Farida Abu-Haidar

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INTRODUCTION

There are more than 1,000,000 Christians in Iraq,[1] many of whom hail from the north of the country, an area which still has villages made up entirely of Christian inhabitants. A number of Christians live in central Iraq, mostly in Baghdad which has the largest concentration of Christian churches anywhere in the country. Shortly before the Gulf War, it was estimated that there were no less than a hundred churches in Baghdad.[2] In southern Iraq, Christians are to be found in the province of Basrah. Basran Christians trace their presence in the country to the Caliphate of ᶜUmar (c. 634-644) when non-Muslims were driven out of Arabia and sought refuge in Iraq and other neighbouring countries.[3] Northern and central Iraqi Christians are either Arabic or neo-Aramaic speaking,[4] while those of the south are predominantly Arabic-speaking. There are also in Baghdad and Basrah Armenian-speaking communities, descended from Armenians who fled from Turkey and the Caucasus and settled in urban centres in Iraq in the early decades of this century.

The largest Christian sect in Iraq is the Chaldean with 750,000 adherents.[5] Next in numerical importance is the Assyrian or Nestorian sect. Before the fifth century A.D. the Christians of Iraq were independent of the Byzantine Church. They had their own episcopal see, and were all Aramaic-speaking. In the fifth century they adopted the doctrine of Nestorius (c. 380-451), patriarch of Constantinople from 428 until 431, when he was deposed as a heretic by the Council

1 In the official census of 1987 the number of Christians in Iraq was given as 1,200,000. See also *The Times* of 26 December 1990, and *Le Monde* of 25 January 1991.

2 See *The Times*, 26 December 1990.

3 Personal communication. Many Basran Christians I spoke to claim to be of Arabian descent.

4 There are several mutually intelligible neo-Aramaic dialects in Iraq. For ease of reference I have called the spoken language neo-Aramaic and the liturgical language Syriac.

5 See *Le Monde*, 25 January 1991.

of Ephesus for teaching that there were two distinct natures in Christ, the human and the divine. The Nestorian Church flourished in Iraq until the sixteenth century when a rift among its adherents occurred in 1552. A number of Nestorians broke away to unite with Rome, thus forming what has come to be known as the Chaldean Church. Those who did not unite with Rome are known to this day as Nestorians. Although in communion with Rome, the Chaldean Church has preserved its own Syriac liturgy.

An indigenous Christian group, the Jacobites, numbering between 10,000 and 15,000 live in northern Iraqi villages, as well as in urban centres like Mosul, Baghdad and Basrah (Marr 1985: 11). The Jacobite Church, whose name derives form Jacob, Bishop of Edessa (d. 578), was founded in the sixth century A.D., and adheres to the Monophysite creed, holding the belief that there is only one nature, the divine, in the person of Christ. This doctrine was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and is regarded as heretical by both the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. In recent years, however, a number of Jacobites have been received into one of the Uniate Churches. Like the Chaldean and Nestorian Churches, the liturgical language of the Jacobite Church is Syriac, although the majority of its adherents are Arabic-speaking. The Syrian Catholics, who are larger in number than the Jacobites (Harris 1985: 63), are Uniates who broke away from the Jacobite Church between the fifteenth and seventeenth century.

Most of the Armenians of Iraq are Orthodox Christians, although there are some Armenians who are in communion with Rome. Other Christian sects in Iraq are the Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholic and the Latin Catholic.[6] There are also small numbers of Protestant denominations, among them Seventh Day Adventists. These Protestants are, in all likelihood, fairly recent converts from Eastern Christian sects, the result of American and British missionary work in the Middle East.

The Arabic-speaking Christians of Baghdad appear to be a well-established community. Their dialect is a sedentary variety of Arabic which evolved "from the Arabic vernacular of medieval Iraq", unlike

6 The Eastern branch of the Roman Catholic Church is known as Latin Catholic (*katōlīk lātīn*) in Iraq and the Levant.

the Muslim dialect of Baghdad which is more recent, and of Bedouin provenance, (Jastrow, 1978: 318). It is difficult to determine with any precision when Christians settled in the capital. The fact that maps of Baghdad, dating from the seventeenth century,[7] refer to a distinct Christian area on the East bank of the Tigris as the Christian quarter, is sufficient proof that there must have been a substantial number of Christians living in Baghdad at that time. Even in the present century when the capital grew and people began to intermix communally, some districts remained predominantly Christian. These were usually built around the various churches in the city. It might be relevant to add here that up until the mid-1960s there used to be a street, with old dilapidated houses, in the Battāwiyyīn quarter, known popularly as *ʕAgd il-Naṣāra* "the Christians' Street". This street must at one time have been made up entirely of Christian inhabitants. When the whole area came to be redeveloped the street had no more than two or three Christian families living in it.[8]

Previous studies

Before Haim Blanc's monograph, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, appeared in 1964 and drew attention to the existence of three distinct communal dialects, namely Muslim, Christian and Jewish, studies of Christian Baghdadi Arabic (CB) were limited to two articles published at the beginning of this century. The first, by the Reverend Gabriel Oussani, written in English, appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* in 1901. It was entitled "The Arabic dialect of Baghdad". The second, by Yusif Ghanima, written in Arabic and entitled *"Al-Amthāl al-ʕāmmiyya fī l-bilād al-ʕIrāqiyya"*, was published in *Al-Mashriq* in 1906. In the latter article Ghanima lists a number

7 In Longrigg (1925) there is a seventeenth century map of Baghdad showing both a Jewish and a Christian quarter. In Massignon (1914) there is an undated map of Baghdad where the Jewish quarter is referred to as *Ḥārat al-Yahūd* and the Christian quarter simply as *Naṣāra*.

8 Personal communication. Ibrahim Mirkhan, a Christian newsagent, who had a shop for many years in the Battāwiyyīn quarter of Baghdad, said that when the residents of *ʕAgd al-Naṣāra* vacated their homes before they were demolished, it was found that there were no more than "two or three" Christian families living in a street which was at one time made up almost entirely of Christians.

of popular Iraqi proverbs, among them some in CB. In the footnotes, the author points out certain CB, as well as Muslim (MB) and Jewish Baghdadi Arabic (JB) features, thus providing an element of comparative dialectology.

Oussani's article, however, is by far the more important of the two, being closer in scope and format to later dialectological analyses. It is, in fact, a synchronic study of CB, divided into three main parts under the headings "phonological notes", "morphological notes", and "lexicographical notes". A short selection of Baghdadi proper names and their caritative forms adds a sociolinguistic dimension to the work. The article ends in a specimen CB text in vocalized Arabic script, followed by a transliteration in Latin script, and a translation in English. Although Oussani concentrates on CB, he occasionally refers to both MB and JB. In spite of his sketchy treatment of the dialect, Oussani's work is of particular diachronic interest to students of CB, primarily because some of the forms he gives are no longer current in the dialect of today.

An article by Louis Massignon, entitled "*Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Bagdad*", and published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* in 1914, should be mentioned here, since Massignon enumerates a few CB forms. The author provides a lot of information on the spoken Arabic of Baghdad, including proverbs, cries of street vendors and *ʕūd*-accompanied songs and their modes. Massignon states that there are seven different dialects in Baghdad, two Sunni Muslim, one Christian, one Jewish and one Bedouin. He does not mention the remaining two. Massignon's knowledge of dialectal Arabic, however, appears to be highly questionable. For example, he lists a few CB words as Sunni Muslim, and seems to be totally unaware of the salient features of CB, notably the non-occurence of the interdentals *ṯ*, *ḏ*, and *ḍ*, and the replacement of *r* by *ġ*.

One of the best works on CB up to date is Blanc's *Communal dialects in Baghdad*. The interesting theme of the book is the division of the Muslim, on the one hand, and the Jewish and Christian dialects, on the other, into two groups which Blanc called *gələt* and *qəltu* respectively, coined from the first person singular of the perfect of the verb "to say". This categorization has been adopted by subsequent scholars. *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, although brief on syntactical data, has become an important landmark in Arabic dialectology in

general, and a valuable document on the hitherto little known CB dialect in particular. Blanc points out similarities between CB and other *qəltu* dialects, notably a dialect in the Urfa province. It was not until 1978, however, when Otto Jastrow's comprehensive work on *qəltu* dialects, *Die Mesopotamisch-arabischen qəltu-Dialekte*, appeared that one could get a full picture of the Mesopotamian dialect geography, including CB and its place in the wider context of the *qəltu* dialect continuum. Jastrow divides *qəltu* dialects into three main groups, the Anatolian, the Euphrates and the Tigris, and sets CB and JB in the Tigris group, along with the Arabic dialects of Mosul and Tikrit.

The present study

Most of the data for the present study were collected between February and December 1987, after Professor Otto Jastrow invited me to contribute a monograph on CB for the *Semitica Viva* series. CB is a dialect I spoke throughout my early years in Iraq, and which I still speak whenever I am in the company of Christian Baghdadis. As I was unable to be *in situ*, I asked two CB friends in Baghdad to make recordings for me of the speech of fellow Christians. This they did, using nine informants, five men and four women. I myself made recordings of the speech of eleven CB speakers residing in England, four men and seven women, and one woman living in Italy. The informants in Baghdad are all native Baghdadis, with parents and grandparents who were all born in Baghdad. Nine of the CB speakers I recorded are at least third generation Baghdadi, while two were born in Basrah but moved to Baghdad at the ages of nine and thirteen respectively.

This study is primarily a synchronic one, most of the material being divided into three main sections, on phonology, morphology and syntax, a procedure now common in a number of dialect studies. I have also included twenty texts transcribed from recordings of spontaneous speech in order to give some idea of the sentence structure of this dialect. As far as I know, the only CB texts available in print are the one in Oussani's article, and five others which appeared in my article, "Maintenance and shift in the Christian Arabic of Baghdad", published in *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik*, 21, 1990.

CB speakers are generally bidialectal, speaking CB with fellow Iraqi Christians only, and MB with those from other communities.[9] Many educated CB speakers can be called triglossic, seeing that they use three different varieties of Arabic, CB, MB and literary Arabic (LA), for three different communicational purposes. Because it is primarily an in-group code, used within the confines of a specific domain, CB remained for a long time relatively free of LA interference. In recent years, however, with the growing need to use forms referring to novel items, or expressing abstract concepts, CB has had to borrow from LA to fill many lexical gaps. A number of these loans have been simultaneously diffused into both CB and MB in their unassimilated LA forms. In light of this, I have supplied a short final chapter dealing with the dialect from a sociolinguistic perspective.

9 According to Blanc (1964: 9), JB and CB "are spoken respectively by Jews and Christians largely at home with coreligionists, while M, the dominant dialect, is used in public in intercommunal situations by the many Jews and Christians who have a command of it." Ferguson (1959: 325) says that Christian Baghdadis speak "a 'Christian Arabic' dialect when talking among themselves ... and the general Baghdad dialect 'Muslim Arabic' when talking in a mixed group."

PHONOLOGY

1.1 Consonants

The following table is an inventory of CB consonants, including those which occur in loanwords only:

	Plosive	Fricative	Affricative	Liquid	Nasal
Labial	*p b*	*w*			*m*
Labiodental		*f*			
Dental	*t d*	*s z*		*l*	
Interdental		*ṯ*			
Emphatic	*ṭ ḍ*	*ṣ*			
Alveolar		*š*	*č ǧ*	*r*	*n*
Palatal		*y*			
Velar	*k g*	*x ġ*			
Uvular	*q*				
Pharyngal		*ḥ ʕ*			
Glottal	*ʔ*	*h*			

1.1.1 The treatment of *ṯ* and other LA interdentals

In CB, unlike MB or JB, the LA interdentals *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣* are replaced by their corresponding dentals *t, d and ḍ* respectively. Dentals for interdentals appears to be a CB characteristic, since JB and most *qəltu*-dialects retain the interdentals. The only other instance where this feature has been noted is in Diyarbakir (Jastrow, 1978:34-38).

LA *ṯ*	CB	MB	
	táyyal	*ṯáyyal*	"lawn"
	támara [1]	*ṯámara*	"fruit"
	tālət	*ṯāləṯ*	"third"

1 As in the *ave maria, tamarat baṯniki yassōʕ*, "the fruit of thy womb Jesus".

	CB	JB	
	kt̄íġ	*kt̄íġ*	"a lot"
	taqíl	*t̤qíl*	"heavy"
	tə́lət	*t̤ə́lt̤*	"a third"

LA *d̲*	CB	MB	
	dább	*d̲ább*	"to throw"
	dáhab	*d̲áhab*	"gold"
	hə́da	*hə́d̲a*	"this"

	CB	JB	
	dél	*d̲íl*	"tail"
	ádda	*ád̲d̲a*	"to hurt"
	ída	*íd̲a*	"if"

LA *ḍ*	CB	MB	
	ḍáhəġ	*ḍ̲úhur*	"noon"
	háḍam	*háḍ̲am*	"to digest"
	fáġaḍ	*fíraḍ̲*	"to compel"

	CB	JB	
	ḍáġab	*ḍ̲áġab*	"to hit"
	ḥáḍḍaġ	*ḥáḍ̲ḍ̲aġ*	"to prepare"
	ʕaġéḍ	*ʕġíḍ̲*	"broad"

In CB *t̤* tends to occur in some proper names and LA loanwords which have not been fully assimilated to the sound system of CB. Blanc (1964:19) found that "a good many of the younger generation" were introducing interdentals into their speech "as a result of school and majority influence." Among my informants the realization of *t̤* is fairly widespread, as in the following loanwords and proper names:

taʔát̤t̤ur	"influence"	*t̤árapi*	"therapy"
t̤áwra	"revolution"	*buṭáyna*	"Buthayna" (f. proper name)
aṭáṭ	"furniture"	*t̤ámər*	"Thāmir" (m. proper name)
t̤áyatar	"theatre"		

The occurence of *ḏ* appears to be less widespread. In my data two informants realized the following two LA loanwords with *ḏ*:

muḏíʕ	"broadcaster"
muḏakkirát	"memoirs"

Some CB speakers tend to realize *ḏ* in certain forms in order to distinguish them from corresponding forms with *d* which convey different meanings, as, for example,

ḏalíl	"servile"	*dalíl*	"(telephone) directory"
ḏáhən	"mind"	*dáhən*	"fat" (n.)
ġáḏḏa	"to nourish"	*ġádda*	"to give lunch to s.o."
áḏən	"permission"	*ádən*	"ear"

The interdental *ḓ* is hardly ever used by CB speakers who tend to realize *ḍ* even in LA loanwords like the following:

ḍaġíf	"charming, witty"	*muḍāhaġát*	"demonstration"
ʕaḍím	"great"	*náḍəm*	"Nāẓim"
munáḍḍama	"organization"		(m. proper name)

1.1.2 The treatment of LA *r*

A feature which distinguishes CB and JB from MB is the realization of LA *r* as *ġ*. Most MB forms with *r* have *ġ* in the corresponding CB forms.

CB	MB	
ġắdo	*rắdaw*	"they wanted"
ġaššaḥ	*rášša ḥ*	"to elect"
ġắhbi	*rắhba*	"nun"
fġéš	*frắš*	"bed"
bḗġəd	*bắrəd*	"cold" (adj.m.s.)
ṣáġġaf	*ṣárraf*	"to change (money)"
ḥáġġ	*ḥárr*	"heat"
ḥamíġ	*ḥamír*	"donkeys"
tabāšíġ[2]	*tabāšír*	"chalk"

2 This form occurs also as *ṭaḇāšīġ* with emphatic *ṭ*.

However, in the close contiguity of *ġ*, reflex of LA *ġ*, and a back vowel, *r* is sometimes realized by CB speakers.

ġarîb	"strange"	*rágwi*	"foam, lather"
ġáraḍ	"purpose, object"	*rōġắn*	"patent leather"
ġrắb[3]	"crow"		

Where *ġ* and *r* are separated by a front vowel or [a], as opposed to [ɑ], LA *r* is realized as *ġ*.

ġếġ	"other"	< LA	*ġáyr*
zġếġi	"small"	< LA	*ṣaġíra*
ġaġbîl	"sieve"	< LA	*ġirbắl*
ġáyyaġ	"to change"	< LA	*ġáyyara*

There is a tendency among a number of CB speakers to realize LA *r* as *r*, especially in borrowings from LA, (cf. Blanc, 1964: 21).

támara	"fruit"	*tará??us*	"management"
ṭáwra	"revolution"	*raṣîd*	"capital, fund"
burûd	"coldness"	*raṭắna*	"gibberish"
mustašắr	"adviser"	*rakín*	"sedate, imperturbable"
ratîb	"monotonous"		

In forms corresponding to LA *-qr-* and *-xr-*, *r* is often assimilated to *q* and *x* respectively.

q	*ʕaqqṓqa*	"frog"	MB	*ʕagrúgga*
	ʕáqqabi	"scorpion"	LA	*ʕáqraba*
x	*áxxas*	"dumb"	LA	*áxras*
	l-líxxi	"the other"	LA	*al-úxrā*

3 In the speech of some idiolects *r* is assimilated to *ġ* giving *ġġāb*.

1.1.3 The treatment of *q*

q is a hallmark of CB and of a number of *qəltu*-dialects. *q* frequently corresponds to *g* in *gələt*-dialects.

CB	MB	
qáləb	*gálub*	"heart"
qə́bbi	*gúbba*	"room"
ġáqabi	*rúgba*	"neck"
ġáqaṣ	*rə́gaṣ*	"to dance"
ġəqʕa	*rúgʕa*	"a patch"
sálaq	*sə́lag*	"to boil"
láḥḥaq	*láḥḥag*	"to reach"
báġqaʕ	*bárgaʕ*	"to cover"

1.1.4 The velar stop *g*

g is rare in CB occuring mostly in non-Arabic loanwords and proper names. It is ordinarily found in initial position, followed by another consonant, forming a two-consonant cluster (CC). *g* sometimes occurs in medial position, but hardly ever in final position.

gġə́m	"gram"
gġúp	"group"
glób	"light bulb"
glə́ṣ	"glass, beaker"
gġə́s	"Grace" (f. proper name)
glə́dəs	"Gladys" (f. proper name)
səgóġṭa	"insurance"
səgə́ġa	"cigarette"

g < *k* is realized in the contiguity of *b* or *d* in some Arabic words. Jastrow (1973:15 and 1978: 47) has noted this feature in the dialect of Mardin. He cites *g* <*k* in *k-b-r* and *k-d̲-b* forms, as, for example, *gə́bər*, *yágbar*, *gbír* and *gə́d̲əb*, *gəd̲d̲ə́b*. In CB *gbíġ* for *kbíġ* is fairly widespread. In *k-d-b* forms, on the other hand, *k* seems to be retained. However, several informants gave *gəddə́d* for *kəddə́d* "hard-working".

1.1.5 The glottal stop *ʔ*

ʔ occurs in medial position in forms corresponding to LA forms with medial *hamza*, and in final position in some Arabic feminine proper names with the ending *-āʔ*.

medial position

s-ʔ-l >	*sáʔal*	"to ask"
	suʔāl	"question"
	ásʔəla	"questions"
f-ʔ-l >	*mətfāʔəl*	"optimistic"
f-ʔ-d >	*fuʔād*	"Fuʔād" (m. proper name)
w-ʔ-l >	*wāʔəl*	"Wāʔil" (m. proper name)
ʔ-l-m >	*mətʔálləm*	"in pain, upset"
ʔ-d-b >	*mʔáddab*	"polite, well-mannered"
ʔ-ğ-r >	*tʔáğğaġ*	"it is let (house, etc.)"

final position

sanāʔ	"Sanāʔ" (f. proper name)
ġağāʔ	"Rajāʔ" (f. proper name)
hayfāʔ	"Hayfāʔ" (f. proper name)
lamyāʔ	"Lamyāʔ"(f. proper name)

In nominal forms corresponding to the LA feminine ending *-āʔ*, *ʔ* is usually elided, and the final vowel *-ā* is shortened to *-a*, unless the form in question is an adjective of colour or defect when the long vowel is retained. [4]

	LA		CB	
-ā	*samrāʔ*	>	*samġā*	"dark-skinned"
	šaqrāʔ	>	*šaqġā*	"blonde"
	ḥamrāʔ	>	*ḥamġā*	"red"
	ʕamyāʔ	>	*ʕamyā*	"blind"
	ḥawlāʔ	>	*ḥōlā*	"cross-eyed"
	ʕarğāʔ	>	*ʕaġğā*	"lame"

4 See 1.4.5 below.

-a	*al-ʕaḏrāʔ*	>	*l-ʕadġa*	"the Virgin"
	samāʔ	>	*sama*	"sky"
	ġiḏāʔ	>	*ġada*	"lunch"
	ṣaḥrāʔ	>	*ṣaḥġa*	"desert"

1.1.6 The loan phonemes *p* and *č*

p and *č* occur frequently in non-Arabic loanwords. There are a number of forms in which both phonemes occur. Older forms with *p* and *č* are derived mostly from Persian and Turkish, while some contemporary forms are loans from European languages.

p and *č*

páča	"tripe"	*páčata*	"napkin"
páġčam	"fringe (hair)"	*čəġpáyi*	"iron bed"
pánčaġ	"puncture"		

p

pākét	"packet"	*qápaġ*	"lid"
páġda	"curtain"	*panṭaġón*	"trousers"
plów	"rice"	*ōġóppa*	"Europe"
plán	"plan"	*láppa*	"moist rice"
ópaġa	"opera"	*qappúṭ*	"coat"

č

čáġəx	"wheel"	*čámča*	"ladle"
čəngál	"fork"	*čóla*	"hopscotch"
čáyyak	"to check"	*ṣúč*	"fault"

1.1.7 Emphatics

Emphatic consonants (Ç) in CB can be divided into two main groups, primary and secondary emphatics. The primary emphatics are *ṭ*, *ḍ* and *ṣ*, corresponding to the non-emphatic consonants *t*, *d* and *s* respectively. As in most Arabic dialects, *ṭ*, *ḍ* and *ṣ* tend to effect backness in the syllables they occur in, so that [a] is invariably realized as [ɑ]. Thus compare:

ṭ

ṭág	"to fly away"	*tág*	"vengeance"
ṭayyág	"pilot"	*tayyág*	"current, trend"

ṭáfaġ	"to jump"	*táfal*	"to spit"
xáṭaġ	"danger"	*xátal*	"to hide"
ḥáṭṭa	"he put it (f.s.)"	*ḥátta*	"so that"
ṣáqaṭ	"to fail (examination)"	*sákat*	"to be quiet"

ḍ

ḍaḅắn	"sole (shoe)"	*dabáng*	"blockhead"
ḍáġab	"to hit"	*dáġəb*	"way, road"
ḍaġaḅűni	"they hit me"	*daġbűni*	"alley"
náḍaṃ	"to compose"	*nádam*	"to regret"
ḥáḍḍa	"her luck"	*ḥádda*	"near her"
ġáṃṃaḍ	"to close one's eyes"	*ʕámmad*	"to baptize"

ṣ

ṣánam	"statue"	*sanắm*	"hump (camel)"
ṣáṭaġ	"to slap"	*sátan*	"satin"
naṣíb	"fate, destiny"	*nasíb*	"son-in-law"
ṃaṣlűb	"hanged"	*maslűb*	"snatched"
ṃáṣṣ	"to suck"	*máss*	"to touch"
qáfaṣ	"cage"	*náfas*	"breath"
qáṣṣ	"to cut"	*qáss*	"priest"

ṭ, *ḍ* and *ṣ*, moreover, remain emphatic in all environments, even when they precede or follow a front vowel.

ṭếġ	"bird"	*bếḍ*	"eggs"
ʕáṭəġ	"perfume"	*ṣếd*	"hunting, shooting"
ṣəmíṭ	"sesame bread rings"	*naṣíb*	"fate, destiny"
ḍáləm	"oppression"	*náqəṣ*	"lack, defect"
naḍíf	"clean"		

The secondary emphatics are the consonants *b*, *l*, *m*, and *n* which become emphatic (*ḅ*, *ḷ*, *ṃ* and *ṇ*) only when they are in the contiguity of an emphatic and a back vowel.

b > *ḅ*	*táḅṭaḅ*	"to pat s.o."
	ḍaḅắn	"sole (shoe)"
	ṣáḅḅ	"to pour"

l > *ḷ*	*ḍáḷḷ*	"to stay"
	tḷaṭṭáʕəš	"thirteen"
	ṣáḷḷa	"to pray"
m > *ṃ*	*ḍáṃṃ*	"to hide (tr.)"
	ṭaṃáṭa	"tomato"
	ṣáṃax	"to stay the course"
n > *ṇ*	*ṇáḍḍaf*	"to clean"
	qáṭṭaṇ	"to become mouldy"
	ṣáṇṭa	"quiet"

l, *m* and *n* in initial open syllable are rarely realized as emphatics, even when they precede a back vowel adjacent to a primary emphatic. This is in contrast to MB and other *gələt*-dialects where *ḷ*, *ṃ* and *ṇ* are nearly always realized as emphatics in the contiguity of a back vowel and a primary emphatic or *r*. Thus compare:

CB	MB	
láṭam	*ḷáṭaṃ*	"to strike oneself in lamentation"
láḍam	*ḷáḍaṃ*	"to thread"
láṭaʕ	*ḷáṭaʕ*	"to lick"
máṭaġ	*ṃúṭar*	"rain"
maṣéġ	*ṃaṣír*	"destiny"
máḍi	*ṃáḍi*	"past"
máġa	*ṃára*	"woman"
naḍáfa	*ṇaḍáfa*	"cleanliness"
naṣáġa	*ṇaṣára*	"Christians"
náṭóġ	*ṇáṭúr*	"guard, watchman"

In CB *b* behaves differently from the other three consonants in that it is frequently emphatic when preceding a back vowel adjacent to a primary emphatic.

