

Phonotactic Parameters of Final Consonant Clusters in South Iraqi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic: Some Contrastive Points

Dr. Majid Abdulateef Ibrahim

University of Basrah College of Arts

1. Introduction

Setting a comparison of the dialects of Arab Gulf with those of the outer Arab Peninsula, namely Kuwaiti Arabic and Iraqi one, reveals a marked generalization. However, it has been observed that the process of linguistic contrast produces a somewhat idiosyncratic phonological system. There are more features distinguishing some dialects from the various neighbouring ones than there are distinguishing dialects from each other. Non-reductional as they are, these features may constitute mergers of distinct items. Moreover, they can, in most cases, be characterized as analogical in nature, i.e. resulting from the phonological "pressure" within the language or variety, and this, in turn, leads to a substantial increase in complexity.

At the phonotactic level, differences are seen in phonological contrasts between forms purely on the basis of sound unit distributions. Nevertheless, the contrasting features are not confirmed to one segment of the form, but, in some cases, concern the syllabification of the whole form or part of it. It has been found that the statement of the clinal contrast of South Iraqi Arabic and Kuwaiti one is facilitated by some sort of defining the phonological structures in terms of morphology. This is attributed to the fact that certain consonant clusters are possible with particular morphological structures.

The present treatise effort is based chiefly on the field of phonotactics in which the treatment of final consonant clusters of South Iraqi Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic are investigated in order to

trace the contrastive points of the two. In attempt to meet the highest standard of objectivity and reliability, the study depends on recording the speech of informants of the two dialects. The recordings take the form of two phonemically transcribed texts with their full translation as illustrated in Appendix (1) and Appendix (2). The first text represents a folk story narrated by an old Iraqi man ⁽¹⁾, whereas the second one is a conversation between two students at Kuwait University ⁽²⁾.

2. Consonant Clusters: Phonotactic Generalizations

Analyzing the syllable structure of any language is of prime importance as to how restrictions can be worked out on the possible combinations of sound segments. Such an analysis, no doubt, contributes to know the type of clusters that are utilized to pinpoint areas, say, of pronunciation problems.

Phonologically the syllable is viewed as a unit of great value according to which the distributions or possibilities of sequential occurrence of phonemes are to be established (Robins, 1964: 139). The phonological description of languages generally includes a description of the phonemes and the positions they occupy. Abercrombie (1967: 38), giving a viewpoint of the "texture" of syllable, assumes that segments of the syllables, which are sequential points of the complex succession of movement, can be obtained by analyzing the syllable. These segments fall naturally into two groups, i.e. vowels and consonants.

Central to the account of the possible consonant combinations, phonotactics arises as a general term referring to those permitted strings of phonemes including clusters, sequences, distributional restrictions and admissible syllable patterns (Lass, 1984: 21). It represents the way in which phonemes combine together in a particular language. By general agreement, it is pointed out that the permitted phoneme sequences are much restricted and only a number of combinations that can be formed by combining the phonemes in all possible ways occur. These phonotactic constraints vary greatly between languages in that it is possible to find languages with the same phonemes but which diverge in the manner the phonemes are

joined together (McMahon, 2002: 55). In this connection, Carr (1993: 105) maintains that

certain rules include, not only feature-changing rules, but also rules expressing both language-specific and universal restrictions. Some language-specific restrictions take the form of restrictions on the phonological shape of words in a language.

In their phonemic study of vowels and consonants, Cohen and McCarthy (1994: 52) report that consonant phonemes can be arranged systematically on the account of the rules of distribution that govern their use. The rules are elicited by examining the actual occurrence of consonant phonemes in words. Besides, the distribution should include the relation that is drawn between a phoneme and the whole context where it occurs, and the relation drawn between a phoneme and a following or a preceding phoneme or phonemes.

On the same footing, languages differ as to the types of syllable structure that they admit. The differences are mainly a matter of the extent to which different languages permit consonant clusters to occur at the beginning or end of syllable. For example, many varieties of Modern Standard Arabic admit no initial consonant clusters at all, but allow final clusters of two or three consonants. In some occasions, not only is the number of consonants occurring initially and finally in syllables are always subservient to constraints imposed by the phonological structure of the language, but the particular sequences of consonants occurring in clusters are also limited (Catford, 2001: 208).

