulaataah ɔalmitar riht yammih When the rain falls I
go to it. NC

ɔilya ɬalac sheel tacaal ɔisticid ɔaddaraahim
when the pleiades appears come and you will be
paid the money NC

liyaa caahidam maaycarfuun ɔalbawg when they give their
covenant they never cheat

Occasionally, new elements of modern Arabic dialects such as the particle xalaas 'enough' may interrupt the order of the clause e.g.

ɔilyaa digt milhathum xalaas daxalt when you taste
their food then you have entered (become an insider)
(meaning they will not harm you

laamin jaaɔalxeer yijii naħal when prosperity comes
(i.e. the rain) the bees will come

yawm and its variant as a particle introducing temporal clauses

The clauses introduced by this particle may have a nominal apodosis which usually commences with ula or wilya to give the meaning of the Classical ɔida e.g.

yoom jat ula walla ɔarriijaal ɤaayih when she
came she found the man lying down

Note the shortening of the long aa of the verb jaa; one of
the characteristic features of the NC group.

Similarly compare the following sentence which has
the same order as Classical Arabic:

yawm ɔasbaḥ wilyaahi ibgaydaha haada ɤuul kraacaha
when the morning came he found (the she-camel) in
the rope with her legs outstretched (meaning she was
dead).

On the contrary when the apodosis of a sentence commences
with a noun plus a pronominal suffix with verb acting as
a predicate, then ula, ɔilya are no longer used e.g.

yawm jaa ɔalfajer ubinteh taaci when the dawn
come his daughter woke

lamaa, lamaadinu

Occasionally these particles occur in this dialect:
the first one lamaa appears among the camel rearer of the
Northern Central group of aṣ-ṣuwaidua e.g.

lamaa jaa ɔalmyarib until the dusk came
lāmaa ɔalmaah yawi until the water falls down

The particle lamaadinu occurs among the Banu Ṣubḥ of the
Hijazi group in Badr e.g.

lamaadinu yaṭlac until it appears

leen, and ḥatta

These two particles denote 'until'. Both are widely used among the Ḥarb tribe; they are followed either by the imperfect or the perfect of verbs, depending on whether they refer to something accomplished or yet to come e.g.

leen wiṣil ḥarrazzaaza	until he reached ar-Razzaza
ḥatta yakbar	until it grows bigger

Temporal clauses also may be introduced by the conjunctions baɖmaa, cugbmaa, cindmaa, and gabilmaa. The verb in the perfect usually follows the clauses commencing with baɖmaa, cugbmaa in sentences describing an accomplished consequence, e.g.

baɖmaa fitaḥḥa	after he opened it
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(note the assimilation of -ha to ḥ)

yiftakoon ḥabaaɖirhum cugbmaa xaɖawhum	and they
get back their camels after they had raided them	

On the contrary cindmaa, gabilmaa are used with the imperfect to describe something yet to be done, e.g.

inhuṭṭu ḥakwaam cindmaa yistiwi	wepile it (the wheat)
	in heaps after it ripens

gabilmaa ysiḍḍuun	before they depart
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Relative clauses

As in other modern Arabic dialects the relative

pronoun used is normally ɔalli without change of gender or number; when referring to definite a antecedent as in classical Arabic. However a relative clause is annexed asyndetically to a preceding indefinite substantive, e.g.

haadi ɔumuur yabyaalaha ɣabur these are things which require
patience

li blaad hna miṭab ɔarriic I have a land (farm) which is
down the mountain

Conversely as we saw when the antecedent is definite then the relative clause is introduced by ɔalli e.g.

raah likbaar harb ɔalli falhjaaz he went to the chiefs of
the Harb who are in the Hijaz NC

uṣabbahaw figaryatna haadi ɔalli and they came in the morning to
our village (this) which it
is called abu zbaa^c HJ
tsmaa ɔabudhaac

Occasionally the dialect group of the Hijaz especially among the farmers (al) followed by a negative sentence may be used instead of (ɔalli) with clause, e.g.

wal maastiwa nibgiih and what had not ripened we
leave it

Relative clauses introduced by (min, maa) appear frequently; their usage is similar to the one in Classical Arabic where (min) always refers to a person, and (maa) to things

cf. the examples below:

jaah min jaah come to him who came NC

waxadaw maahasalaw min yanaayim and they took what
booty they had won HJ

Interrogative

Most of the particles used in this dialect to express interrogation have been discussed on p.153. However, we should add that the same sentence without any change in word order may be used to express both statement and interrogation. The difference between the two sentences is obtained only through intonation that is by raising the pitch of the voice e.g.

huw cind ɔahl caṭa halhiin: is he with the people
of Aṭa (settlement) now NC

ɔint maant xaṣaab: are you not a honey,
maker: HJ

Conjunction

Quite a number of classical conjunctions are still used in our dialect without any change of meaning, such as ɔum 'and, then' and aw 'or' laakin 'but' hatta 'even'. wa has become (u) while fa is gone out of use.

Other new conjunctions have been developed by combining several of the Classical particle, such as ɔemeen 'thenafter' walla 'or' bacdeen 'thenafter' Similarly the word (meer) is used to express the meaning (but).

PART V

Comparison

This chapter is intended to offer an overall comparison between the dialect of the Ḥarb and those of its immediate neighbours. We shall examine what appeared to be the salient features of these dialects and note the main elements shared in part of cases as well as the absence of linkages in others, under the headings of phonology, morphology and lexis.

But since (as we have already, said p.6f) most of the dialects of Arabia are not fully known or are badly documented, a certain gap remains unfilled. Indeed we lack information about the dialect of Muṭair, Juhaina, Sulaim,¹ Hudhail, and Qaḥṭān. Similarly the dialect of ^cOtaiba requires further investigation despite the useful remarks to be found in Hess's book (Von den Beduinen des Inneren Arabiens) and those of Johnstone in EADS and other articles.

On the other hand data about the ^cAnaza and the Shammar groups are relatively more plentiful. However, one has to be extremely careful in using them. This is due to the fact that part of them are contained in an anthology², or conversations or tales narrated and badly transcribed.

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1. Cf. al Anṣari, A. Banu Sulaim; the book is a record of the history of this tribe, some poetry and proverbs are included.
 2. Socin; A. Diwan aus Centralarabien
Musil; A. The Manners

The two invaluable articles which were published by Jean Cantineau in *Études* in 1935, 1937, and which mainly deal with the dialects of the nomadic tribes of the Syrian desert, and Northern Central Arabia (particularly the dialect of the Shammar and ^cAnaza) are the most important source used here. Landberg's text *Langue des Bédouin ^cAnazeh* was also found useful with certain qualification. Similarly Abboud's work the Syntax of Najdi Arabic (of Shammar) has been utilized.

During our survey of the dialect of the Ḥarb we collected some samples of speech from members of the ^cOtaiba, Muṭair, and Juhaina tribes. These specimens have been utilized also for this chapter.

Phonology

Consonants

On comparing the phonological system of the dialect of the Ḥarb with those of the neighbouring dialects certain important points emerge:

(a) Initial Hamza

The dialect of the Ḥarb usually preserves the initial Hamza of the verb type ᵛaxad 'to take' (Cf. p.41). In contrast the ^cAnaza, and the Shammar dialects normally drop the Hamza at the beginning of verbs ᵛaxad, and ᵛakal and assimilate these verbs to verbs with final (y) e.g.

xada 'to take'¹.

Our dialect, and the dialect of Juhaina frequently replace the Hamza of the passive of the Hamzated verbs by w e.g.

Juh.	wixid [†]	it was taken
Har.	wikil	it was eaten

Comparable forms occur also in the dialect of Weld Ali as it was recorded by Wetzstein² e.g.

wuxid [†]	it was taken
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Similarly the interrogative particle ayna 'where' has generally become ween in our dialect, and in most Northern Central Arabian dialects. But feen variant of ween occurs in some types of the urban dialects among the Hijazi group who have been influenced by the Egyptian, and Syrian dialects through the cities of the Hijaz³. A similar pronunciation feen instead of ween appears also in our own sample for the Juhaina dialect.

The dialect group of the Harb of the Hijaz usually replaces the Hamza of ayū 'which' by (c) e.g. cayyat 'which one'.

This replacement so far has not been found in any neighbouring dialects.

1. Cantineau, J. Études III p.193
Cf. also Landberg; Langue p.2, 5.
2. 'Sprachliches', ZDMG vol, XXII p.78.
3. Cf. the present writer's M.Phil. diss. A Critical p.81

(b) Medial Hamza

Among the Ḥarb the Hamza in medial position has generally lost its phonemic value both in verbs and nouns, (see p.44).

This phenomenon is found among the neighbouring dialects, particularly in nouns¹. Our own samples also show the disappearance of this type of Hamza among the Juhaina, and Muṭair, e.g.

Juh.	baas	harm
Muṭ.	raas	head

Considering the evidence on the Hamza as a whole there is thus found a good deal of similarity but not complete identity between the Ḥarb and its neighbours.

(c) Final Hamza

The final Hamza has generally disappeared from the Ḥarb dialect. This is a wide spread phenomenon shared by a considerable number of Modern Arabic dialects in general, and Northern Central Arabian dialects in particular. Thus the ^ᶜAnaza usually uses bada 'to appear' instead of bada².

Comparable forms occur in our own samples of the

1. Cf. Landberg; Langue p.15 (for ^ᶜAnaza), and Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.40, 77. (for Shammar)

2. Landberg; op.cit. p.2, 75.

Juhaina, ^cOtaiba, e.g.

Joh.	gara	he read
Ot.	bidaalhum	it appeared to them

The final Hamza may occasionally be retained in verbs and nouns in our dialect, especially in monosyllabic words e.g.

jaa>	he came
maa>	water

The same phenomenon also is reported for the nomadic dialects of Northern Arabia¹.

The consonant b

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the consonant b is pronounced as a voiced bilabial plosive (see p.45). An emphatic (b) also occurs among them as in ḥogār 'cows' for bagār. Similar pronunciation is found in the dialect of the Shammar, and ar-Rass².

The voiceless p is absent from our dialect. Conversely the sound p is noted among the Shammar e.g. neṣiib 'chance'³.

In the dialects of Eastern Arabia p occurs only in foreign words as in peep for English pipe⁴.

1. Cantineau, J. Études II, p.42.

2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.129, 130.

3. Cantineau; J. Études III. p.132.

4. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.19

The (θ) variant of (f)

In the dialect of Bani Sakhr, al-Jawf, and Weld 'Ali the consonant (f) is frequently replaced by (θ) e.g. 0θom 'mouth'¹.

This phenomenon does not occur in the dialect of the Ḥarb. However, the word jadaθ 'grave' is used metaphorically to mean origin e.g. malcuun ɔaljidaf 'the cursed origin'. Also the word aθaafi 'the three stones supporting the cooking pot' has become aθaaθi in the dialect of the Ḥarb throughout.

The interchange between c, n

We do not find in our dialect that the consonant (c) is replaced by (n) as in ɔanɕa 'to give' for ɔanɕa. This phenomenon, however, is present in the dialect of the ^cAnaza², and its subtribes like Weld Ali³. But it does not occur in the Eastern Arabian dialects⁴, nor is it to be found among ^cOtaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair as our own samples show.

The consonant đ, đ̣

There is a tendency among the Ḥarb to fuse the two consonants đ, đ̣, though some distinction may occur (see

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1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.131
Cf. Wetzstein, "Sprachliches" ZDMG vol, XXII p.78 (for Weld Ali)
 2. Landberg; Langue p.4.
 3. Cf. Wetzstein; ibid. p.74, 114.
 4. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.19ff

p.52). Such fusion is met in the Eastern Arabian dialects¹ and the dialect of ^cOnaiza². Similarly according to the samples which we collected for the Juhaina, and ^cOtaiba tribes no distinction is made between \dot{d} , \dot{d} , e.g.

Juh.	$\text{ba}\dot{\text{c}}\dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{d}}\text{hum}$	<	$\text{ba}\dot{\text{c}}\dot{\text{d}}\text{ahum}$	some of them
	$\dot{\text{d}}\text{ahar}$	<	$\dot{\text{d}}\text{ahr}$	back
Ot.	$\text{urmo}\dot{\text{d}}\text{aan}$	<	$\text{rama}\dot{\text{d}}\text{aan}$	the month of fasting
	$\dot{\text{d}}\text{oher}$	<	$\dot{\text{d}}\text{uhr}$	noon

The consonant Jim

The consonant $\dot{\text{j}}\text{im}$ is commonly pronounced as a voiced palatoalveolar affricate (j) among the Ḥarb tribe. Allophones corresponding to this sound also occur, and they have been discussed on p.53f.

In contrasting the pronunciation of the phoneme $\dot{\text{j}}\text{im}$ among the Ḥarb with the pronunciations of their neighbouring tribes, certain facts present themselves.

According to our own samples from the Juhaina, ^cOtaiba, and Muṭair tribes the $\dot{\text{j}}\text{im}$ is usually realized among these tribes as a voiced palatoalveolar affricate (j). The normal Ḥarb pronunciation of $\dot{\text{j}}\text{im}$ thus corresponds with the one normally found among these tribes.

The dialect of the Ḥarb and that of Juhaina show the variant (y) instead of (j) in the following words only:

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1. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.20.
 2. Johnstone; T.M. Aspects BSOAS vol, XXX p.2.

<u>Har.</u>		<u>Juh</u>
caayiz	unable	caayiz
˘ siyara	tree	˘ siyara
masyid	mosque	masyid

This aforementioned variant of (y) instead of (j) is not attested, among the^c Otaiba, and Muṭair tribes either generally or for these words, though the broken plural riyaajiil 'men' is generally met among the^c Otaiba, Muṭair, Juhaina, and the Ḥarb, but not among the^c Anaza and Shammar. Comparable forms also occur in the Eastern Arabian dialects¹. Musil lists both yarbuuc, jarbuuc 'a smaller variety of Jerboa' for the Rwala subtribe of^c Anaza².

It can then be said that among part, but not all, of the neighbours of the Ḥarb (y) may occur as an occasional variant of (j), but not necessarily in identical cases.

Further afield Cantineau states that in the dialect of Sirhan, Sardiyya, and al-Jawf the consonant (j) has become (y) e.g. ḥaayib 'eyebrow' for ḥaajib³. This feature also occurs in the Hawtat Bani Tamīm near Riyadh as is indicated by Cantineau⁴. Such a change of (j) to (y) is not confirmed by Cantineau to be a characteristic of the dialect of Shammar in Hayil⁵; although it has been noted by Wetzstein⁶.

1. Johnstone; J.M. EADS p.86

2. The Manners, p.28.

3. Cantineau; J. Études III p.137, 138

4. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.138

5. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.138

6. Sprachliches ZDMG vol, XXII, p.163

Similarly T.M. Johnstone in a footnote states that from his inquiries 'it would seem unlikely that this feature does occur in the dialect of Hayil'¹.