ḅáṣaṭ	"to strike, to hit"	*ḅaṭáṭa*	"potato"
ḅáṭaḷ	"hero, tough man"	*ḅáḍət*	"she laid (an egg)"
ḅáṣaḷ	"onion"	*ḅāṣát*	"buses"
ḅáṭən	"stomach"		

1.2 Vowels

1.2.1 The following are the short vowels in CB:

i
ə *u*
a *o*

1.2.1.1 *i* ordinarily occurs in open final syllables and is realized mid-way between [i] and [ɪ]. It has a long equivalent *ī*.

sáni	"year"	*ʕáqqabi*	"scorpion"
ǧábti	"you (f.s.) brought"	*banáfsaǧi*	"purple"
sámaki	"fish"		

i occurs sometimes in open initial syllables like the following:

ída	"if"	*imáġa*	"principality"
idáġa	"office, management"	*išáġa*	"sign, signal"

1.2.1.2 *ə* is realized as [ɪ] and occurs in closed and non-final open syllables.

fáġəd	"one"	*ḍáhəġ*	"noon"
ġáǧla	"her foot"	*mālátu*	"his"
ṭəyyāġátna	"our aeroplane"	*ádən*	"ear"
bánət	"girl"	*ábən*	"son, boy"

1.2.1.3 *a* is realized as [a] in the contiguity of non-emphatics and non-gutturals.

ána	"I"	*mádġasi*	"school"
sáma	"sky"	*nazáltu*	"I went down"
šamsáyyi	"umbrella"	*banátəm*	"their daughters"

In the contiguity of emphatics and gutturals *a* is realized as [ɑ].

ʕaqqóqa	"frog"	*ḅáṭġak*	"patriarch"
ʕáġab	"Arabs, bedouins"	*qáṃṃaṭ*	"to swaddle (baby)"
máṭaġ	"rain"	*ṭáqṭaqa*	"clacking noise"

1.2.1.4 *o* is rare in CB. It occurs sometimes in final open syllables preceded by *ḥ*, *ʕ*, *q* or *ġ*. *o* is also found in closed syllables followed by a geminate consonant. This vowel has a more frequently occurring long equivalent, *ō*.

ġáḥo	"they went"	*ṭóppa*	"ball"
náqʕo	"they moistened"	*bóbbi*	"doggy (child talk)"
láqo	"they found"	*ṣóppa*	"stove"

1.2.1.5 *u* occurs in unstressed open final syllables and has a long equivalent, *ū*.

bétu	"his house"	*ʕándu*	"he has"
ǧəbnánu	"we brought him"	*smáʕu*	"listen!" (p.)
ḥálu	"nice, attractive" (m.)		

1.2.2 The long vowels in CB are:

ī
ē *ū*
ā *ō*

1.2.2.1 *ī* occurs in non-final open and final closed syllables.

sīlán	"date syrup"	*tín*	"figs"
ǧítu	"you (c.p.) came"	*ṣanēdíq*	"boxes"
mākína	"machine"	*mawēʕín*	"plates, dishes"
hōníki	"there"		

1.2.2.2 *ē* is of frequent occurence in CB and has no short equivalent. It occurs in open and closed syllables in all positions.

šé	"thing"	*ǧéǧi*	"hen"
béʕa	"church, chapel"	*maléḥa*	"good" (f.s.)
nés	"people"	*daġēbín*	"alleys"
ḥwés	"clothes"	*dəbbén*	"flies"

1.2.2.3 *ā* occurs in most positions in stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables. It is realized as [ɑ:] in the contiguity of emphatics and gutturals. In a non-emphatic, non-guttural context it is realized as [a:].

ġāḥ	"he went"	*ṭaʕānu*	"he gave him"
ṭāġma [5]	"verandah"	*sōdā*	"black" (f.s.)
bālkōn [6]	"balcony"	*xaḍġā*	"green" (f.s.)
qāšōġa	"spoon"	*ṭaġšā*	"deaf" (f.s.)

1.2.2.4 *ō* is far more common in CB than in either MB or JB. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables.

ġōḥ	"go!" (m.s.)	*hōníki*	"there"
ṣṭōḥ	"roofs"	*maslōqa*	"boiled" (f.s.)
nqōʕ	"dried apricots"	*laqqōnu*	"they found him"
maṭbōʕ	"printed" (m.s.)	*yəḥkōn*	"they speak"

1.2.2.5 *ū* occurs ordinarily in stressed, open and closed syllables.

mū	"not"	*dambūs*	"pin"
šūf	"see!" (m.s.)	*qayqūl*	"he says, he is saying"
šūfu	"see!" (p.)	*maǧnūni*	"mad" (f.s.)
slūqi	"greyhound"		

1.2.3 Diphthongs

LA diphthongs *aw* and *ay* are ordinarily realized as *ō* and *ē* respectively.

LA	CB	
aw		
láw	> *lō*	"if"
fáwq	> *fōq*	"up, upstairs, on top of"

5 This is the name given to a brick or tiled porch-like platform by a front or side door of a house, reached by a flight of steps from outside the house. It is customary for most Baghdadi families to sit on a *ṭāġma* on summer evenings.

6 This is a verandah or a balcony accessible from inside a house. It is usually on the first floor of a two-storey house.

máwğa	> *mōğáyi*	"a wave"
xáwf	> *xṓf*	"fear"

ay

áyna	> *wḗn*	"where"
ṣáyf	> *ṣḗf*	"summer"
bayḍā?	> *bēḍā́*	"white" (f.s.)
rayḥān	> *ġēḥā́n*	"sweet basil" (*Ocimum basilicum*)

LA diphthongs *aw* and *ay* occur sometimes in forms which have not been fully assimilated to CB.

aw

ṭáwra	"revolution"	*ráwnaq*	"splendour, beauty"
ráwḍa	"kindergarten"	*káwkab*	"star", "Kawkab" (f. proper name)

ay

buḥáyra	"lake"
buṭáyna	"Buthayna" (f. proper name)
láyla	"Layla" (f. proper name)
šayṭā́n	"rascal, Satan"

Diphthong *ay* occurs in compound forms where the negative particles *lā* and *mā* are followed by a 3rd pers. imperfective verb. In word junction the long vowel of the particle is shortened.

lā́ + *yġṓḥ*	>	*layġṓḥ*	"let him not go"
lā́ + *yšū́fu*	>	*layšū́fu*	"let him not see him"
mā́ + *yxā́ləf*	>	*mayxā́ləf*	"never mind (lit. "it does not go against")"
mā́ + *yqūlū́n*	>	*mayqūlū́n*	"they do not say"

The more common diphthongs in CB are of the *əww*, *aww*, *əyy*, *ayy* variety, where the phoneme *w* or *y* is geminate.

əww

ğə́wwa	"inside, downstairs"
qə́wwa	"strength"
yzūġə́wwa	"they visit her"
ṭalabə́wwa	"they asked for her"

aww

fáwwat	"he let pass"	*atṣáwwaġ*	"I think, imagine"
tzáwwağət	"she got married"	*šáwwafət*	"she showed"

əyy

háyyi	"she"	*masīḥáyyi*	"Christian" (f.s.)
xaṭṭáyyi	"poor thing!"	*ḅaṭṭānáyyi*	"blanket"

ayy

fáyy	"shade"	*náyyəm*	"asleep" (m.s.)
ṭáyyəb	"tasty" (m.s.)	*ʕaġáyyəs*	"brides"

There are also a few forms in CB which end in *-āy* and *-ōy*. These are mostly loanwords.

-āy

čā́y	"tea"	*amā́y*	"enamel"
hā́y	"this" (f.)	*ṣaġā́y*	"palace"

-ōy

ṓy	an exclamation of annoyance
bṓy	"waiter, manservant"
šabbṓy	"stock" (*Matthiola incana*)

1.3 Syllabication

Syllables in CB are of the Cv, Cv̄, CvC, Cv̄C, CCv̄, CvCC, CCv̄C patterns.

1.3.1 Monosyllabic forms

There are four types of monosyllabic forms. These are Cv̄, Cv̄C, CvCC and CCv̄C.

Cv̄	*mú*	"not"	*šé*	"thing"
	lá	"no"		
Cv̄C	*bíġ*	"well"	*mőz*	"bananas"
	nés	"people"	*tűm*	"garlic"
	qám	"to get up, to start doing s.t."		

In CvCC forms -CC is usually geminate.

káll	"every"	*šáṭṭ*	"river"
dább	"bear" (zoo.)	*wázz*	"geese"
ġášš	"cheating"	*ḥáġġ*	"heat"
ḥább	"earthenware vat for keeping water cool"	*ǧáġġ*	"to pull"

There are no forms corresponding to the LA pattern CvC^2C^3 like *bánt* "girl"; *ḥárq* "burning"; *rúbʕ* "quarter", etc. CB forms derived from LA CvC^2C^3 have an anaptyctic vowel between C^2 and C^3, and are classified as disyllabic forms, as for example,

bánət "girl"; *ḥáġəq* "burning"; *ġábəʕ* "quarter"

CCv̄C	*dġáʕ*	an old measure, approximately a yard		
	fġéš	"bed"	*qlűb*	"hearts"
	ktíġ	"very, a lot"	*zbőʕ*	"week"

1.3.2 Disyllabic forms

Disyllabic forms occur frequently in CB. The following are some common patterns with examples:

vCv	*ána*	"I"	*álu*	"to him"
CvCv	*sáma*	"sky"	*nása*	"to forget"
	sáni	"year"	*ǧáġu*	"puppy"
CV̄Cv	*hṓni*	"here"	*bínu*	"in it (m.)"
	bā́qa	"bouquet"	*qā́mu*	"they got up"
	qū́ġi	"teapot"	*ġā́ʕi*	"shepherd"
CvCvC	*xábəz*	"bread"	*máṭaġ*	"rain"
	ʕáṭas	"to sneeze"	*nábəq*	(*Zizyphus spina Christi*) (bot.)
CV̄CvC	*ḥā́məḍ*	"sour"	*bḗġəd*	"cold"
	ḥā́ġəs	"guard"	*sḗbəʕ*	"seventh"
CvCV̄C	*ʕaǧíb*	"strange"	*faqíġ*	"beggar" (n.), "poor" (adj.)
	xaǧū́l	"shy"	*malḗḥ*	"good"
CV̄CV̄C	*nāqṓṣ*[7]	"bell"	*ṭābṓq*	"bricks"
	ǧīġā́n	"neighbours"	*ṣābū́n*	"soap"
CvCCv	*ḥánṭa*	"wheat"	*kálbi*	"bitch"
	xálla	"to leave, to let"	*ǧánni*	"paradise"
CvCCvC	*kálkəm*	"all of you"	*máʕmal*	"factory"
	fə́stəq	"pistachio"	*báġban*	"variety of dates with large fruit"
CvCCV̄C	*čəngā́l*	"fork"	*ṣandū́q*	"box, trunk"
	məġǧā́n	"coral"	*ʒambíl*	"wicker basket"
	naǧǧā́ġ	"carpenter"	*ʕaṭšā́n*	"thirsty"
CCV̄Cv	*nǧā́ġa*	"carpentry"	*tlā́ti*	"three"
	tmḗni	"eight"	*ḅṭū́li*	"bottles"
CCvCCv	*mxáddi*	"pillow"	*bqáddi*	"my age, my size"
	nqálli	"we fry"	*mḥábbi*	"love, affection"
CCV̄CCv	*mbḗġḥa*[8]	"yesterday"	*msḗfġa*	"travelling" (f.s.)
	nxā́bġu	"we telephone him"	*nṣā́dqu*	"we befriend him"
CCV̄CV̄C	*fġēšā́t*	"beds"	*tlḗtín*	"thirty"
CCV̄CCV̄C	*msēfġín*	"travelling" (p.)	*mṭālbín*	"demanding" (p.)

7 This refers to church and hand bells. An electric bell is called *ǧáġaṣ* (p. *ġġāṣ*).

8 Oussani, op. cit., 111, gives *mbḗḥa*. In my data some of the older speakers used *mbḗḥa*, but the majority tended to use *mbḗġḥa* where *ġ* < LA *r* of *al-bāriḥa* is retained.

1.3.3 Trisyllabic forms

There are also a large number of nominal and verbal trisyllabic forms of which the following patterns, with examples, are the most frequently occuring:

CvCvCv	*sámaki*	"fish"	*ʕáǧali*	"speed, haste"
	ṭálabu	"they demanded"	*náǧaḥu*	"they succeeded"
CvCv̄Cv	*ḥaġā́mi*	"thief, burglar"	*ǧaḥā́ši*	"asses"
	naṣā́ġa	"Christians"	*məḥā́mi*	"lawyer"
Cv̄Cv̄Cv	*ḥālúbi*	"hailstone"	*qāšóǧa*	"spoon"
	mākína	"machine"	*ǧōʕáni*	"hungry" (f.s.)
CvCCvCv	*mádġasi*	"school"	*máṭbaʕa*	"printing press"
	sáxtači	"cheat" (n.)	*qándaġa*	"shoes"
CvCCv̄Cv	*baʒʒū́ni*	"cat"	*məqṭā́ṭa*	"pencil sharpener"
	fəġkḗta	"hair-grip"	*xəstā́wi*	"best variety of dates"
CvCv̄CvC	*ǧawḗmiʕ*	"mosques"	*madḗġis*	"schools"
	tanāwā́l	"communion"	*manā́ḍəġ*	"glasses"
CvCv̄Cv̄C	*basētī́n*	"gardens"	*tabāšíġ*	"chalk"
	maṣāġī́n	"intestines"	*taṣāwíġ*	"pictures"
CvCCvCv̄C	*qaġnabíṭ*	"cauliflower"	*ʕankabū́t*	"spider"
	kəštəbā́n	"thimble"	*maʕdanṓs*	"parsley"
CvCvCCvC	*ʕaǧáyyəʒ*	"old women"	*ʕaġáyyəs*	"brides"
	məhándəs	"engineer"	*məṣáwwəġ*	"photographer"

1.3.4 Forms of more than three syllables are not very common in CB. The majority are compound nominal and verbal forms.

ḥālūbā́yi	"a hailstone"
ʕaġabānā́t	"horse-drawn carriages"
mū malḗḥa	"not good" (f.s.)
kġafəs əl-bíġ	"maidenhair fern" (*Adiantum capillus-veneris*)
l-maǧdaláyyi	"Mary Magdalen"
ǧəhannamáyyi	"bougainvillea"
əštəġākáyyi	"socialism"
ma ḍaġabnā́həm	"we did not hit them"

la təṭṣawwaġṓn	"do not imagine"
məğtahdīn yấhəm	"they are hard-working"
šawwafnəyyấnu	"he showed it to me"

1.4 Vowel quantity and quality

1.4.1 In disyllabic forms where both syllables are short, and the final syllable is closed, the vowels are of the *a*, *a*; *ə*, *ə* or *a*, *ə* variety.

a a

názal	"to go down, to descend"	*námaš*	"freckles"
ʕátab	"to blame, to reprove"	*qáḥaṭ*	"dearth, scarcity"
šáṭaḇ	"to cross out"	*náḇaḏ*	"pulse"

ə ə

kə́bəġ	"to grow"	*ʕə́ġəs*	"wedding"
nə́ʕəs	"to be sleepy"	*mə́šəṭ*	"comb"
lə́bəs	"to wear"	*səḥəġ*	"magic"

a ə

máġəṣ	"pain (stomach)"	*qáməl*	"lice"
šádəġ	"turquoise"	*ḥábəl*	"rope"
máṣəġ	"Egypt"	*ṣáḇəġ*	"patience"

In CvCv̄C forms the vowel of the initial syllable is short before *ī* and *ē*, but long before *ā* and *ō* .

v *ī*

ṣalíb	"cross"	*naṣíb*	"fate, destiny"
ḥalíb	"milk"	*xaṭíb*	"fiancé"
ḥabíb	"beloved"	*mabíḏ*	"ovary"

v *ē*

ṭaġḗq	"way, road"	*ṣaḥḗḥ*	"true, correct"
ʕaġḗḏ	"broad"	*qaṣḗġ*	"short"
malḗḥ	"good"	*qabḗḥ*	"ugly"

v̄ *ā*

sīlán	"date syrup"	*ǧōʕán*	"hungry"
ǧīġán	"neighbours"	*ǧōġáb*	"sock, stocking"
fīġán	"mice"	*rōġán*	"patent leather"

v̄ *ō*

nāqṓṣ	"bell"	*fāfṓn*	"aluminium"
ṭāḅṓq	"bricks"	*māʕṓn*	"plate, dish"
ṣāḷṓn	"sitting-room, drawing-room"	*nāṭṓġ*	"guard, watchman"

Where the vowel in -CV̄C is *ū* the vowel of the initial syllable is usually *ā*. There are, however, CvC*ū*C forms with an initial short vowel, *a*. These are ordinarily adjectival forms corresponding to the LA *faʕūl* pattern. There are also a few CvC*ū*C forms with an initial short vowel, *ə*. The majority of these forms are loans from LA.

ā ū

xātún	"lady, madam"	*yāqút*	"ruby"
kāġúz	"preacher"	*ḥālúb*	"hail"
ṭāwús	"peacock"	*ṣāḅún*	"soap"

a ū

xaǧúl	"shy"	*ḥasúd*	"envious"
ṭamúḥ	"ambitious"	*mahúl*	"excellent, very good"
qanúʕ	"content, easy-going"		
qabúl	"an open day for social visits among women"		

ə ū

həǧúm	"attack, onslaught"	*kəsúf*	"solar eclipse"
dəxúl	"entrance, entry"	*xəsúf*	"lunar eclipse"
ġərúb	"sunset"	*ḥəġúb*	"wars"

In trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic forms, with sequences of three and four short vowels respectively, the vowels of the first two syllables are invariably *a*.

a a v

sámaki	"fish"	*lábasu*	"they wore"
mádġasi	"school"	*ʕaġáyyəs*	"brides"
katábna	"we wrote"	*tʃállamət*	"she learnt"

a a v v

ʕağayyáẓna	"our old women"	*katabátu*	"she wrote it"
faqaġáti	"my vertebra"	*katabátla*	"she wrote to her"
madġasátu	"his school"	*bahdalátu*	"she reprimanded him"

The short vowel of an initial syllable in trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic forms is frequently *a*.

3 syllables

xaṣáġa	"loss, waste"	*malyáni*	"full" (f.s.)
maṣáṭəġ	"rulers"	*ḥazzóġa*	"riddle"
ğawēğín	"neighbours"	*makbúbi*	"spilt" (f.s.)
bayyāʃín	"vendors"	*ṭaʃánu*	"he gave him"

4 syllables

ʕaġabána	"horse-drawn carriage"	*ṣadāqátəm*	"their friendship"
bastōqáti	"my earthenware jug"	*mawēʃínəm*	"their plates"
ḍaġaḅúnu	"they beat him"	*mašākálna*	"our problems"
ḥamalnánu	"we carried him"	*ḥadīqátəm*	"their garden"

There are some forms of more than two syllables, however, in which the short vowel of the initial syllable is *ə*. *ə* occurs mostly in the initial syllable of CvCCv̄Cv and CvCv̄Ca type trisyllabic forms.

məqṭáta	"pencil sharpener"	*šəftínu*	"you (f.s.) saw him"
xəstáwi	"best quality dates"	*fəqáġa*	"poor"
səllávi	"pen nib"	*səgáġa*	"cigarette"
ğəbtúnu	"you brought it"	*təğáġa*	"trade, commerce"

1.4.2 $\bar{u} > \bar{o}$

In the contiguity of the gutturals *ḥ*, *x*, *ʕ*, *ġ* and *q* the long vowel is ordinarily $\bar{o}$ where $\bar{u}$ might have been expected. Thus compare:

CB	MB	
ġṓḥ	*rúḥ*	"go!"
maṭbṓx	*maṭbúx*	"cooked" (m.s.)
nqṓʕ	*ngúʕ*	"dried apricots"
ṣṓġa	*ṣúra*	"picture"
bastṓqa	*bastúga*	"large earthenware jug"

CB	LA	
maftṓḥ	*maftúḥ*	"open"
fġṓx	*furúx*	"chicks, young birds"
zbṓʕ	*usbúʕ*	"week"
ʕaṣfṓġ	*ʕuṣfúr*	"small bird, sparrow"
maslṓq	*maslúq*	"boiled" (m.s.)

$\bar{u} > \bar{o}$ is a phonological feature which has been well documented throughout. Nöldecke (1898: 33)[9] found it in Syriac. Oussani (1901: 101) was the first to draw attention to it in CB, followed by Blanc (1964: 41)[10] who recognized it as a feature "peculiar to" CB. Jastrow (1978: 63) found it in Anatolian dialects, as well as in Bəhzāni and the spoken Arabic of Mosul.

The following are more examples of $\bar{u} > \bar{o}$ in CB:

ḥ		*x*	
ṣṭṓḥ	"roofs"	*maṣlṓx*	"skinned"
tfṓḥ	"it (f.) emanates"	*yxṓṭ*	"he stirs"
ʕ		*ġ*	
yassṓʕ	"Jesus"	*nāṭṓġ*	"watchman"
māʕṓn	"dish, plate"	*ṣabbṓġa*	"blackboard"
malʕṓn	"rascal"	*ḥazzṓġa*	"riddle"

9 "Nicht selten scheint übrigens ein ostsyrisches $\bar{o}$ erst aus $\bar{u}$ verfärbt zu sein, namentlich in der Nähe eines Gutturals oder *r*."

10 Blanc gives examples of $\bar{u} > \bar{o}$ before *ḥ*, *q* and *ġ*, without mentioning *ʕ* or *x*.

ṭāʕṓn	"plague"	*yṣṓġ*	"to work in gold or silver"
yilṭaʕṓn	"they lick"	*təlġṓn*	"you (p.) chatter"

q

masqṓf	"grilled fish"
yəlqṓn	"they find"
malqṓf	"grabbed, seized" (m.s.)
nāqṓṣ	"bell"
nḍṓq	"we taste"

This feature applies also to loan words:

CB	MB	
qāšṓġa	*qāšṻga/ xāšṻga*	"spoon"
panṭagṓn	*panṭarṻn*	"trousers"

Where LA *ū* is realized as *ū* in pre-guttural position is in LA *faʕṻl* type forms which have been borrowed by CB. Thus, it is *ṭamṻḥ* "ambitious"; *ṣabṻḥ* "radiant, bright (face)"; *qanṻʕ* "content", and not *ṭamṓḥ*, *ṣabṓḥ*, *qanṓʕ*. These loans from LA, it should be stated, are rare.

1.4.3 *ī* > *ē*

In forms ending in -CvC(v) the long vowel is *ē*, in pre-guttural and pre-emphatic environments.[11]

ʕaġḗḍ[12]	"wide" (m.s.)	*ġḗḥa*	"smell"
ḅaṭṭḗx	"melon"	*malḗḥa*	"good" (f.s.)
ṭaġḗq	"road, way"	*ʐġḗġi*	"small" (f.s.)

11 Jastrow (1978: 63) refers to both *ū* > *ō* and *ī* > *ē* features as *Senkung*. Examples of *ī* > *ē* in CB are given by both Oussani (1901: 101) and Blanc (1964: 41), although the three examples cited by Blanc (viz. *malḗḥ*, *ṣaḥḗḥ*, *gḗḥa*) are of *ē* before the guttural phoneme *ḥ* only.

12 Oussani (loc. cit.) gives *ʕaġḗḍ*, while Blanc (1964: 81) gives *ʕaġíḍ*.

1.4.4 Imāla

Both medial and word-final *imāla* are common in CB, a feature it shares with other *qəltu*-dialects.

1.4.4.1 Medial *imāla*

Medial *imāla* (*-ē-*) occurs in non-emphatic environments, in nominal forms.

klḗb	"dogs"	*dəbbḗn*	"flies"
tmḗni	"eight"	*ḥawḗġib*	"eyebrows"
ǧawēġín	"neighbours"	*masēkín*	"poor, pitiable" (p.)