Treating consonant clusters from a different angle, Pulgram (1970: 93) believes that the very use of cluster should be manipulated for monosyllabic and occurring group of consonants, whether coda or onset, while sequence is used for those groups of consonants that are dissolvable through syllabification into coda and onset consisting of two clusters, of two consonants or of cluster and consonant. Different terms such as "para-cluster" or "para-sequence" are adopted to stand

for a consonantal group that occurs and must be therefore accounted for in a syllabic analysis but whose status is questionable. On closer inspection, Pulgram (ibid.) draws the line of demarcation between these two terms, commenting:

A group which does not occur word-medially as a cluster even though word-medially it would be termed as sequence, or whose occurrence is marginal and uncertain in structure is a para-cluster; a para-sequence is therefore a group which upon syllabification delivers one or two pare-clusters.

In addition to para-cluster and para-sequence, Pulgram (ibid. 94) introduces further terms in dealing with consonant clusters and clustering in general. He points out that it is possible to use "quasi-cluster" and "quasi-sequence" to name groups that are structurally sound but do not occur as clusters or sequences, and such a case, they cause structural, paradigmatic gaps. On the other hand, terms like "quasi-para-cluster" and "quasi-para-sequence" are also taken into account in relation to "groups that are both non-occurring and structurally non-sound, which means any group of consonant not fitting any of earlier classes" (ibid.).

Cruttenden (2001: 239) states that though plain, the general pattern of word-initial and word-final phoneme sequences poses certain problems. For instance, some sequences set word examples which are of rare occurrence. They are, strictly speaking, included in the statements of potential clusters. Others are either examples used in certain proper nouns or examples of recently imported foreign words. Moreover, the greater complexity of final consonant clusters, Cruttenden (ibid. 240) adds, is largely accounted for by the fact that some consonants frequently represent a suffixed morpheme. The statements of word-final clustering possibilities are not simplified by excluding such suffixes. It is, however, simplified if suffixed

consonants in question are treated as appendices or "extrametrical" to the basic syllable structure.

It has been observed that consonant clusters tend to have sound changes proceeding in the direction of "reduction" of cluster. The cluster reduction as such is usually determined by certain rules, i.e. when the consonant adjacent to the vowel (on either) side is an approximant, it is more likely to be elided than the outer consonant, namely the consonant further from the vowel (Hawkins, 1992: 269). As far as final consonant clusters are concerned, the reduction is greater in comparison with initial clusters as might be expected from their post-peak position. The cluster reduction may also arise as a result of compounding. Here, since both initial and final clusters are permitted and above all compounding is favoured as a word formation process, "we can expect the formation of some rather dense clusters, which will be subjected to reduction" (ibid.).

3. South Iraqi Arabic: The Dialect of Demographic Variations

Sociolinguistic attempts have been made to relate the distribution of linguistic variants in the spoken Arabic of the South of Iraq to certain geographical areas on the one hand and to certain demographically isolated groups on the other. The geographical areas are related to communication patterns of pre-automobile times and to some extent group around the main waterways of the area: The Tigris, Euphrates and Shatt al-Arab. The demographic groupings particularly involve what may be referred to as degree of standardization and also degree of contact with the nomad populations in the desert to the west of the Euphrates. It is true that in some cases, the social and regional groupings are coextensive. However, the distribution between the two is drawn to tackle the linguistic features correlating with demographic groups that show some sort of similarity in the realm of demographic relevance in other areas of Iraq (Ingham, 1997: 27).

Blanc (1964: 7) classifies Iraqi dialects into two essential types: *gilit* and *giltu*. The former can be accurately described as being of the Southern type. The very use of the label "5" denotes that linguistic features are characteristic of the region of Basrah, Nasiriyya

and Amara. This area is usually distinguished from central areas of Iraq represented by Baghdad, Hilla, and the like, that are subsumed under the latter type.