In Northern Arabian as a whole (y) for (j) is thus not prominent except in certain regions. The Ḥarb dialect in this respect ties in with its region. The replacement of (j) by (y) is, on the other hand, one of the main characteristic features of the Eastern Arabian dialects².

A somewhat different relationship between the Ḥarb and its neighbours is found where the realization of (j) as (gy) is concerned. The (gy) sound variant of (j) which occurs in the dialect of ^cAnaza, and Shammar³ is found among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb but not in the Hijazi group, nor among Juhaina either. However, our own sample of ^cOtaiba indicates the occurrence of the sound (gy) among them e.g.

gyaa he has come

Their grouping thus overlaps with the one mentioned before, part of the Ḥarb being linked with Shammar, ^cAnaza and ^cOtaiba.

Taking into consideration all the variant pronunciations of ^{j̄}im therefore it can be concluded that the position of the Ḥarb is similar in various respects to the neighbouring tribes, but identical with none of them.

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1. "The sound change $j > y$ in the Arabic dialects of peninsular Arabia" BSOAS vol, XXVIII p.234.
 2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.20, 34, 35, 39.
 3. Cantineau; J. Études III p.138.

Ḥarb while generally to be placed with its neighbours offers a separate mixture of features which give it an identity of its own.

The consonant k, g

As we have seen (p.56f) not all the Ḥarb tribe follow the same pronunciation of these two consonants. That part of the Ḥarb which lives in the Northern Central area extending from aṣ-Ṣuwaidera up to al-Quwara, and those in the Hijaz who are connected socially with them like the Rubuqa of the Banu^cAmr, and the Sihliyya of the Banu^cAwf (both families in the Hijaz) tend to affricate the k, g into ts, dz. (This type of pronunciation does not occur among the other members of the Hijazi group, the standard (k) and the uvular (g) generally occur among them). When we look for analogies for this affricated type of pronunciation among the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb and those connected with them, we may note first of all that the affrication of k, g into ts, dz is noticeable in our own specimens of the^cOtaiba and Muṭair e.g.

^c Ot.	tsinneḥ	as if he
	ulaaḥadzdzirih	and I do not look down upon him
Muṭ. (2f)	ḥinnits	you
	liḥidz	he caught

In fact the pronunciation of k, g as ts, dz is one of the

characteristic features of the Northern Central Arabian dialects. This includes the^cAnaza, and the Shammar¹ tribes, and various groups of the^cAnaza subtribe like Rwala, and Weld Ali².

Hence in this respect links again exist with the Northern Central Arabian dialects, and as regards this feature the Ḥarb tribe is to some extent split into two divisions: the NC group of the Ḥarb is much affected by its Northern Central linkage with the^cAhaza and Shammar while the Hijazi group is not.

Similarly, according to my own personal knowledge based on inquiries into the dialect of Juhaina who are residing in Yanbo, and on the evidence of recorded conversations of an official belonging to the Juhaina tribe in ar-Rayyan Wādī al-Furu^c the affrication of k,g does not occur among the Juhaina of Yanbo. However, the sample which I collected from an illiterate (Juhani) from ar-Rayyan shows the affrication ts,dz e.g.

waadzif

standing

tseef

how

It is relevant to state that our own informant is not from those Juhaina who live in Yanbo. According to his own statement he was at home in the Northern Hijaz with the Bili

1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.141

2. Cantineau; J. ibid p.141

tribe and ^cAnaza and thus he is connected socially with those tribes who have the affrication ts,dz as part of their dialect.

The Hijazi group particularly among the Bedouin shows more frequently prepalatal k',g' as variants of k,g see p.56. This type of pronunciation is met only occasionally among the NC group of the Ḥarb especially among the Wuhub, and some of the Banu Sālim. We find it rather difficult to parallel the prepalatal (k',g') pronunciations among the neighbouring tribes, since there is no evidence of their occurrence in our material for comparison.

The affrication of k,g into č,ǧ is completely absent from the Ḥarb dialect. It occurs among certain neighbouring tribes of Northern Arabia¹. Similarly it appears among the Eastern Arabian dialects².

It can now be concluded that in regard to the presence and the absence of the affrication ts, dz the Ḥarb tribe is split in two.

(i) The NC group which is mainly linked with the ^cAnaza and Shammar groups by showing the pronunciation of k,g as ts,dz

(ii) The Hijazi group which on the other hand preserves the k,g in general, but the Bedouin tends to prepalatalize them (k',g').

1. Cantineau; J. Études II, p.30,31.

2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.21.

Assimilation

The dialect of the Ḥarb shows a good number of cases of assimilation (see p.63). Some types of this assimilation occur among their neighbours, while other cases seem difficult at present to trace among them, from the literature available.

Thus the dialect of the Ḥarb tends to assimilate the consonant (d) to (t) when these are part of the junction verbal or nominal stems with suffixes. Such assimilation is present in the dialect of ^cAnaza and ^cOtaiba e.g.

^c Anaz.	Sawwattana	<	sawwaḍtana	you have ¹ blackened our face (you brought shame upon us)
^c Ot.	ni ^v siittu	<	na ^v siidatuhu	his poem

(the example for ^cOtaiba is taken from our own sample)

Similarly our own samples of Juhaina and Muṭair indicate the following assimilations which occur also among the Ḥarb, e.g.

Juh.	ll + ni > nni	xallini	>	xanni	let me
	n + b > mb	janbuh	>	jambih	beside him
Muṭ.	ḥ + ha > ḥḥa	tadbaḥaha	>	tadbaḥḥa	you kill her
	n + f > mf	ʔanfaar	>	ʔamfaar	persons

Assimilation can further take place between the end of one word and the beginning of the next one. Again there is

1. Landberg; Langue p.2.

a tendency among the Ḥarb as well as Juhaina, and Muṭair to assimilate the consonant (n) of bin, min to (r) when this is the first consonant of the following word, e.g.

Har.	mirraabiy	from Rabigh
Muṭ.	borriṣiid	Ibn Rashid
Juh.	birrifaaada	Ibn Rifaada

Additionally the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb assimilates the (-in) of Tanwin to (l, m) when it is followed by a word commencing with (l) or (m). In this they agree with the dialect of the^cOtaiba and Muṭair tribes which present similar cases of assimilation.

The examples below appear among the^cOtaiba, and Muṭair as our own samples indicate:

^c Ot.	caaṣginluh	>	aaṣgillih	became a lover of.
	xuuyaaniinlihum	>	xuuyaallihum	their companion
	yaaziinin machum	>	yaaziimmacum	raiding with them

The above type of assimilation is likewise absent among the Hijazi group.

Diphthongs aw, ay

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the diphthongs aw, ay are generally preserved. However, the oo, ee variants of aw, ay occur more particularly among those of the Ḥarb who are affected by urban speech (cf. p.69ff).

Somewhat similarly, the dialect of ^cAnaza and its subtribe Weld Ali as recorded and studied by Landberg and Wetzstein, show examples of the retention of the diphthongs, aw, ay or their replacement by the oo, ee¹.

Cantineau states that the diphthongs aw, ay are principally kept in the dialect of ^cAnaza, Shammar and Sardiyya while they are reduced into oo, ee in the dialect of Mawali, Bani Sakhr, al-Jawf, and ar-Rass². Our own collected samples from the ^cOtaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair tribes show that aw, ay is preserved on a number of occasions e.g.

^c Ot.	aljawf	al-Jawf
Juh.	mawt	death
Muṭ.	sayn	ugly, bad

However the oo, ee variant of aw, ay is also noticeable among them. But the most interesting feature is the appearance of aa instead of ay and less frequent for aw among the Harb (Cf. p.71f).

This phenomenon is present in our own samples of the ^cOtaiba, Juhaina and Muṭair especially in the word cala with pronominal suffixes as:

calaak upon you calaahum upon them

Cf. also the examples

1. Landberg; Langue p.1,3,58 Wetzstein, Sprachliches ZDMG vol, XXII, p.118, 124.

2. Cantineau, Études III, p.151,152.

Ot.	√ saaxana	our chief ¹
Juh.	√ saax	chief
Mut.	ᶜtaaba	ᶜOtaiba

There is also an indication of the occurrence of aa instead of ay, perhaps rather more occasionally, in the dialect of ᶜAnaza and Weld Ali; thus Landberg and Wetzstein list the word maar 'but' for mayr². Musil also includes raakaan (proper name) for raykan³. These examples (and perhaps others) bear witness to the existence of an aa variant of ay among the ᶜAnaza and its subtribes. The dialect of the Ḥarb and the ᶜOtaiba also have replaced aw by aa in the word ḥaadḥ 'basin' for ḥawḥ⁴. But aa instead of aw, ay appears to be absent from the Eastern Arabian dialects⁵.

The ii instead of ay is very common among the ᶜAnaza e.g. √sii > 'things' for √say >⁶. This feature occurred in our own sample of the ᶜOtaiba as in √sii > < √say >. The dialect group of the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb presents similar cases where √say has become √sii while the Hijazi group has √say. The ii variant of ay occurs

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1. Cf. also Hess; J.J. vonden Beduinen p.34,36,100,101,120 for more examples.
 2. Landberg; Langue p.3, and Wetzstein op.cit. p.124, 144ff.
 3. Musil; A. The Manners. p.546.
 4. Hess; J.J. op.cit. p.120. for ᶜOtaiba.
 5. Johnstone; T.M. EADS, p.25
 6. Landberg; Langue p.4.

among the Hijazi group only in the word siidi 'my lord' instead of sayyadi.

In conclusion it appears that the dialect of the Harb is similar to that of the^cAnaza, Shammar and^cOtaiba but more particularly to the^cOtaiba, in regard to the replacement of ay,aw by aa. But the dialect of the Harb differs in respect of replacing ay by ii; the Northern Central group is more inclined to agree with the^cAnaza and^cOtaiba tribes by showing ii instead of ay in sii < say 'thing'.

By contrast the Hijazi group has preserved ay in say like Classical Arabic.

Conclusion

It appears from the previous analysis that the Harb tribe as a whole shares a good number of phonological features with its neighbours. However as we have seen not all these features are proportionally prevalent among the Harb. Thus while we found that the NC group of the Harb tend to link themselves with the^cAnaza and Shammar in certain aspects of phonology, such as the affrication of k, g into ts, dz, the occasional pronunciation of (j) as (gy); and the replacing of (ay) by (ii) in the word sii < say 'things', yet the Harb, including the NC group in certain cases, replace the (j) by (y), a feature absent

from the^cAnaza and Shammar. In this respect the Ḥarb resembles the Juhaina and^cOtaiba and Muṭair who show similar features. The Ḥarb also shares with^cOtaiba the replacement of (aw, ay) by (aa). Links with the^cOtaiba and Juhaina seem thus more important than those with the Shammar and^cAnaza, since while we have seen that the Bedouin of the Hijazi group and occasionally the NC group have a prepalatal pronunciation of k, g; this is not attested among any of their neighbours at present.

Summing up, we can say that with respect to phonetic features the Ḥarb dialect shows a considerable linkage with its neighbours, but it is not identical, or near identical, with any of them.

(a) Morphology

Here we have to draw attention to what seems to be a very considerable amount of agreement between our dialect and those neighbouring tribes of the^cAnaza, Shammar,^cOtaiba, Muṭair and Juhaina on the one hand, and the Eastern Arabian dialects on the other. This agreement in fact is very striking and one may say that these groups are more closely related to one another in this respect than on the phonological side. However, some differences which separate to some extent the^cAnaza and Shammari groups from the Ḥarb are apparently present (cf. p.30f). But we may begin by discussing those general features which link the related dialects with the Ḥarb.

(i) The absence of the trisyllabic forms

As we have already indicated in the morphological chapter, p.29f the trisyllabic forms of certain verbal and nominal forms are no longer found in our dialect (except for the hadari type of speech which retains this kind of structure). In this the dialect of the Harb is parallel by the dialects of ^cAnaza and Shammar¹. Similar cases are also found in the Eastern Arabian dialect groups², and the dialect of the Dawasir³, as well as the dialect of ^cOnaiza town⁴. Such features are especially common among the Juhaina, ^cOtaiba and Muṭair tribes as our own samples show. The examples below illustrate the position of these tribes in comparison with ours:

	<u>verb</u>		<u>Noun</u>	
Juh.	ḍrubam	they hit	býala	mule
^c Ot.	kitbaw	they wrote	ᵔallya	the speech
Mut.	liḥdzat	she caught	ᵔmara	fruit

(ii) The influence of the guttural sounds on syllabic structure

It has been mentioned on p.29 that in the dialect of the Harb the gutturals exert a certain influence on the structure of some verbal, or nominal patterns e.g.

1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.165,166
2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.7ff, 42.
3. Johnstone; T.M. The Dosiri, BSOAS vol, XXIV, p.255
4. Johnstone; T.M. Aspects, BSOAS vol, XXX, p.6.

y-carif	<	ya-crifu	he knows
gṣuba	<	gaṣabah	tube of running spring

This phenomenon is widely spread among the dialect of the Anaza and Shammar groups¹. Comparable forms of the above structure also appear in the Eastern Arabian dialects² and the Dosiri dialect³.

Again our own samples of the Juhaina, Otaiba, and Muṭair show that this feature is present among them e.g.

Juh.	yxatub	he asks to marry
	ghawa	coffee
Oto.	yḥatub	he collects firewood
	ḥallya	the speech, dialect
Muṭ.	nḥasib	we count
	ḥlima	teat

(iii) The pattern of the perfect of verbs

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the basic forms of the perfect of simple strong verbs are fiḥil, fiḥal e.g. rikib 'he rode', ḍibaḥ 'he kills', but the normal Classical form faḥal occurs only when the first root or the second root is a guttural e.g. xaraj 'he went' (Cf. p.30,83). Similarly

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.168f.
2. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.6, 43.
3. Johnstone; T.M. Further BSOAS vol, XXVII, p.80f.

the pattern facal is retained in our dialect with those verbs whose second syllable begins with r or l, as in sarad 'he escaped' or malak 'he owned, became king'.

This is generally true of the^cAnaza¹, and Shammar² dialects. Compare also Johnstone for the Eastern Arabian dialects where comparable forms occur among them³.

The dialect of the^cOtaiba, Juhaina and Muṭair again shows similar features. Cf. the following examples which are taken from our own samples:

^c Ot.	niṣad	he asked	simic	he heard
	cazal	he put aside		
Juh.	ḍibaḥ	he killed	silim	he was saved
	xaraj	he went		
Mut.	kisab	he won	liḥidz	he caught

(iv) The occurrence of the 3 m.pl. of the perfect ending (aw or am) instead of (uu) among the Ḥarb and its neighbours.