No *imāla* occurs in post-emphatic environments.

tġā̆b	"dust"	*qmā̆ġ*	"gambling"
xəṭṭā̆ġ	"guests"	*faṣāṭín*	"dresses"
maṭā̆bəx	"kitchens"	*maṣā̆ṭəġ*	"rulers"

In CaCāCv type nominal forms no *imāla* occurs.

yatā̆mi	"orphans"	*ḥaġā̆mi*	"thief"
ġašā̆mi	"ignorant" (p.)	*ǧaḥā̆ši*	"asses"
kasā̆li	"lazy"	*naṣā̆ġa*	"Christians"

In nominal and verbal forms of the pattern CvCi(C), corresponding to the LA active participle (*fā̆ʕil*), *imāla* occurs in non-emphatic environments. Thus compare:

ǧḗməʕ	"mosque"	*ṭā̆ləb*	"student"
lḗbəs	"wearing"	*ṣā̆bəġ*	"patient"
wḗqəf	"standing"	*ṣā̆ġəf*	"having spent"
nḗsi	"having forgotten	*ṭā̆ləʕ*	"having gone out"

1.4.4.2 Word-final *imāla*

Word final *imāla* (*-i*) occurs in feminine nominal forms where the corresponding LA forms end in *-a* (*tā? marbūṭa*). *-i* occurs in non-emphatic, non-guttural environments.

sáni	"year"	*tágwi*	"wealth"
ḥálwi	"pretty"	*ṭawîli*	"tall"
sámaki	"fish"	*bazzûni*	"cat"
mádġasi	"school"	*ġâhbi*	"nun"
baṭṭānáyyi	"blanket"	*ǧəhannamáyyi*	"bougainvillea"
šəyūʕáyyi	"communism"	*ġa?əsmāláyyi*	"capitalism"

No *imāla* occurs, however, in post-guttural or post-emphatic positions.

bêʕa	"church, chapel"	*fáġṣa*	"opportunity recreation"
xaġíṭa	"map"		
šáǧaġa	"tree"	*səyyâġa*	"car"
náqṭa	"point, dot"	*báġʕa*	"insolent"
mázbaḥa	"rosary"	*baṭṭéxa*	"a melon"
ṭābôqa	"a brick"	*maslôqa*	"boiled"
ġáqʕa	"patch"		

Word-final *imāla*, however, occurs after *ġ* (< LA *r*) where the preceding stressed vowel is a front one.

ábġi	"needle"	*gbíġi*	"large; big"
zġéġi	"small"	*xabíġi*	"expert; experienced"

No *imāla* seems to occur in loanwords which end in *-a*, even where *-a* follows a non-guttural, non-emphatic consonant, as, for example,

páġda	"curtain"	*dōndáġma*	"ice-cream"
ṣôda	"soda"	*bāṣṭáġma*	"Armenian spicy sausage"
méwa	"fruit"		

1.4.5 The treatment of the reflexes of LA *-ā?*

As has already been shown in 1.1.5 above, CB nominal forms, corresponding to LA feminine forms ending in *-ā?*, ordinarily end in a short *-a*, unless they are adjectives of colour or defect, when they end in a long *-ā*.

sáma	"sky"	*šáfa*	"cure"
ġáda	"lunch, tomorrow"	*ʕáša*	"evening meal"
ġána	"singing"	*ṣáḥġa*	"desert"

but

samġā́	"dark"	*sōdā́*	"black"
zaġqā́	"blue"	*ṣafġā́*	"yellow"
ḥōlā́	"cross-eyed"	*ʕamyā́*	"blind"
ʕaġğā́	"lame"	*xaġsā́*	"dumb"

On suffixation final *-a* in CvCa/ CvCCa forms becomes *-ā*.

ġáda	> *ġadā́yi*	"my lunch"
ʕáša	> *ʕasā́kəm*	"your (p.) evening meal"
ġána	> *ġənā́ki*	"your (f.s.) singing"
ṣáḥġa	> *ṣaḥġā́wi*	"belonging to the desert"

1.4.6 The effect of gemination on vowel quantity

The long vowel + *hamza* in LA CāʔəC/ CaCāʔəC forms becomes *-āy-* in MB and *-ayy-* in CB.

Thus compare:

LA	MB	CB	
nā́ʔəm	*nā́yəm*	*náyyəm*	"asleep" (m.s.)
ṣā́ʔəm	*ṣā́yəm*	*ṣáyyəm*	"fasting" (m.s.)
ʕağā́ʔəz	*ʕağā́yəz*	*ʕağáyyəz*	"old women"
ʕarā́ʔəs	*ʕarā́yəs*	*ʕaġáyyəs*	"brides"

However, in LA forms which have not been assimilated to CB the long vowel and *hamza* are often retained, as, for example,

ṭā?ər	"revolutionary"
ǧawā?əz	"prizes"
masā?əl	"problems; matters"

There are a few forms also in which *-āy-* occurs, as, for example,

sāyəq	"chauffeur"	*qaṭāyəf*	"pastry in syrup"
səgāyəġ	"cigarettes"		

In CB a geminate consonant frequently causes the shortening of the vowel preceding it. Thus compare:

CB	MB	
ḥkáyyi	*ḥčāya*	"story"
hákki	*híči*	"thus"
ṭóppa	*ṭōba*	"ball"
bóbbi	*bōbi*	"doggy"
ṣóppa	*ṣōba*	"stove"
yəlqáwwa	*yəlgūha*	"they find her"
yšūfáwwəm	*yšūfūhum*	"they see them"

1.5 Elision and consonant clusters

1.5.1 Consonant elision

1.5.1.1 The elision of *h-*

Initial *h-* of demonstrative pronouns is elided in word junction when it follows *l-* preceded by an anticipatory pronominal suffix.

šəftūnu lāda < *šəftūnu l-hāda* "I saw this (man)"
tzawwāǧa lāyi < *tzawwāǧa l-hāyi* "he married this (woman)"
qaṭġōḥ wəyyāhəm ladōli < *qaṭġōḥ wəyyāhəm əl-hadōli* "she is going with these (people)"
ṭaġadáwwa ladíki l-bánət < *ṭaġadáwwa l-hadíki l-bánət* "they expelled that girl"
samaʕtáyya lal-əsṭəwāni < *samaʕtáyya l-hal-əsṭəwāni* "Did you (f.s.) hear this record?"

Initial *h-* of adverbs of place (*hőni* "here"; *hőniki* "there") and time (*hássaʕ* "now") is frequently elided when preceded by particle *l-* "to".

áğa lőni < *áğa l-hőni* "he came here"
waddânu lōníki < *waddânu l-hōníki* "he took him there"
lássaʕ ma wáṣalu < *l-hássaʕ ma wáṣalu* "They haven't arrived yet (lit. until now)"

1.5.1.2 The elision of a geminate consonant

In CB three-consonant clusters do not usually occur. Where a monosyllabic form ending in gemination is followed by a form with initial Cv-, at word junction one of the geminate consonants is elided.

ġášš	+	*ḥadīqátu*	>	*ġaš ḥadīqátu*	"he watered his garden"
qáṣṣ	+	*šáʕġu*	>	*qaṣ šáʕġu*	"he cut his hair"
ḥáġġ	+	*baġdâd*	>	*ḥaġ baġdâd*	"the heat of Baghdad"
xáṭṭ	+	*xâli*	>	*xaṭ xâli*	"my maternal uncle's handwriting"
ṣáll	+	*ḥáyyi*	>	*ṣəl ḥáyyi*	"a young snake"
ḥtákk	+	*bínu*	>	*ḥtak bínu*	"he provoked him"
nsádd	+	*ʕalênu*	>	*nsad ʕalênu*	"it closed on him"

1.5.2 Vowel elision

In nominal and verbal forms with a final -CəC syllable, *ə* is elided at word junction where the following suffix or form begins with a vowel.

ġâhəb "monk" + f.s. marker *-i* > *ġâhbi* "nun"
ḥâməḍ "sour" + p. marker *-īn* > *ḥāmḍín* "sour" (p.)
bánət "girl" + *axûyi* "my brother" > *bənt axûyi* "my niece"
qásət "instalment" + *əl-mádġasi* "school" > *qəṣt əl-mádġasi* "school fees"
šáġəb "drinking" + *əl-bíġa* "the beer" > *šəġb əl-bíġa* "beer drinking"
ásəm "name" + *əl-âb*[13] "the Father" > *b-əsm əl-âb* "in the name of the Father"

13 The first person of the Trinity is realized as *āb*, with a long *ā* and non-geminate *b*, while *abb* "father" is realized with a short *a* and geminate *b*.

ṭâġət "it flew" + *əl-ʕâṭla* "the vacation" > *ṭāġt əl-ʕâṭla* "the vacation passed quickly"
ġâḥət "it went" + *əl-ġémi* "the cloud" > *ġāḥt əl-ġémi* "the cloud has gone"
ysâfəġ "he travels" + 3rd pers. p. marker *-ūn* > *ysāfġûn* "they travel"
ytâğəġ "he trades" + 3rd pers. p. marker *-ūn* > *ytāğġûn* "they trade"

Where a form ending in -CəC is followed by a form with initial CC-, *ə* is elided, resulting in final -CC, and an anaptyctic or helping vowel is inserted between the two sets of CC.

qâsəm "part" + *gbíġ* "big" > *qəsm əgbíġ* "a large part"
šáhəġ "month" + *sḅâṭ* "February" > *šahġ əšḅâṭ* "the month of February"
šáʕəġ "poetry" + *fġansâwi* "French" > *šəʕġ əfġansâwi* "French poetry"
qâmət "she began" + *tqálli* "she tells me" > *qāmt ətqálli* "she began to tell me"
ġâḥət "she went" + *tğíbu* "she gets it" > *ġāḥt ətğíbu* "she went to get it"

However, where a form with final -CəC is followed by a form with initial Cv- or -vC, or a suffix beginning with a consonant, no elision occurs.

qâsəm "part" + *mánnəm* "of them" > *qâsəm mánnəm* "some of them"
šáʕəġ "poetry" + *almâni* "German" > *šáʕəġ almâni* "German poetry"
bâʕət "she sold" + *béta* "her house" > *bâʕət béta* "she sold her house"
ásəm "name" + 1st pers. p. pron. suf. *-na* > *ásəmna* "our name"
káləb "dog" + 2nd pers. f.s. pron. suf. *-ki* > *káləbki* "your dog"
bánət "girl" + 2nd pers. p. pron. suf. *-kəm* > *bánətkəm* "your daughter"

1.5.3 Consonant clusters

As can be seen from 1.5.2 above, two-consonant clusters occur in final position when the vowel of a -CəC syllable is elided on suffixation or at word junction. Two-consonant clusters in initial position occur frequently in CB. The following are a few examples:

ktéb	"book"	*lsén*	"tongue"	*qlúb*	"hearts"	*byút*	"houses"
ḥmáġ	"donkey"	*tġáb*	"dust"	*fġóx*	"chicks"	*ʒbóʕ*	"week"
tláti	"three"	*tméni*	"eight"	*mqáṣṣ*	"scissors"	*myúzi*	"tables"

Some forms whose first two syllables are of the CaCv̄- pattern have variants with CCv̄-, where v of the initial syllable is elided, giving an initial cluster. Both Cacv̄- and CCv̄- forms of the same root seem to be in free variation.[14]

nahág	and	*nhág*	"day"
qəmáṭ	and	*qmáṭ*	"swaddling clothes"
saġēdíb	and	*sġēdíb*	"cellars"
baṣáġwa	and	*bṣáġwa*	"Baṣrāwīs"
maqēṣíṣ	and	*mqēṣíṣ*[15]	"scissors"

1.6 The voicing of *s* and *ṣ*

In forms where one of the voiceless consonants *s* or *ṣ* occurs immediately before *b* or *d*, it is voiced and realized as *ʒ*. Where it is separated from *b* or *d* by a vowel, no voicing occurs. Thus compare:

b

ʒbóʕ	"week"	*asēbíʕ*	"weeks"
ʒbéʕ	"lions, strong men"	*sábəʕ*	"lion, strong man"
ʒbáʕ	"finger"	*aṣábeʕ*	"fingers"
mázbaḥ	"swimming pool, a Baghdad quarter"	*sábaḥ*	"to bathe, to swim"
mázbaḥa	"rosary"	*sábbaḥ*	"to count the beads of the rosary in prayer"
ʒbáṭaʕəš	"seventeen"	*sabʕín*	"seventy"
ʒbēnáġ	"spinach"	*sábab*	"cause"

d

qázdi	"my intention"	*áqṣəd*	"I mean"
azdəqáʔ	"friends"	*ṣadíq*	"friend"

14 Some informants feel that although a number of CaCv̄- forms are in free variation with CCv̄- forms, the latter are a recent addition to the dialect, brought about, no doubt, by contact with MB and JB.

15 In my data this form occurs also as *mqāṣíṣ* without *imāla*.

mazdûd	"closed"	*sáddi*	"barrier"[16]
azdâf	"shells"	*ṣádaf*	"shell"
mázbaġa	"tannery"	*ṣáḅaġ*	"to tan"

1.7 Assimilation

1.7.1 Assimilation of *ġ*

Where *ġ*, reflex of LA *r*, is adjacent to *b*, *ḥ*, *q* or *x*, it is frequently assimilated to that consonant.

áḅḅaʕa	<	*áġḅaʕa*	"four"
mbéḥḥa[17]	<	*mbéġḥa*	"yesterday"
aqqâm	<	*aġqâm*	"numbers"
wáqqa	<	*wáġqa*	"leaf, piece of paper"
ʕáqqabi	<	*ʕáqġabi*	"scorpion"
ʕaqqôqa	<	*ʕaqġôqa*	"frog"
áxxas	<	*áxġas*	"dumb"

1.7.2 Assimilation of *l*

In CB *l* of the definite article is frequently assimilated to the consonant immediately following it.

əx-xāxâm	<	*əl-xāxâm*	"the rabbi"
əq-qámaġ	<	*əl-qámaġ*	"the moon"
ək-kásal	<	*əl-kásal*	"the laziness"
əm-máṭaġ	<	*əl-máṭaġ*	"the rain"
hay-yôm	<	*hal-yôm*	"today"
hab-bánət	<	*hal-bánət*	"this girl"
haw-wáqət	<	*hal-wáqət*	"this time"
haq-qáss	<	*hal-qáss*	"this priest"
bəm-mádġasi	<	*bəl-mádġasi*	"at school"
bəb-béʕa	<	*bəl-béʕa*	"in church"
bəq-qáġyi	<	*bəl-qáġyi*	"in the village"
bəm-mazēmíġ	<	*bəl-mazēmíġ*	"in the psalms"

16 *sáddi* usually refers to the Tigris barrier, built to stop parts of Baghdad from being flooded.

17 *mbéḥa*, without gemination, is more common.

Assimilation occurs also in *káll* "every, each". In pre-consonantal word junction one *l* of *káll* is elided, while the other is assimilated to the consonant following it.

kəš-šḗ	<	*kəl-šḗ*	"everything"
kəy-yṓm	<	*kəl-yṓm*	"every day"
kəġ-ġabíʕ	<	*kəl-ġabíʕ*	"every Spring"
kəx-xamís	<	*kəl-xamís*	"every Thursday"

1.8 Stress assignment

In forms of more than one syllable stress (') usually falls on the penultimate syllable.

xábəʒ	"bread"	*xəbʒáyi*	"a piece of bread"
tláti[18]	"three"	*tlātátkəm*	"the three of you"
mākína	"machine"	*mākīnátəm*	"their machine"
maḥḗbəs	"rings"	*maḥēbásna*	"our rings"
səyyáġa	"car"	*səyyāġáti*	"my car"
qáltu	"you (p.) said"	*qəltúlna*	"you (p.) said to us"
nasḗtu	"you (p.) forgot"	*nasētáwwəm*	"you (p.) forgot them"
katábna	"we wrote"	*katabnánu*	"we wrote it"
labástəm	"you (p.) wore"	*labastúnu*	"I wore it"
náyyam	"to put to bed"	*nayyamátu*	"she put him to bed"

Stress falls on the final syllable when that syllable is closed and has a long vowel (v̄).

nāqṓṣ	"bell"	*nawēqíṣ*	"bells"
məftḗḥ	"key"	*mafētíḥ*	"keys"
malḗḥ	"good" (m.s.)	*malēḥín*	"good" (p.)
ǧīġán[19]	"neighbours"	*ǧawēġín*[19]	"neighbours"
maslṓq	"boiled" (m.s.)	*maslōqín*	"boiled" (p.)

18 No *imāla* occurs in this form in CB, unlike *tmḗni*. Cf. Blanc (1964: 46). In Syro-Lebanese dialects, where medial *imāla* is a common feature of the spoken language, both forms occur with medial *imāla*, e.g., *tlḗti*, *tmḗni*.

19 *ǧīġán* refers to one set of neighbours, while *ǧawēġín*, the collective plural, refers to groups of neighbours.

mākīnāt	"machines"	*mākīntén*	"two machines"
qayqúl	"he is saying"	*qayqūlún*	"they are saying"
tġīdín	"you (f.s.) want"	*qatġīdún*	"you (p.) want"
tšūfún	"you (p.) see"	*ma qatšūfún*	"you (p.) are not seeing"

In disyllabic forms with two open syllables, stress falls on the final syllable when the vowel of that syllable is long, (v̄). Thus compare:

banṓ	"they built"	*bána*	"he built"
baqṓ	"they stayed"	*báqa*	"he stayed"
mašṓ	"they walked"	*máša*	"he walked"
ašū	"so, I see that..."	*ʕáša*	"evening meal"
hədū	"quiet"	*háda*	"he presented s.o. with"
ʕəlū	"height"	*ʕála*	"on, on top of"

In trisyllabic forms where the vowels of the second and final syllables are short, stress falls on the first syllable.

sámaki	"fish"	*kátabu*	"they wrote"
šáǧaġa	"tree"	*kássaġu*	"they broke (to pieces)"
fáqaġa	"vertebra"	*lábasət*	"she wore"
fəqaġa	"poor" (p.)	*xáġġabət*	"she spoilt"
mádġasi	"school"	*tʕállamət*	"she learnt"
mázbaḥa	"rosary"		

As can be seen from the above examples, it is only in trisyllabic forms where the final syllable is short, and the second is both open and short, that stress falls on a syllable other than the penultimate or final one. However, in trisyllabic forms, with a sequence of three short vowels, stress falls on the penultimate syllable when it is closed.

maḥálli	"district, suburb"	*sakátna*	"we kept quiet"
maǧálli	"magazine"	*qašmáġtu*	"I made fun of"
samákna	"our fish"	*sakáttəm*	"you (p.) kept quiet"

In quadrisyllabic forms, with a sequence of four short vowels, stress falls also on the penultimate syllable.

samakáti	"my fish"	*labasátu*	"she wore it"
šağağátəm	"their tree"	*xağğabátəm*	"she spoilt them,
madğasátna	"our school"		she wrecked them"
mazbaḥáti	"my rosary"	*ʕallamátu*	"she learnt it"

In compound forms also, final syllable length is associated with stress. Thus, stress falls on the final syllable where it is long and closed. Where the final syllable is short, however, stress ordinarily falls on the penultimate syllable.

final (ˊ)

kġafəs əl-bíġ	"maidenhair fern" (*Adiantum capillus-veneris*)
ʕəlab kāġṓn	"cardboard boxes"
qalam pāndā́n	"fountain pen"
bəʕ-ʕaġabānā́t	"in the horse-drawn carriages"
la tətkallafū́n	"don't trouble yourselves!"
ma qatəstaḥḗn	"aren't you (f.s.) ashamed?"

penult. (ˊ)

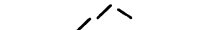
ğġēdi n-náxal	"squirrel"
manāḍəġ šámas	"sun-glasses"
ṣayyā́d sámak	"fisherman"
laymūn ḥámaḍ	"lemons"
mū malēḥīn yā́ḥəm	"they are not good"
ṭalabətləyyánu	"she ordered it for me"

1.9 Intonation

In CB a sentence can occur with a variety of tone sequences. Tone can be divided into three types, rising (/) , falling (\), and level (–). Tone varies considerably according to speaker and context. In long sentences there are a number of ways tone is expressed, depending on the part of the word or sentence the speaker wants to accentuate. There is less variation, however, in shorter tracts of language. In single or compound forms, made up of not more than five or six syllables, tone ordinarily rises gradually to coincide with stress, before it eventually falls.

mbéġḥa "yesterday"

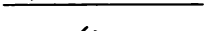

ma šəftúnu "I did not see him"


ġáḥna ləb-béʕa "we went to church"


samáʕtu x-xábaġ "I heard the news"

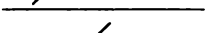
ṣayyád sámak "a fisherman"

bəʃ-ʕaġabānát "in the horse-drawn carriages"

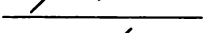

qayətmášša "he is strolling"

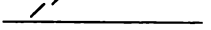
In an interrogative context tone usually rises gradually before reaching a peak.

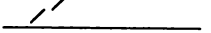
mbéġḥa "was it yesterday?"


ma šəftúnu "didn't you see him?"


ġáḥtəm ləb-béʕa "did you go to church?"


samáʕtəm əx-xábaġ "did you (p.) hear the news?"

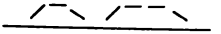

ṣayyád sámak "is he a fisherman?"

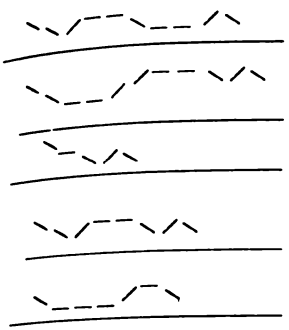

bəʃ-ʕaġabānát "in the horse-drawn carriages?"


qayətmášša "has he gone for a stroll?"

In an interrogative sentence, introduced by an interrogative particle, tone starts high, before it gradually falls, rising again where a syllable is accentuated.


wén kántəm yóm ix-xamís "where were you on Thursday?"


šwáqət ġáḥtəm ləs-sínama "when did you go to the cinema?"



yámta ġaḥ təʕállam əs-səyáqa "when are you going to learn to drive?"

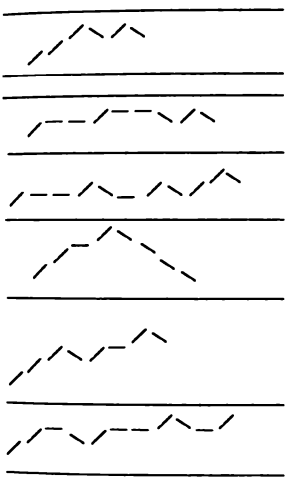
šánu hāy əl-ḥabbáyi ʕala xáddu "what is this spot on his cheek?"

kám bánət ʕándəm "how many daughters have they got?"

mánu qálki ana hṓni "who told you I was here?"

šqádd ʕámġa təṭṣawwaġén "how old do you think she is?"

In non-interrogative sentences tone may be correlated with contextual category, where a stressed syllable has the highest tone.



kánna hṓni ṣ-ṣábaḥ "we were here this morning"

šáftu ǧōzéf ʕənd bét ʕammáti "I saw Joseph at my aunt's house"

kán fáġəd šé mátəl ḥánni ʕaláyya "there was something like henna on her"

lēbsín nīšán ʕala ṣádġəm "they are wearing medals on their chests"

ġábət ġóḥa qámt əʕáyyaṭ "she fainted (then) started screaming"

šabʕán ḥalíb ámmu mən háda maléḥ "he has had a sufficient amount of his mother's milk, that is why he is good"[20]

20 *šabʕān ḥalīb əmmu* "he has had a sufficient amount of his mother's milk" is an idiomatic expression referring to a person who is good and uncomplicated.

MORPHOLOGY

2.1 The Verb

Verbs in CB have a root made up of three (C-C-C), or less frequently, four radicals (C-C-C-C). The verbal base forms, or stems, which correspond to Cl. Ar. forms I - III and V - X,[1] are derived from these roots. There are two aspects, the perfective and the imperfective, denoting non-progressive or completive and progressive or incompletive actions respectively. Verbs are classified as strong or weak, weak verbs having *hamza*, *w* or *y* as one of their radicals. Strong verbs have radicals other than *hamza* or the semivowels *w* and *y*. Where the second and third radicals are identical, the verb is called geminate.

2.1.1 Triradical verbs

2.1.1.1 The perfective aspect

In CB the base form of the strong triradical perfective Stem I verbs has two morphemic patterns, CaCaC and CəCəC, as, for example, *katab* "to write"; *qatal* "to kill"; *taġak* "to leave"; and *ləbəs* "to wear"; *kəbəġ* "to grow"; *šəġəb* "to drink". The CB two-pattern base form contrasts with MB and JB which have one base pattern each (MB CəCaC and JB CaCaC). In *qəltu*-dialects two-pattern perfective verbs are found also in the Anatolian group of dialects. Among the examples Jastrow gives (1978: 148-9) are *baza'q* "to spit" and *qəbəl* "to accept" for Mardin; *salaq* "to boil" and *qəšəʕ* "to see" for Arbəl; *dafal* "to spit" and *təbəʕ* "to follow" for Kondērīb; *xasal* "to wash" and *ləʕəb* "to play" for Qarṭmīn; *ʕağan* "to knead" and *zəbəḥ* "to swim" for Āzəx. In CB, however, CəCəC pattern verbs can also occur as CaCaC (Blanc, 1964: 99). Thus, it is possible to have both *šəġəb* and *šaġab* "to drink"; *ləbəs* and *labas* "to wear"; *kəbəġ* and *kabaġ* "to grow"; *fəzəʕ* and *fazaʕ* "to be scared"; *ʕəṭəṣ* and *ʕaṭaṣ* "to sneeze"; *ḥəzən* and *ḥazan* "to grieve", etc.