South Iraqi Arabic represents the speech of groups referred to in the local taxonomy as *ṣarab* "nomadic population" and *ḥaḏar* "sedentary population". Though the term *ḥaḏar* includes all urban population within Iraq and groups classed as *ṣarab* are in all cases rural, the two terms are not associated with the urban/rural division (Ingham, 1994: 29). No universal criterion is set up for the usage of these terms throughout the area. It is, nevertheless, possible to sum up the main contrasts which they imply. *Ḥaḏar* displays certain established settled populations along rivers. The main towns of the area are situated within such areas whose population is also regarded as *ḥaḏar* by the rural inhabitants, though this system of classification is not used among the town-people (ibid.). *Ṣarab* shows the less stable population of the interior away from the river banks, many of whom are nomadic or semi-nomadic.

Distinct from what has been stated above, Field (1980: 252) remarks that in Iraq, there seems to be more than one usage. In one system, the contrast follows the patten in which riverine palm cultivators are compared with the rest including both nomads and those of more recent sedentarization. In the second place, the term *ṣarab* is retained exclusively for the nomad population and *ḥaḏar* for the sedentary. Outside the above classification system are two groups, both of whom are traditionally nomadic. The first of these is kwaawla or kawlijja, people akin to the gypsies of Europe. In this area, they speak Iraqi as their first language and retain only vestiges of their original Aryan tongue. The second group is the miṣḏaan 'marsh Arabs' living in the marshlands of the Hoor al-Ḥammaar and Hoor al-Ḥuwaiza occupied in buffalo breeding and the production of matting for sale (Salim, 1962: 9).

From a dialectological viewpoint, the picture is confirmed, even though it emerges that the Shatt al- Arab dividing Iraq from Iran

at this point is not a linguistic border, but only a political one. In fact, it forms the core of the strictly southern Iraqi dialect type. The Euphrates, on the other hand, is the beginning of the desert and is an area of contact between Arabian bedouin camel herders and Iraqi cultivators and shepherd nomads 'Jaawijja'. Even the Bedouins, however, are not uniform in their dialect, a group known as the Euphrates Bedouin 'ʔahal al furaat' speak a dialect which is transitional between Najdi and Iraqi Arabic (Ingham, 1982: 24).

4. *Kuwaiti Arabic: The Dialect of the North of Arab Gulf*

Recently a number of descriptions of Kuwaiti Arabic has appeared enlarging researchers' knowledge of an area which was little known previously. The main sources available are descriptions of émigré ʔimṭairi and Dhafiiri tribes of Kuwait and the Hafar al Baṭin desert (Johnstone, 1967: 2). The general picture which emerges is that there are basically two sub-dialects spoken in Kuwait: Dhafiiri or northern and ʔimṭairi or southern. The former is spoken in the north of Kuwait, i.e. in al Mutṭlaaṣ, al dʒahraaʔ and so on, while the latter in the Kuwait city, al Ahmedi, al Wafra...etc. (Holmes and Samaan, 1980: 204).

The account of the ʔimṭairi dialect is used as being the speech of the Eastern branch of the ʔimṭair, ʕalwat ʔimṭair in comparison with that of the Western branch, i.e. Bani Abdullah. The tribal area or diirah of the ʔimṭair extends from the borders of al Salmi in the west to the Gulf coast on the east of in the city of Kuwait. Generally, Kuwaiti Arabic is fundamentally of Eastern Arabian dialectal group ⁽³⁾, and shows a strong affinity to Central Najdi type (Ingham, 1986: 23).

It has been remarked that it is possible for particular linguistic landscapes to fit easily into particular theories about linguistic diffusion. It is quite natural here to pass reference to the difference between *the family tree theory* and *the wave theory* as expounded by the Neo-grammarians. The family tree theory sees dialect features as "genetically transmitted and traceable to the homeland of the group

concerned" (Ivić, 1962: 37). The wave theory, comparatively speaking, concentrates more on the present geographical location of the speakers and traces the geographical diffusion of dialect features across the landscape independently of the movement of groups of people (Downes, 1984: 25). If a distinction between 'family tree' landscapes and 'wave theory' ones are possibly drawn, then the dialectology of the bedouin tribes of North Eastern Arabia falls definitely into the first group. As stated above, the sub-dialect of the ʔimṭair tribe of Kuwait is looked upon as being descended from the dialect of the Central Najdi type akin to the dialects of Central Najdi and the ʔiʔniza tribes of the Syrian Desert.