(v) The pattern of the Imperfect

In the Ḥarb dialect verbs of forms ficil, fical in the perfect have imperfects yafcal e.g. yarkab, yadbaḥ; Only kitab < katab 'to write' shows yaktib. In this latter

1. Landberg; Langue p. 1, 3, 4, 5, 73

2. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax p.20, 25, 38.

3. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.11, 12, 42ff.

respect the dialect of the Ḥarb tribe is identical with the Eastern Arabian dialects¹. But the dialect of the Ḥarb is split in regard to the appearance of yafcul or yafcel of the perfect facal into two groups. The Hijazi group (except the Bedouin) tends to retain the normal Classical pattern yafcul e.g. tagcud. Similarly the dialect of the Juhaina (as our own sample indicates) uses yafcul e.g.

yadxul	he enters
yarbuj	he calms down

But the Northern Central group of the Ḥarb frequently employs the pattern yafcel as in yagṣed 'to recite a poem' (the Hijazi Bedouin is similar to them (Cf. p.84).

Occasionally the NC group uses the normal Classical pattern yafcul as in yagnus 'to hunt' (Cf. p.84). Thus the NC group is linked with the^cAnaza, and Shammar group².

The dialect of the^cOtaiba, and Muṭair is much more inclined to use yafcel e.g.

^c Ot.	yangel	he carries
mut.	yagṣed	he recites

However, Hess indicates the appearance of yafcul³ among the^cOtaiba e.g.

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1. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.43.
 2. Cantineau, J. Études III, p.193. CF. also Landberg; Langue p.6. and Abboud, p. . The Syntax, p.88
 3. Hess, J.J. Von den Beduinen p.63.

yensur (yansur) to go for grazing

(vi) Verb with initial w

In the dialect of the Ḥarb as in those of the^cOtaiba¹, Bani Sakhr, Weld Ali, Hsana, Sba'a, al-Jawf, and Shammar² the preformative vowel of the imperfect verbs with initial (w) is frequently lengthened to yaaṣal 'to arrive' Conversely the Eastern Arabian dialects show the form yooṣal³ while the Dosiri has yoṣil⁴.

(vii) The fusion of the verbs with final (u) with the verbs with final (i)

In our dialect the imperfect of the weak verbs of type yadcuu is fused with the verbs with final (i) e.g. yarji he hopes for yarjuu

This phenomenon is widely attested among the neighbouring dialects such as those of the^cOtaiba, Rwala, Dawasir and the Eastern Arabian dialects.

Examples:

^c Ot.	yyazi	he raids ⁵
RW	yedci	he calls

1. Hess, J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.156
2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.195
3. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.48
4. Johnstone; T.M. The Dosiri, BSOAS vol XXIV, p.259
5. The example for^cOtaiba is taken from our own sample. CF also Hess; J.J. ibid., p.95
Musil; A. The Manners, p.33
Johnstone; T.M. The Dosiri, BSOAS vol, XXIV, p.261
Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.50 (footnote)

Daw.	yarjii	he hopes
EAD.	yyazi	he raids

The dialect of the Shammar Abda presents a similar case. According to Cantineau on the authority of Montagne the verb yeza (yaza) has the imperfect iyaaazi 'to raid'¹ Our collected samples from the Juhaina, and Muṭair tribes do not contain any examples of this type of verb. However the existence of this feature can not be ruled out and further investigation is needed.

(viii) The imperfect preformative

In the dialect of the Ḥarb the imperfect preformative vowel is usually (a) with the strong simple verbs, Hamzated, and weak verbs; while the geminate and the Hollow verbs have the preformative (i) e.g.

nisidd we travel nibiic we sell

The derived themes similarly show the preformative vowel (i) with most forms. However occasional retention of the normal Classical (a or u) preformative occurs (see p.106).

The situation among the dialects of the Otaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair is similar to the one prevailing in our dialect. Thus as we have seen the preformative vowel (a) is found with the strong, Hamzated and weak

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.190

verbs. Conversely the preformative (i) is generally met with the case of geminate, and the Hollow verbs, and with the derived themes. Cf. the following examples which are drawn from our own samples:

Muṭ.	tisidd	she travels
Juh.	yiguum	he stands up
^c Ot.	tiyarrabaw	they went out of their home

Hess's samples, however, frequently show the preformative vowel (e) in the dialect of the ^cOtaiba as in yeftaḥ 'he opens'¹. This represents perhaps an Imala of (a), and not a change of (a) into (i). This phenomenon supports our finding as to the non existence of the preformative (i) in the ^cOtaiba dialect with the strong verbs.

The preformative (i) is a typical characteristic feature of the urban dialects, and it is universally absent from the dialects of the tribes of Arabia.

Landberg in his texts of the ^cAnaza shows the instability of the vowel of the imperfect preformative, e.g.

yibetsi	to cry ²
yoxboṭ	to hit

But the preformative vowel (e) an Imala of (a) is frequently met in Landberg's text. This leads us to believe in the non-predominance of the preformative (i) in the dialect

1. Von den Beduinen. p.62,

2. Langue, p.3,14.

EAD	ooṣal	reach ¹
Daw.	ḡagif	stop

The Hijazi group of the Ḥarb usually lengthens the vowel of the imperative form of the Hollow verbs, e.g. biic 'sell' guul 'say', while the Bedouin of the Hijazi group have bic and gil (occasionally guul). Our collected sample from the Juhaina agrees with the usage found among the hadari Hijazi group of the Ḥarb e.g.

ruuh	go
------	----

The NC group of the Ḥarb tends to have the form riḥ 'go' gim 'rise' with occasional use of form guum 'rise'. This latter group i.e. the NC group is paralleled in this usage by the Shammar dialect². The Eastern Arabian dialects are thus in this matter analogous to the dialect of the Hijazi group since they tend to lengthen the initial stem vowel of the Hollow verbs³. The dialects of the Ḥarb and those of the Juhaina, and^cOtaiba are different from the dialects of the Shammar in the imperative of 2 f.s. The Shammari dialect pronounces the form with diphthongization of the final (i) e.g. guumiy 'get up'⁴. This is also to be found in the dialect of the^cOnaiza. The Ḥarb, Juhaina, and^cOtaiba tribes have a clear (i) e.g. guumi 'get up'.

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1. Johnstone; T.M. op.cit. p.48
Johnstone; T.M. The Dosiri BSOAS vol, XXIV, p.259
 2. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.196
Abboud; P.F. Some Features, p.158
 3. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.49.
 4. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.19.

In this they agree with the Eastern Arabian dialects¹.

The imperative of verbs with final (y)

There is a tendency among the speakers of our dialect, particularly the Bedouin, to elide the terminal vowel e.g.

‛i^vstar buy ‛i^vms go

This phenomenon is found among many of the neighbouring tribes Cf the examples below:

Sham.	ems ^v	go ²
^c Ot.	ta ^v ca ^v ss	eat ³
Weld Ali	‛i ^h ts	speak ⁴
Rwala	erc	take care ⁵

The nominal pattern

Although the pattern fac_l, fi_l, and fu_l shows a fairly considerable degree of stability in the dialect of the Ḥarb, certain nouns which end with consonants, l, m, n, r may have an anaptyctic vowel (i, a and u) inserted before them. In these cases fac_l becomes facil, facal or facul

1. Johnstone; T.M. EADS p.49
2. Cantineau; J. Études III p.197
3. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.170
4. Wetzstein; J. Sprachliches ZDMG vol, XXII, p.81.
5. Musil; A. The Manners, p.532.

fiɕl > ficiɕl

fuɕl > fucul (for details (Cf. p.109ff))

The dialects of the^cOtaiba and Juhaina show similar forms Cf. the following examples which occur in our own samples:

Ot.	dahar	<	dahr	famine
	samin	<	samn	ghee
	fiṭir	<	fiṭr	the mouth of Shawwal
	cumur	<	cumr	life, age
Juh.	ṣahar	<	ṣahr	month
	cagil	<	cagl	brain
	bikir	<	bikr	virgin
	gaṣur	<	gaṣr	palace

The same phenomenon is present in the dialects of the^cAnaza and Shammar and the dialect of the small nomadic tribes studied by Cantineau¹.

The structure of the pattern facal, faciil

In the dialect of the Ḥarb and those of the Juhaina,^cOtaiba and Muṭair the nominal pattern facal, faṣiil has generally become fical and ficiil. But when the first or the second radical is a guttural or the medial syllable contains (r, l or n) the normal Classical pattern is retained, e.g.

1. Études III, p.216f.

	<u>facal > fical</u>		<u>faciil > ficiil</u>	
Har.	yiman	south	kibiira	big
^c Ot.	sima	sky	nišiida	poem
Juh.	nibi	prophet	nišiīha	advice
Muṭ.	jimal	camel	gišiida	poem

But the normal Classical pattern is retained in the following examples:

Har.	carab	bedouin	yadiir	stream
^c Ot.	baham	kids	yariib	stranger
Juh.	marad	disease	abiid	slaves
Muṭ.	karam	generosity		

in this respect they agree with the dialect of the ^cOnaiza¹.

The pattern facal plus the pronominal suffixes (-i, uh)

In our dialect when the pattern fa^cal is linked with (-i or uh u, ih) the structure is changed. This change has resulted from the "dropping of the first short vowel (a), and vowel harmony may be developed e.g.

ulidi	my son
ynumuh	his sheep

This phenomenon is found among the dialect of the ^cAnaza² and Shammar. Comparable forms occur also in the dialect of the Juhaina and ^cOtaiba as our own samples show:

1. Johnstone; T.M. Aspects BSOAS vol XXX, p.4ff.
 2. Cantineau; J. Etudes III, p.201ff

Juh.	crubuh	his wife
^c Ot.	ynimih	his sheep

Tanwin

Nunation (-in) is frequently used among the NC group of the Ḥarb and among the Bedouin of the Hijazi group without any distinction of cases (Cf. p.133), while in the remainder of the Hijazi group nunation does not occur frequently. In this, the NC group is identical with the dialect of the ^cAnaza, Shammar and ^cOtaiba¹. However, (-an) appears among the Hijazi only, in words like ḥabdan 'never', yasban 'forcibly' (Cf. p.132). In this respect the Hijazi group mainly sides with the hadari type which do not use the Tanwin except in cases of this kind. Similarly the dialect of the Juhaina, as our own sample shows, follows the Hijazi with regard to their usage of nunation.

Some other features which divide the Ḥarb from the Shammar group

The dialect of the Ḥarb is different in a number of respects from the dialect of Shammar; some of the differences have been discussed on the previous pages. We may here proceed to point to other features which are neither present among the Ḥarb nor to be found among the ^cOtaiba and Juhaina. These are:

1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.189
Hess, J.J. op.cit. p.80

(a) The ending of f.s. nouns in the dialect of the Harb is (-ah or a) e.g. rṭubah 'ripen date', ṣxara 'rock', while the dialect of Shammar¹, and the dialect of the ^cOnaiza² have (-ih) against the Classical (ah). Our own samples of the ^cOtaiba and Juhaina show the feminine ending (a, ah) e.g.

^c Ot.	mara	women
Juh.	byalah	mule

(b) Where forms of the personal suffix of 3 f.s. affixed to the noun, and the suffix of l.c.s., affixed to the verb are concerned the dialect of the Shammar usually has (-ah) for (-ha) 3 f.s. and (-an) instead of (ni)³ l.c.s. e.g.

ixtah zeenih	her sister is pretty ⁴
alli yṣuufan maay-arfan	whosoever sees me won't recognise me.

The same features are present in the dialect of the Weld Ali⁵.

By contrast, the dialect of the Harb has (-ha, and -ni) similar to the ^cAnaza dialect⁶. The dialect

1. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.231
Cf. also Abboud; P.F. The Syntax p.10.

2. Johnstone; T.M. The Aspects BSOAS, Vol. xxx, p.3.

3. Cantineau; J. Études III. p.230.

4. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax p.45, 42.

5. Wetzstein; J. Sprachliches ZDMG, vol. XXII. p.75,77.

6. Cantineau; J. Études III p.234.

of the^cOtaiba, Juhaina, and Muṭair are basically identical with the Ḥarb, and the^cAnaza in these respects. Our statement is based upon our own collected samples from the above tribes.

Some elements which separate the dialect of the Ḥarb from the^cAnaza

Again the dialect of the Ḥarb differs from those of the^cAnaza in regard to the form of the pronominal suffix of 3 m.s. Here the^cAnaza has (-ah)¹ while the Ḥarb uses (-ih or -uh, u) Cf. 142).

The dialect of the^cOtaiba and Juhaina is similar to our dialect in this respect. Cf. the examples below which are extracted from our own samples.

^c Ot.	imritih	his wife
Juh.	bidaaydu	his clans
	maliyytih	his property

Summing up, we may say that while our dialect again agrees in a considerable number of points of its morphology with the neighbouring dialects; yet as in matter of phonetic features, such linkages are multilateral rather than unilateral. The NC group of the Ḥarb and the Hijazi Bedouin link with^cAnasa and Shammar in the tendency to replace the imperfect pattern yafcul by yafcel and in

1. Cantineau; J. Ibid III , p.234.

forms of the imperative form of 2 m.s. of Hollow, Hamzated and geminate verbs. While by contrast the rest of the Hijazi retains the normal pattern of the imperfect yafcu and the normal form of the imperative 2 m.s. of Hamzated and geminate verbs. The Ḥarb is different from Shammar with regard to the imperative form of 2 f.s., the feminine ending of the singular noun, the personal suffix of the 3 f.s. and the verbal suffix of the 1 c.s. Similarly the Ḥarb is different from the^cAnaza in the form of the personal suffix of the 3 m.s.

On the other hand the Ḥarb and the^cOtaiba and Juhaina are linked with each other since they agree in the imperative form of 2 f.s. and the feminine ending of the singular noun; 3 m.s., 3 f.s. of the personal suffixes and the verbal suffix of 1 c.s. Furthermore, with regard to the imperative 2 m.s. of Hollow verb the Hijazi group is tied with the urban speech.

Again therefore there are clear linkages with Shammar and^cAnaza but also, and perhaps at least as importantly with Juhaina and^cOtaiba and again some features cannot be parallel in either group. The Ḥarb dialect is thus also morphologically related to, but not quite identical with, the dialects of its neighbours.

Comparative vocabulary

The following list is intended to give an overall comparison of some of the lexis found in the Ḥarb

dialect, with the vocabulary found in neighbouring dialects; this should help us to determine the degree of the relationship between our dialect and its neighbours, and also the main cases that have brought it closer to, or further away from, these neighbouring dialects.

In fact there are always difficulties found on inquiries of this kind, and indeed the study of comparative lexis in Arabian dialects is still a little worked field¹. However, as far as can be ascertained, the Arabian tribal dialects share a high percentage of their vocabulary. In addition many Classical words are still used both in our dialect and among the neighbouring tribes without any considerable shift of meaning e.g.

Har.,	^c Ot.	nidaa	dew ²
Har.,	RW.	wasm	early rain ³
Har.,	^c Anaz.	yaarat	attacked ⁴

These in fact are good examples of linguistic conservatism.