1 There are no CB verbs corresponding to Cl. Ar. Stem IV, e.g. *aslama* "to become a Muslim" *aṣbaḥa* "to become", etc.

Geminate verbs have the morphemic pattern CaCC, as, for example, *ġadd* "to reply"; *sadd* "to shut"; *madd* "to stretch"; *ḥabb* "to love"; *ġaššš* "to cheat"; *ḥaṭṭ* "to put"; *maṣṣ* "to suck"; *šamm* "to smell"; *qall* "to decrease"; *ǧaġġ* "to pull"; *kabb* "to spill", to pour", etc.

In weak, *hamzated*, verbs the *hamza* can be in initial or medial position. Where it is in initial position the verbal base form is of the morphemic pattern aCaC; *akal* "to eat" and *axad* "to take" being the two frequently occurring examples. Medial *hamza* verbs are rare in CB, as they are in many other Arabic dialects. However, the medial *hamza* verb which is of common occurrence is *sa?al* "to ask", with the same morphemic pattern as a strong CaCaC type verb.

There are several initial *w* verbs, among them, *waṣal* "to arrive"; *waʕad* "to promise"; *waqaf* "to stand"; *waġat* "to inherit"; *waġam* "to swell". There appears to be one initial *y* verb, *yabas* "to become dry", which is common to most Arabic dialects. Initial *w* and *y* verbs have the strong verbal base pattern CaCaC. Medial *w* and *y* verbs have CāC as their verbal base pattern, as, for example, *qāl* "to say"; *ġāḥ* "to go"; *qām* "to get up"; *ḥāṣ* "to fidget"; *ǧāb* "to bring"; *ṣaġ* "to become"; *ġād* "to want"; *ḥāġ* "to be bewildered"; *nām* "to sleep".

In CB there are no final *w* verbs. There are, however, final *y* verbs which have a base pattern CaCa, as, for example, *bana* "to build"; *baqa* "to stay"; *maša* "to walk"; *ḥaka* "to speak"; *šafa* "to recover (from an illness) "; *ġafa* "to fall asleep".

In CB, as in most Arabic dialects, there is one doubly weak verb derived from Cl. Ar. *ǧ-y-ʔ* > *ǧāʔa* "to come". The CB verbal base pattern for this is *ǧā*.

Verbs inflect for number and gender. The first person singular and the plural forms are of common gender. The following paradigms give the perfective suffix subject markers. The first column markers are suffixed to strong, *hamzated*, initial and medial *w* and *y* verbs. The second column markers are suffixed to geminate and final y verbs.

	CaCaC/ aCaC/ CāC	CaCC/ CaCa
1cs	*-tu*	*-ētu*
2ms	*-ət*	*-ēt*
2fs	*-ti*	*-ēti*
3ms	*ø*	*ø*
3fs	*-ət*	*-ət*

1cp	*-na*	*-ēna*
2cp	*-təm*	*-ētəm*
3cp	*-u/ -o*	*-u/ -ō*

CaCa type verbs have a third person plural suffix *ō*, as, for example, *banō* "they built"; *mašō* "they walked", while CaCC type verbs take *-u*, as in *maddu* "they stretched"; *gaššu* "they cheated". The third person plural suffix of CaCaC/ aCaC/ CāC verbs is ordinarily *-u*, unless the final radical of CāC verbs is one of the gutturals, *ḥ*, *ʕ*, *ġ*, *x* and *q*, when the third person plural suffix is *-o*, as, for example,

CaCaC	*ʒabaḥu*	"they swam"	*ḥaġaqu*	"they burnt"
	ṭabaxu	"they cooked"		
aCaC	*akalu*	"they ate"	*amaġu*	"they ordered"
	axadu	"they took"		
CāC	*qālu*	"they said"	*ǧābu*	"they brought"
	šāfu	"they saw"		
but	*bāʕo*	"they sold"	*dāxo*	"they became dizzy"
	ġāḥo	"they went"		

The suffix markers of the doubly weak verb *ǧā* "to come" are similar to those of CaCC/CaCa type verbs, except that the characteristic long vowel is *ī* instead of *ē*.

1cs	*ǧītu*	1cp	*ǧīna*
2ms	*ǧīt*	2cp	*ǧītəm*
2fs	*ǧīti*	3cp	*ǧō*
3ms	*ǧā*		
3fs	*ǧət*		

2.1.1.2 The imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect of Stem I strong verbs is of the -CCvC pattern, where v is either *ə* or *a*. According to Blanc (1964: 99), the quality of the vowel "is not predictable from the nature of the radicals involved" except where final -C is *ḥ* or *ʕ* when v is always *a*. In my data, however, v is always *a* in the contiguity of the gutturals *ḥ* or *ʕ*, which can be either in medial (-CḥvC/ CʕvC) or final position (CCvḥ/ CCvʕ) to affect vowel quality, as, for example,

-CḥvC		-CCvḥ	
alḥam	"I solder"	*amdaḥ*	"I praise"
azḥaf	"I crawl"	*azbaḥ*	"I swim"
aṭḥan	"I grind"	*anṭaḥ*	"I butt"
anḥat	"I sculpt"	*anğaḥ*	"I succeed"
asḥab	"I withdraw (money from bank)"	*aṭġaḥ*	"I subtract, I miscarry (foetus)"

-CʕvC		-CCvʕ	
atʕab	"I get tired"	*aṭlaʕ*	"I go out"
anʕas	"I get sleepy"	*asmaʕ*	"I hear"
anʕal	"I curse"	*aqṭaʕ*	"I cut"
adʕam	"I bump"	*ağmaʕ*	"I add"
alʕab	"I play"	*aṭmaʕ*	"I become avaricious"

The caracteristic vowel of imperfective strong verbs is ordinarily *ə*,[2] as, for example,

aktəb	"I write"	*adġəs*	"I study"
ašṭəb	"I cross out"	*aġbəṭ*	"I tie"
aṭbəx	"I cook"	*aḥġəq*	"I burn"
anqəl	"I copy"	*anzəl*	"I go down"
adxəl	"I go in"	*aġğəf*	"I shake"

There are a few instances, however, where the vowel of the imperfective is *a* where it is not in the contiguity of *ḥ* or ʕ.

aqdaġ	"I can"	*afham*	"I understand"
aġkab	"I ride"	*aġlaṭ*	"I make a mistake"

Geminate verbs have an imperfective of the pattern -CvCC, as, for example, *asədd* "I close"; *aġəšš* "I cheat"; *aməġġ* "I pass by". Medial *w* and *y* verbs have an imperfective of the pattern -CV̄C, as, for example, *aqūl* "I say"; *aṣīġ* "I become"; *anām* "I sleep". The affix subject markers of imperfective -CCvC, -CvCC and -CV̄C verbs are set out below:

2 On suffixation *ə* is frequently elided. See 1.5.2 on vowel elision.

	-CCvC	-CvCC/ -CV̄C
1cs	*a-*	*a-*
2ms	*tə-*	*t-*
2fs	*tə – īn*	*t – īn/ ēn*
3ms	*yə*	*y-*
3fs	*tə-*	*t-*
1cp	*nə-*	*n-*
2cp	*tə – ūn*	*t – ūn/ ōn*
3cp	*yə – ūn*	*y – ūn/ ōn*

The imperfective of initial *hamza* and initial *w* and *y* verbs is of the pattern -CvC.

initial *hamza*		initial *w/ y*	
-kəl > akal	"to eat"	*-qaʕ > waqaʕ*	"to fall"
-xəd > axad	"to take"	*-bas > yabas*	"to become dry"

Where the imperfectives differ is in the affix subject markers, as set out below:

	initial *hamza*	initial *w/ y*
1cs	*ā-*	*aw-/ ay-*
2ms	*tā-*	*tū-/ tī-*
2fs	*tā – īn*	*tū – īn/ tī – īn*
3ms	*yā-*	*yū-/ yī-*
3fs	*tā-*	*tū-/ tī-*
1cp	*nā-*	*nū-/ nī-*
2cp	*tā – ūn*	*tū – ūn/ tī – ūn*
3cp	*yā – ūn*	*yū – ūn/ yī – ūn*

The imperfective base of final *y* verbs is of the pattern -CC-, as, for example, *-bn- > bana* "to build"; *-bq- > baqa* "to stay". The affix subject markers of final *y* verbs are set out below:

	bana	*baqa*
1cs	*a – i*	*a – a*
2ms	*tə – i*	*tə – a*
2fs	*tə – ēn*	*tə – ēn*
3ms	*yə – i*	*yə – a*
3fs	*tə - i*	*tə – a*

1cp	*nə − i*	*nə − a*
2cp	*tə − ōn*	*tə − ōn*
3cp	*yə − ōn*	*yə − ōn*

The doubly weak verb *ǧā* "to come" has the same affix subject markers as *bana*, except that the third person plural affix is *y − ōn* instead of *yə − ōn*.

2.1.1.3 The imperative

The imperative, used in the expression of commands, is formed from the imperfective. Thus, *-ktəb* < *katab* "to write" and *-smaʕ* < *samaʕ* "to hear" give *əktəb* (m.s.), *ktəbi* (f.s.), *ktəbu* (c.p.), and *əsmaʕ* (m.s.), *smaʕi* (f.s.), *smaʕu* (c.p.), respectively. *-sədd* < *sadd* "to close" gives *sədd* (m.s.), *səddi* (f.s.), *səddu* (c.p.). *-xəd* <*axad* "to take" gives *xəd* (m.s.), *xədi* (f.s.), *xədu* (c.p.). *-qūl* < *qāl* "to say", *-ǧīb* < *ǧāb* "to bring" and *-nām* < *nām* "to sleep" give *qūl, qūli, qūlu; ǧīb, ǧībi, ǧību* and *nām, nāmi, nāmu*, respectively. The imperative of initial *w* verbs, such as *waqaʕ* "to fall", is formed from the first person singular imperfective, viz. *awqaʕ* "I fall", thus, *wqaʕ* (m.s.), *wqaʕi* (f.s.), *wqaʕu* (c.p.). There is no imperative form of the verb *ǧā* "to come", and the imperative expressing the command "come!" is formed from another verb which occurs in the imperative only, thus, *taʕāl* "come!" (m.s.), *taʕāli* "come!" (f.s.), *taʕālu* "come!" (c.p.).

2.1.1.4 Derived Stems

Stem II

Verbs derived from the same root are often semantically related to each other. Stem II, which is of the pattern CaCCaC, is formed by doubling the medial radical of Stem I verbs. Stem II of geminate verbs ($C^1aC^2C^2$) is formed by adding a vowel *a* + a consonant, identical to the geminate consonants, to give $C^1aC^2C^2aC^2$. In medial *w* and *y* verbs the long vowel of Stem I verbs is shortened and a geminate *w* or *y* + a vowel *a* is inserted before the final radical, thus CāC > CawwaC /CayyaC.

Stem II verbs corresponding to Stem I intransitive verbs are ordinarily transitive, as, for example,

Stem I		Stem II	
nazal	"to go down"	*nazzal*	"to take s.t. down"
samaʕ	"to hear"	*sammaʕ*	"to make s.o. hear"
zaʕal	"to become angry"	*zaʕʕal*	"to make s.o. angry"
ləbəs	"to wear"	*labbas*	"to dress, to clothe"
kəbəġ	"to grow"	*kabbaġ*	"to bring up"
maša	"to walk"	*mašša*	"to make s.o. walk"
baqa	"to stay"	*baqqa*	"to make s.o. stay"
ǧann	"to go mad"	*ǧannan*	"to make s.o. go mad"
nām	"to sleep"	*nayyam*	"to put s.o. to bed"
xāf	"to be afraid"	*xawwaf*	"to scare, to frighten"

Where a Stem I verb is transitive, the corresponding Stem II verb denotes a more intensive, transitive action, as, for example,

Stem I		Stem II	
mazaq	"to tear"	*mazzaq*	"to tear to shreds"
kasaġ	"to break"	*kassaġ*	"to break to pieces"
ġadd	"to return, to reply"	*ġaddad*	"to keep repeating"
šaqq	"to tear"	*šaqqaq*	"to tear to shreds"
bās	"to kiss"	*bawwas*	"to give kisses"
ǧāb	"to bring"	*ǧayyab*	"to make s.o. bring, to deliver (baby)"

Some Stem II verbs occur without there being a corresponding Stem I verb. In such cases Stem II verbs can be either transitive or intransitive.

ʕayyan	"to employ"	*ʕaǧǧal*	"to hurry"
šaǧǧaʕ	"to encourage"	*bayyan*	"to appear"
kammal	"to complete"	*baddaʕ*	"to excel"
ḥaddad	"to limit"		

The suffix subject markers of the perfective are the same as those for Stem I verbs.

The imperfective is of the -CvCCəC pattern, as, for example, *ašaǧǧəʕ* "I encourage"; *aʕaǧǧəl* "I hurry"; *aʕayyən* "I employ"; *akammal* "I finish", etc. The affix subject markers of the imperfective are the same as those for Stem I strong verbs, except in the second persons

and third person plural, where the characteristic vowel *ə* and one of the geminate radicals are elided, since in CB a three-consonant cluster cannot stand. Similarly, in the imperative the characteristic vowel *ə* and one of the geminate radicals are elided in the fs and cp forms.

Thus, CvCCəC (ms), CvCCi (fs), CvCCu (cp).

Stem III

Stem III verbs are formed by the lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable of corresponding Stem I verbs, as, for example,

Stem I		Stem III	
qatal	"to kill"	*qātal*	"to fight s.o."
katab	"to write"	*kātab*	"to correspond"
ʒaʕal	"to become angry"	*ʒāʕal*	"to be angry with s.o."
ʕakas	"to reverse"	*ʕākas*	"to oppose"
ḥakam	"to judge"	*ḥākam*	"to prosecute, to bring s.o. to trial

Some Stem III verbs do not have corresponding Stem I verbs, as, for example,

sāʕad	"to help"	*čālaš*	"to try hard in s.t."[3]
xābaġ	"to telephone s.o."	*qāġaš*	"to interfere"[3]
sāham	"to take part in s.t."		

The most frequently occuring Stem III verbs in CB are derived from Stem I strong verbs. Stem III geminate and weak verbs are rare.

The suffix subject markers of perfective Stem III verbs are the same as those of Stem I strong verbs. The affix subject markers of the imperfective (-CāCəC) are the same as those of Stem I geminate verbs.

3 These two verbs, viz. *čālaš* and *qāġaš* are borrowings from the Turkish verbs *çalışmak* "to strive", "to study" and *karışmak* "to interfere", respectively.

Stem V and VI

Stem V and VI are formed by the prefixation of *t-* to Stems II and III respectively, to which they are semantically related. A Stem V verb conveys a reflexive or passive idea, while a Stem VI verb denotes a reciprocal action.

Stem II		Stem V	
ġassal	"to wash"	*tġassal*	"to be washed"
xaġġab	"to wreck"	*txaġġab*	"to be wrecked"
šaǧǧaʕ	"to encourage"	*tšaǧǧaʕ*	"to pluck up courage"
ʕayyan	"to employ"	*tʕayyan*	"to be employed"
ġattab	"to tidy"	*tġattab*	"to become tidy"
ḥaġġak	"to move" (tr.)	*tḥaġġak*	"to move (intr.)"
ʕawwad	"to accustom s.o."	*tʕawwad*	"to get used to s.t."
kallal	"to perform marriage ceremony (priest)"	*tkallal*	"to get married"
ballal	"to moisten"	*tballal*	"to become moist"
ġadda	"to give lunch to s.o."	*tġadda*	"to have lunch"
mašša	"to make s.o. walk"	*tmašša*	"to take a walk"

Stem III		Stem VI	
kātab	"to correspond"	*tkātab*	"to exchange letters with s.o."
ʕātab	"to reproach"	*tʕātab*	"to reproach one another"
wāǧah	"to meet s.o."	*twāǧah*	"to meet with s.o."
ḥāġab	"to fight s.o."	*tḥāġab*	"to fight with s.o."
bādal	"to swap"	*tbādal*	"to swap with s.o."
qāsam	"to share"	*tqāsam*	"to share with s.o."

A few Stem V and Stem VI verbs do not have corresponding Stem II and Stem III verbs, as, for example,

Stem V		Stem VI	
tsawwaq	"to shop"	*tbāwas*	"to exchange kisses"
tmanna	"to wish"	*tšāqa*	"to joke with s.o."

The imperfective and imperative of Stem V and Stem VI verbs are formed in the same way as the imperfective and imperative of Stem II and Stem III verbs respectively, with the characteristic vowel *ə* becoming *a* in Stems V and VI.

imperfective

Stem II		Stem V	
aʕalləm	"I teach"	*atʕallam*	"I learn"
tʕayyən	"she employs"	*tətʕayyan*	"she is employed"
yḥaġkūn	"they move" (tr.)	*yətḥaġġakūn*	"they move" (intr.)

Stem III		Stem VI	
tkātəb	"she corresponds"	*tətkātab*	"she corresponds with"
nbādəl	"we swap"	*nətbādal*	"we swap with each other"
yʕātbūn	"they reproach"	*yətʕātabūn*	"they reproach one another"

imperative

Stem II

ʕalləm (m.s.), *ʕalmi* (f.s.), *ʕalmu* (c.p.) "teach!"

Stem V

tʕallam (m.s.), *tʕallami* (f.s.), *tʕallamu* (c.p.) "learn!"

Stem III

kātəb (m.s.), *kātbi* (f.s.), *kātbu* (c.p.) "correspond!"

Stem VI

tkātab (m.s.), *tkātabi* (f.s.), *tkātabu* (c.p.) "correspond with each other!"

Stem VII

Prefix *n-* is added to Stem I verbs to give Stem VII, conveying a passive idea, as, for example,

Stem I		Stem VII	
saḥaq	"to run over"	*nsaḥaq*	"to be run over"
kasaġ	"to break"	*nkasaġ*	"to be broken"
katab	"to write"	*nkatab*	"to be written"
kabb	"to spill"	*nkabb*	"to be spilt"

ḥall	"to solve"	*nḥall*	"to be solved"
bana	"to build"	*nbana*	"to be built"
ṭafa	"to extinguish"	*nṭafa*	"to be extinguished"
qāl	"to say"	*nqāl*	"to be said"
bāʕ	"to sell"	*nbāʕ*	"to be sold"

The imperfective is of the pattern -nCəCəC (strong); -nCaCC (geminate); -nCāC (medial *w/ y*); -nCəCə (final *y*). The affix subject markers of the perfective and the imperfective are the same as those of Stem I verbs. Where the imperative occurs it is of the patterns nCəCəC (m.s.), nCəCCi (f.s.), nCəCCu (c.p.) (strong); nCaCC (m.s.), nCaCCi (f.s.), nCaCCu (c.p.) (geminate); nCāC (m.s.), nCāCi (f.s.), nCāCu (c.p.) (medial *w/ y*); nCəCi (m.s. + f.s.), nCəCu (c.p.) (final *y*).

Stem VIII

Stem VIII is formed by the insertion of *-t* after the first radical of Stem I verbs. According to Wright (1955, I: 42) Stem VIII "is properly the *reflexive* or *middle voice*" of Stem I.

Stem I		Stem VIII	
šaʕal	"to light" (tr.)	*štaʕal*	"to burn"
faham	"to understand"	*ftaham*	"to understand"
naṣaġ	"to render victorious"	*ntaṣaġ*	"to be victorious"
šamm	"to smell"	*štamm*	"to smell"
šadd	"to tie"	*štadd*	"to become strong"
šaka	"to complain"	*štaka*	"to complain"
mala	"to fill"	*mtala*	"to become full"

The imperfective is of the pattern -CtəCəC (strong), -CtaCC (geminate), -CtəCi (final *y*), from which the imperative can be formed.

Stem IX

Stem IX, which is of the pattern $C^1C^2aC^3C^3$, is not common in CB, and is restricted to verbs of colour and defect, as, for example,

ḥmaġġ	"to blush, to become red"	*ṭġaššˇ*	"to become deaf"
ṣfaġġ	"to grow pale, to become yellow"	*ʕġaǧǧ*	"to become lame"

Stem X

Stem X, which is not common in CB, is characterized by the occurence of prefix *sta-*, as, for example,

staʔǧaġ	"to rent"	*staḥaqq*	"to deserve"
staṇḍaġ	"to wait for"	*stawla*	"to take possession of"
staġāḥ	"to rest"		

2.1.2 Quadriradical verbs

There are a number of quadriradical verbs in CB whose perfective base pattern is $C^1aC^2C^3aC^4$, as, for example,

daʕbal	"to topple, to roll"	*ṭambaġ*	"to look annoyed, to sulk"
xaġḅaṭ	"to mess up"	*ʒamǧaġ*	"to roar"
qambaṣ	"to squat"	*qašmaġ*	"to make fun of"
šaxḅaṭ	"to scribble"	*ḍalġam*	"to frown"
bahdal	"to rebuke"	*pančaġ*	"to puncture"

Some quadriradical verbs have a reduplicated root, as, for example,

wašwaš	"to whisper"	*xašxaš*	"to rattle"
waswas	"to have qualms (about)"	*ṭaqṭaq*	"to make a continuous banging noise"
maṣmaṣ	"to suck"	*raḍraḍ*	"to bruise"
ġafġaf	"to flutter (wings, flag)"	*ʿaġsaġ*	"to gad about" (pejorative)
dabdab	"to crawl (baby), to become plump"	*xarxar*	"to drip"
wanwan	"to moan"	*kaġkaġ*	"to chuckle"
ṭanṭan	"to strum"	*ṭabṭab*	"to pat"
xamxam	"to develop a musty smell"	*baṭbaṭ*	"to swell (boil)"
šamšam	"to sniff"	*laḥlaḥ*	"to pester"

The imperfective, from which the imperative is formed, is of the morphemic pattern -CaCCəC. The perfective and imperfective affix subject markers are the same as those of Stem I triradical strong verbs.

2.1.2.1 Derived Stems

There is only one derived quadriradical stem in CB, Stem II, which is formed by the prefixation of *t-* (or *d-* before another *d-*) to Stem I. It "agrees in formation and signification" with Stem V of the triradical verb, (Wright, 1955, I: 48). Stem II quadriradical verbs, however, are not common in CB. The following are a few examples:

Stem I		Stem II	
bahdal	"to rebuke"	*tbahdal*	"to be rebuked"
qašmaġ	"to make fun of"	*tqašmaġ*	"to be made fun of"
ḥalwan	"to sweeten"	*tḥalwan*	"to be sweetened"
daʕbal	"to topple"	*ddaʕbal*	"to be toppled"
dandal	"to dangle"	*ddandal*	"to be dangled"

The imperfective and imperative of Stem II quadriradical verbs have morphemic patterns similar to those of Stem I verbs. Where Stem II differs from Stem I is in Stem II having a prefix *t-* or *d-* and a back vowel *a* for Stem I front vowel *ə*.

Thus,

Stem I		Stem II	
imperfective			
adaʕbəl	"I topple"	*addaʕbal*	"I am toppled"
tqašməġ	"she mocks"	*tətqašmaġ*	"she is made fun of"
imperative			
bahdəl	"rebuke!" (m.s.)	*tbahdal*	"be rebuked!" (m.s.)
bahdəlu	"rebuke!" (c.p.)	*tbahdalu*	"be rebuked!" (c.p.)