The Dhafiir, though direct neighbours of the ʔimṭair, speak a sub-dialect of a quite different type, basically North Najdi, similar to the speech of the Shammar tribes, but with some amalgamation of Central Najdi features (Holes, 1990: 51). It seems that in this area, a dialect is a marker of tribal identity and since there is no gradation between membership of the Dhafiir tribe and membership of the ʔimṭair one, these sub-dialects are similarly demarcated geographically. The boundary between the Dhafiir and the ʔimṭair also constitutes a far-reaching boundary between Ahal al Shimaal and Ahal al Jnuub, i.e. northern and southern bedouins.

As bounded on the north by the Shammar and Dhafiir tribes, both of which speak a North Najdi type of dialect, Kuwaiti Arabic seems to be the furthest north of the Central Najdi type within Eastern Arabia. Kuwaiti speakers are generally agreed that their own dialect is similar in some cases to the ʔawaazim of Eastern Arabia and the ʔtuub of Western Najd (ibid.).

5. Phonotactic Treatment of Final Consonant Clusters

A phonological feature of high incidence that separates Southern Iraqi Arabic and Kuwaiti one is the treatment of underlying consonant clusters in word and stem final position. A marked difference is that in Southern Iraqi Arabic, an anaptyctic vowel is introduced

between the two consonants when in pause or a preceding consonant, while in Kuwaiti Arabic this happens in a more restricted set of cases. Taking a generally applicable example, the contrast is as follows:

	<u>Southern Iraqi Arabic</u>		<u>Kuwaiti Arabic</u>	
1.	ʃifit		ʃift	'I saw'
2.	ʃifitha		ʃiftaha	'I saw her'
3.	ʃiftah		ʃiftih	'I saw him'

In forms (1) and (2) the Southern Iraqi variety shows a vowel /i/ between the two elements of the final cluster /-ft/. In form (3) this is not present as the cluster followed by the initial vocalic suffix /-ah/. In Kuwaiti Arabic, no such anaptyctic occurs although in form (2) a different type of anaptyctic occurs between the stem /ʃift-/ and the suffix /-ha/ warding off the junction of three consonants, which is not, in turn, permissible in certain contexts.

These contrasts occur with nominal forms of the pattern CaCC or CciCC, e.g. /galb/ 'heart' and /biʃt/ 'cloak', with verbal forms of the suffix /-t/: /riht/ 'I went' and with a small number of imperatives of final weak verbs ⁽⁴⁾ such as /imʃ/ 'go!' or /ihtʃ/ 'talk!'. In these three cases, the underlying form can be regarded as identical so that the contrast is one of surface derivational phonology as revealed by the total scatter of forms such as shown above. There are also certain other structures involving the suffixes /-k/ and /-tʃ/ where the Kuwaiti variety shows a final cluster, i.e. /anʃidk/ 'I ask you (m. s)' and /anʃidʃ/ 'I ask you (f. s)'. These forms do not have corresponding underlying structures in Southern Iraqi Arabic where the suffixes are /-ak/ and /-itʃ/ giving /anʃidak/ and /anʃiditʃ/. However, the existence of the above various final cluster forms in Kuwaiti Arabic constitute a defining characteristic in contrast to Southern Iraqi Arabic.

The contrast shown between the two dialects is of a clinal nature rather than a straightforward one between the presence and

absence of final clusters. This clinality is attributed to certain factors. In one place, an anaptyctic vowel of this type does not occur in Kuwaiti Arabic associated with certain consonant cluster types. Relevant to this point are those anaptyctics associated with voiced plosives and the liquid group, i.e. /l, n, r, ʕ, m/. Secondly, in Southern Iraqi Arabic, when the anaptyctic vowel occurs, it is extremely considered a full vowel on the ground of stress placement and syllabification. In Kuwaiti Arabic, it is not, nevertheless, counted as a full vowel for stress placement (see below).