As a concise selection of lexis to be investigated had obviously to be made, the following procedure was adopted in order to find the similarity or dis-similarity in the use of vocabulary among our tribe and those dialects in the vicinity. It was decided to give priority to lists

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1. Landberg is one of the comparatively few scholars who devoted themselves to the investigation of comparative lexis see bibliography; Johnstone; T.M. provides an excellent summarized short list of comparative vocabulary of the Eastern Arabian dialects cf EADS p.16f.
 2. Hess: J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.67.
 3. Musil; A. The Manners, p.16.
 4. Landberg; Langue p.4.

of words denoting parts of the body, articles related to daily life, and those concerning social activities - including, in particular, words connected with camel-breeding, and warfare. Items concerned with tribal law have also been utilized throughout; set phrases and expressions were also included (all examples in this chapter from the Juhaina and Muṭair are taken from our own samples).

(i) Words commonly used among the Harb and its neighbours

to help, to support	fizac	Har.
	fizac	Juh.
	fizac	Muṭ.
	fezac	^c Anaz ¹ .
	yefzacuun	RW ²
to take refuge	ziban	Har.
	ziban	^c Ot ³
	zeben	RW. ⁴
	zeban	^c Anaz. ⁵

1. Landberg; Langue p.54

2. Musil; A. The Manners p.50

3. The example from our own sample CF. also Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen p.93 for the noun from this verb.

4. Musil; A. ibid. p.563

5. Landberg; Glossaire de la Langue des Bédouins ^cAnazeh p.25.

to come	lifa	Ḥar.
	lifa	Juh.
	lifa	Muṭ.
	lefa	cAnaz ¹
to mark	wisam	Har.
	wosam	Muṭ.
	wisem	cOt ²
	wasom	Weld Ali ³
to be afraid of	ḍaal	Ḥar.
	ḍaal	Juh.
	ḍaalleh	cAnaz ⁴
protege	cawaanii	Ḥar.
	cawaanii (caanii)	cOt ⁵
	cawaaniih	RW ⁶

1. Landberg; Langue p.3.

2. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.81

3. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.194

4. Landberg; Langue p.3.

5. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.101

6. Musil; A. The Manners, p.30.

to, toward	yamm	Har.
	yamm	Juh.
	yamm	Muṭ.
	yamm	Weld Ali ¹
	lamm	Sham ² .

(ii) Words to be found among the Harb, and the^c Otaiba, and Shammar.

to slaughter	ḏakkaa	Har
	ḏekkaa	^c Ot ³
to ward off (or obstruct) an avenger	garac	Har
	garac	^c Ot ⁴
to like	yadnaa	Har
	ydaani	Sham ⁵
very	balḥayl	Har
	balḥayl	Sham ⁶

1. Wetzstein; J. Sprachliches ZDMG Vol. xx11, p.127.

2. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.55.

3. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.117

4. Hess; J.J. ibid. p.94

5. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.38.

6. Abboud; P.F. ibid. p.29.

(iii) Words used among the Ḥarb and partly among its neighbouring tribes but not among all of them

to ululate	tyaṭrif	Ḥar.
	tyaṭrif	Juh.
	etzegret	Sham ¹ .
	tzayrit	Weld Ali ²
	uzayratat	ᶜAnaz ³
to kiss	ysallim	Ḥar.
	ṯhib	Weld Ali ⁴
	yehabhibuh	ᶜAnaz ⁵
neighbour	jaar	Ḥarb of the Hijaz
	jaar	Juh.
	giṣiir	Ḥar of Najd
	gaṣiir	ᶜOt ⁶
	gaṣiir	RW ⁷
breast	dees	Ḥar.
	dayd	Sham ⁸
	deyd	ᶜAnaz ⁹
	ṯadi	Hadadin, Mawali
	bezz	Sirhan ¹⁰

1. Cantineau; J. Études III p.188
2. Wetzstein; J. Sprachliches ZDMG, vol. XXII, p.97
3. Landberg; Langue p.7.
4. Wetzstein; J. Sprachliches ZDMG vol, XXII p.77
5. Landberg; Langue p.10
6. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen. p.94
7. Musil; A. The Manners, p.267
8. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.218
9. Landberg; Langue, p.6.
10. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.218,219.

wedding	jwaaz	Ḥar.
	juwaaz	Juh.
	guwaaz	^c Ot. ¹
	cirs	Sham ²
mouth	famm	Ḥar.
	famm	Juh.
	famm	Muṭ.
	fom	RW, Weld Ali ³
	eθem	Sham ⁴
lung	saḥar	Ḥar.
	saḥar	Sbaca, RW ⁵
	riya	Rass, Sham ⁶
	maclaag	Rogga
	faase	Al-Jawf
small leather bag used for keeping ghee	cukka	Ḥar.
	cokkeh	^c Ot. ⁷
	zarf, naḥw	RW ⁸

The words zarf and niḥu are also found in the ^cOtaiba dialect (Cf. Hess p.119).

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1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.134
 2. Abboud; P.F. The Syntax, p.35
 3. Cantineau; J. Études III, p.217
 4. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.217
 5. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.222
 6. Cantineau; J. ibid. p.221, 222
 7. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.119
 8. Musil; A. The Manners, p.97.

The following paragraphs gives the name of the camel from the moment of its birth until it reaches seven years of age, among the Ḥarb, Rwala, and the^cOtaiba tribes.

<u>Harb</u>	^c <u>Otaiba</u>	<u>Rwala</u>
ḥwaar	ḥwaar ¹	ḥwaar ²
-	-	maxluul
mafruud	mafruud	mafruud
ḥiġġ	hidzdz	hezz
liġi	lidzi	lizi
jidac	gidac	gedc
ḥini	ḥini	ḥeni
rubaac	rubaac	rubc
sidees	sides	-
ṣaag' naabeh	ṣaaggynnaabeh	-

Phrases

'May God whiten your or his face.' A phrase to be said when a person does a good deed.

bayyaḏ	ḥallaah	wajhak	Ḥar.
beiyḏ	ḥallaah	weghek	^c Ot. ³
bayyaḏ	ḥallaah	wagheh	RW ⁴

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1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.73,74
 2. Musil; A. The Manners, p.333
 3. Hess: J.J. ibid. p.169
 4. Musil; A. ibid. p.452.

The following phrases of invocation are commonly used among the Ḥarb and ^cOtaiba:

yaamaal ʔalɕama	may you be blind	Ḥar.
yaamaal elguuɕ	may you die of hunger	^c Ot. ¹
ɕasaak lalmawt	may you be dead	Har.
ɕasaak lelgoom	may you be in the hand of the enemy.	^c Ot. ²

The foregoing discussion indicates that many words used by the Ḥarb are commonly found among a large portion of its neighbours. On the whole, the ^cOtaiba, and Rwala share a high percentage of their lexis with the Ḥarb. But it seems that the Ḥarb and the ^cOtaiba in particular are closely related, since many similar words and phrases are found among both tribes.

1. Hess; J.J. Von den Beduinen, p.168

2. Hess; J.J. op.cit. p.168

Summary and conclusion:

From the foregoing comparison the overriding questions which emerge are (1) what type of dialect does the Ḥarb tribe speak? (2) what is the relationship of this dialect to its neighbouring dialects? and (3) to what group is it most closely related?

The dialect of the Ḥarb represents one of the non-urban dialects spoken within the general area extending from the Western province of Saudi Arabia to al-Qasīm (Cf. map no. 1). It has close links in many respects with the dialects of Arabian tribes found in the vicinity of this area as we have shown in our comparison above.

We have also shown on p.27,29, 206ff that many features in the dialect of the Ḥarb parallel some of the basic characteristics of the spoken dialects of the present day non-urban population of Northern and Central Arabia. There are however differences in respect to some features (Cf. p.30, 219 ff) which clearly divide the Shammar and Anaza groups from the dialect of the Ḥarb, while on the other hand a number of features (Cf. p.221ff) link the Ḥarb with its other neighbours Otaiba and Juhaina.

Certain features of the Ḥarb dialect (Cf. p.28, are peculiar to itself, and taking these in conjunction with the characteristics notices above we conclude that the speech of the Ḥarb must be regarded as a separate dialectal entity.

At this point, another important question has to be considered. We have shown that the dialect of the Ḥarb can be divided into two main groups, namely the Hijazi group and the Northern Central group, and we have also shown that the Northern Central group inclines towards the^c Anaza and Shammar a linkage not shared by the Hijazi group. This being so, the question must now be asked whether we are really entitled to talk of one Ḥarb dialect with sub-dialects, rather than of two dialects with some common features.

In view of the evidence adduced, the answer to this question must be that this division is of secondary importance only, since it mainly concerns questions of phonology, while the morphology, lexis and syntax are very similar in both groups. Furthermore, the phonology of the Ḥarb speech as a whole in spite of the variants noted above shows common features which mark it off as one dialect, e.g. the pronunciation of (j) as a palato-alveolar affricate and the occasional occurrence of a front palatal (dy) accompanied by affrication or the replacement of (j) b- (y) in certain words (cf. p.53ff); similarly both groups of the Ḥarb show a prepalatal (k',g') and the tendency to replace the diphthongs (aw, ay) by (aa). These and similar features set out in Chapter 1 in fact exhibit the unity of this dialect.

In morphology we have shown that the Ḥarb are distinguished in regard to a number of important features from the Shammar and Anaza, such as the preservation of the initial Hamza of the perfect ṣaxad 'to take', and in the feminine ending of the singular noun, the personal suffixes of 3 m.s. and 3 f.s. and the verbal suffix of 1 c.s.

In their vocabulary all the Ḥarb use many words not shared by their neighbours, such as taḥarra 'to wait', hawwid 'be still', yaṣda 'look alike', xaasar 'to share', saxa 'generosity' etc. (See Chapter III).

These features all suggest that the Ḥarb dialect is essentially one, even though the Northern Central group shows some influence from the Central Arabian dialects.

This recalls the basic problem which we set out in our introduction, namely that part of the Ḥarb separated from its original stock in circa 1815-6, and migrated to a different environment, where it was likely to be affected by linguistic influences from its new neighbours. We can now show that for this emigrant group - the Northern Central group - many such influences are indeed attested especially on the phonetic side, but they are marginal and have not yet led to a complete linguistic divergence, perhaps because ties of relationship still link both parts of the Ḥarb. It is instructive to note how much or how little divergence can be traced during a period of circa 150 years, since dateable dialectal variations in tribal

Arabia are unfortunately rare. Similarly the Hijazi group tends to use certain morphological features typical of urban speech, resulting from their contact with the urban populations of the Hijazi cities, but again the basic features of their original dialect have remained substantially unchanged.

The dialect of the Ḥarb within its two main groups and the above-mentioned urbanized subgroup, is still on the whole a very conservative dialect which has not been subjected to any major influence; even those of the Ḥarb tribe who lives in the cities of the Hijaz, such as Mecca or Jedda, do not show the characteristic features of the spoken dialect of those cities, such as the replacement of the interdental θ , δ by t , s , d , z and other features¹. This is due to the fact that the emigration of the Ḥarb to the cities is a very recent phenomenon, having occurred only since the formation of the Saudi Arabian state, and their ties even now with the other populations of Mecca and Jedda are not very strong; they tend to live in a district of their own, and their dialect is preserved intact without any great influence from their neighbours, quite apart from any acquisition of non-Arabian linguistic features.

1. for details Cf. the present writer's M. Phil. diss. (1972) p.84ff.

Hijazi Texts

Transcription I

Informant no 23, from Wādi al-Furu^c

ʔactiriflak if middat jaddi imrayyic ʔabin imbaarak ʔaza
imṭaar usammoonaha ʔazwat ʔalxfayr micih ḥarb min bini camr
umin cawf uyawm wiṣlaw ʔalmilh wilya ʔan ḥalaal ibla rjaal
ʔaḥar ʔarrjaal giḍbawluhum ʔalmaa ʔadiirin waahid maayeeru
maa ʔlaawaraah ulaaduunuh ysamma ʔalxfayr waxdaw ʔalḥalaal
min ṣifaa laagaac uyaam jaa ʔaḍḍuhur udaabiḥḥum ʔaḍḍomaah uhum
cala ʔalyudraan win gawmuhum giddaamuhum utimaadoo uḥiṣil
ḍabḥ ytarraḥ winkisar jaddi fiiha. usaar jaddi mac sittiin
walad min biniixiih wicyaalih imnacaḥ cind ʔalgimsaan cind
cabdalla ʔalgray waxadaw ʔarbiicin yawm ujaw ildiirathum
ubacad sana uhaw yʔaziihum fiṣfaana uṣaax ʔalmitraan ifḍaak
ʔalwagt ysamma ḥaamid bin zhaymiil ʔarriḥaymi yaam jaa
ʔaṣṣobaah uhum caleehum ufawwal ṭalag yṭiiḥ ḥaamid bin
zhaymiil dibiiḥ wiḥligi yaalbindig fiihum ugaamaw yadbiḥoon
fimigfi winkisar ʔalcabdili ujaddi urabiḥ gaamaw balfawz
wannosra waxadaw maḥaṣṣlawh min kisaayib min ḥalaal wiṣlaah
ujays ulaasaar lalcabdili ḍaak ʔannahaar fiiha laaaxḍ.
ulaacataa.

Hijazi Texts

Translation I

I will relate to you an event which occurred at the time of my grandfather Murrayic¹ son of Mubarak; who had carried out a raid on the Muṭair tribe. The raid was called the Riad of al-khifair. With my grandfather were some Ḥarbi members of the Banu^ʿAmr and^ʿAwf.

Arriving at al-Milḥ they found cattle without men who they had taken possession of the only stream at that place; as there was no water in the vicinity which is called al-khifair. Thereupon they (the Ḥarb) took all the cattle and by noon they arrived very thirsty at the stream, and were confronted by their enemies. Violence ensued between the Ḥarb and Muṭair, and the extent of the slaughter which resulted is worthy of recording. My grandfather was defeated.

Another time my grandfather went to al-Qimshān to^ʿAbdAllah al-Qray accompanied as a precautionary measure by sixty men who were his kinsmen and his sons. They stayed forty days and then returned to their villages. After one year he raided them (the Muṭair) in Ṣfaina. The chief of the Muṭair at that time was Ḥamid son of Zhaimil ar-Rhiami. The attack by the Ḥarb took place in the early morning, and at the first shot Ḥamid son of Zhaimil

1. i.e., chief of ʿIbida of the Banu^ʿAmr of the Ḥarb.

fell dead. The ¹Abdali were defeated and my grandfather and his people successfully took what booty of cattle, arms and horses which they found.