The following table gives the conjugations of triradical and quadriradical verbs in CB:

Triradical Verbs

Stem I (strong) *qatal* "to kill"; *kəbəġ* "to grow"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*qatáltu / kbáġtu*	*áqtəl / ákbaġ*	
2ms	*qatálət / kbáġət*	*táqtəl / tákbaġ*	*áqtəl / ákbaġ*
2fs	*qatálti / kbáġti*	*táqtəlīn / tákbaġīn*	*qtáli / kbáġi*
3ms	*qátal / kábəġ*	*yáqtəl / yákbaġ*	
3fs	*qátalət / kábġət*	*táqtəl / tákbaġ*	

1cp	*qatálna / kbáġna*	*náqtəl / nákbaġ*	
2cp	*qatáltəm / kbáġtəm*	*təqtəlūn / təkbaġūn*	*qtálu / kbáġu*
3cp	*qátalu / kábġu*	*yəqtəlūn / yəkbaġūn*	

Stem I (geminate) *kabb* "to spill"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*kabbētu*	*akəbb*	
2ms	*kabbēt*	*tkəbb*	*kəbb*
2fs	*kabbēti*	*tkəbbīn*	*kəbbi*
3ms	*kabb*	*ykəbb*	
3fs	*kabbət*	*tkəbb*	
1cp	*kabbēna*	*nkəbb*	
2cp	*kabbētəm*	*tkəbbūn*	*kəbbu*
3cp	*kabbu*	*ykəbbūn*	

Stem I (initial *hamza*) *akal* "to eat"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*akaltu*	*ākəl*	
2ms	*akálət*	*tākəl*	*kəl*
2fs	*akalti*	*tāklīn*	*kəli*
3ms	*akal*	*yākəl*	
3fs	*ákalət*	*tākəl*	
1cp	*akalna*	*nākəl*	
2cp	*akaltəm*	*tāklūn*	*kəlu*
3cp	*akalu*	*yāklūn*	

Stem I (initial *w/ y*) *waqaf* "to stand"; *yabas* "to be dry"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*waqaftu / yabastu*	*awqaf / aybas*	
2ms	*waqáfət / yabásət*	*tūqaf / tības*	*wqaf*
2fs	*waqafti / yabasti*	*tūqafīn / tībasīn*	*wqafi*
3ms	*waqaf / yabas*	*yūqaf / yības*	
3fs	*wáqafət / yábasət*	*tūqaf / tības*	
1cp	*waqafna / yabasna*	*nūqaf / nības*	
2cp	*waqaftəm / yabastəm*	*tūqafūn / tībasūn*	*wqafu*
3cp	*waqafu / yabasu*	*yūqafūn / yībasūn*	

Stem I (medial *w/ y*) *qāl* "to say"; *nām* "to sleep"; *ğāb* "to bring"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*qəltu / nəmtu / ğəbtu*	*aqūl / anām / ağīb*	
2ms	*qələt / nəmət / ğəbət*	*tqūl / tnām / tğīb*	*qūl / nām / ğīb*
2fs	*qəlti / nəmti / ğəbti*	*tqūlīn / tnāmīn / tğībīn*	*qūli / nāmi / ğībi*
3ms	*qāl / nām / ğāb*	*yqūl / ynām / yğīb*	
3fs	*qālət / nāmət / ğābət*	*tqūl / tnām / tğīb*	
1cp	*qəlna / nəmna / ğəbna*	*nqūl / nnām / nğīb*	
2cp	*qəltəm / nəmtəm / ğəbtəm*	*tqūlūn / tnāmūn / tğībūn*	*qūlu / nāmu / ğību*
3cp	*qālu / nāmu / ğābu*	*yqūlūn / ynāmūn / yğībūn*	

Stem I (final *y*) *maša* "to walk"; *baqa* "to stay"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*mašētu / baqētu*	*amši / abqa*	
2ms	*mašēt / baqēt*	*təmši / təbqa*	*ámši / ábqa*
2fs	*mašēti / baqēti*	*təmšēn / təbqēn*	*mšé / bqé*
3ms	*maša / baqa*	*yəmši / yəbqa*	
3fs	*mašət / baqət*	*təmši / təbqa*	
1cp	*mašēna / baqēna*	*nəmši / nəbqa*	
2cp	*mašētəm / baqētəm*	*təmšōn / təbqōn*	*mšó / bqó*
3cp	*mašō / baqō*	*yəmšōn / yəbqōn*	

Stem II *labbas* "to clothe"; *baqqa* "to keep; to make s.o. stay"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*labbastu / baqqētu*	*alabbəs / abaqqi*	
2ms	*labbásət / baqqēt*	*tlabbəs / tbaqqi*	*labbəs / baqqi*
2fs	*labbasti / baqqēti*	*tlabsīn / tbaqqēn*	*labsi / baqqi*
3ms	*labbas / baqqa*	*ylabbəs / ybaqqi*	
3fs	*lábbasət / baqqət*	*tlabbəs / tbaqqi*	
1cp	*labbasna / baqqēna*	*nlabbəs / nbaqqi*	
2cp	*labbastəm / baqqētəm*	*tlabsūn / tbaqqōn*	*labsu / baqqu*
3cp	*labbasu / baqqō*	*ylabsūn / ybaqqōn*	

Stem III *qāsam* "to share"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*qāsamtu*	*aqāsəm*	
2ms	*qāsámət*	*tqāsəm*	*qāsəm*
2fs	*qāsamti*	*tqāsmīn*	*qāsmi*
3ms	*qāsam*	*yqāsəm*	
3fs	*qấsamət*	*tqāsəm*	
1cp	*qāsamna*	*nqāsəm*	
2cp	*qāsamtəm*	*tqāsmūn*	*qāsmu*
3cp	*qāsamu*	*yqāsmūn*	

Stem V *tbaddal* "to change" (intr.)

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*tbaddaltu*	*atbaddal*	
2ms	*tbaddálət*	*tətbaddal*	*tbaddal*
2fs	*tbaddalti*	*tətbaddalīn*	*tbaddali*
3ms	*tbaddal*	*yətbaddal*	
3fs	*tbáddalət*	*tətbaddal*	
1cp	*tbaddalna*	*nətbaddal*	
2cp	*tbaddaltəm*	*tətbaddalūn*	*tbaddalu*
3cp	*tbaddalu*	*yətbaddalūn*	

Stem VI *tkātab* "to correspond with s.o."

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*tkātabtu*	*atkātab*	
2ms	*tkātábət*	*tətkātab*	*tkātab*
2fs	*tkātabti*	*tətkātabīn*	*tkātabi*
3ms	*tkātab*	*yətkātab*	
3fs	*tkấtabət*	*tətkātab*	
1cp	*tkātabna*	*nətkātab*	
2cp	*tkātabtəm*	*tətkātabūn*	*tkātabu*
3cp	*tkātabu*	*yətkātabūn*	

Stem VII ***nḍaġab*** "to be hit"; *nṭaxx* "to be knocked against"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*nḍaġabtu / nṭaxxētu*	*anḍəġəb / anṭaxx*	
2ms	*nḍaġábət / nṭaxxēt*	*tənḍəġəb / tənṭaxx*	*nḍəġəb / nṭaxx*
2fs	*nḍaġabti / nṭaxxēti*	*tənḍəġbīn / tənṭaxxēn*	*nḍəġbi / nṭaxxi*
3ms	*nḍaġab / nṭaxx*	*yənḍəġəb / yənṭaxx*	
3fs	*nḍáġabət / nṭaxxət*	*tənḍəġəb / tənṭaxx*	
1cp	*nḍaġabna / nṭaxxēna*	*nənḍəġəb / nənṭaxx*	
2cp	*nḍaġabtəm / nṭaxxētəm*	*tənḍəġbūn / tənṭaxxōn*	*nḍəġbu / nṭaxxu*
3cp	*nḍaġabu / nṭaxxo*	*yənḍəġbūn / yənṭaxxōn*	

Stem VIII *ftaham* "to understand"; *ftaġġ* "to go round"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*ftahamtu / ftaġġētu*	*aftəhəm / aftaġġ*	
2ms	*ftahámət / ftaġġēt*	*təftəhmīn / təftaġġēn*	*ftəhəm / ftaġġ*
2fs	*ftahamti / ftaġġēti*	*təftəhəm / təftaġġ*	*ftəhmi / ftaġġi*
3ms	*ftaham / ftaġġ*	*yəftəhəm / yəftaġġ*	
3fs	*ftáhamət / ftaġġət*	*təftəhəm / təftaġġ*	
1cp	*ftahamna / ftaġġēna*	*nəftəhəm / nəftaġġ*	
2cp	*ftahamtəm / ftaġġētəm*	*təftəhmūn / təftaġġōn*	*ftəhmu / ftaġġu*
3cp	*ftahamu / ftaġġo*	*yəftəhmūn / yəftaġġōn*	

Stem IX *ṣfaġġ* "to grow pale, to become yellow"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*ṣfaġġētu*	*aṣfaġġ*	
2ms	*ṣfaġġēt*	*təṣfaġġ*	*ṣfaġġ*
2fs	*ṣfaġġēti*	*təṣfaġġēn*	*ṣfaġġi*
3ms	*ṣfaġġ*	*yəṣfaġġ*	
3fs	*ṣfaġġət*	*təṣfaġġ*	
1cp	*ṣfaġġēna*	*nəṣfaġġ*	
2cp	*ṣfaġġētəm*	*təṣfaġġōn*	*ṣfaġġu*
3cp	*ṣfaġġo*	*yəṣfaġġōn*	

Stem X *staʕmal* "to use"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*staʕmaltu*	*astaʕməl*	
2ms	*staʕmálət*	*təstaʕməl*	*staʕməl*
2fs	*staʕmalti*	*təstaʕməlīn*	*staʕməli*
3ms	*staʕmal*	*yəstaʕməl*	
3fs	*stáʕmalət*	*təstaʕməl*	
1cp	*staʕmalna*	*nəstaʕməl*	
2cp	*staʕmaltəm*	*təstaʕməlūn*	*staʕməlu*
3cp	*staʕmalu*	*yəstaʕməlūn*	

Quadriradical Verbs
Stem I *daʕbal* "to topple; to roll"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*daʕbaltu*	*adaʕbəl*	
2ms	*daʕbálət*	*ddaʕbəl*	*daʕbəl*
2fs	*daʕbalti*	*ddaʕbəlīn*	*daʕbəli*
3ms	*daʕbal*	*ydaʕbəl*	
3fs	*dáʕbalət*	*ddaʕbəl*	
1cp	*daʕbalna*	*ndaʕbəl*	
2cp	*daʕbaltəm*	*ddaʕbəlūn*	*dáʕbəlu*
3cp	*daʕbalu*	*ydaʕbəlūn*	

Stem II *tbahdal* "to be rebuked; to be shabby"

	perfective	imperfective	imperative
1cs	*tbahdaltu*	*atbahdal*	
2ms	*tbahdálət*	*tətbahdal*	*tbahdal*
2fs	*tbahdalti*	*tətbahdalīn*	*tbahdali*
3ms	*tbahdal*	*yətbahdal*	
3fs	*tbáhdalət*	*tətbahdal*	
1cp	*tbahdalna*	*nətbahdal*	
2cp	*tbahdaltəm*	*tətbahdalūn*	*tbahdalu*
3cp	*tbahdalu*	*yətbahdalūn*	

2.2 Participles

2.2.1 The active participle

The active participle, which inflects for number and gender, corresponds to all the verbal stems which occur in CB.

Stem I

Stem I is of the CēCəC/ CēCi/ CayyəC pattern, as, for example,

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
kētəb	*kētbi*	*kētbīn*	"having written"
lēbəs	*lēbsi*	*lēbsīn*	"having worn"
šēməm	*šēmmi*	*šēmmīn*	"having smelt"
kēbəb	*kēbbi*	*kēbbīn*	"having spilt"
nayyəm	*naymi*	*naymīn*	"having slept, asleep"
ǧayyəb	*ǧaybi*	*ǧaybīn*	"having brought"
bēni	*bēnyi*	*bēnyīn*	"having built"
mēši	*mēšyi*	*mēšyīn*	"having walked"

The following are the active participle forms of triradical Stems II, III, V-X, and quadriradical Stems I and II:

Stem II

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
mxaġǧəb	*mxaġbi*	*mxaġbīn*	"having wrecked"
mšaqqəq	*mšaqqəqa*	*mšaqqəqīn*	"having torn to shreds"
mbaqqi	*mbaqqāyi*	*mbaqqāyīn*	"having kept"

Stem III

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
mkātəb	*mkātbi*	*mkātbīn*	"having corresponded"
mqāsəm	*mqāsmi*	*mqāsmīn*	"having shared"

Stem V

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
mətʕalləm	*mətʕalmi*	*mətʕalmīn*	"having learnt"
mətġaddi	*mətġaddāyi*	*mətġaddāyīn*	"having had lunch"

Stem VI

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
mətkātəb	*mətkātbi*	*mətkātbīn*	"having corresponded with"
mətʕāġək	*mətʕāġki*	*mətʕāġkīn*	"having quarrelled with"

Stem VII

Stem VII participles are rare in CB, "a fact which is no doubt connected with the function of Form VII as passive of Form I, so that Form I passive participles can usually be used instead" (Blanc, 1964: 96). Thus, we have *maǧġōḥ* "wounded" instead of *mənǧəġəḥ*, and *masḥōq* "run over" instead of *mənsəḥəq*. There are, however, a few Stem VII medial *w/ y* and final *y* participles which are in use, as, for example, *mənbāʕ* "having been sold, sold"; *mənġād* "wanted, needed", *mənbana* "built"; *mənṭafa* "extinguished", etc.

Stem VIII

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
máǧtəhəd	*məǧtáhdi*	*məǧtəhdīn*	"studious, diligent"
məhtámm	*məhtámmi*	*məhtammīn*	"concerned"
máštəġi	*məštáġyi*	*məštəġyīn*	"having bought"

Stem IX

məswadd	*məswaddi*	*məswaddīn*	"having turned black"
məsmaġġ	*məsmaġġa*	*məsmaġġīn*	"suntanned"

Stem X

məstáʔǧəġ	*məstáʔǧəġa*	*məstaʔǧəġīn*	"having rented"
məstəʕádd	*məstəʕáddi*	*məstəʕaddīn*	"ready, prepared"
məstáḥi	*məstáḥyi*	*məstaḥyīn*	"shy, embarrassed"

Stem I (quadriradical)

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
mbáhdəl	*mbáhdəli*	*mbahdəlīn*	"having rebuked"
mdáʕbəl	*mdáʕbəli*	*mdaʕbəlīn*	"having rolled"
mwášwəš	*mwášwəši*	*mwašwəšīn*	"having whispered"

Stem II (quadriradical)

Stem II quadriradical participles are rare in CB. However, one occasionally comes across the forms *mətbahdəl* "having become shabby", *mətʔaqləm* "having become acclimatized", *mətxalxəl* "having become loose", etc.

2.2.2 The passive participle

The passive participle in CB is derived from triradical Stems I, II and III, and quadriradical Stem I.

Stem I (triradical)

m.s.	f.s.	c.p.	
maktūb	*maktūbi*	*maktūbīn*	"written"
maslōq	*maslōqa*	*maslōqēn*	"boiled"
makbūb	*makbūbi*	*makbūbīn*	"spilt"
maḥši	*maḥšəyyi*	*maḥšəyyīn*	"stuffed, filled"
maṭfi	*maṭfəyyi*	*maṭfəyyīn*	"extinguished"

Stem II (triradical)

mʕámmad	*mʕámmadi*	*mʕammadīn*	"baptized"
mkássaġ	*mkássaġa*	*mkassaġēn*	"broken"
msáwwa	*msawwáyi*	*msawwāyīn*	"made"

Stem III (triradical)

mqāsam	*mqásami*	*mqāsamīn*	"shared"
mʕāfa	*mʕāfáyi*	*mʕāfāyīn*	"in good health"

Stem I (quadiradical)

mbáhdal	*mbáhdali*	*mbahdalīn*	"shabby"
mdáʕbal	*mdáʕbali*	*mdaʕbalīn*	"round, rolled"

2.3 The Noun

Nouns are divided into two groups, simple and derivative. Derivative nouns can be either deverbal, that is to say they are derived from verbs, or denominal, in which case they are derived from nouns. Derivative nouns may be substantives or adjectives. All Arabic non-derivative or simple nouns are substantives, as are the majority of non-Arabic loanwords. Thus,

	derivative (deverbal)		
madġasi	"school"	< *daġas*	"to study"
ḥallāq	"barber, hair-dresser"	< *ḥalaq*	"to shave"
nağāḥ	"success"	< *nağaḥ*	"to succeed"
ṭalʕa	"outing"	< *ṭalaʕ*	"to go out"
kbīġ	"big"	< *kəbəġ*	"to grow"
maslōq	"boiled"	< *salaq*	"to boil"

	derivative (denominal)		
mağbani	"cheese factory"	< *ğəbən*	"cheese"
naṣāġa	"Christians"	< *nāṣəġa*	"Nazareth"
ḥabbāyi	"pill"	< *ḥabb*	"seeds"
šaṭāġa	"cleverness"	< *šāṭəġ*	"clever"
mqallam	"striped"	< *qalam*	"line, stripe, pencil"
ḥənṭāwi	"dark- skinned (lit. the colour of wheat)"	< *ḥənṭa*	"wheat"

	simple		
ğēği	"hen"	*ṭoppa*	"ball"
bənət	"girl"	*šadəġ*	"turquoise"
ḥṣān	"horse"	*qēmaġ*	"clotted cream"
ḥaywān	"animal"	*qāšōġa*	"spoon"

2.3.1 The substantive

The following are some of the more frequently occuring substantive patterns in CB with example:

(i) CvC(v)

nāġ	"fire"	*māl*	"money"	*qāṭ*	"suit (clothes)"
qīġ	"tar"	*bīġ*	"well"	*fīl*	"elephant"

lōn	"colour"	*dōq*	"taste"	*mōz*	"banana"
sūq	"market"	*ḥūt*	"whale"	*ġūl*	"ogre"
ṣēf	"summer"	*xēṭ*	"string"	*ǧēb*	"pocket"
bāqa	"bouquet"	*bīġa*	"beer"	*ṣōġa*	"picture"
qūġi	"teapot"	*bēḍa*	"egg"	*ġēḥa*	"smell"

(ii) CCv̄C(v)

ḥmāġ	"donkey"	*ḥṣān*	"horse"	*xyāġ*	"cucumber"
lsēn	"tongue"	*ktēb*	"book"	*lḥēf*	"quilt, bed-cover"
zbōʕ	"week"	*blūz*	"blouse"	*bġīq*	"jug"
nǧāġa	"carpentry"	*ǧġēdi*	"mouse"	*nšāġa*	"sawdust"

(iii) CvCC(v)

Monosyllabic nouns of this pattern (CaCC) are invariably geminate. Disyllabic forms with a feminine marker (v) can also be geminate.

xall	"vinegar"	*mayy*	"water"	*ʕamm*	"paternal uncle"
ṭəbb	"medicine"	*həġġ*	"tomcat"	*ǧəṣṣ*	"plaster, white-wash"
ḥayyi	"snake"	*ḥənni*	"henna"	*xəṭṭa*	"plan, design"
ḥənṭa	"wheat"	*ġəqʕa*	"patch"	*ḍaġbi*	"beating, blow"

(iv) CvCvC(v)

maṭaġ	"rain"	*walad*	"child"	*sabab*	"cause"
šamas	"sun"	*ʕaḍəm*	"bone"	*maġəṣ*	"stomach pain"
bánət	"girl"	*xábəz*	"bread"	*ġáǧəl*	"leg"
ṣálaṭa	"salad"	*šáǧaġa*	"tree"	*sámaki*	"fish"
káləma	"word"	*ʕádasi*	"lense"	*ʕáǧali*	"speed, haste"

(v) Cv̄CvC

This is primarily a participial form. There are, however, a few CB sustantives of this pattern.

ḥāġəs	"guard"	*ḥāyəṭ*	"wall"	*ṣāḥəb*	"companion"
ġāhəb	"monk"	*sāyəq*	"chauffeur"	*čādəġ*	"tent"

(vi) CvCv̄C(v)

ṣalīb	"cross"	*ḥalīb*	"milk"	*naṣīb*	"fate"
maṭāġ	"airport"	*salām*	"greeting"	*sanām*	"hump (camel)"
nəḍām	"order"	*našāṭ*	"energy"	*ǧəhāz*	"instrument"
qadīfa	"velvet"	*ṭamāṭa*	"tomato"	*ḥaġāmi*	"thief"
təǧāġa	"commerce"	*šaṭāġa*	"cleverness"	*ṣadāqa*	"friendship"

(vii) Cv̄Cv̄C(v)

nāqōṣ	"bell"	*māʕōn*	"plate"	*māṭōġ*	"motor, engine"
qānūn	"law"	*dūlāb*	"cupboard"	*sīlān*	"date syrup"
qāšōġa	"spoon"	*ġāzūni*	"windowsill"	*mākīna*	"machine"

(viii) CvCCvC(v)

qənfəd	"hedgehog"	*paġčam*	"fringe"	*maʕmal*	"factory"
mádġasi	"school"	*hándasi*	"geometry"	*máṣḅaġa*	"tannery"

There are also several reduplicated root nouns of this pattern, as, for example,

laqlaq	"stork"	*bəlbəl*	"nightingale"	*hədhəd*	"hoopoe"
naʕnaʕ	"mint"	*fəlfəl*	"pepper"	*səmsəm*	"sesame"
waġwaġ	"revolver"	*maġmaġ*	"marble"	*məšməš*	"apricot"
ṣəġṣəġ	"cockroach"	*kaškaš*	"frill"	*qəmqəm*	"narro-mouthed flask"

(ix) CvCCv̄C(v)

mandīl	"handker-chief"	*ġaġbīl*	"sieve"	*čəngāl*	"fork"
ṣandūq	"trunk"	*ʒaytūn*	"olive"	*šayṭān*	"Satan"
mənšāġ	"saw"	*məsmāġ*	"nail"	*mənqāš*	"tweezers"
ġəǧǧāl	"man"	*xabbāz*	"baker"	*naddāf*	"carder"
daġbūni	"alley"	*bazzūni*	"cat"	*ʕaqqōqa*	"frog"
maġǧōḥa	"swing"	*məqṭāṭa*	"sharpener (pencil)"	*məssāḥa*	"rubber"

(x) CvCCvCv̄C

ʕankabūt	"spider"	*qaġnabīṭ*	"cauliflower"	*ʒanǧabīl*	"ginger"
maʕdanōs	"parsley"	*ʒaʕfaġān*	"saffron"	*panṭaġōn*	"trousers"

Compound substantives

Compound substantives ordinarily refer to everyday objects or events. These substantives are coined locally, and handed down from one generation to the next.[4] The following are a few examples:

ʕēn əš-šaməs	"sunflower" *(Helianthus)*
ḥalq əs-sabəʕ	"snapdragon" *(Antirrhinum)*
bənt əṣ-ṣəlṭān	"hibiscus"
šōk əš-šām	"acacia"
ʕəġf əd-dīk	"love-lies-bleeding" *(Amranthus caudatus)*
kġafəs əl-bīġ	"maidenhair fern" *(Adiantum capillus-veneris)*
ǧōz hənd	"coconut"
tamərġ həndi	"tamarind"
nūmi ḥāməḍ	"lemon"
nūmi baṣġa	"dried lime"
šaʕaġ banāt	"a sweetmeat resembling candy floss"
ṭēġ əǧ-ǧanna	"ladybird"
sabʕa w sabʕīn	"centipede"
abu bġēṣ	"wall gecko"
ǧġēdi n-naxal	"squirrel"
xəššāf əl-lēl	"bat"
ǧədġi mayy	"chicken pox"
ḥallət w baʕəd	"hide-and-seek"

4 Compound substantives are not characteristic of CB and other Arabic dialects only, but occur also in most speech communities. In some European languages compound substantives refer to local plants and animals, as, for example

Ger.	*Löwenmaul*	"snapdragon"	*Osterglocke*	"daffodil"
	Marienkäfer	"ladybird"	*Blindschleiche*	"slow-worm"
Fr.	*queue de renard*	"love-lies-bleeding"	*bête à bon Dieu*	"ladybird"
It.	*bocca di leone*	"snapdragon"	*dente di leone*	"dandelion"
	bella di notte	"marvel-of-Peru"	*bella di giorno*	"morning glory"
Sp.	*cabeza de dragón*	"snapdragon"	*alegría de la casa*	"busy lizzy"
	flor de la Pascua	"poinsettia"	*flor de amor*	"love-lies-bleeding"

2.3.2 The adjective

Most adjectives in CB have a morphemic shape of two or more syllables. Monosyllabic adjectives are rare, the few exceptions being ms forms like *ḥāġ* "hot" (CvC), *məġġ* "bitter" (CvCC), *kbīġ* "big" (CCvC), and cp forms like *qwāy* "strong", *nḍāf* "clean", *qṣāġ* "short" (CCvC), etc.

The following are some of the more common adjectival patterns with examples:

(i) CvCvC

ṭawīl	"tall"	*ʕaḍīm*	"great"	*ʕağīb*	"strange"
ʕaġēḍ	"broad"	*baʕēd*	"distant"	*malēḥ*	"good"

(ii) CvCv(C)

There are a number of CB adjectives of this participial pattern.