In general, the nature of the transition from consonant to consonant in certain consonant sequences differs in Kuwaiti Arabic and Southern Iraqi Arabic. With voiced consonants, a definite vocalic transition of /ə/ is particularly heard in Kuwaiti Arabic which is absent in Southern Iraqi one, for example:

<u>Southern Iraqi Arabic</u>	<u>Kuwaiti Arabic</u>	
hubatna	hubatəna	'we went down'
batni	batəni	'my stomach'

It clearly seems that Kuwaiti speakers do not perceive this as a vowel, but regard it as a feature of the release of the consonant. That the highly non-structural vocalic features exist in Kuwaiti Arabic makes the status of the final cluster anaptyctic of less structural importance in Southern Iraqi Arabic.

The vocalic transition is heard with sequences of voiced consonants and also with the /t/ especially when the first consonant is a plosive or the second is /r/. The inclusion of /t/ is shorter than for the other voiceless plosives, and it may be that in many contexts, it is voiced. In Kuwaiti Arabic, the voicelessness feature is not essential since it contrasts with /s/ and /ð/, not /s/ and /d/. It is also relevant that the Arab phoneticians class /t/ as maḍḥuur 'sonorant', a class that includes voiced consonants ⁽⁵⁾. Examples are given below from the speech of Kuwaiti speakers to elucidate the above case: /ʕatəni/ 'give me', /natəlaʕ/, /ḍidərna/ 'our pot', /ʕigəðib/ 'hold!' and /axaðəna/ 'we took'.

Bearing in mind the occurrence of the above type of vocalic transition in Kuwaiti Arabic, we can examine the stem final clusters in which differences of syllabification occur. In terms of their phonological behaviour, they fall into two major classes: those involving a liquid as the second element, and other types being different either in terms of stress assignment or in terms of syllabic structures in the majority of cases. As far as the first class is concerned, clusters that involve nominal forms of the structure CaCC or CiCC whose first element is not one of the guttural group /ħ, x, and ʔ/, and whose second element is one of the liquids /m, l, r and w/ show an anaptyctic /i/ or /u/ in both dialects:

Kuwaiti Arabic: /ħadir/ 'under', /ṣabur/ 'patience', /ħisin/ 'beauty', /ragum/ 'number', /badir/ 'full moon', /gabil/ 'before', /baduw/ 'bedouins'.

Southern Iraqi Arabic: /kubur/ 'size', /ʃuɣul/ 'work', /ħaḏum/ 'digestion', /dihin/ 'oil', /gabul/ 'before', /miḏil/ 'like', /wazin/ 'weight'.

With a following initial vowel suffix or before a vocalic initial word, both varieties have elision of the anaptyctic vowel as in (a) below. In Kuwaiti Arabic, as the number of these forms contains combination of voiced consonant, the vocalic transition is often heard. Nevertheless, this is absent in Southern Iraqi Arabic giving contrasting sets of the type as in (b):

	<u>Southern Iraqi Arabic</u>	<u>Kuwaiti Arabic</u>	
(a)	miḏil	miḏil	'like'
(b)	miḏli	miḏəli	'like me'

Equally important, with a following consonantal suffix, both Southern Iraqi Arabic and Kuwaiti one generally retain the anaptyctic vowel. However, while the vowel in Southern Iraqi Arabic is considered a full vowel for stress assignment, in Kuwaiti Arabic, it is disregarded for this purpose:

<u>Southern Iraqi Arabic</u>	<u>Kuwaiti Arabic</u>	
mi'ḏilhum	'miḏilhum	'like them'
wa'zinha	'wazinha	'its weight'
ga'bulha	'g abulha	'before it'

In some cases, Kuwaiti forms act like the non-anaptyctic ones in this structures giving forms of such a type as /miðləhum/ or /miðələhum/. Moreover, with the final /j/ and /w/ Kuwaiti Arabic shows the non-anaptyctic forms occasionally: /badwəna/ 'our bedouins' and /ħatʃjəkum/ 'your talk'.