1. i.e. Banu ¹AbdAllah branch of the Mutair

Hijazi Texts

Transcription II

Informant no: 25 from Wādi aṣ-Ṣafrā

yoom jaa ɔalmɣarib uhinna nazrug ɔalglaca haadi yawm
jiina walaahum maasiin ɔatturk minha raayhiin winawwid
laθθaanya maca ɔaṣṣxuur walɔtaf yoom jiina wala maafiiha
ɔahad unalga ɔatturki waahid naasib unamsuku unaaxud
ɔalbindig imnuh winbayyitu cindana falglaca laṣṣubh
waṣṣobh mayyalnaah laṣṣiriif gult ween caṭas gaal ihna
caṭas wamsi micih walaah daasaha faṣṣxara wamsakha waaxudha
wamsiibuh laacind xiwiyyi falglaca wimbaat washarna minaljooc
walaa yideeh ɔacuud billah mayyit marrah wiṣiilluh hamla
cindu gay jumbxaan wactaytu tamra ucaṣaytu bayyatna laṣṣubh
jibnaah laṣṣiriif ṣaal ɔalhamla diiha micih ṣanduugayn
jumbxaan mcaadilha cala matnuh winjiibu laṣṣiriif uyoom
intiḥawna bowaardiyya galaw wiṣinna ɔaṣṣiriif gaal cawwidoo
haada laayiji riddooh kaanoh turki xallooh yruuh cind xooyaah
winkaan ṣaami haatu baayi ɔaaxud cluumu raahawluh gaalaw
turki

Hijazi Texts

Translation II

When evening came we hastened to a castle which we found had been abandoned by the Turks. Going on to a second castle through the rocks and gullies, we encountered nobody; but found one of the Turks remaining in the castle. We held him and we took his gun and he spent the night with us in the castle until the morning - whereupon we took him to the Sharif, and I asked: 'Where is the gun and the ammunition?' he replied: it is here. I walked with him and saw that he had hidden it in the rock. I took it and I walked back into the castle to my companions where we spent the night. We could not sleep because the Turk, God preserve us, was very weak and hungry. He was carrying ammunition and had a rope. I gave him dates and food and we spent the night together; in the morning we brought him to the Sharif. He carried the load of two boxes of ammunition which he had on his back.

On our way to the Sharif some of our gunmen met us and said: 'We approached the Sharif and he ordered us to go back and not to bring the man if he was a Turk, letting him go back to his companions. But if he is a Syrian bring him in I want to question him.'

They told the Sharif that he was a Turk.

Hijazi Texts

Transcription II

Informant no 12 from Wādi al-Qāḥa

marra caday cāly^a diib waana minsidiḥli cala şifiiḥa yoom
laddayt win alyanam jaafila ifracan ana balla walciliim
inni anamsaxxin uminsidiḥ uhaatli ḥaşa cindi yawm
laddayt win alyanam jaafila rifaḥta raasi yoom rifaḥta
raasi ṭaar naami wana arfaḥ raasi aguum waagif win
addiib yadi maalyanam daaxil maca alyanam yaam wişlat
kabbaytiḥ waagif leen wişlat alyanam cindi winnuḥ walla
yaam ṭarah diik arruxla yoom ṭarah anncaja wana ḥadiif
bawwal ṭbuga ḥadiif baḥḥaaniya baḥḥaalḥa barraabca cayyat
tiji calaah sawwat ṭabbaḥt cindiḥ giriḥt waḥadfu min
grayyib leen balla gaddar caleeh adrub idbiik aṭṭbuga
şiḥt caad larricyaan walcizb algrayyib ḥinna cizb faddilcaan
ujaw winnih kiid farr.

Hijazi Texts

Translation III

Once, I was attacked by a wolf as I was reclining on a flagstone. I turned my head to look at the sheep, and seeing that they were frightened for some reason. God knows I had also been feeling feverish I was lying down, placing small stones beside me and seeing the fear of the sheep, I got up on my feet and saw the wolf running amongst the sheep. I hesitated until the sheep drew near to me, but the wolf had attacked a ewe. I threw a stone at him, then a second, and a third, then fourth, none of which hit him. I jumped near to him and took aim from nearby, where thanks be to God, I hit him with a stone.

Calling some nearby shepherds, who were ^{my} companions in the mountains, they came, but the wolf had escaped.

Northern Central Texts

Transcription I

Informant no. 28 from aṢ-Ṣuwaidera

iḥdaram wala maṣar ḥaddiwiba minawwal ḥabu mṣaar woḥdaram
ḥarb ḥala ḥaddiweybi yaam rabbac am falgiṣiim uyjuun imṭaar
uyadxiluun ḥala ḥabu mṣaar yaam innihum dxalam ḥala ḥabu
mṣaar uḥrubuh ḥaṣṣayf urabbac uhum yadxiluun ḥaleeh ula
ihna ṣaacirtin marah ygaallaha ḥaljidciyya tagṣid jat
waarda zamlaha ḥala ḥadya lbiyaar wiṭridawha gaalat
laatridoonni yaamṭeer can ḥadd ḥaddiwaybi haada maahublukum
ḥaha xalloo zamli taṣrab min ḥard ḥalmitaariyyaat utirtic
ifniḥmit ḥalla gaalaw ḥabdan ruuhi ḥanti waddiwaybi walla
maatirdiinuh gaamat tagṣid ḥaḥar jat ḥalgiṣiida ḥaddiwaybi
uhwah ifṭaraf ḥalgiṣiim gaal yaallah yaaharb ḥahl ḥalyanam
wahl ḥarridiyya yamsoon ḥala mahalhum wahl ḥalxayl walbil
ytawkkiloon ḥalalla uyawm gyaa isbuuc baad ḥalgiṣiida uhuh
ysugg ḥalfajur uhuh waarid ḥaleeh wilya imṭaar ḥalxayl
warriyaajiil witsiir ḥalmacrika widbahḥum ḥayf ḥalla
ḥaddiwaybi ḥatla laayguul walla waahid yaam ḥribeh bassayf
ḥin ilsaaneh ylaali ujiḥḥiteh baadziya ḥala ḥahr ḥaddiluul.

Northern Central Texts

Translation I

They went down - abu Mughair was a dwelling place of the Dhiwiba¹ from time immemorial - the Ḥarb went down to the Dhiwaibi² when they were spending the spring in al-Qasīm. The Muṭair tribe came and entered abu Mughair. When Muṭair entered abu Mughair; it was springtime, and so they stayed.

There was at that place a poetess called al-Jidciyya. She came with her camels to one of the wells of abu Mughair to water them. The Muṭairi people drove her away. She said: 'Oh Muṭair, do not drive me away from the place of adh-Dhuwaibi; it is not yours; please let my camels drink and graze on the grass which God had provided³ like the Muṭairi women.

They said: 'no! clear off, both you and Dhiwaibi!'

She thereupon started to recite Qasīda. (text of Qasīda recorded by the present writer).

This Qasīda spread all over the region and it reached the Dhiwaibi, when he was camping on the borders of al-Qasīm. He said: 'Let us go oh Ḥarb, men with awkward beasts may travel slowly, while men with horses and camels may go on ahead.

1. A clan of Banu^cAmr of the Ḥarb.

2. i.e. dhaif Allah the chief of the Dhiwiba

3. Lit. 'gift of God'.

A week had passed after the reciting of the Qasīda, when the Dhiwaibi and the Ḥarb arrived at break of day at the encampment of the Muṭair. They found the Muṭair both horses and men. Then a fight started and dḥāif Allah adh-Dhiwaibi fought and killed all the Muṭair.

At the conclusion he said: 'By God, the tongue of one of the Muṭair was still shrieking in the air while his body had been left on the back of his she-camel.

Northern Central Texts

Transcription II

Information no 35 from an-NaQra

ḡaguul miḡsin ḡalfirm yguul ṣabbahna feeṣal addiwiiṣ gaal
ḡinni mḡahhin can raaci ḡalbil yaam ḡahhayt can raaci
ḡalbil ḡabiih yalḡag ufakkart ulya ḡalmiḡiira calaana Gaal
wana ḡarkab ḡalfaras wana ḡaṣiiḡ caleehum gaal yaam ṣaafoo
yiḡsiboon ḡalli mici ḡasseef walli mici dis ḡaṡṡayr. gaal
walla yṣalliṡ cala mṡaar utinkisir uyinkisir faaṣal ḡaddiwiiṣ
ufekk gyhaamat ḡarb ḡint yaamiḡsin ḡalfirm ḡassiwaalif waajid.
ugiiṣṣat ibjaad ḡalmarbuud alfiraydi ibṣammar wiṡtaaba
wimṡeyr uḡarb yaam tigatṡat ḡabaacirhum uhum ḡaadriin
lalṡraag ugaalaw weṣ ḡalḡiila gaal ḡalḡiila cindi ḡana
maahi cindukum ḡantum gaalaw weṣ ḡalḡiila Gaal ḡalḡiila
ḡana ḡasannicḡum taraah ḡalli yguulu ḡalḡarbi bjaad waahḡdin
fraydi min gymaacatna..

Northern Central Texts

Translation II

I say: 'Miḥsin al-Firm¹ relates that Faiṣal ad-Diwīsh² carried out a raid on us. Miḥsin relates: 'I was walking with the man who was looking after the camels to the near pasture. I intended to escort him to the other shepherds. Suddenly I saw the raiders were upon us. I rode my horse towards them and shouted at them. When they saw me they thought I had a sword in my hand but what I really had was a hawk's hood³'. Miḥsin exclaimed: 'God has overcome the Muṭair and they have suffered defeat'. Thus Faiṣal ad-Diwīsh had been defeated and Miḥsin al-Firm had saved (the cattle) and defended the honour of the Ḥarb.

Such tales are numerous.

And there's the tale of Bijād al-Marbūd al-Firaidi⁴ and Shammar,^c Otaiba, Muṭair and Ḥarb; when their camels were failing on their way to Iraq, they said: 'What's to be done? Bijād said: 'I know what we should do'. They asked: 'What?'. He replied: 'I'll tell you' this was Bijād talking, one of our Furaidi clan..

1. i.e. chief of the Banu Ali of the Ḥarb.

2. i.e. chief of the Muṭair

3. used in hunting

4. i.e. from the Fruda clan of the Banu Ali of the Ḥarb

Northern Central Texts

Transcription III

Informant no 39 from al-Fawwāra

min siwaalif ħarb ɔalmicizzaat ɔaddifeeri ɔabin cfeesaan
xaṭar jay min makka min bayt ɔalla ħajjaj uxatar cind
cabdalla bin ħawwaas ɔibn tsiheelaan min ɔalbisaariya min
bini saalim ugayyad diluuleh balciṣb yabaaha taṣhar balciṣb
itsaacdiḥ liya ɔaṣbah itmajjiduh almirwaah imcaaziibih uyawm
ɔaṣbah wilyaahi ibzaydaha haada tuul ikraacaha cind imcazzibih
laaycarfu ulaayicraf uhaw yiji jaayib irsinih yanglih gaal
eṣ cilmak maaligayt ɔaddiluul masruuga gaal ɔabdan laawalla
ɔadiluul mayta yxalifha ɔalla yaamcazzibi gaal ṣif haṣṣfraa heṭṭ
risank fiiha wirkab calaaha dawwir icyaalak gaal ɔalla
yazzaak xeer meer ɔint min ɔant gaal unḍur ilwasmaha wilya
jawk ħadrat al-craag ɔalli faayḍell-craag min ħarb uwasmuhum
miṭl wasmaha callidzhum iyyaah.

Northern Central Texts

Translation III

Among the glorious tales of the Ḥarb is the tale of az-Zafīri¹, son of Ifaiṣān: on his way back from Mecca after performing the pilgrimage, he stayed with Abd Allah, son of Ḥawwās, son of kihailān of the Bishāriya family of the Banu Sālim. He tethered his she-camel on the herbage he wants her to eat her fill, so that she would be of service to him when he set off on his journey to his family.

When he awoke in the early morning he found the she-camel with her legs² out stretched among people to whom he was a stranger, and with whom he was unacquainted.

az-Zafīri came carrying his halter.

al-Bishrī said: 'What is the matter, have you not found the she-camel?

az-Zafīri answered: 'no, by God. The she-camel is dead. God will give something better in its place, oh my host!

al-Bishri replied: 'Look! Do you see that yellow she-camel? Put your halter on her neck and ride her to your family.

az-Zafiri exclaimed: 'May God reward you with good; but who are you?' al-Bishri replied: 'Look at the brand

1. from az-Zafir tribe

2. i.e. means it was dead

which is on the she-camel, when any men of Harb who are on their way to Iraq pass you, and their camels bear a similar brand to the one on this she-camel, give it to them.

Informants

(a) from the region of the Hijaz

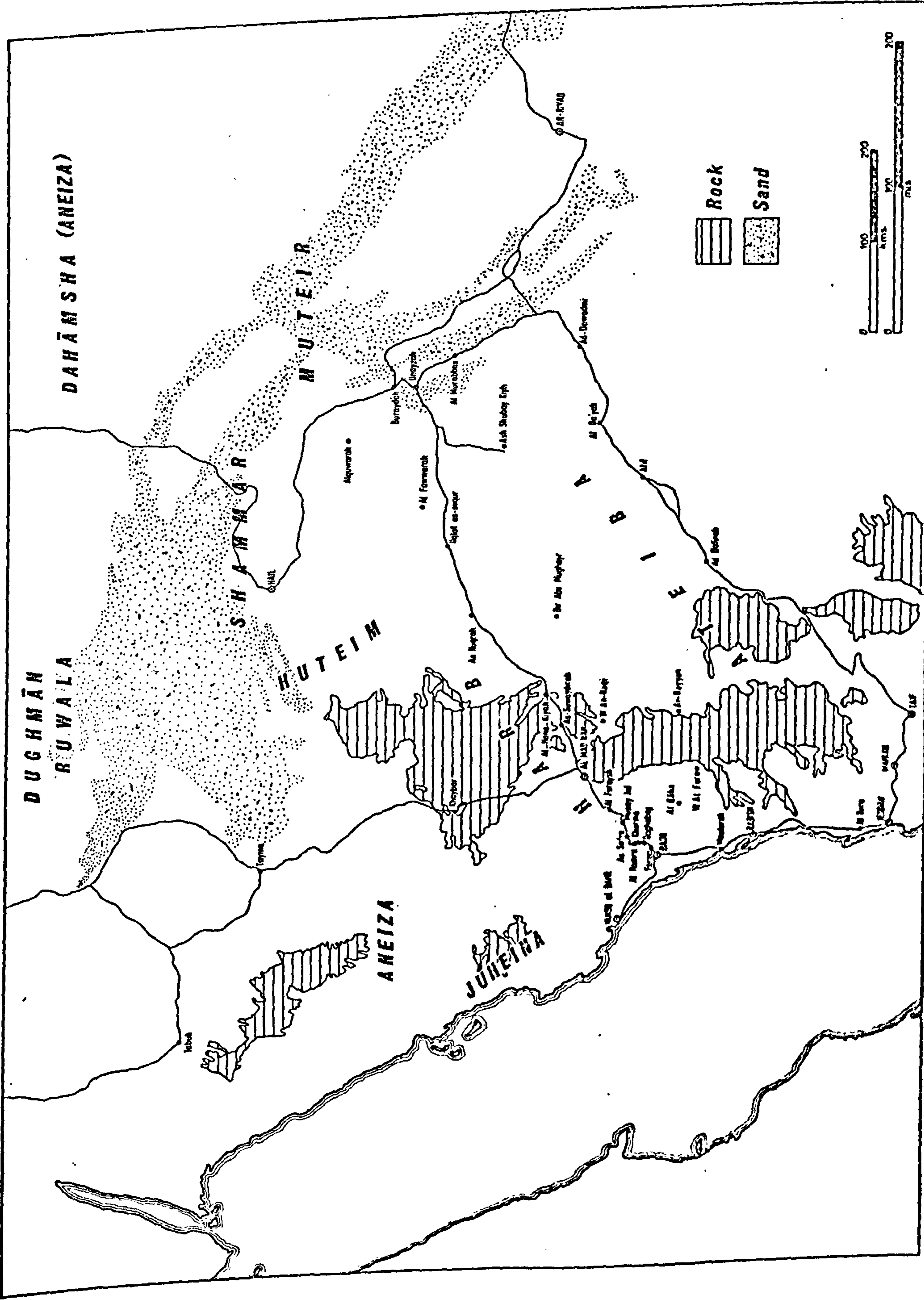
1. Salim bin ^ʿOdhAlla
age 55 years
shepherd
Wādī Ibwa, al-Khirayba (al-Abwa)
2. Salama bin Hsain al-^ʿIbaidi
age 45 years
illiterate
al-Khiraiba
3. Conversation with ^ʿIwayyid bin DikhilAlla
age 65 years
Bedouin
Umm al-Birak
4.
age 60 years
Bedouin
honeymaker
5.
age 50 years
Bedouin
Abyār ash-Shaikh
6. Conversation with a shepherd
age 38 years
Wādī al-Qāḥa
7. Himaid bin ^ʿAṭiyya
age 50 years
farmer
Bīr Qaizi, Wādī al-Qāḥa