ḥāməḍ	"sour"	*xābəṭ*	"murky"	*mēləḥ*	"salty"
yēbəs	"dry"	*fētəḥ*	"light coloured"	*ʕāqəl*	"wise"
ʕēli	"high"	*fēhi*	"insipid"	*ḥēfi*	"barefoot"

(iii) vCCvC

This is the pattern of adjectives of colour and defect.

aswad	"black"	*azġaq*	"blue"	*asmaġ*	"dark-skinned"
aṭġaš	"deaf"	*aʕwaġ*	"one-eyed"	*aḥwal*	"cross-eyed"

(iv) CvCCvC

kaddāb	"liar"	*ḥayyāl*	"liar"	*ġayyāġ*	"jealous"
sakkīġ	"drunkard"	*šaġġīġ*	"evil"	*qaddīs*	"holy, saintly"

(v) CvCCān

səkġān	"drunk"	*nəʕsān*	"sleepy"	*məlyān*	"full"
kəslān	"lazy"	*fəġḥān*	"happy"	*ʕətšān*	"thirsty"

Relative adjectives

Relative adjectives are frequently formed by the suffixation of *-i* to a proper name, as, for example,

baġdādi	"a native of Baghdad"	< *baġdād*	"Baghdad"
bēġūti	"a native or inhabitant of Beirut"	< *bēġūt*	"Beirut"
úġduni	"Jordanian"	< *uġdun*	"Jordan"

ǧazā?əġi	"Algerian"	< *ǧazā?əġ*	"Algeria"
īġāni	"Iranian"	< *īġān*	"Iran"
həndi	"Indian"	< *hənd*	"India"
yābāni	"Japanese"	< *yābān*	"Japan"
ṣīni	"Chinese"	< *ṣīn*	"China"
maksīki	"Mexican"	< *maksīk*	"Mexico"
bġāzīli	"Brazilian"	< *bġāzīl*	"Brazil"
masīḥi	"Christian"	< *l-masīḥ*	"Christ, the Messiah"
būdi	"Buddhist"	< *būda*	"Buddha"
yahūdi	"Jewish"	< *yahūd*	"Jews"
həndōsi	"Hindu"	< *həndōs*	"Hindus"

Colours, other than the primary colours of the pattern aCCaC, are formed by the addition of suffix *-i* to a substantive, as, for example,

banafsaǧi	"violet, purple"	< *banafsaǧ*	"violet" (bot.)
bētənǧāni	"mauve"	< *bētənǧān*	"aubergine"
ġəmmāni	"deep red"	< *ġəmmān*	"pomegranate"
ǧōzi	"light brown"	< *ǧōz*	"walnut"
ḥašīši	"green"	< *ḥašīš*	"grass"
ġmēdi	"grey"	< *ġmēd*	"ash"
waġdi	"pink"	< *waġəd*	"flower, rose"
pəġtəqāli	"orange"	< *pəġtəqāl*	"orange"

Some adjectives of colour are irregularly formed, as, for example,

qahwā?i	"dark brown"	< *qahwi*	"coffee"
ḥənṭāwi	"beige, off-white"	< *ḥənṭa*	"wheat"

Where a proper name ends in *-ya*, the relative adjective is formed by the elision of *-ya* before the addition of suffix *-i*.

afġīqi	"African"	< *afġīqya*	"Africa"
ostəġāli	"Australian"	< *ostəġālya*	"Australia"
almāni	"German"	< *almānya*	"Germany"
čēkōslōvāki	"Czech"	< *čēkōslōvākya*	"Czechoslovakia"
bəlġāri	"Bulgarian"	< *bəlġārya*	"Bulgaria"
sūġi	"Syrian"	< *sūġya*	"Syria"
təġki	"Turkish"	< *táġkəya*	"Turkey"

Where a proper name ends in *-a*, the relative adjective is sometimes formed by lengthening final *-a* and adding suffix *-wi*.

baṣġāwi	"Basran"	< *baṣġa*	"Basrah"
fġansāwi	"French"	< *fġansa*	"France"
namsāwi	"Austrian"	< *namsa*	"Austria"
āsyāwi	"Asian"	< *āsya*	"Asia"

There are some adjectives, denoting nationality and regional or confessional affiliation, which seem to be irregular, as, for example,

ənglīzi	"English"	*əngáltaġa*	"England"
amaġkānī	also *amġīki* "American"	*amēġka*	"America"
məṣlāwi	"inhabitant or native of Mosul"	*mōṣəl*	"Mosul"
nəṣġāni	"Christian"	*náṣəġa*	"Nazareth"

The following relative adjectives, referring to confessional affiliation, do not take a relative adjective marker in the ms base form.

kātōlīk	"Catholic"	*kəldān*	"Chaldean"
oġtodoks	"Orthodox"	*pġōtəstān*	"Protestant"

Elatives

2.3.2.1 The comparative

The comparative adjective is of the aCCa(C) pattern, and is ordinarily followed by the particle *mən*.

ǧōzēf ašṭaġ mən axūnu "Joseph is cleverer than his brother"

sayyāġət ʕammi aǧdad mən sayyāġət abūyi "My paternal uncle's car is newer than my father's car"

ṣáṭəḥna aʕla mən ṣáṭəḥkəm "Our roof is higher than yours"

2.3.2.2 The superlative

The superlative, which is of the same pattern as the comparative, occurs as a construct.

štaġētu akbaġ ṣōġa bəl-maʕġaḍ "I bought the biggest picture in the exhibition"

bētna aqġab bēt ləl-mádġasi "Our house is the nearest to the school"
bənt əl-mudīġ adka bánət bəṣ-ṣaff "The headmaster's daughter is the most intelligent girl in the class"

The superlative can also occur with a pronominal suffix, as, for example,

həyyi aṭwáləm	"She is the tallest among them"
huwwa adkāhəm	"He is the most intelligent among them"

2.3.3 Gender

Feminine nouns are characterized by the feminine marker *-i / -a*. The feminine marker may be suffixed to ms substantives and adjectives to form fs nouns, as, for example,

káləb	"dog"	*kalbi*	"bitch"
ġāhəb	"monk"	*ġāhbi*	"nun"
xabbāz	"baker" (ms)	*xabbāzi*	"baker" (fs)
kəslān	"lazy" (ms)	*kəslāni*	"lazy" (fs)
ṣānəʕ	"manservant"	*ṣānʕa*	"maid"
mudīġ	"headmaster"	*mudīġa*	"headmistress"
xayyāṭ	"tailor" (ms)	*xayyāṭa*	"tailor" (fs)
baṣīṭ	"simple" (ms)	*baṣīṭa*	"simple" (fs)

A unit noun, which is invariably feminine, is formed by the suffixation of the feminine marker to a collective substantive. Thus,

ǧēǧ	"chicken"	*ǧēǧi*	"a hen"
wazz	"geese"	*wazzi*	"a goose"
ḥamēm	"pigeons"	*ḥamēmi*	"a pigeon"
ḅaṭṭ	"ducks"	*ḅaṭṭa*	"a duck"
xyāġ	"cucumber"	*xyāġa*	"a cucumber"
ḅaṭṭēx	"melon"	*ḅaṭṭēxa*	"a melon"
šəxxāṭ	"matches"	*šəxxāṭa*	"a match, a matchbox"

An instance noun, which is also feminine, is formed by the suffixation of the feminine marker to a Stem I verbal base form. In (C)vCvC type verbal forms the vowel of the second syllable is elided on suffixation. Thus,

akal	"to eat"	*akli*	"a (type of) food"
ḍaġab	"to hit, to strike"	*ḍaġbi*	"a blow"
šəġəb	"to drink"	*šəġbi*	"a drink"
ṭalaʕ	"to go out"	*ṭalʕa*	"an outing"
laṭaʕ	"to lick"	*laṭʕa*	"a lick"
waqaʕ	"to fall"	*waqʕa*	"a fall"
ḥall	"to solve"	*ḥalli*	"a solution"
ġann	"to ring, to tinkle"	*ġanni*	"a tinkle"
qaṣṣ	"to cut"	*qaṣṣa*	"a cut"
ṭaxx	"to knock"	*ṭaxxa*	"a knock"

There are some CB fs nouns with a feminine marker which have no ms equivalents, and which are not derived from collectives or verbal forms.

ʕəlbi	"box"	*ṭāwi*	"frying-pan"
qaġyi	"village"	*madīni*	"town"
čəgpāyi	"bed"	*ʕádasi*	"lens"
ḥayyi[5]	"snake"	*bazzūni*[5]	"cat"
maġa	"woman"	*bāqa*	"bouquet"
manāġa	"minaret"	*mākīna*	"machine"
qāšōġa	"spoon"	*tannōġa*	"petticoat"
mēwa	"fruit"	*ṣálaṭa*	"salad"

Some fs substantives do not take a feminine marker. These substantives may refer to female creatures, double parts of the body or some natural everyday elements.

əmm	"mother"	*áxət*	"sister"
bánət	"girl, daughter"	*ʕēn*	"eye"
ádən	"ear"	*īd*	"hand, arm"
ġáġəl	"foot, leg"	*nāġ*	"fire"
šáməs	"sun"		

5 The f.s. substantives *ḥayyi* and *bazzūni* refer to a snake and a cat of either sex. The form *həġġ* "tomcat" is sometimes used when a distinction is made between a male and a female cat. No such distinction, however, is made when referring to a snake.

2.3.3.1 The feminine of adjectives of colour and defect

The feminine marker of adjectives of colour and defect in CB is *-ā*. In MB the feminine marker is *-a*. Thus compare,

CB ms		CB fs	MB fs
aswad	"black"	*sōdā́*	*sṓda*
azġaq	"blue"	*zaġqā́*	*zárga*
ašqaġ	"blond"	*šaqġā́*	*šágra*
atwal	"stupid"	*tōlā́*	*ṭṓla*
axxas	"dumb"	*xaġsā́*	*xársa*
aʕma	"blind"	*ʕamyā́*	*ʕámya*

2.3.3.2 The feminine marker *-āyi*

In CB unit nouns are frequently formed by the suffixation of the feminine marker *-āyi*, denoting a single unit in a collective substantive.

bēḍāyi	"an egg"	*ṭamāṭāyi*	"a tomato"
nəǧmāyi	"a star"	*ḥālūbāyi*	"a hailstone"
šəǧġāyi	"a courgette, a marrow"	*namlāyi*	"an ant"
		dəbbēnāyi	"a fly"
mōzāyi	"a banana"		
ʕənbāyi	"a grape"		

2.3.3.3 The feminine marker *-əyyi*

Relative adjectives ending in *-i* have corresponding feminine forms ending in *-əyyi*. Thus compare,

ms	fs	
maṣġi	*maṣġəyyi*	"Egyptian"
kanadi	*kanadəyyi*	"Canadian"
ġūsi	*ġūsəyyi*	"Russian"
yaʕqūbi	*yaʕqūbəyyi*	"Jacobite"
sənni	*sənnəyyi*	"Sunni"
šīʕi	*šīʕəyyi*	"Shiᶜite"
aġmani	*aġmanəyyi*	"Armenian"
ātūġi	*ātūġəyyi*	"Assyrian"
aǧnabi	*aǧnabəyyi*	"foreigner"

məsləm "Muslim" (m.s.) has a corresponding f.s. form ending in *-əyyi, məsəlməyyi.*[6]

Compare also the following m.s. and f.s. adjectives of colour:

kaləb əġmēdi	"a grey dog"
bazzūni ġmēdəyyi	"a grey cat"
blūz waġdi	"a pink blouse"
tannōġa waġdəyyi	"a pink petticoat"
qalam banafsağı	"a purple crayon"
waġdi banafsağəyyi	"a purple flower"
mēz qahwā?i	"a brown table"
maktabi qahwā?əyyi	"a brown desk"
šāb ḥənṭāwi	"a dark young man"
bənət ḥənṭāwəyyi	"a dark girl"

2.3.4 Number

2.3.4.1 The dual

The dual markers in CB are *-ēn* (m.s.) and *-tēn* (f.s.), which are suffixed to the base forms of substantives. In CaCəC type forms *ə* is elided in the masculine, but retained in the feminine dual form, in keeping with the rules of vowel elision.[7]

ms		fs	
šahġēn	"two months"	*santēn*	"two years"
kalbēn	"two dogs"	*kaləbtēn*	"two bitches"
mēzēn	"two tables"	*maġtēn*	"twice"
əbnēn	"two boys, two sons"	*bəntēn*	"two girls, two daughters"
mudīġēn	"two headmasters"	*mudīġtēn*	"two headmistresses"

The dual of feminine unit nouns ending in *-āyi* is formed by the elision of final *-i* and the suffixation of the feminine dual marker *-tēn.*

6 This was the form commonly used at one time to denote a Muslim woman. Nowadays most people tend to use the form *məsálmi* which corresponds to MB *məsálma* < LA *múslima.*

7 See 1.5.2. above.

bēḍāyi	"an egg"	> *bēḍāytēn*	"two eggs"
nəǧmāyi	"a star"	> *nəǧmāytēn*	"two stars"
paġdāyi	"a curtain"	> *paġdāytēn*	"two curtains"
səllāyi	"a pen nib"	> *səllāytēn*	"two pen nibs"
ḥālūbāyi	"a hailstone"	> *ḥālūbāytēn*	"two hailstones"

2.3.4.2 The plural

The plural is formed either by suffixation or by changing the morphemic shape of the singular. The plural which is formed by suffixation is known as the sound plural, "because all the vowels and consonants of the singular are retained in it", while the other is referred to as the broken plural "because it is more or less altered from the singular by the addition or elision of consonants, or the change of vowels" (Wright, I, 1955: 191-2).

The sound plural is formed by the addition of *-īn* to masculine, and *-āt* to feminine nouns respectively. The sound plural is largely confined to participles, nouns denoting habit or profession, and most adjectives. Many feminine nouns ending in *-āyi* or *-əyyi* take the sound feminine plural.

ms	mp	
ḥəlu	*ḥəlwīn*	"handsome"
ʕaḍīm	*ʕaḍīmīn*	"great"
saġīʕ	*saġīʕīn*	"fast, speedy"
bəšəʕ	*bəšʕīn*	"ugly"
lēbəs	*lēbsīn*	"dressed, wearing"
bēġəd	*bēġdīn*	"cold"
mxalləṣ	*mxalṣīṇ*	"having finished"
mkassaġ	*mkasġīn*	"broken"
kaddāḇ	*kaddābīn*	"liars"
ġayyāġ	*ġayyāġīn*	"jealous"
xabbāz	*xabbāzīn*	"bakers"
šammās	*šammāsīn*	"sacristans"
qaddīs	*qaddīsīn*	"saints"
masīḥi	*masīḥəyyīn*	"Christians"
yazīdi	*yazīdəyyīn*	"Yazidis"
maṣġi	*maṣġəyyīn*	"Egyptians"
sūġi	*sūġəyyīn*	"Syrians"

fs	fp	
ġāhbi	*ġāhbāt*	"nuns"
ṭāləba	*ṭāləbāt*	"students"
sayyāġa	*sayyāġāt*	"cars"
mağalli	*mağallāt*	"magazines"
məssāḥa	*məssāḥāt*	"rubbers"
ḥālūbāyi	*ḥālūbāyāt*	"hailstones"
ḥəlwi	*ḥəlwāt*	"pretty"
šaġīfi	*šaġīfāt*	"honourable, of good reputation"
kanadəyyi	*kanadəyyāt*	"Canadian (adj.), Canadians"
ʕəġāqəyyi	*ʕəġāqəyyāt*	"Iraqi (adj.), Iraqi women"

Sound masculine plural adjectives can sometimes qualify feminine substantives. Thus, it is possible to have both *banāt ḥəlwāt* and *banāt ḥəlwīn* "pretty girls"; *bēḍāyāt mkasġāt* and *bēḍāyāt mkasġīn* "broken eggs"; *təffāḥāt ḥāmḍāt* and *təffāḥāt ḥāmḍīn* "sour apples".

The plural of relative adjectives

Relative adjectives ending in *-i / -əyyi* ordinarily take the sound plural *-īn / -āt* where the substantive refers to people. Where it refers to animals or inanimate objects, the relative adjective, qualifying a sound masculine or feminine plural noun, is in the feminine singular.

ms	mp	
šāb sūġi	> *šabāb sūġəyyīn*	"Syrian young men"
talmīd masīḥi	> *talāmīd masīḥəyyīn*	"Christian pupils"
ġāhəb fġansəskāni	> *ġəhbān fġansəskānəyyīn*	"Franciscan monks"
walad badawi	> *wlēd badawəyyīn*	"Bedouin children"

fs	fp	
bənət ənglīzəyyi	> *banāt ənglīzəyyāt*	"English girls"
ġāhbi baṣġāwəyyi	> *ġāhbāt baṣġāwəyyāt*	"Basran nuns"
mumattəla īṭāləyyi	> *mumattəlāt īṭāləyyāt*	"Italian actresses"
mudīġa sənnəyyi	> *mudīġāt sənnəyyāt*	"Sunni headmistresses"

but

ktēb ʕağabi	> *kətəb ʕağabəyyi*	"Arabic books"
ḥṣān əğlandi	> *ḥəṣən əğlandəyyi*	"Irish horses"

dáftaġ qahwā?i	> *dafētəġ qahwā?əyyi*	"brown note-books"
qānūn šaġʕi	> *qawēnīn šaġʕəyyi*	"statutory laws"
sayyāġa yābānəyyi	> *sayyāġāt yābānəyyi*	"Japanese cars"
maǧalla amaġkānəyyi	> *maǧallāt amaġkānəyyi*	"American magazines"
ǧaġīdi almānəyyi	> *ǧaġāyəd almānəyyi*	"German newspapers"
bazzūni īġānəyyi	> *bazēzīn īġānəyyi*	"Persian cats"

The plural of masculine substantives ending in *-i*

Masculine substantives ending in *-i* frequently denote habit or profession. These substantives have a plural ending *-əyyi*.

ḥaġāmi	> *ḥaġāməyyi*	"thieves"
saġsaġi	> *saġsaġəyyi*	"layabouts"
afandi	> *afandəyyi*	"gentlemen"
saxtači	> *saxtačəyyi*	"cheats"
āšči	> *āščəyyi*	"cooks, chefs"
ūtači	> *ūtačəyyi*	"dry-cleaners"
ʕaġabanči	> *ʕaġabančəyyi*	"coachmen, horse-drawn carriage drivers"

The broken plural

There are several broken plural patterns in CB. The following are some of the more frequently occuring with examples:

(i) CCāC/ CCēC

CCāC is the adjectival plural pattern, while CCēC with *imāla* is the substantive pattern.

qwāy	"strong"	*smān*	"fat"	*kbāġ*	"big"
ṭwāl	"tall"	*qṣāġ*	"short"	*nḍāf*	"clean"
qlēm	"pencils"	*ḥbēl*	"ropes"	*wlēd*	"children"
tlēl	"hills"	*ǧmēl*	"camels"	*zbēʕ*	"lions"

(ii) CCūC(v)/ CCōC

qlūb	"hearts"	*ǧdūd*	"ancestors"	*ǧlūd*	"skins"
ṭbūl	"drums"	*ṣṭūl*	"buckets"	*xdūd*	"cheeks"

ṣṭōḥ	"roofs"	*fġōx*	"chicks"	*ǧdōġ*	"cooking-pots"
bṭūli	"bottles"	*ʔsūdi*	"lions"	*syūġa*	"straps"

The CCūC pattern can also occur as a disyllabic form with an anaptyctic vowel breaking up the initial consonant cluster.

ǧəfūn	"eyelids"	*bəyūt*	"houses"	*bəṭūn*	"stomachs"
ʕəyūn	"eyes"	*nəǧūm*	"stars"	*ġəyūm*	"clouds"

(iii) CvCv̄CvC

šawēgəʕ	"streets"	*ǧawēġəb*	"socks"	*manēdəġ*	"cushions"
madēġəs	"schools"	*qanēbəl*	"bombs"	*mašēkəl*	"problems"
manāḍəġ	"glasses"	*maṣāṭəġ*	"rulers"	*maṭāʕəm*	"restaurants"

(iv) CvCv̄Cv̄C

dakēkīn	"shops"	*dawēlīb*	"cupboards"	*bazēzīn*	"cats"
ʕawēmīd	"pillars"	*mazēmīġ*	"psalms"	*manēšīġ*	"pamphlets"
ʕaṣāfīġ	"sparrows"	*qaṣāqīs*	"cuttings"	*taṣāwīġ*	"pictures"

(v) (C)vCv̄Cv

There are a number of adjectives of this pattern in which the vowel of the second syllable is invariably *ā*. Substantives of this pattern have *ē* as the vowel of the second syllable.

kasāli	"lazy"	*ǧaḥāši*	"asses"	*ġašāmi*	"ignorant"
yatāmi	"orphans"	*ʕaṭāši*	"thirsty"	*ḥabāli*	"pregnant"
zawēli	"carpets"	*ḥayēyi*	"snakes"	*malēhi*	"nightclubs"
aġēḍi	"lands"	*asēmi*	"names"	*awēfi*	"very capable people"

There are other less frequently occuring broken plural patterns, like CvCvC, Cv̄Cv̄C, $C^1vC^2C^2vC^3$ and $C^1vC^2C^2v̄C^3$.

(vi) CvCvC

ǧənaṭ	"handbags"	*qəbab*	"rooms"	*xəġaq*	"rags"
ġədad	"glands"	*xəṭaṭ*	"plans"	*ǧətat*	"corpses"

(vii) CvCvC

fiġān	"mice"	*nīġān*	"fires"	*ğīġān*	"neighbours"

(viii) $C^1vC^2C^2vC^3$

This is an adjectival pattern of which the following are the most frequently occuring examples:

ʕəttaq	"old"	*ğəddad*	"new"	*šəṭṭaġ*	"clever"

(ix) $C^1C^2C^2\bar{v}C^3$

kəttāb	"clerks"	*ʕəmmāl*	"labourers"	*šəyyāb*	"old men"
xəṭṭāġ	"guests"	*təğğāġ*	"merchants"	*səkkān*	"inhabitants"

2.4 Numerals

2.4.1 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers from 1 to 20, as used in enumeration, are as follows:

1	*wēḥəd*	6	*sətti*	11	*ədáʕəš*	16	*səṭṭáʕəš*
2	*tnēn*	7	*sabʕa*	12	*ṭnáʕəš*	17	*ẓbāṭáʕəš*
3	*tlāti*	8	*tmēni*	13	*ṭlaṭṭáʕəš*	18	*ṭmenṭáʕəš*
4	*áġbaʕa*	9	*təsʕa*	14	*aġbāṭáʕəš*	19	*ṭəṣāṭáʕəš*
5	*xamsi*	10	*ʕašġa*	15	*xaməsṭáʕəš*	20	*ʕəšġīn*

Numbers 3 to 10 occur in the construct.

3	*tlat*	5	*xaməs*	7	*sabəʕ*	9	*təsəʕ*
4	*aġbaʕ*	6	*sətt*	8	*tman*	10	*ʕašəġ*

The numerals 30, 40, 50, etc. are:

30	*tlētīn*	70	*sabʕīn*	200	*mītēn*
40	*aġbaʕīn*	80	*tmēnīn*	300	*tlatməyyi*, etc.
50	*xamsīn*	90	*təsʕīn*		
60	*səttīn*	100	*məyyi*		

The construct of *məyyi* is *mīt*.