Apart from the first class mentioned above, the second class involves that in Kuwaiti Arabic, no anaptyctic vowel, as a rule, occurs although there are contexts in which a sporadic vocalic transition occurs of the type described above. Iraqi Arabic, on the other hand, shows that the anaptyctic /i/ or /u/ always occurs:

<u>Southern Iraqi Arabic</u>	<u>Kuwaiti Arabic</u>	
ʃiʃib	ʃiʃb	'grass'
wakit	waɡt	'time'
zibid	zibd	'butter'
baruɡ	barɡ	'light'

With the vocalic beginning suffixes as with the second class above, both dialects show elision of the anaptyctic giving forms such as /dardah/, /darbih/ 'his road'. With the consonantal beginning suffixes the anaptyctic in Southern Iraqi Arabic is maintained, and as with the first class, it counts for stress in the extreme Southern Iraqi type. Furthermore, In Kuwaiti Arabic there are two possible structures, one with a further anaptyctic vowel separating the stem and the suffix and the other with a tri-consonantal cluster. Examples of the first category are such forms as /ʃiftahum/ 'I saw them', /waɡtukum/ 'your time', /nafsaha/ 'herself', whereas those of the second category are as follows: /ʃifthum/ 'I saw t6hem', /ʔistaʃartni/ 'you asked my advice', /milkhum/ 'their possession.

6. Conclusion

The different treatment of stem final clusters and the associated function of stem and affix can be considered one of the clearest and most generally recognized variables separating the Southern Iraqi

speech and the Kuwaiti one. Kuwaiti speakers, when presented with forms spoken with the anaptyctic, usually recognize them as Iraqi, while Southern Iraqis regard the non-anaptyctic forms as Kuwaiti or sometimes bedouin. The vocalic transition between stem and suffixes is widely perceived as a dialect marker and speakers feel that the difference is of prime importance. Forms with the anaptyctic of the type /gilit/ 'I said' are used nearly by all Southern Iraqis including nomadic shepherd tribes. In Kuwaiti Arabic, no examples of anaptyctic clusters are found, although some Kuwaitis of shammari origins may speak sporadic forms of interrogatives. This will be left to a coming study with surely new views, however.

Notes

- (1) I am very much grateful to my student Ali Hussein Qasim who thankfully interviewed Sayyid Abdulla, a man of 75 years old, in the latter's house in Amara. The Sayyid spontaneously narrated a folk story that is an example of a fairly widespread type of narrative containing reference to various legendary figures. The interview has been recorded after making a little bit montage.
- (2) I would like to acknowledge my debt to my cousin who valuably contributed to record a conversation between Kuwaiti speakers. They were students of Kuwait University and enacted this conversation for him at the University in 2006.
- (3) Dialectologically speaking, Kuwaiti Arabic and Zubairi Arabic show some sort of a considerable resemblance, since both of them descend from the same dialect group, i.e. the Eastern Arabian dialectal group. For a fuller account on this point, see Ibrahim (2006).
- (4) In Kuwaiti Arabic and most of other Najdi dialects, the morphology of verbal classes shows a division into classes depending on the identity of the consonants occurring in the root. This involves basically a division into strong and weak roots. A weak root is a root which involves one of the consonants /j/, /w/ or /ʔ/ and in which these consonants have zero exponents. The

property of 'weakness' here is one of the particular stem type rather than of the root or of the consonant itself. For a detailed treatment of Najdi verbal morphology, see Ingham (1994).

- (5) See El-Sa'araan (1951).

Phonetic Symbols (after Johnstone (1967))

1. **The Vowels**

- i as in /ʔibin/ 'son'.
 ii as in /biir/ 'well'.
 ee as in /ween/ 'where'.
 a as in /maṭbax/ 'kitchen'.
 aa as in /waasta/ 'means'.
 u as in /giltu/ 'you said'.
 uu as in /hduum/ 'clothes'.
 oo as in /joom/ 'day'.