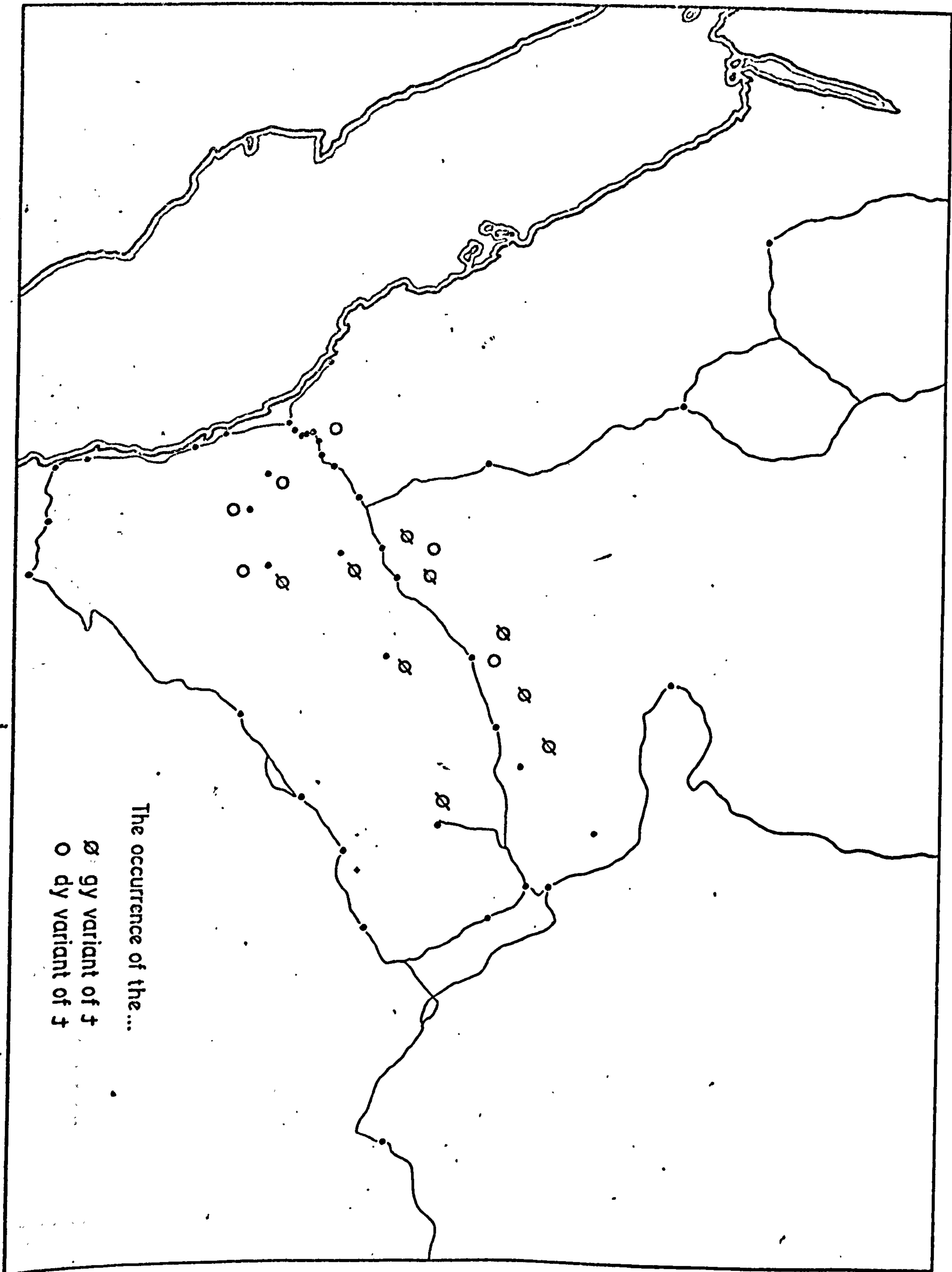
8. Binayya bin Dikhīl Alla
age 40 years
Bedouin
honeymaker
9. Ḥamdān bin Silaiman
age 30 years
farmer
Wādī al-Qāḥa
10. Salim bin Fādhil
age 67 years
Bedouin
Shepherd
Jibal ʿAwf
11. Rizeeq bin Dikhīl
age 38 years
shopkeeper
Bīr Qaizi
12. Ḥiṭeeḥiṭ bin ʿAtiyya
age 45 years
Bedouin
Wādī al-Qāḥa
13. Conversation with Sallūm
age 40 years
Shopkeeper
Bīr Qaizi
14. Mbayrik bin Ḥisain al-ʿIbaidi
age 50 years
Farmer
Wādī al-Qāḥa
15. Maṭir bin ʿIwaid
age 45 years
Bedouin
Bīr al-Ghanam

16. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Silaihibi
age 35 years
trademan
Jibal Wirgān
17. Simrān al-Luqmani
age 43 years
farmer
Wādī al-Qāḥa
18. Conversation with Salmān bin Jāhil about
honey-making
Jibal Ṣubḥ
19. Mibairīk bin Aḥmad
age 45 years
farmer
Bīr Qaiḏi
20. Conversation with Misaifir and others
age 65 years
farmer
Wādī al-Qāḥa
21. Mibairīk
age 70 years
Bedouin
al-Ḥafāḥ
22. Conversation with a Camel rearer
age 50 years
al-Ḥafāḥ
24. Shaikh Mrayiḥ al-ʿIbaidi
age 45 years
farmer
ʿabu dhbaḥ, Wādī al-Furuḥ

24. Bin Rbaiq
age 60 years
farmer
ar-Rayyan, Wādi al-Furuḥ
25. Conversation with Aḥmad bin Ḥamdān
age 70 years
al-Wāṣṭa, Wādi aṣ-Ṣafra,
26. ar-Ruwaibi
age 65 years
Wādi aṣ-Ṣafra
- (b) The following informants are from Northern Central group
27. ʿAbdAllāh bin Saād
age 40 years
Camel rearer
aṣ-Ṣuwaidera
28. Shaikh Mhammad bin Marzūq as-Siḥaimi
age 48 years
as-Suwaidera
29. Msaad bin Mislīm
age 38 years
aṣ-Ṣuwaidera
30. Conversation with a Bedouin
age 60 years
aṣ-Ṣuwaidera
31.
age 55 years
al-Ḥanākiyya
32. Conversation with.....
age 40 years
al-Ḥanākiyya

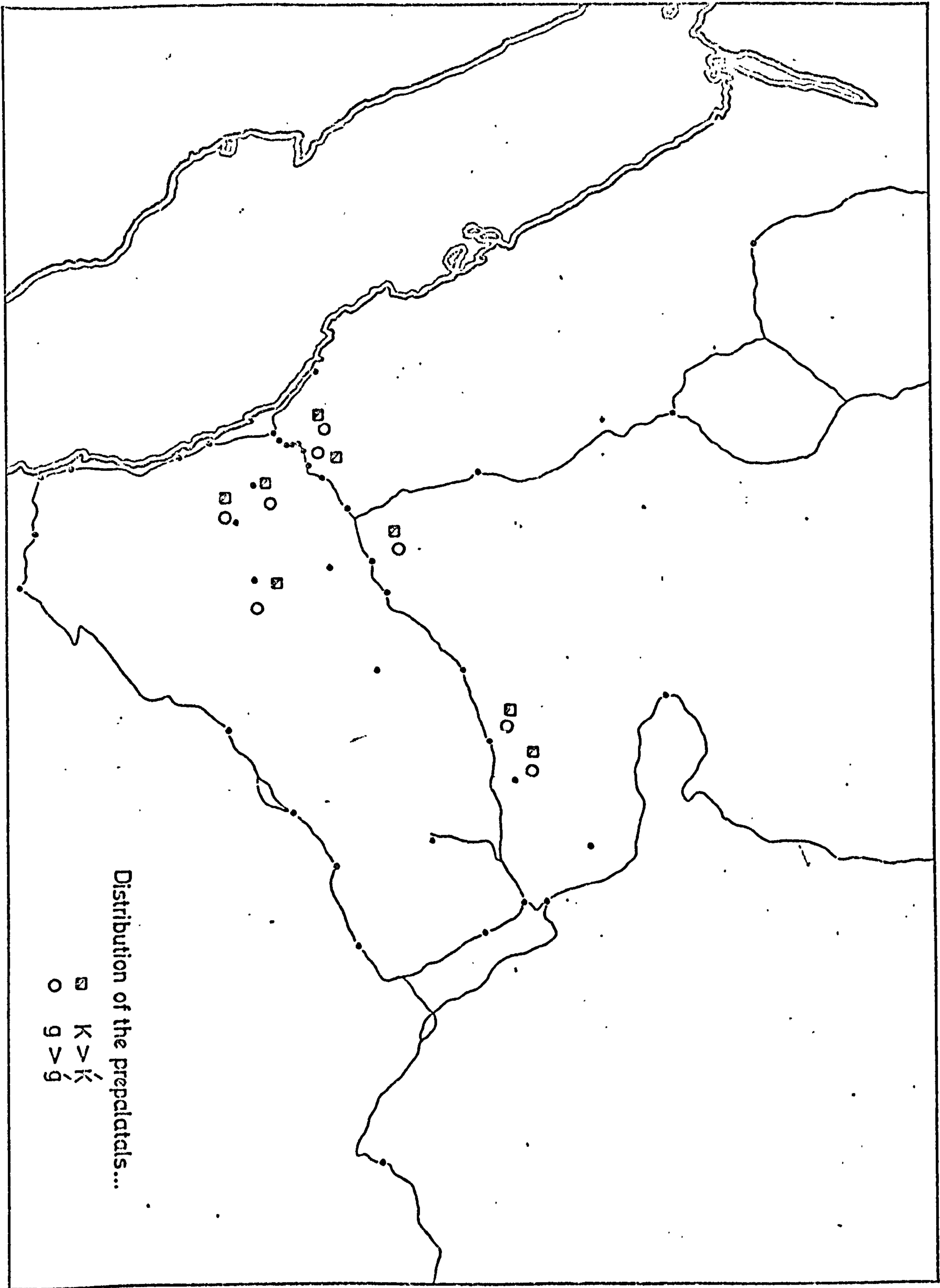
33. Bin Ribaig
age 52 years
al-Ḥanākiyya
34. Conversation with a Bedouin
Shepherd
ᶜArja
35. A Camel rearer
age 50 years
ᶜOthaima
36. Shaikh Mḥammad bin dhiār bin Sulṭān
age 45 years
an-Nagra
37. Miṣliḥ
age 38 years
retainer
ᶜOglat as-Sugur
38. Conversation with a Camel rearer
as-Shibaikiyya
39. Conversation with a group of informants
al Fawwāra
40.
Bedouin
age 50 years
al-Fawwāra