Other numerals are:

31 *wēḥəd w ətlētīn*	112 *məyyi w əṭnaʕəš*
52 *tnēn w xamsīn*	420 *aġbaʕməyyi w ʕəšġīn*, etc.
74 *aġbaʕa w sabʕīn*	

The numerals for the thousands are:

1000 *aləf*	5000 *xaməstālāf*
2000 *alfēn*	6000 *səttālāf*
3000 *tlattālāf*	7000 *sabəʕtālāf*, etc.
4000 *aġbaʕtālāf*	

2.4.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers 1 to 10 are as follows:

ms	fs	
awwal	*ūlā*	"first"
tāni	*tānəyi*	"second"
tālət	*tāləta*	"third"
ġābəʕ	*ġābəʕa*	"fourth"
xāməs	*xāməsa*	"fifth"
sādəs	*sādəsa*	"sixth"
sābəʕ	*sābəʕa*	"seventh"
tāmən	*tāməna*	"eighth"
tāsəʕ	*tāsəʕa*	"ninth"
ʕāšəġ	*ʕāšəġa*	"tenth"

Ordinal numbers have two main functions, namely as adjectives or as elatives. Where they occur as adjectives, they follow the substantives they qualify and inflect for gender. Where they function as elatives they precede the substantives and do not inflect. Thus compare,

əy-yōm əġ-ġābəʕ	"the fourth day"
ġābəʕ yōm	"the fourth day"
ət-təlmīdi t-tānəyi	"the second pupil (fs)"
tāni təlmīdi	"the second pupil"

2.5 The Pronoun

2.5.1 Subject pronouns[8]

The following are the independent subject pronouns:

1cs	*ana*	1cp	*nəḥna*
2ms	*ənta*		
2fs	*ənti*	2cp	*əntəm*
3ms	*həwwa*		
3fs	*həyyi*	3cp	*həmma*

2.5.2 Object pronouns

2.5.2.1 Direct object pronouns

The following are the direct object pronouns suffixed to verbs:

	post-consonantal	post-vocalic
1cs	*-ni*	*-ni*
2ms	*-ak*	*-k*
2fs	*-ki*	*-ki*
3ms	*-u*	*-nu*
3fs	*-a*	*-ha / -wa*
1cp	*-na*	*-na*
2cp	*-kəm*	*-kəm*
3cp	*-əm*	*-həm / -wəm*

2.5.2.2 Indirect object pronouns

The following are the indirect object pronouns suffixed to verbs:

1cs	*-li*	1cp	*-əlna*
2ms	*-lak*		
2fs	*-əlki*	2cp	*-əlkəm*
3ms	*-lu*		
3fs	*-la*	3cp	*-ləm*

8 The subject pronouns affixed to perfective and imperfective verbs have already been dicussed in 2.1, p. 43-47.

2.5.3 Double object pronouns

Where a verb takes a double object, the indirect object is suffixed to the verb and the direct object follows independently. In such cases the direct object is *ya-* + the pronominal suffix. Thus,

sammaʕátli yấha	"She let me hear it (fs)"
dazzálna yấnu	"He sent it (ms) to us"
ğābúlkəm yấhəm	"They brought them to you (cp)"
ṣawwaġálna yấkəm	"He photographed you (cp) for us"

2.5.4 Possessive pronouns

The following are the possessive pronouns suffixed to nominal forms:

	post-consonantal	post-vocalic
1cs	*-i*	*-yi*
2ms	*-ak*	*-k*
2fs	*-ki*	*-ki*
3ms	*-u*	*-nu*
3fs	*-a*	*-ha /-wa*
1cp	*-na*	*-na*
2cp	*-kəm*	*-kəm*
3cp	*-əm*	*-wəm*

2.5.5 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in CB are:

ms	*hāda*	"this"	*hadāk / hadāka*	"that"
fs	*hāyi*	"this"	*hadīk / hadīki*	"that"
cp	*hadōli*	"these"	*hadolāk*	"those"

2.5.6 The relative pronoun

The relative pronoun in CB is either *l* or *(ə)lli*. Thus,

ğā əbən ʕammi l kān əb amēġka
"My cousin, who was in America, has come back."
hāda l-bēt kənna ġaḥ nəštəġīnu
"This is the house we wanted to buy."

naǧaḥ bəl-əmtəḥān əlli šāfu ṣaʕəb əktīġ
"He passed the exam which he found very difficult."
bənt ǧīġānna həyyi lli ʕēnu ʕalayya axūyi
"Our neighbour's daughter is the one my brother has his eye on."

2.5.7 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in CB are:

mənu	"who?"		
šənu; š (preposed); *ēš* (postposed)	"what?"		
šlōn	"how?"	*šqad*	"how much?"
(š)kam	"how many?"	*lēš*	"why?"
wēn	"where?"	*ay; ayya*	"which one?"

2.6 Adverbs

The CB adverbs indicating place, time and manner are:

place

hōni	"here"	*hōnīki*	"there"
háǧ-ǧəha / háṣ-ṣōb	"this side"	*hadīk əǧ-ǧəha / hadāk əṣ-ṣōb*	"that side"
baġġa	"outside"	*ǧəwwa*	"inside"
ʕal-yamīn	"on the right"	*ʕal-yasāġ*	"on the left"
līqəddām	"forwards"	*līwáġa*	"backwards"

time

hay-yōm	"today"	*maġġāt*	"sometimes"
mbēġḥa	"yesterday"	*mən zamắn*	"a long time ago"
ġada	"tomorrow"	*māṭūl*	"as long as"
mən waqət	"early"	*ġaʔsan*	"immediately"
dāʔəman	"always"	*fad ġās*	"directly"
ʕala ṭūl	"always"	*taqġīban*	"about"

manner

həkki	"thus, in this manner"	*malēḥ*	"well"
bəl-ʕaǧal	"quickly"	*ḥēl*	"quickly"
šwayya	"a little"	*ktīġ*	"a lot, very much"
yəwāš	"slowly"		

2.7 Prepositions

The following are the main prepositions in CB:

b	"in"	*ʕala*	"on"	*ʕan*	"about"
mən	"from"	*wəyya*	"with"	*ʕənd*	"at, at the house of"
bēn	"between, among"	*mətəl*	"like"		
qəddām	"in front of"	*waġa*	"behind"	*qbāl*	"facing"
yamm	"near"	*fōq*	"above"	*ṣōb*	"towards"
dāyəġ	"around"	*l*	"to"		
taḥət	"under"	*dāyəġ məndáġ*	"all around"		

2.8 Conjunctions

The following are the main conjuntions in CB:

idá	"if"	*lo*	"if, or"	*aw*	"or"
bass	"but"	*lakən*	"but"	*baʕdēn*	"then"
lo ... lo ...	"either ... or ..."	*w*	"and"		

SYNTAX

3.1 The Verb Phrase

CB verbs can be divided into four syntactically different forms, the perfective, the imperfective, the imperative and the participle. There are two aspects, the non-progressive and the progressive, corresponding to the perfective and the imperfective respectively. "Aspect refers to the manner in which the verb action is regarded or experienced" (Quirk et al., 1972: 90). Time, which is "a universal concept" (ibid., 84), is divided into three parts, past time, present time and future time.

3.1.1 The perfective

The perfective ordinarily expresses a completed action in an unspecified past time.

samaʕtu x-xabaġ
"I heard the news."

ǧābūlna wġūd
"They brought us flowers".

əxti ṣayyafət əb sūġya
"My sister spent the summer in Syria."

nkasaġət sāʕəti
"My watch broke."

banu bēt əqbāl bētna
"They built a house opposite ours."

ǧābət bənət
"She gave birth to a daughter."

All actions referred to in the examples above can be determined by adding a modifier.

samaʕtu x-xabaġ hay-yōm
"I heard the news today."

mbēġḥa ğābūlna waġəd
"Yesterday they brought us flowers."
əxti ṣayyafət əb-sūġya qabəl santēn
"My sister spent the summer in Syria two years ago."
nkasaġət sāʕəti qabl əšwayya
"My watch broke a short while ago."
ʕām l-awwal banu bētəm əqbāl bētna
"Last year they built their house opposite ours."
ğābət bənət hay-yōm əṣ-ṣəbəḥ
"She gave birth to a daughter this morning."

3.1.1.1 The perfective of stative verbs can sometimes refer to the present when it occurs with a present verb modifier. Stative verbs are verbs which refer to an unchanging condition or state, as, for example, to see, to believe, to contain, to love, to hear, to know, etc.

hassaʕ ʕaġaftu mənu ṣadīq w mənu ʕadū
"Now I know who is a friend and who is a foe."
had-daqīqa ftaham šqā-aʕni
"Now (this moment) he understands, what I mean."
hassaʕ šəftu bʕēni šlōn qayʕāməla
"Now I see with my own eye(s) how he treats her."
hal-laḥḍa šaʕaġtu aqdaġ aḥəbbəm
"This instant I feel I can love them."

3.1.1.2 A present verb modifier occuring with the perfective of a dynamic verb refers to an action just completed. Dynamic verbs can be activity verbs like, to ask, to work, to write, to read, to listen, to look at, to throw; or process verbs like, to change, to grow, to deteriorate, to improve, etc.

hassaʕ qaġētu ğ-ğaġīdi
"I have just read the newspaper."
had-daqīqa labastu hāda l-əblūz
"I have just this moment put this blouse on."
hal-laḥḍa katabtu l-maktūb
"I have this instant written the letter."
maʕa l-asaf huwwa mū hōni had-daqīqa ṭalaʕ
"I am sorry he is not here, he has just gone out."

3.1.1.3 Where a perfective verb is preceded by either *idā* or *lō* "if", it denotes an action that has not taken place.

lō ǧīt ǧīb xəbəz wəyyāk
"If you come bring some bread with you."

idā katabti ənšā? əktəbi aktaġ mən ṣafəḥtēn
"If you write an essay, write more than two pages."

lō šəftūnu l-marwān salmūli ʕalēnu
"If you see Marwan give him my regards."

idā gāḥō l pāġīz xallīhəm yzūġūn əl-lūvġ
"If they go to Paris let them visit the Louvre."

3.1.1.4 In subordinate clauses introduced by *balki / balkət* or *ġubbamā* "perhaps, in case", the perfective can refer to a future time.

ġaḥ atġək bāb qəbbəti maftōḥ balki daqq ət-təlafōn
"I shall leave my bedroom door open in case the phone rings."

la təqbalīn mawʕəd yōm əx-xamīs ġubbamā ʕağabki təğēn wəyyāna
"Don't accept an appointment on Thursday, in case you feel like coming (out) with us."

qəltəllu ysalləmli ʕala amīra balki ṣāġ ʕəndu waqət ymaġġ ʕalaya
"I told him to give my regards to Amira perhaps he will have time to drop in on her."

ma qayġīd yxabbəġəm ġaḥ yəġkab əḥṣān ġubbamā ḍall bāləm
"He does not want to tell them he is going horse-riding in case they worry."

3.1.2 The imperfective

The imperfective is ordinarily used to indicate a timeless incomplete action that does not occur at any definite time. The imperfective is said to be situational, that is to say it is generally used to state a fact or provide certain information.

ysūq lōġi
"He drives a lorry."

təḍġəs mōsīqa klāsīkəyyi
"She is studying Classical music."

adaġġəs əb kəlləyyət əl-banāt
"I teach at the Girls' College."

axūyi ydaxxən sabīl
"My brother smokes a pipe."
yəštəġəl bəl-ʕəyāda lli yamm əğ-ğəsəġ
"He works in the (medical) practice that is near the bridge."
yəlʕabūn futbōl əb sāḥət əl-madġasi
"They play football in the school courtyard."

Where an imperfective occurs with a modifier it can refer to a habitual action.

ysūq lōġi bəz-ẓbōʕ maġġa
"He drives a lorry once a week."
tədġəs mōsīqa klāsīkəyyi kəx-xamīs w sabət
"She studies Classical music on Thursdays and Saturdays."
adaġġəs əb-kəlləyyət əl-banāt aġbaʕ maġġāt bəš-šahəġ
"I teach at the Girls' College four times a month."
axūyi ydaxxən sabīl baʕd əl-ʕaša
"My brother smokes a pipe after supper."
yəštəġəl bəl-ʕəyāda lli yamm əğ-ğəsəġ əl-ʕaṣəġ
"He works in the (medical) practice near the bridge in the afternoons."
yəlʕabūn futbōl əb sāḥət əl-madġasi kəl yōm ğəmʕa
"They play football in the school courtyard every Friday."

3.1.3 Verbal particles

3.1.3.1 The particle preceding the perfective

In CB the perfective is rarely preceded by a particle. The only exception being *kən* which is a particle that is fast becoming obsolete. Although *kən* has been known to occur with all persons of the perfective, it is nowadays more commonly found preceding a 3rd person verb. In such cases *kən* semantically approximates the *-miş* element in the Turkish *mazi nakli*. In other words, *kən* + the perfective conveys the idea of reported speech.

kən ʕağabu l-fələm
"He liked the film." (That is to say, I am told he liked the film, although he did not tell me so himself.)

kən txaġġaġət mən kəlləyyət əṭ-ṭabbəyyi
"She graduated from the Medical College." (It is a well known fact that she graduated, although I did not witness the event myself.)

kən šāf maxṭūṭāt səġyānəyyi
"He saw Syriac manuscripts." (I was told he saw Syriac manuscripts, but I did not witness him seeing them.)

kən ṭaġadəwa l-ṣānʕətəm
"They dismissed their maid." (I am told that is what happened.)

3.1.3.2 Particles preceding the imperfective

The particles that ordinarily precede the imperfective are prefix *qa-*, denoting a continuous action that is taking place in the present, and the independent particle *ġaḥ*, denoting a future event or action.

qa- qatətmaššə bəl-bəstān
"She is walking in the garden." (She is actually walking at the moment.)

qanəštəġi xəbəz mən hāda l-fəġən əğ-ğadīd
"We are now buying (our) bread from this new bakery." (We are in the habit of buying our bread from there, and we shall continue to do so until some future date.)

qaṭaṭbəx ṭabīx bētənğān w laḥəm
"She is cooking an aubergine and meat stew." (She is at the moment preparing it.)

qanədġəs naḥət əb maʕhad əl-fənūn əğ-ğamīla
"We are studying sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts." (We are enrolled at the Academy, and are studying there.)

With verbs of motion and verbs that do not imply a continuous action *qa-* (also *qā-* before *a-*) + the imperfective refers to the future.

ʕammi qaysāfəġ əl-amēġka
"My (paternal) uncle is travelling to America." (My uncle has not set off yet, but he is intending to in the near future.)

ana w axūyi qanġōḥ ləs-sīnama
"My brother and I are going to the cinema." (We have not gone yet, but we are going to go.)

ana qā-anzal ləl-balad qatġīdīn šē?
"I am going down to town, would you like anything?" (I shall be going to town soon.)

qaṭṭīġ əṭ-ṭayyāġa s-sāʕa ʕašġa
"The plane will take off (fly) at ten o'clock." (It will fly later, but at the moment it is still on the ground.)

tawfiq qayəftaḥ maṭʕam əb dətrōyt
"Tawfiq is going to open a restaurant in Detroit."

qanwaṣṣīla ʕala məʕḍaḍ dahab
"We are going to order a gold bracelet for her."

qatətkallal əb kanīst əl-aġman
"She is getting married in the Armenian church."

qayəlbas smōkən ləl-ḥafli
"He is going to wear a dinner jacket (*tuxedo*) to the party."

The future is usually expressed by the particle *ġaḥ* preceding the imperfective.

ġaḥ nəštəġi bēt ʕal-baḥaġ
"We shall buy a house by the sea."

ġaḥ yġōḥōn ləl-ʕəġāq bəṣ-ṣēf
"They will go to Iraq in the summer."

ġaḥ yəzġaʕ ašğāġ məšməš əb-bəstānu
"He will plant apricot trees in his garden."

ġaḥ atʕağğab idā mā ġaḥ tənğaḥēn
"I shall be surprised if you will not succeed."

Prefix *da-*, which is not common in CB, ordinarily introduces the imperfective of a subordinate clause where the verb of the main clause expresses a command or asks a question.

taʕālu l-hōni dašawwəfkəm əṣ-ṣəwaġ māl əl-əklīl
"Come here so I can show you the wedding photographs."

šlōn ysawwūn sīlān da-atʕallam
"How do they make date syrup, so that I can learn."

wqafi hōnīki datšūfin əṣ-ṣōġa aḥsan
"Stand over there, so that you (f.s.) can see the picture better."

xalli l-bāb maftōḥ daṭəṭlaʕ əl-bazzūni
"Leave the door open so the cat can get out."

3.1.4 Auxiliary verbs

3.1.4.1 Auxiliary verbs with the perfective

The most frequently occuring auxiliary verb with the perfective is *kān* "to be", which can occur in the perfective as *kān*, or in the imperfective as *ykūn*. *kān* + the perfective refers to an action that was about to happen but which did not.

kān tʒawwağ lō əmmu mā məddaxli
"He would have got married, had his mother not interfered."

kənna waṣalna hassaʕ lō ṭālʕīn mən waqət
"We would have arrived by now, had we set out early."

kəntu ġəḥtu b sayyāġtak lō aʕġəf txallīni asūqha
"I would have gone in your car, had I known you would let me drive it."

kān + the perfective frequently refers to an action or an event that had taken place before another.

kān laqa šəġəl lamman xāli ṭalab mənnu yəštəġəl wəyyānu
"He had already found work when my (maternal) uncle asked him to work with him."

waqt əlli ṣāgət əṭ-ṭawra kəntu taġaktu baġdād
"When the revolution took place I had already left Baghdad."

lamman ğīġānna štaġu talavəzyōn kənna nəḥna štaġēna wēhəd qabləm
"When our neighbours bought a television we had already bought one before them."

When a perfective verb is preceded by the imperfective auxiliary verb, *ykūn*, a future perfect is expressed.

lamman təġğaʕ mən almānya tkūn tʕallamət almāni malēḥ
"When you return from Germany you will have learnt good German."

baʕəd kam sani tkūn kabaġət haš-šağağa matəġ
"In a few years' time this tree will have grown a metre."

ġada tkūn stalamət maktūbi
"Tomorrow you will have received my letter."

3.1.4.2 Auxiliary verbs with the imperfective

kān + the imperfective refers to a habitual action that used to take place in the past, but which no longer does.

kəntu aštəġəl əb šaġəkat ən-nafəṭ
"I used to work in the oil company."

hāda ġ-ġəğğāl kān kəl yōm yəštəġi mōz lamman kānu wlēdu ẓġāġ
"This man used to buy bananas every day when his children were young."

kəl ahəl baġdād kānu ynāmūn ʕala ṣ-ṣatəḥ bəṣ-ṣēf
"All the people of Baghdad used to sleep on the roof in summer."

The imperfective *ykūn*, preceding the imperfective of the main verb, ordinarily occurs in the 3rd person singular to express a wish or a hope.

ykūn yəği ʕād
"I do wish he would come."

ykūn tḥəbb ham-maḥbas
"I do hope she will like this ring."

ykūn tətṣaġġaf malēḥ ʕəndəm
"I wish she would behave herself at their house."

ykūn yənğaḥōn əb āxəg əs-sani
"Let us hope they pass the examination at the end of the year."

ykūn naʕġəf wēn nənẓal
"I wish we knew where to get off."

The verbs *ḥabb* "to love, to like, *ġād* "to want", and the third person singular verb *ʕağab* + the pronominal suffix "to feel like", occur frequently as auxiliaries preceding the imperfective. These auxiliaries occur in the perfective and the imperfective. Where the auxiliary is in the perfective the construction refers to an indefinite action that may or may not have taken place.

ḥabb yətʕaġġaf ʕalēkəm
"He wanted to be introduced to you." (He may still not have been introduced to you.)

ġədna nšūfkəm mən hāda ğīna mən waqət
"We wanted to see you, that is why we came early." (We managed to see you by coming early.)

ʕağabni aġōḥ ləs-səwēd mbōġ aḥəbb əl-bəldān əl-bēġdi
"I felt like going to Sweden because I like cold countries."(I may or may not have gone.)

ʕağabəm yāklūn ṣaḷatət xass w əxyāġ
"They felt like eating a lettuce and cucumber salad." (They felt like having some, although they may or may not have eaten any.)

Where the auxiliary verb is in the imperfective the construction refers to a future time. The auxiliary can occur with prefix *qa-*.

yḥəbb yətʕallam ġasəm
"He would like to learn drawing."

qatḥəbb ətsāfəġ əl amēġka
"She would like to go to America."

nġīd nəbni qəbbi fōq əl-gaġāğ
"We want to build a room on top of the garage."

qanġīd ənsağğəl əbənna b madġasət əl-ğazwīt
"We want to register our son in the Jesuit school."

The imperfective of *ʕağab* + the pronominal suffix can only occur with prefix *qa-*.

qayəʕğəbəm yəftaḥōn madġasi ləl-əmməyyīn
"They would like to open a school for the illiterate."

qayəʕğəbna nāxəd bēt xāləti l bābəl
"We feel like taking my aunt and her family to Babylon."

3.1.4.3 Other auxiliaries

Some independent verbs like *qām* "to get up, to start doing s.t.", *ġāḥ* "to go", *ṣāġ* "to be, to become", *bada* "to start", can occur as auxiliaries with the imperfective. However, verbs of motion, like *qām* and *ġāḥ* can also occur with the perfective.

lamman ʕaġafət aku ḥaġāmi bəl-bēt qāmt ətʕayyəṭ
"When she knew there was a burglar in the house, she began to scream."

qām ysəbni w yqəlli ana mā aswa šē
"He started to curse me and tell me I was worth nothing."

ġāḥət ətğīb ṭamāṭa mən əs-sōq
"She went to get tomatoes from the market."

ġəḥna nfaġġəğəm ʕala l-maʕġaḍ
"We went to show them the exhibition."

ṣāġu yʕātbūna lēš mā ġəḥna l ʕəndəm
"They started remonstrating with us why we did not go to (visit) them."

ṣəġtu axāf mən kəl ṭaqqa
"I began to get scared of every bang."

ğā ṣ-ṣēf w badēna nəšġab šaġbat bēġəd
"Summer has come, and we have started to drink cold (soft) drinks."

ḍaġabəta əmma w badət təbki
"Her mother smacked her and she started to cry."

qām ṭaʕāni aḥsan waġdi b bəstānu
"He gave me the best flower in his garden."

qəmtu sallamtu ʕalayya
"I greeted her."

ġāḥ ğāb maġa mən kanada lēš əšbəyəm banātna hōni?
"He went and got a wife from Canada, (so) what's wrong with our girls here?"

ġəḥna xābaġnāhəm bas mā kānu bəl-bēt
"We telephoned them, but they were not at home."

3.1.4.4 Double auxiliaries

The perfective *kān* + the perfective or imperfective of the verbs *ḥabb* and *ġād* can occur as double auxiliaries preceding an imperfective verb. The three-verb construction refers to a continuous past time where an event or action that could have taken place did not.

kəntu aġīd adġəs ṭəbb bas daġağāti mā kānət ʕālyi kəfāyi
"I wanted to study medicine, but my grades were not high enough."

kān qayġīd ykammәl dəġāsətu lākən əḍ-ḍəğūf mā sāʕadət
"He wanted to finish his education, but circumstances did not help."

kənna nḥəbb ənšūfu qabəl maysāfəġ
"We would have liked to see him before he went away (lit. travelled)."

kānət qaṯhəbb təği wəyyāyi bas ṭalaʕ ʕənda šəġəl
"She would have liked to come with me, but it turned out she had work to do."

3.1.5 The imperative

There are two types of imperative in CB, the simple and the compound.

3.1.5.1 The simple imperative

The simple imperative, which was discussed in the section on morphology, deals with the second persons only.

mšē mən hōni
"Get away from here!" (m.s.)
xədlu čāy əl abūk
"Take some tea to your father!" (m.s.)
xābġīnu
"Telephone him!" (f.s.)
ğībīlna qahwi
"Bring us some coffee!" (f.s.)
smaʕu mosīqa ʕaġabəyyi
"Listen to Arabic music!" (c.p.)
ğtəhdu datənğaḥōn
"Work hard so you would pass the examination!" (c.p.)

3.1.5.2 The compound imperative

The compound imperative deals with the first and third persons, and is usually made up of a compound construction, comprising the particle *xalli* "let" + the pronominal suffix, followed by an imperfective verb.

xallīna nətṣaġġaf mətəl ma nġīd
"Let us do as we please (lit. wish)."
xallīnu yākəl aklu
"Let him eat his food."
xalləyəm yəğōn
"Let them come."
xallīni adīġ bāli l nafsi
"Let me look after myself."

xalləyya tkammel dəġāsəta
"Let her finish her education."

xallīnu yəḥki
"Let him speak."

xalli + the pronominal suffix can occur as an independent imperative in the second persons, where the meaning conveyed is "to stay".

xallīk hōni
"Stay here!" (m.s.)

xallīki qēʕdi
"Stay sitting!" (f.s.)

xallīkəm ʕəndna hay-yōm
"Stay at our house today!" (c.p.)

3.1.6 The participle

3.1.6.1 The active participle

The active participle ordinarily refers to a timeless event or action. The active participle inflects for gender and number.

nəḥna sēmʕīn bīnu
"We have heard of him."

yqūl kētəbli maktūb
"He says he has written me a letter."

ġəḥtu l ʕənda laqētəwwa nēẓli ləs-sōq
"I went to her house, and found that she had gone down to the market."

ṣadīqəti ġēybi mən əl-madġasi
"My friend is absent from school."

The active participle of durative verbs, like *šaf* "to see", *labas* "to wear", refers to an action that started in the past and which is still effective.

ʕammәti lēbsi ḥwēs nahāġ əl-aḥad
"My aunt is wearing her Sunday best clothes." (My aunt put on her clothes, and she is still wearing them.)

ana sēmʕa ḥaġaki baġġa
"I am hearing movement outside." (I started hearing movement outside, and I am still hearing it.)

ṭāyġīn mən faġḥətəm əbnəm ġēğəʕ baʕəd aġbaʕ əsnīn əb amēġka
"They are thrilled (lit. flying because of their happiness) their son is coming back after four years in America." (They were happy when they first found out he was coming, and their happiness continues.)

abūyi məʕağğəb əšlōn mā ʕaġaftīnu
"My father is surprised how you (f.s.) did not recognize him." (My father was surprised when he first found out, and he is still surprised.)

ṣaddəq həwwa nēsi əntəm zaʕlānīn
"Believe me, he has forgotten you (c.p.) are not on speaking terms." (He is still unaware you are not on speaking terms.)

The active participle of verbs of motion can refer to a future time.

nəḥna msēfġīn əb ʕīd əl-əgbīġ
"We are going away at Easter."

ana nēzli l baġdād ġada
"I am going down to Baghdad (i.e. to the city centre) tomorrow."

mudīg šaġəkətna ġāyəḥ hay-yōm əl xānaqīn w ġēğəʕ baʕəd yōmēn
"The director of our company is going to Khanaqin today, and coming back in two days' time."

nəḥna mēšyīn mən hōni s-sāʕa xamsi
"We shall set off from here at five o'clock."

mšaġġaf[1] *əl hōni baʕd əḍ-ḍəhəġ*
"He is coming here in the afternoon."