2. **The Consonants**

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| b as in /bhaam/ 'thumb' | ʃ as in /ʃaʃar/ 'hair' |
| t as in /mirtaaḥ/ 'relaxed' | x as in /xubiz/ 'bread' |
| ṭ as in /ṭiin/ 'mud' | ʁ as in /ʁaali/ 'expensive' |
| d as in /dmuuʕ/ 'tears' | ħ as in /ħaamid/ 'soar' |
| ḍ as in /ḍaxim/ 'huge' | ʕ as in /ʕaḍim/ 'bone' |
| g as in /gaam/ 'stand' | h as in /hnaak/ 'there' |
| ʔ as in /ʔamal/ 'hope' | ṭʃ as in /ṭʃalib/ 'dog' |
| f as in /faḥal/ 'male' | ɖʒ as in /ɖʒifin/ 'eyelid' |
| θ as in /θaani/ 'second' | m as in /marad/ 'disease' |
| ð as in /ðeel/ 'tail' | n as in /nahaar/ 'day' |
| ḏ as in /ḏaafir/ ' a proper name' | l as in /liga/ 'he found' |
| s as in /sirdaab/ 'cellar' | r as in /ramil/ 'sand' |
| ṣ as in /ṣaajim/ 'fasting' | w as in /wara/ 'back' |
| z as in /zeen/ 'well' | j as in /janaam/ 'he sleeps' |

Appendix (1)**Text**

saalfa jaʿni maal ʿilmuʿdaad waswad ʿilkindi ʿala muud bitta hissa aḥṭi aku fad waahid ʿisma dʿaabir iddahhaak dʿaabir iddahhaak ʿida bnajja ḥasna bilḥisin kaamla tamaam laakin mahhad jizzawwadʿha illi jizzawwadʿha illi jiʿlubha bilḥarub jalla thaarub hijja wja alaa ʿalabha hijja tizzawwidʿa baʿdeen tidʿi ʿaleeha l ʿaalam min bʿiid min iladʿaanib min kill bukaan idʿzuun ʿaleeha illi jiʿlubunha maaleef hijja ḥasna ḥasna killif illi jidʿi ʿaleeha haaj ilmlieha illi jhaarba witkaʿffif wudʿihha min ḥisinha ijtiih ḍall ʿidhum ibin ʿamha ʿisma ḥamza ḥamza huwwa raaʿi bilʿanam jisrah ijbaawiʿ ijʿuf il ʿaalam baʿdeen raaḥ lamma ʿalha jumma ana ariiditʿ tittiini fard ihṣaan aruh ahaarib bitt ʿammi walla aruuh aaxiḍha lijja mara azzawwadʿa ʿaalta umma inta weenak u weenha haaj idʿulbak witturḥak witkitlak ʿalha laa inti maa ʿleetʿ ana aʿlubha raaḥ lubuuha galla jaa dʿaabir ariid bittak ana ahaarubha walaa aʿlubha ana aaxiḍha galla ruuh lma raaḥ ilha wuttaarah wijjaaha wil ʿaalam titfarradʿ iʿleehum minnaa wminnaa bil aalaaf min ʿalabha tafir abuuha dʿaabir u ʿaal ana maa attiikijjaha jaaba leef maattiini ʿaal ana maa attiikijjaaha illa tʿziibilha mahar jaaba ʿinu maharha galla ariid arbaʿiin naaga maa jxaalif ana adʿziibhin.

Translation

A story, I mean of Mughdad and Aswad al-Kindi about his daughter. Shall I speak now? There was once called Jabir al-Dhahhak who had a beautiful daughter, perfect in beauty. But, nobody could marry her. Only he who could defeat her in battle could marry her. If he fought with her and if he beat her, she would marry him. Then the entire world came from afar, from other nations, from everywhere.