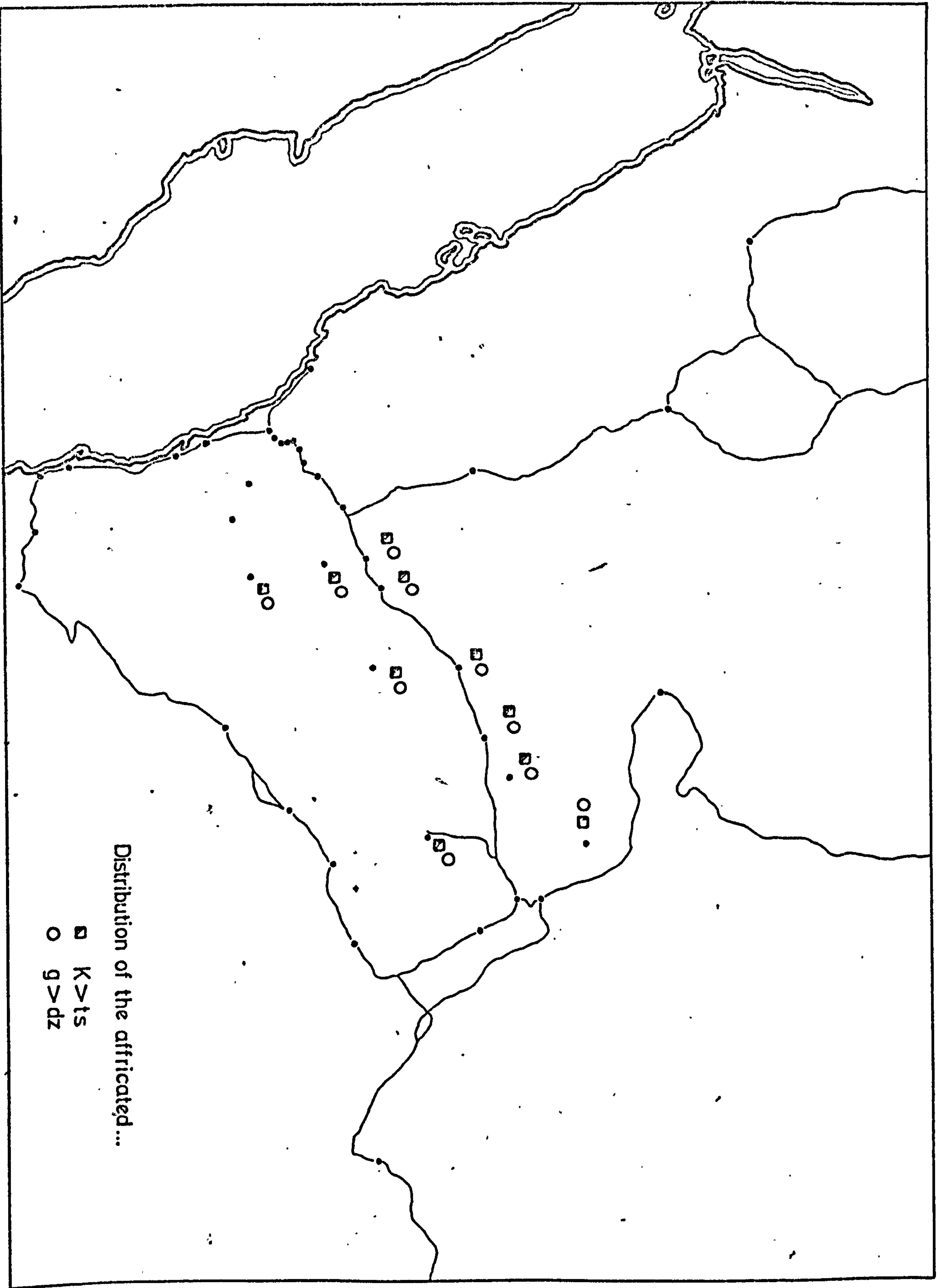
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- o dy variant of f



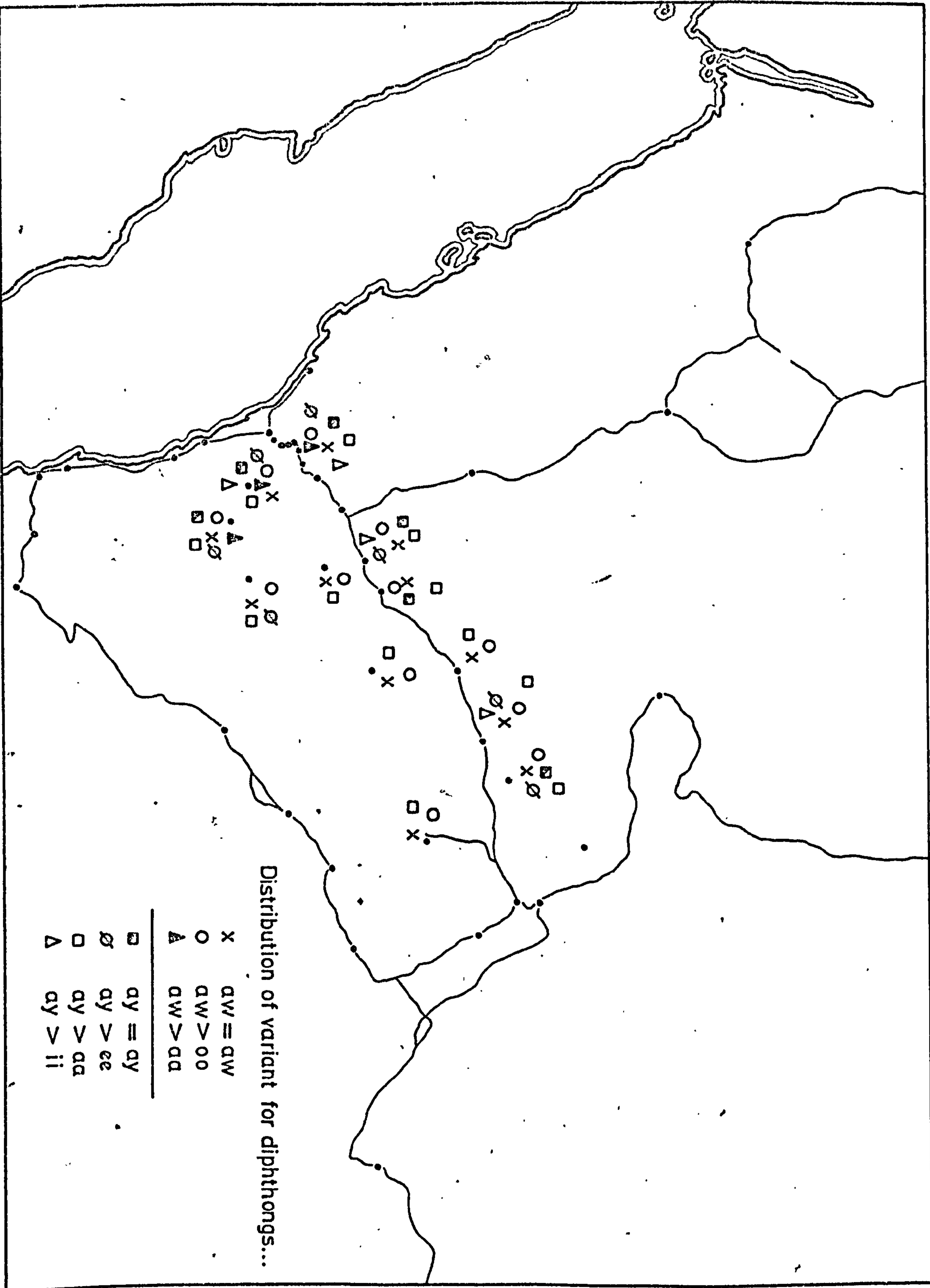
Distribution of the prepalatals...

▣ $K > k'$
○ $g > g'$



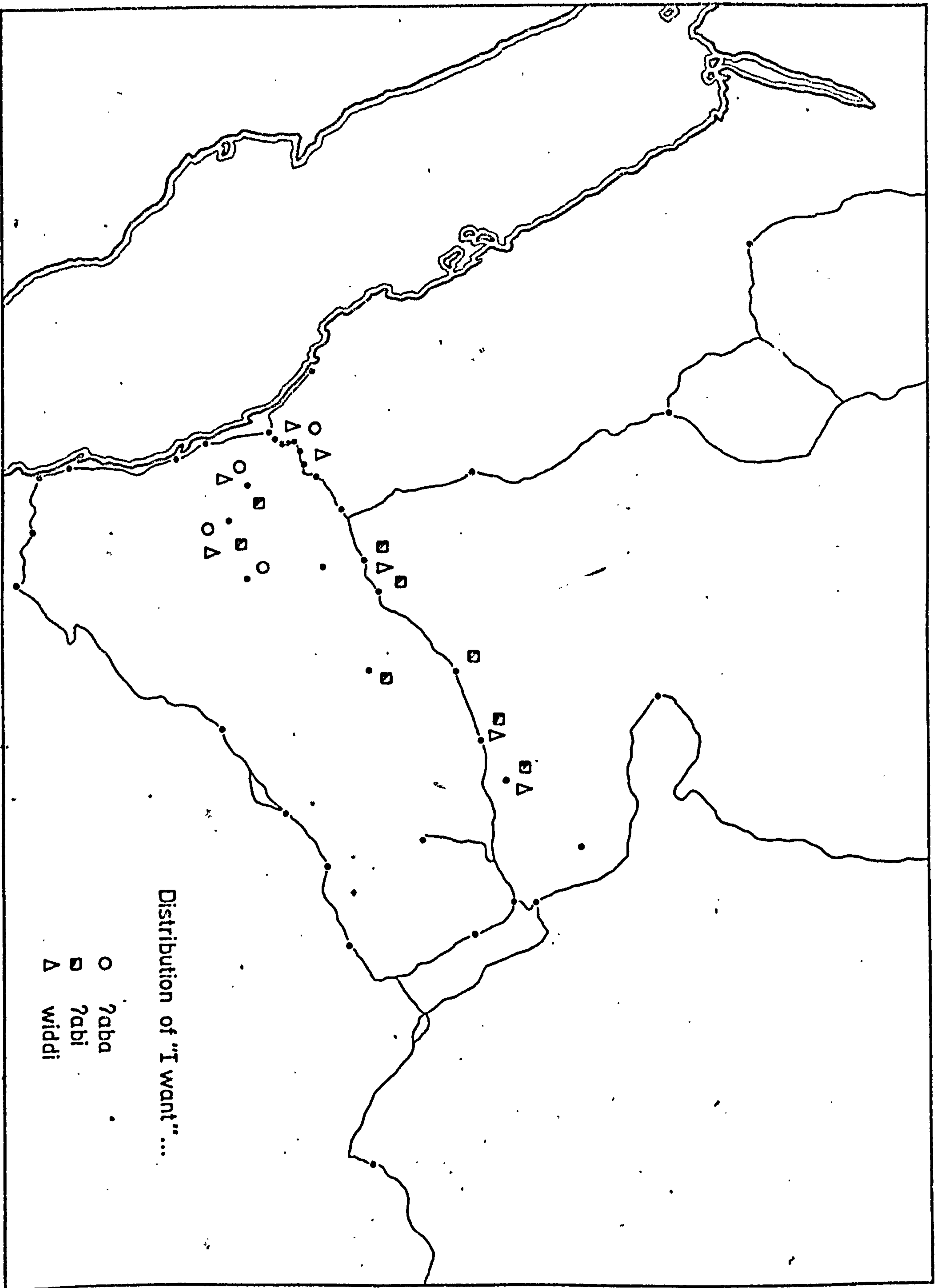
Distribution of the affricated...

- ▣ K>ts
- g>dz



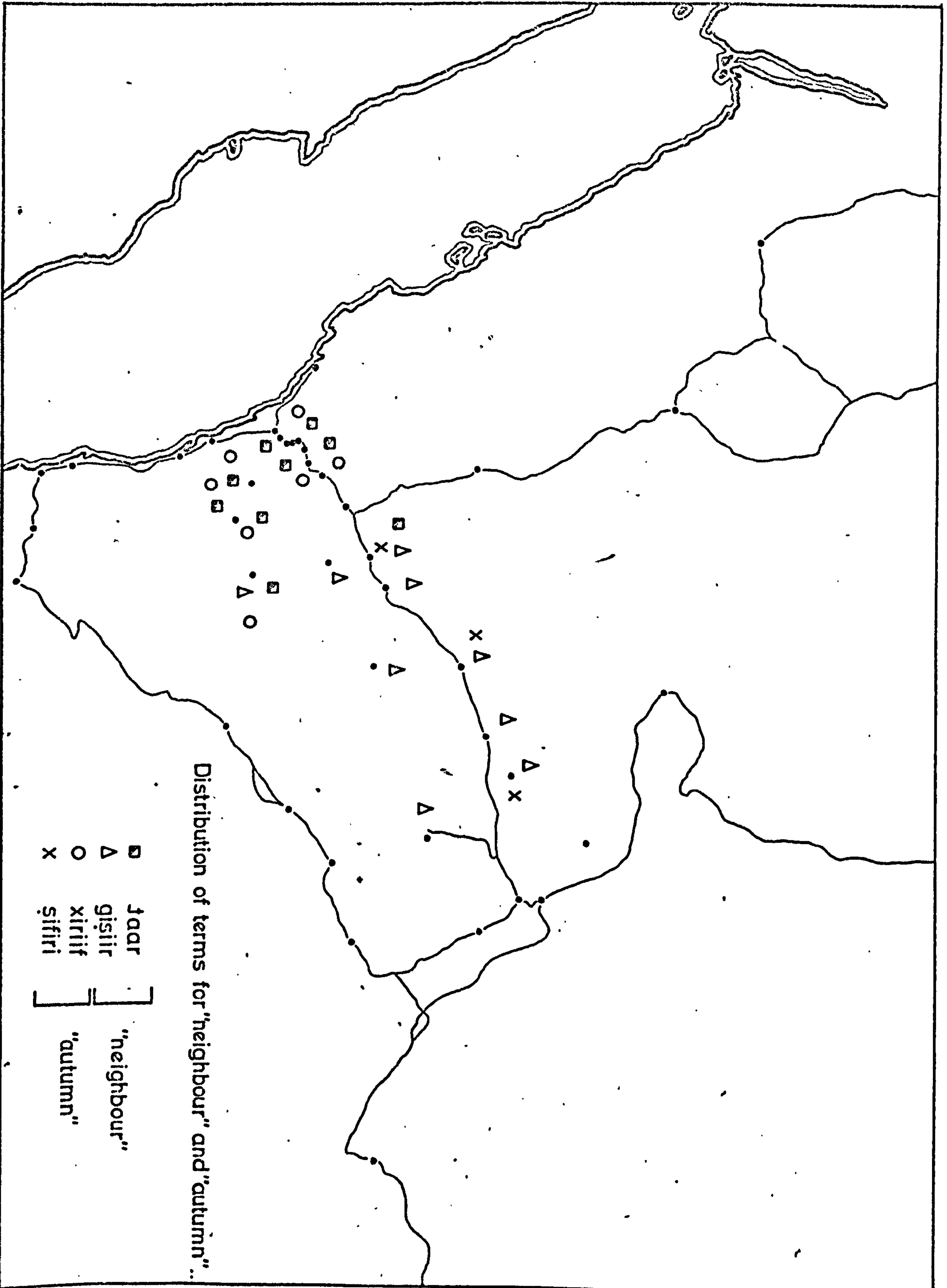
Distribution of variant for diphthongs...

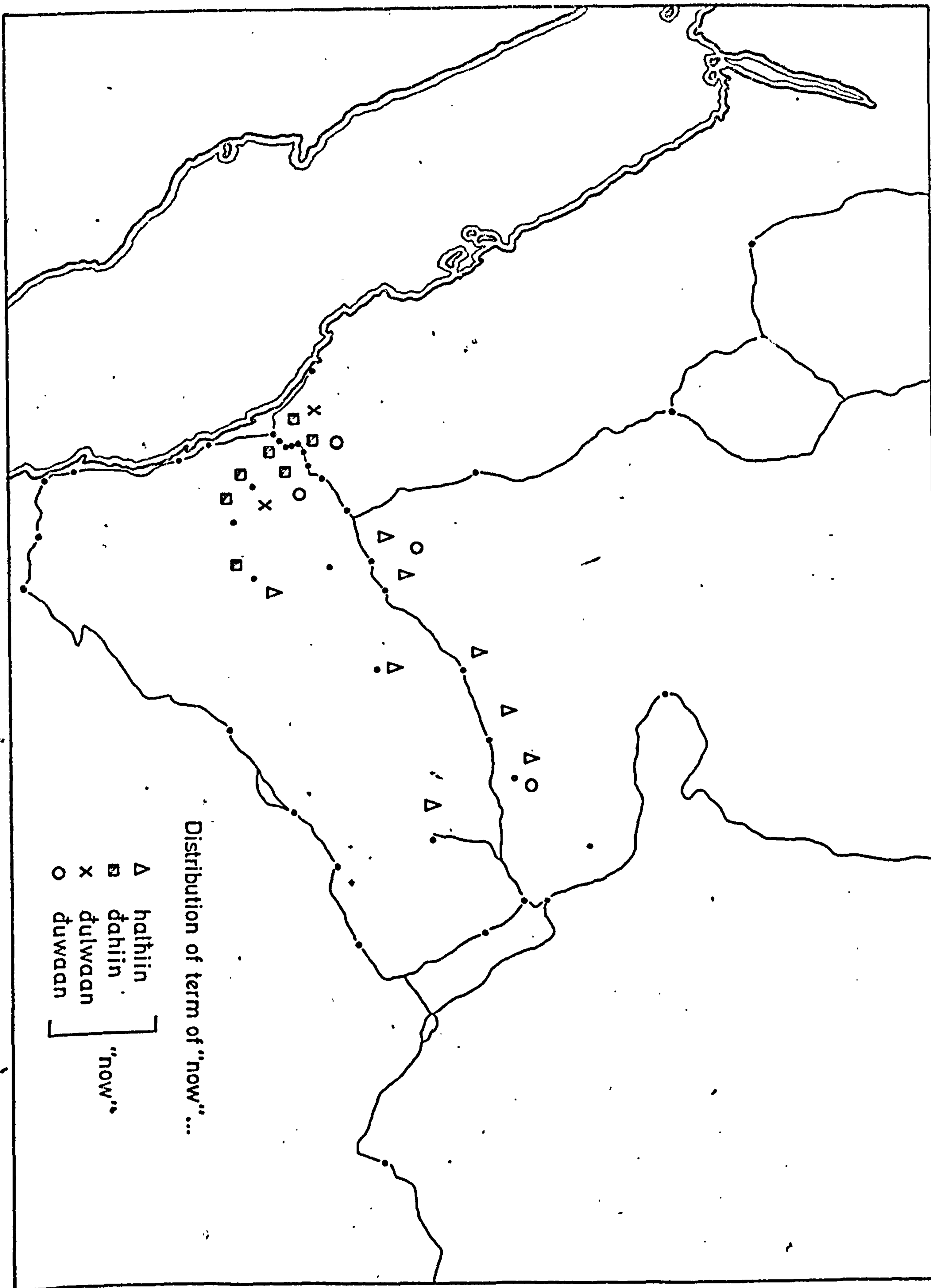
x	aw = aw
o	aw > oo
Δ	aw > aa
□	ay = ay
∅	ay > ee
□	ay > aa
Δ	ay > ii



Distribution of "I want" ...

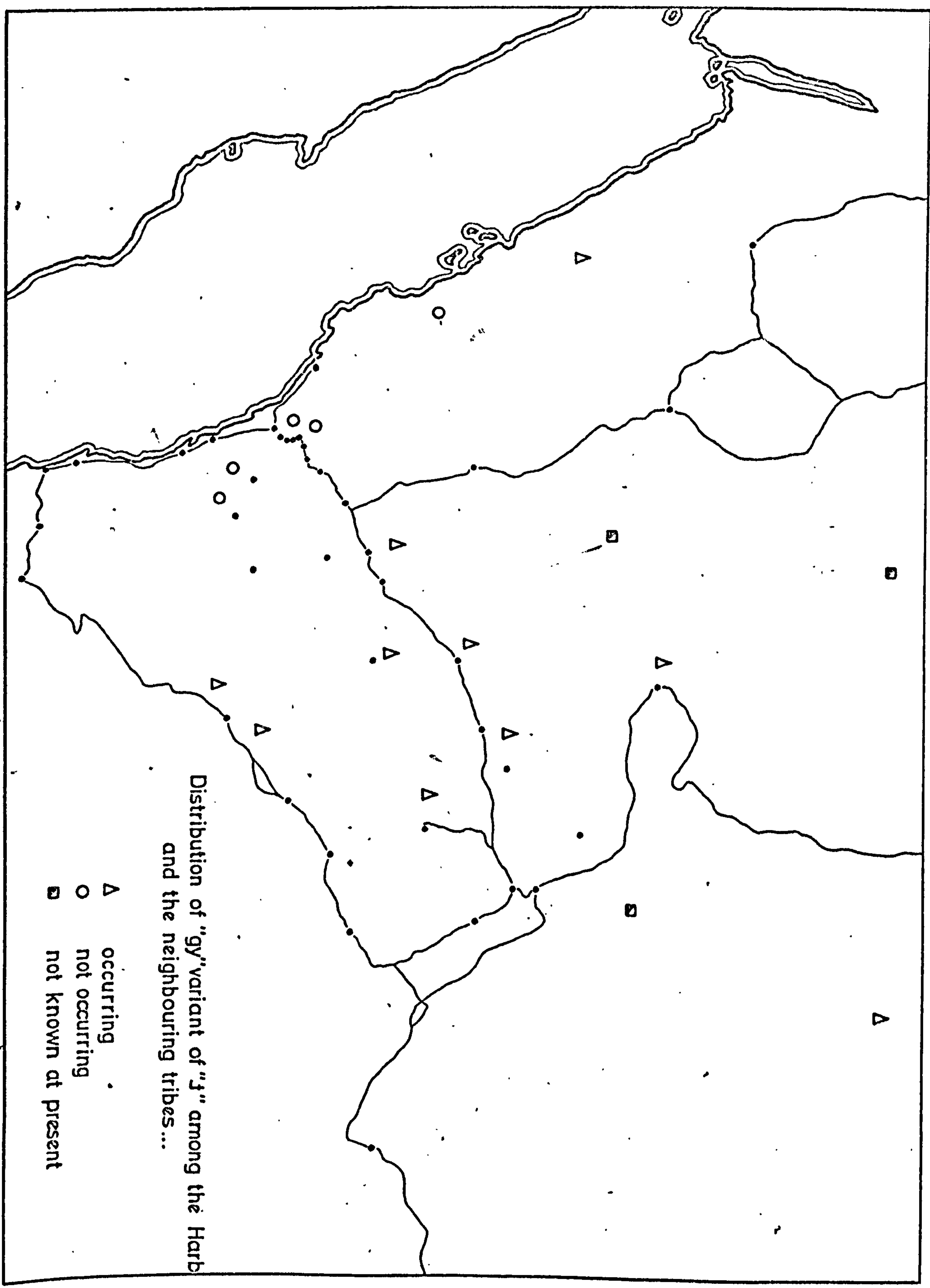
- yaba
- ◻ yabi
- △ widdi



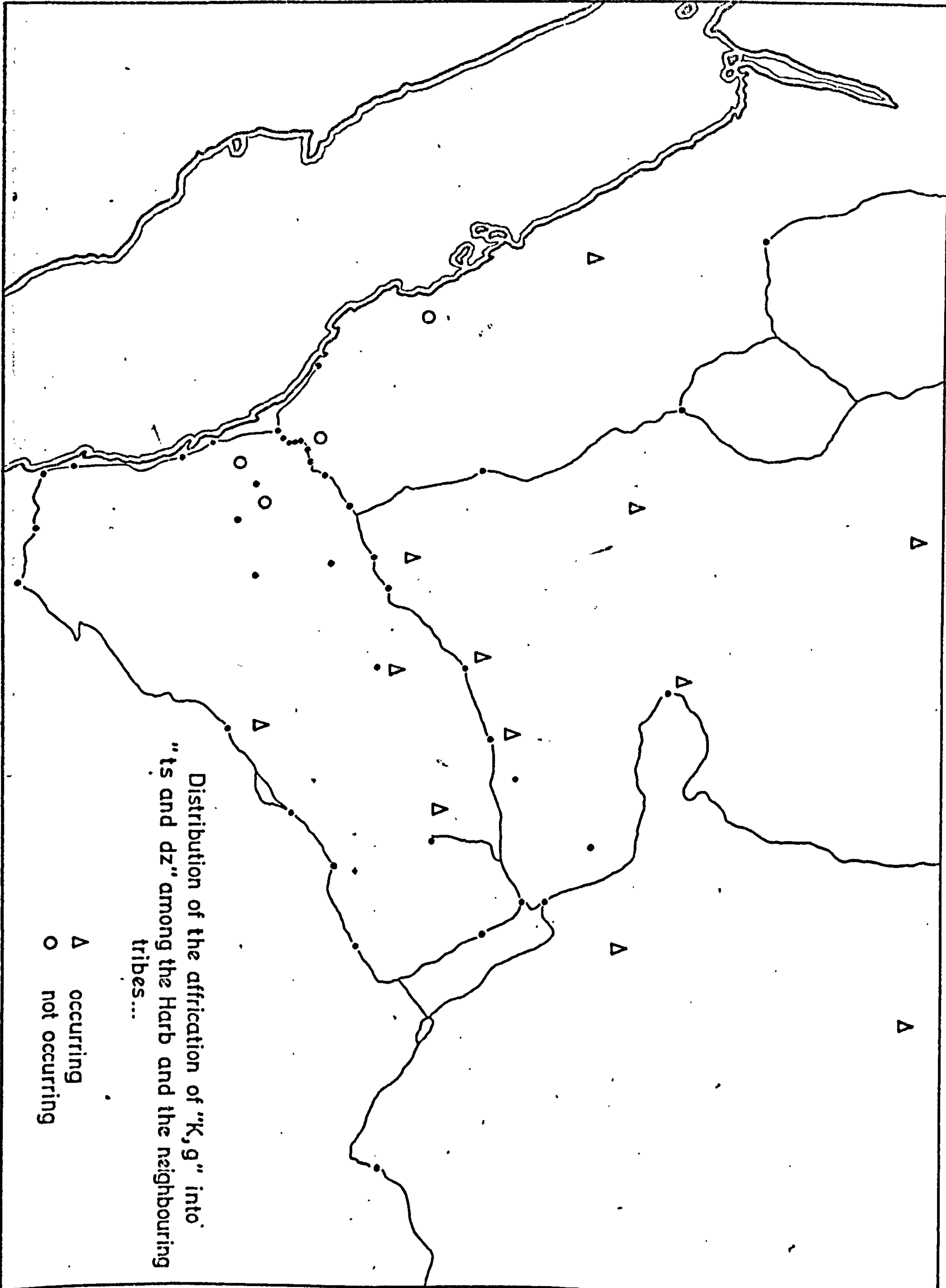


Distribution of term of "now" ...

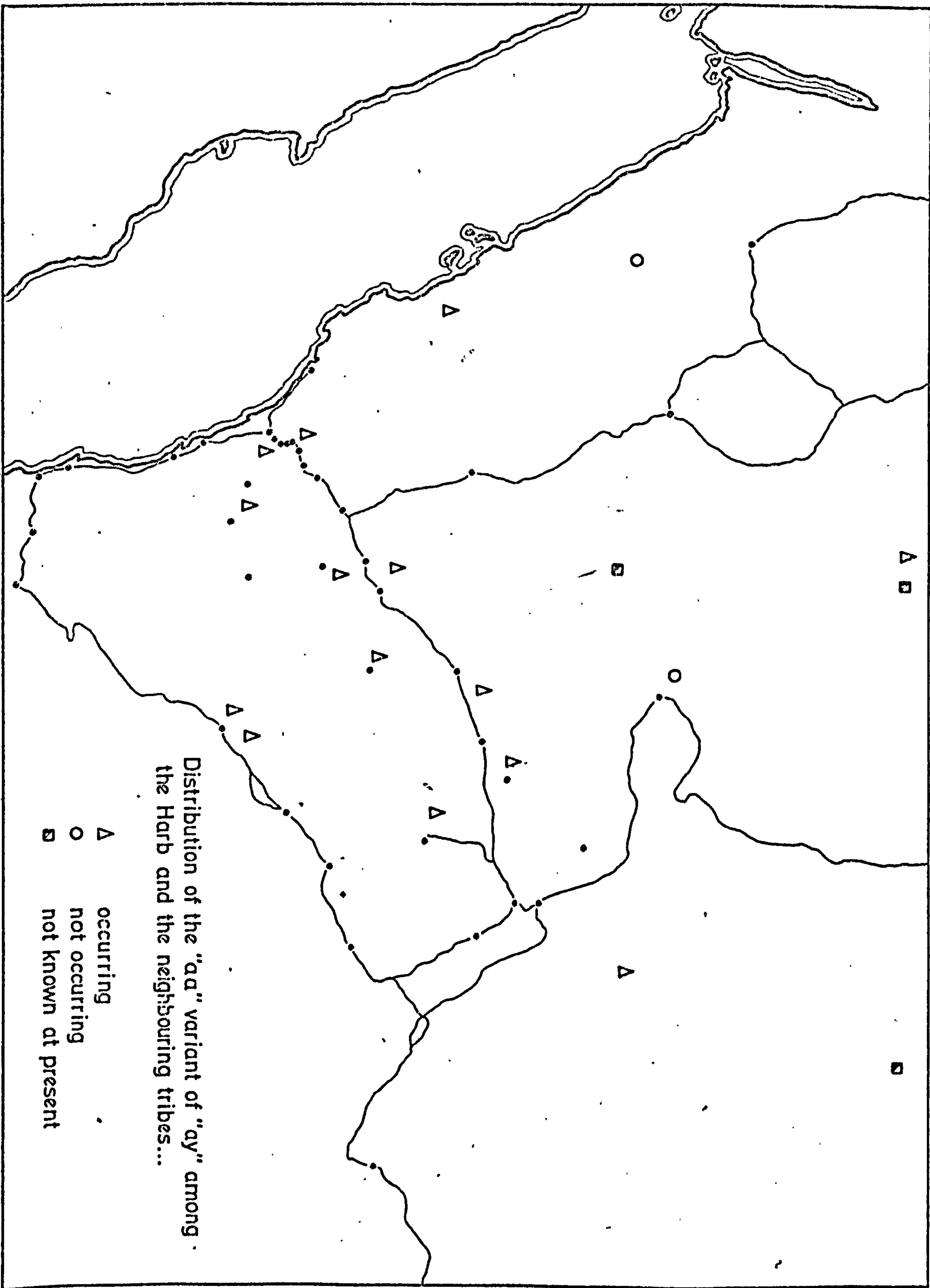
Δ halthiin
◻ dahiin
○ dulwaan
x duwaan
] "now"



Distribution of "gy" variant of "j" among the Harb and the neighbouring tribes...



Distribution of the affrication of "k, g" into "ts and dz" among the Harb and the neighbouring tribes...



Distribution of the "aa" variant of "ay" among the Harb and the neighbouring tribes...

- △ occurring
- not occurring
- not known at present

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