They came for her, those who sought to defeat her... Why? The reason is that she was very beautiful. Whoever faced her, this beautiful one and wished to fight her. She just uncovered her face and he would fall unconscious from her beauty. She would come in and conquer him. There remained only her cousin whose name was Hamza. Hamza was a shepherd working with the sheep. He watched and saw all this multitude of people. Then he went to his mother and said: "Mother, I want you to give me a horse, so that I can fight my cousin and I will take her as my wife and marry her." His mother said to him: "Who are you to think of your cousin. She will overcome you and throw you down and kill you." He said to her, "No, do not concern you. I will beat her." He went to her father and said to him: "Oh Jabir, I want to marry your daughter. I will fight her and if I beat her I will marry her." When he went to her and wrestled with her, with the crowds watching in their thousands here and there, he beat her. When he beat her father, Jabir, jumped up and said: "I will not let you marry her." "Why will not you give her to me?" He said: "I will not give her to you unless you bring her a dowry." "Well, what is her dowry?" He said: "I want forty camels" He said: "All right, I will bring them."

Appendix (2)

Text

A: *ṣabbahk alla balxeer*

B: *jaa hala sabaah alxeer floonak*

A: *alla jsallimk*

B: *Ṣasaak tajjib keef haalak*

A: *walla bxeer aḥamdillaah jaa walad marreet Ṣaleekum haassbuuṢ
alli taafat*

maa ligeetkum ibbeetkum

B: *joom alxamiis iih ṭalaṢna lilbarr*

A: *maafalla wa floona alḌaw ihnaak*

B: *walla hassina maahi miḠl alṢaam*

A: *iih walla hi bass wanasatha walla tiswa*

B: *walla staaasna bilbarr hnaak Ṣind harrabaṢ*

Translation

A: Good morning.

B: Welcome. Good morning to you. How are you?

A: God keep you.

B: I hope you are well. How are you?

A: Well, I am well, praise be to God. I came to see you last week, but did not

find you at your house.

B: On Thursday. Yes. We went out to the desert.

A: Wonderful. And how was the weather there?

B: It was perfect.

A: Ha, it is a year of spring grass.

B: By God, this year is not like the last one.

A: Yes, by God, it is just that the outing there is worthwhile.

B: Well, we enjoyed ourselves there in the desert among friends.

References

Abercrombie, D. (1967) *Elements of General Phonetics*. Edinburgh: EUP.

Blanc, H. (1964) *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge: Centre for Middle Eastern Studies.

Carr, Phillip. (1993) *Phonology*. London: Macmillan.

Catford, J. C. (2001) *A Practical Introduction to Phonetics*. Oxford: OUP.

Cohn, A. and McCarthy, J. (1994) *Alignment and Parallelism in Indonesian Phonology*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts.

Cruttenden, A. (2001) *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. London: Edward Arnold.

Downes, W. (1984) *Language and Society*. London: Fontana.

El-Sa'araan, M. H. A. (1951) *A Critical Study of the Phonetic Observation of the Arab Grammarians*. Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, University of London.

Field, H. (1980) *Anthropology of Iraq*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Hawkins, P. (1992) *Introducing Phonology*. London: Routledge.

- Holes, C. D. (1990) *Gulf Arabic*. London: Routledge.
- Holmes, D. and Sama'an, S. (1980) *A Handbook of Kuwaiti Arabic*. London: KPI.
- Ibrahim, Majid, A. (2006) *Syllable Structure and Syllabification in Zubairi Arabic: A Socio-Phonological Study from a CV Perspective*. Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, University of Basrah.
- Ingham, B. (1982) *North East Arabian Dialect Studies*. London: KPI.
- Ingham, B. (1986) *Bedouin of Northern Arabia: Traditions of the Al Dhafir*. London: KPI.
- Ingham, B. (1994) *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Ingham, B. (1997) *Arabian Diversions: Studies on the Dialects of Arabia*. Reading: Ithaca Press.
- Ivić, P. (1962) "On the Structure of Dialect Differentiation", *Word*, 18, pp.33-53.
- Johnstone, T. M. J. (1967) *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*. Oxford: OUP.
- Lass, R. (1984) *Phonology*. Cambridge: CUP.
- McMahon, A. (2002) *An Introduction to English Phonology*. Oxford: OUP.
- Pulgram, E. (1970) *Syllable, Word, Nexus, Cursum. The Hague: Mouton*.
- Robins, H. R. (1964) *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey*. London: Longman.
- Salim, S. M. (1962) *Marsh Dwellers of the Euphrates Delta*. London: KPI.