The active participle of verbs of motion can refer to a past time when it is preceded by the auxiliary verb *kān*, or when there is in the sentence a verb modifier referring to a past time.

lamman šəftūnu kān ġēğəʕ mən əš-šaṭṭ
"When I saw him he was coming back from the river."

mətəl hay-yōm qabəl sani kānu kəllətəm msēfġīn ləl-mōṣəl
"A year ago today they had all gone away to Mosul."

1 *šaġġaf* "to honour with one's presence" is often used sarcastically in CB to mean "to come".

waṣalna ləm-maḥaṭṭa s-sāʕa tesʕa bas kān mēši qəṭāġ əsṭambūl
"We arrived at the station at nine o'clock, but the Istanbul train had (already) left."

nəḥna ġāyḥīn ləm-maṭḥaf mīt maġġa
"We have been to the museum a hundred times."

ana msēfəġ əl almānya qabəl
"I have travelled to Germany before."

əntəm ǧayyīn ʕəndna kam maġġa
"You have been to our house several times."

Where *kān* precedes the active participle of durative verbs the reference is to an action that was continuous in the past, but which is no longer effective.

kān nayyəm ʕəndna mbēġḥa
"He was sleeping at our house yesterday."

kənna nəlbas tābləyyāt ləm-madġasi
"We used to wear overalls to school."

kān bēqi ʕəndi nəṣ dīnāġ
"I had half a dinar left."

kānət qēʕdi hōni bas hassaʕ ṭalaʕət əl fōq
"She was sitting here, but now she has gone upstairs."

kəntu ḥēssi b waǧaʕ ġās bas hassaʕ ma qayōǧaʕni ġāsi
"I had a headache, but now my head is not aching (any more)."

3.1.6.2 The passive participle

The passive participle which functions as an adjective, in that it agrees with the substantive it qualifies in gender and number, ordinarily refers to an event or action that is still effective.

šəbbāk qəbbəti maksōġ
"My bedroom window is broken." (It is still broken.)

tayyal bəstānkəm ǧadīd maqṣūṣ
"Your garden lawn is newly cut." (It looks like it has just been cut.)

dafētəġki kəllətəm mašqōqīn
"All your (f.s.) exercise books are torn." (They are torn at this moment.)

hāy əl-bēḍāyi maslōqa
"This egg is hard-boiled." (It has been hard-boiled and is still here.)

ǧəntəti maḥṭūṭa hōni
"My handbag has been placed here." (It is still where it was placed.)

l-ḥalīb makbūb ʕal-mēz
"The milk is spilt on the table." (One can still see that it has been spilt.)

The passive participle can refer to a habitual action when it occurs with a modifier.

d-dəkkān maẓdūd kəx-xamīs
"The shop is closed every Thursday."

bāb ək-kanīsi kəl waqət maftōḥ
"The church door is always open."

sāʕəta dāʔəman maksōġa
"Her watch is always broken."

kəl mā ṭəṭbəx ənlāqīha maxbūṣa
"Whenever she cooks we find her flustered."

kəl mā nġōḥ əl ʕəndəm ənšūf kalbəm maġbūṭ
"Every time we go to their house we find their dog tied up."

When the passive participle is preceded by *kān* it refers to a past event.

d-dəkkān kān maẓdūd
"The shop was closed."

bāb ək-kanīsi kān maftōḥ
"The church door was open."

sāʕəta kānət maksōġa
"Her watch was broken."

lamman kānət qaṭəṭbəx kānət maxbūṣa
"When she was cooking she was flustered."

kəl mā kənna nġōḥ əl ʕəndəm kalbəm kān maġbūṭ
"Every time we went to their house their dog was tied up."

3.2 The Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is a word, or a group of words, consisting of nominal elements only, with a pronoun or a noun as the head or main part. The head can be preceded by an article or another noun, and followed by an adjective, a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. The noun phrase functions as subject, object or complement.

The following are examples of the noun phrase as subject:

həwwa "he"]
] *hōni bəq-qəbbi* "is here in the
Mūsa "Musa" (proper name)] room."

banāt "girls"] *qayġōḥōn ləm-madġasi* "are going to school."
m-maġa "the woman"] *qatġōḥ ləš-šəġəl* "is going to work."
bənət ḥəlwi "a pretty girl"] *qatəmši yammu* "is walking beside him."

kaləb aswad "a black dog"]
] *qayəmši* "is walking."
ġ-ġəğğāl əṭ-ṭawīl "the tall man"]

The first four examples are single noun phrases, while the last three examples are referred to as appositional noun phrases. In each of the last three noun phrases the first noun functions as an identifier while the second noun acts as a postmodifying adjective. In the first two examples the single noun phrase is followed by an adverb of place, *hōni* "here" and a postmodifying prepositional phrase *bəq-qəbbi* "in the room".

The noun phrase as object

The following are examples of the noun phrase as object:

šəftu əxta l-əgġēs
"I saw Grace's sister."

qāṣaṣu l-əbnu l-əgbīġ
"He punished his eldest son."

laqētu xaməs danānīġ bəd-daġəb
"I found five dinars in the street."

štaġēna xyāġ w ṭamāṭa mən əl-baqqāl
"We bought cucumber and tomatoes from the grocer."

In the above four sentences the noun phrase objects are *əxta l-əggēs* "Grace's sister", *əbnu l-əgbīġ* "his eldest son", *xaməs danāniġ* "five dinars" and *xyāġ w ṭamāṭa* "cucumber and tomatoes" respectively.

The noun phrase as complement

The complement ordinarily occurs at the end of a sentence, and can function as both subject and object.

subject complement

ẓōğ əxətki ġəğğāl malēḥ
"Your sister's husband is a good man."

əbnəm aʕazz azdəqāʔi
"Their son is my dearest friend."

ašğāġ bəstānna kəlləta ašğāġ mətməġa
"All the trees in our garden are fruit trees."

bənət ğiġānna hassaʕ ṣāġət ṭāləba ğāməʕəyyi
"Our neighbours' daughter is now a university student."

object complement

ʕayyanūni mudīġət madġasi
"They appointed me the headmistress of a school."

ṣaḅaġət šaʕġa aṣfaġ
"She tinted her hair blond."

tṣawwaġtak aḥsan ənsān
"I thought you were the best person."

ntaxabūnu ġaʔīs əš-šaġəka
"They elected him the director of the company."

In the above sentences the complements are *ġəğğāl malēḥ* "a good man", *aʕazz azdəqāʔi* "my dearest friend", *ašğāġ mətməġa* "fruit trees", *ṭāləba ğāməʕəyyi* "a university student", *mudīġət madġasi* "the headmistress of a school", *aṣfaġ* "yellow", *aḥsan ənsān* "the best person", and *ġaʔīs əš-šaġəka* "the director of the company" respectively.

Noun phrases are frequently conjoined. In one of the above examples of object noun phrases, viz. *xyāġ w ṭamāṭa*, the two single noun phrases are conjoined by the conjunction *w* "and". The following are more examples of conjoined noun phrases:

m-maġa w əġ-ġəğğāl ġāḥō ləs-sīnama
"The woman and the man went to the cinema."

ḥabīb w ʕādəl ašṭaġ talāmīd əb ṣaffi
"Habib and Adel are the cleverest pupils in my class."

kaləbna aswad w ḥalu yānu
"Our dog is black and beautiful."

lōġi gbīġ w waṣəx ṭaġaš sayyāġəti
"A big and dirty lorry splashed my car."

3.2.1 Concord

When an adjective qualifies a substantive it agrees with it in number and gender. A masculine adjective, therefore, qualifies a masculine substantive, and a feminine adjective qualifies a feminine substantive.

ms	*kaləb aswad*	"a black dog"
	ġəğğāl malēḥ	"a good man"
	təlmīd šāṭəġ	"a clever pupil"
	əbən nəʕsān	"a sleepy boy"
	ḥṣān qahwāʔi	"a brown horse"
	šəʕəġ ʕaġabi	"Arabic poetry"
fs	*kalbi sōdā*	"a black bitch"
	maġa malēḥa	"a good woman"
	təlmīdi šāṭġa	"a clever pupil"
	bənət nəʕsāni	"a sleepy girl"
	bazzūni qahwāʔəyyi	"a brown cat"
	ğaġīdi təġkəyyi	"a Turkish newspaper"

Where a substantive is determined by the definite article, the adjective is also determined.

ġ-ġəğğāl əl-malēḥ	"the good man"
š-šəʕəġ əl-ʕaġabi	"the Arabic poem"
ğ-ğaġīdi l-fġansāwəyyi	"The French newspaper"
t-təlmīdi š-šāṭġa	"the clever pupil"

A plural substantive is ordinarily qualified by a plural adjective. A broken plural adjective is of common gender, qualifying both masculine and feminine substantives.

wlēd šəṭṭaġ	"clever children"
banāt šəṭṭaġ	"clever girls"
klēb sūd	"black dogs"
kalbāt sūd	"black bitches"
ǧawēġīn ǧəddad	"new neighbours"
sayyāġāt ʕəttaq	"old cars"
fallāḥīn ḥəffāy	"barefoot gardeners"
təffāḥāt ḥəməġ	"red apples"

The sound masculine plural adjective sometimes qualifies feminine, as well as masculine dual and plural substantives.

ms	*waladēn nəʕsānīn*	"two sleepy children"
	kalbēn maġbūṭīn	"two tied up dogs"
	talāmīd saxīfīn	"silly pupils"
	xəṭṭāġ mʔaddabīn	"polite guests"
fs	*xyāġtēn məġġīn*	"two bitter cucumbers"
	bənāytēn mhaddamīn	"two dilapidated buildings"
	təffāḥāt ḥāmḍīn	"sour apples"
	banāt maḥbūbīn	"lovable girls"

The sound feminine plural adjective occurs sometimes with feminine plural substantives referring to human beings. This is a fairly recent development in CB, showing the influence of LA, particularly in the speech of the better educated.[2]

nəswān ġayyaġāt	"jealous women"
ġahbāt fġansāwəyyāt	"French nuns"
ṭāləbāt muʔaddabāt	"polite students"
banāt maḥbūbāt	"lovable girls"

Broken plural substantives, referring to animals and inanimate objects are frequently qualified by feminine singular adjectives.

snān ʕāġəyyi	"false teeth"
byūt ʕatīqa	"old houses"
kətəb ənglīzəyyi	"English books"
ṣəwaġ əmlawwani	"coloured pictures"

2 Cf. 2.3.4.2

klēb maklūbi	"dogs with rabies"
ḥəṣən aṣīli	"thoroughbred horses"
ḥayēyi sēmmi	"poisonous snakes"

Where a dual or a plural substantive is determined by the definite article the qualifying adjective is also determined.

k-kalbēn əs-sūd	"the two black dogs"
ṭ-ṭāləbtēn əš-šəṭṭaġ	"the two clever students"
š-šabēbīk əz-zġāġ	"the small windows"
n-nəswān əs-sūġəyyāt	"the Syrian women"

3.2.2 Adjectives as substantives

Some adjectives may function as substantives. In such cases they can be determined by the definite article.

f-fəqaġa yətʕaddabūn bəḥ-ḥaġġ
"The poor suffer in the heat."

m-malēḥ maḥadd yqadġu
"No one appreciates the good."

ġəḥtu ləd-dəkkān w xadamətni š-šaqġā
"I went to the shop and the blonde served me."

k-kaddāb yḍall dāʔəman kaddāb
"The liar will always be a liar."

l-hənd bəya ktīġ fəqaġa
"India has a lot of poor (people)."

šqadd aku kaddābīn bəl-ʕālam
"There are many liars in the world."

qayġīd šaqġā tmattəl əb masġaḥəyyətu
"He wants a blonde to act in his play."

mayṣīġ məstašfa mā bəya məġaḍa
"There cannot be a hospital without sick (people)."

3.2.3 Possession

Possession in CB is of two kinds, simple and compound. Simple possession involves the suffixation of the possessive pronouns to nouns.

kalb "dog" + 1cs possessive pronoun *-i* > *kalbi* "my dog"
bēt "house" + 1cp possessive pronoun *-na* > *bētna* "our house"

əbən "boy" + 2c.p. possessive pronoun *-kəm* > *əbənkəm* "your son"
qalam "pencil" + 2f.s. possessive pronoun *-ki* > *qalamki* "your pencil"
ḥzēm "belt" + 3m.s. possessive pronoun *-u* > *ḥzēmu* "his belt"
əxət "sister" + 3f.s. possessive pronoun *-a* > *əxta* "her sister"

Compound possession is subdivided into two categories, marked and unmarked. The marked possessive compound involves the use of particle *māl* (m.s./p.) / *mālət* (f.s./p.) "of, belonging to" between two nominal elements.

Thus: head noun phrase + *māl* / *mālət* + modifying noun phrase

š-šabēbīk əm-maftōḥa māl bēt ǧīġānna
"The open windows of our neighbours' house."

m-mašēkəl māl kəll əl-ʕālam
"The problems of all the world."

ṭ-ṭayyāġa ǧ-ǧadīdi mālət əǧ-ǧayš əl-ʕəġāqi
"The new plane of the Iraqi army."

š-šamsəyyi x-xaḍġā mālət ǧəddəti
"My grandmother's green umbrella."

In the above examples the head noun phrase is determined by the definite article. Where the reference is to a collective substantive the head noun phrase can occur without the definite article.

kafēfi ḥaġēġ māl əklīli
"Silk handkerchiefs from my wedding."

dafētəġ ǧadīdi māl ṣaff əs-sādəs
"New exercise-books of the sixth form."

təffēḥ stāġkən māl šaǧaġətna
"Starking apples from our tree."

maṭāġāt madanəyyi māl əl-ʕəġāq
"Civil airports of Iraq."

māl / *mālət* agrees with the head noun / noun phrase it follows. Thus, if the head noun / noun phrase is masculine singular or plural the particle following is *māl*. If it is feminine singular or plural the particle is *mālət*. *māl* / *mālət* occurs also with the possessive pronominal suffixes.

māli	/ *mālәti*	"mine"
mālak	/ *mālәtak*	"yours (m.s.)"
mālki	/ *mālәtki*	"yours (f.s.)"
mālu	/ *mālәtu*	"his"
māla	/ *mālәta*	"hers"
mālna	/ *mālәtna*	"ours"
mālkәm	/ *mālәtkәm*	"yours (c.p.)"
māləm	/ *mālәtәm*	"theirs"

With the pronominal suffixes *māl* follows a masculine singular noun / noun phrase, while *mālәt* follows a feminine singular noun / noun phrase.

hāy mālәti
"This (f.s.) is mine."

š-šamsәyyi mālәtkәm
"The umbrella is yours."

hāda l-lbēs mālu
"These underpants are his."

m-mašәṭ mālak
"The comb is yours (m.s.)."

However, the particle following a plural noun / noun phrase is usually *mālәt*. Thus compare:

hadōli s-sayyāġāt mālәtәm
"These cars are theirs."

but *hadōli s-sayyāġāt māl bēt ʕammi*
"These cars belong to my uncle's."

k-kәtәb mālәtki bәṣ-ṣaff
"Your books are in the classroom."

but *k-kәtәb māl ğōrğ bәṣ-ṣaff*
"George's books are in the classroom."

ṣ-ṣanēdīq әx-xašab mālәtna hōni
"Our wooden crates are here."

but *ṣ-ṣanēdīq әx-xašab māl xāləti hōni*
"My aunt's wooden crates are here."

b-baẓēẓīn mālətna sūd
"Our cats are black."

but *b-baẓēẓīn māl ǧīġānna sūd*
"Our neighbours' cats are black."

māl + the pronominal suffix can sometimes follow a defined or undefined plural noun, where the noun in question is a collective substantive.

təffēḥ māləm
"their apples"

baṭṭ mālkəm
"your (c.p.) ducks"

šağağ mālna
"our trees"

waġəd mālki
"your (f.s.) flowers"

n-naḥal māləm
"their bees"

t-taməġ mālna
"our dates"

māl + the modifying noun frequently functions as an adjective, as, for example,

manāḍəġ māl šaməs
"sun-glasses"

sāʕa māl īd
"a wristwatch"

mākīna māl īd
"a hand sewing-machine"

sayyāġa māl əǧġa
"a car for hire; a taxi"

klēb māl ṣēd
"gun dogs"

šəġəl māl īġān
"Iranian handicraft"

kōndaġa māl bēt
"house-shoes"

sílān māl taməġ
"date-syrup"
mġabba māl məšməš
"apricot jam"
dōndəġma māl fəstəq
"pistachio ice cream"
kanīsa māl aġman
"an Armenian church"

The unmarked possessive compound consists of two nominal elements occuring as a construct. The first element is undetermined, while the second is determined by the definite article or a pronominal suffix, unless it happens to be a proper name when no determiner is needed. Where the first nominal element ends in a vowel (*-a/ -i*), *-t* is added to the first element of the construct.

əbən ʕammi
"my uncle's son"
qəbbət ʕammi
"my uncle's bedroom"
ktēb axūyi
"my brother's book"
maṣṭaġət axūyi
"my brother's ruler"
šaʕb əl-ʕəġāq
"the Iraqi people"
ʕāṣəmat əl-ʕəġāq
"the capital of Iraq"
təffēḥ əs-sani
"this year's apples"
ğəntət əl-bənət
"the girl's handbag"
maṣīġ əl-ʕālam ət-tālət
"the destiny of the Third World"
bədāyət əl-əṣlāḥ əz-zəġāʕi
"the beginning of the agrarian reform"
bēt amēlda
"Imelda's house"

šawēġəʕ baġdād
"the streets of Baghdad"
šahəġ nīsān
"the month of April"
ḥkayyət ʕali bābā
"the story of Ali Baba"
ənǧīl yūḥanna
"the Gospel according to John"
nəbūʔat ašaʕyā
"the Book of Isaiah"

3.2.3.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers in CB may occur in the construct. *wēḥəd* (m.)/ *wəḥdi* (f.) "one" is never used in the construct. *tnēn* "two" is only used in the construct when emphasis is required, as, for example,

ʕəndu tnēn banāt mū tlāti
"He has two daughters, not three."
mā kān aku bəl-qāʕa ġēġ ətnēn ġəyāǧīl
"There was no one in the auditorium, except for two men."

Otherwise "two weeks", "two books", "two girls", etc. are expressed by the dual.

ʒbōʕēn	"two weeks"	*šahġēn*	"two months"
bəntēn	"two girls"	*kaġtēn*	"twice"
ḥazzōġtēn	"two puzzles"	*bazzūntēn*	"two cats"

The feminine form *təntēn* occurs on its own, usually as an answer to a question when the reference is to two feminine units, or the time. Sometimes *təntēn* can be used interchangeably with the masculine form *tnēn*.

kam mōʒāyi akalti?
"How many bananas have you eaten?"
təntēn or *tnēn*
kam kanīsa aku b maḥallətkəm?
"How many churches are there in your district?"
təntēn or *tnēn*

s-sāʕa bēš or *bēš əs-sāʕa?*
"What time is it?"
təntēn "Two o'clock."

The following are examples of cardinal numbers in the construct:[3]

tlat nəswān	"three women"	*xaməs kətəb*	"five books"
sətt əwġūd	"six flowers"	*tman banāt*	"eight girls"
təsəʕ ṣəwaġ	"nine pictures"	*ʕašəġ sayyāġāt*	"ten cars"

As can be seen from the above examples, the substantives occuring with the cardinal numbers 2-10 are all in the plural. The substantives occuring with the numbers 11 onwards are in the singular, as, for example,

tlātīn sani
"thirty years"
xamsīn maġa
"fifty women"
tnēn w səttīn bēt
"sixty-two houses"
mīt dəkkān
"a hundred shops"
alfēn əḥṣān
"two thousand horses"
mīt aləf dināġ
"a hundred thousand dinars"
tlattālāf w səttīn šaxəṣ
"three thousand and sixty people"

3 The construct forms of the numbers 3-10 and 100 are given in 2.4.1 in the morphology.

3.3 The Closed-System Items

The closed-system items ordinarily consist of articles, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections and vocatives.

3.3.1 Articles

3.3.1.1 The definite article

The definite article in CB is usually *l-*. However, it is frequently assimilated to the consonantal sound it precedes. In LA and MB a distinction is made between "sun" and "moon letters", the former assimilative, and the latter non-assimilative, as, for, example,

LA	*al + šams*	> *aš-šams*	"the sun"
	al + qamar	> *al-qamar*	"the moon"

In CB however, there is no such clear-cut distinction, and the majority of CB consonants are assimilative. Thus compare:

MB	CB	
l-warəd	*w-waġəd*	"the flower"
l-yōm	*y-yōm*	"the day"
l-xaṭṭ	*x-xaṭṭ*	"the line, the handwriting"
l-kursi	*k-kəġsi*	"the chair"
l-barəd	*b-baġəd*	"the cold"
l-ḥarr	*ḥ-ḥaġġ*	"the heat"

The definite article is not assimilated before consonants like *ʕ* or *ʔ* in order to avoid articulatory problems. It is also rarely assimilated in loan words from LA.[4]

l-ʕəməġ	"the age"	*l-ʕəġāq*	"Iraq"
l-ʕaṣfōġ	"the sparrow"	*l-ʕənab*	"the grapes"
l-adab	"the upbringing, manners; toilet"	*l-aməġ*	"the order"
l-awēdəm	"the good people"	*l-əsəm*	"the name"
l-ḥaṣāṭa	"the simplicity"	*l-muʔtamaġ*	"the congress"
l-kārəta	"the calamity"	*l-ġani*	"the rich man"

4 There is a great deal of fluctuation in the assimilation of the definite article among CB speakers as a result of MB majority influence, and possibly due to LA interference.

The definite article carries no lexical meaning, and is used to give definite status to the substantives and adjectives it is prefixed to.

ǧ-ǧawēġəb	"the socks"	*s-samak*	"the fish"
l-laʕʕābi	"the doll"	*k-kəštəbān*	"the thimble"
f-faqēġ	"the beggar"	*l-axxas*	"the dumb one"
l-azġaq	"the blue one"	*s-saxīf*	"the silly one"

Some place names are preceded by the definite article, while others are not. Thus compare:

l-ʕəġāq	"Iraq"	*īġān*	"Iran"
l-uġdun	"Jordan"	*ləbnān*	"The Lebanon"
s-saʕdūn	"Saᶜdūn" (a district of Baghdad)		
kaġġādat maġyam	"Karradat Maryam" (a district of Baghdad)		

The names of the majority of the Iraqi provinces are preceded by the definite article.

l-baṣġa	"Basrah"	*l-kūfa*	"Kufa"
l-məntafək	"Muntafik"	*d-dīwānəyyi*	"Diwaniyyah"
d-dəlēm	"Dulaym"	*s-səlēmānəyyi*	"Sulaymaniyyah"
l-mōṣəl	"Mosul"	*n-naǧaf*	"Najaf"

3.3.1.2 The determination marker *faġəd*

faġəd and its syncopated variant *fadd* "one, some", is a common feature of the dialects of Baghdad, which Blanc (1964: 118) calls the "indetermination marker". *faġəd / fadd* precedes singular nouns, and occasionally dual and plural nouns, especially when they follow cardinal numbers in the construct. Although *faġəd / fadd* does not define the noun it precedes, it tends to particularize the item it refers to. Thus compare:

ġəǧǧāl	"a man"	*faġəd ġəǧǧāl*	"one man, a particular man"
manḍaġ	"a view"	*faġəd manḍaġ*	"a certain view"
bənət	"a girl"	*faġəd bənət*	"a specific girl"
maġġa	"once"	*faġəd maġġa*[5]	"once, one particular occasion"

5 *fadmaġġa* and *fadġās* are used as adverbs meaning "at once" and "straightaway" respectively.

tnēn ətlāti	"two or three"	*faġəd ətnēn ətlāti*	"some two or three"
aləf	"a thousand"	*faġəd aləf*	"some thousand"
sətt maġġāt	"six times"	*faġəd sətt maġġāt*	"some six times"
wlēd	"children"	*faġəd əwlēd*	"some children"
ṭyūġ	"birds"	*faġəd əṭyūġ ʕaġībi*	"certain strange birds"
ṣəwaġ ḥəlwi	"beautiful pictures"	*faġəd ṣəwaġ ḥəlwi*	"some beautiful pictures"

faġəd / fadd occurs in forms beginning with *some-*, like someone, somewhere, etc.

faġəd wēḥəd	"someone" (m.s.)	*faġəd wəḥdi*	"someone" (f.s.)
faġəd šē	"something"	*fad maḥall*	"somewhere"
fad waqət	"sometime"	*fad ʒamān*	"sometime"
fad yōm	"someday"	*fad šəkəl*	"somehow"

3.3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns ordinarily act as nouns, hence their name. Unlike nouns, however, pronouns do not occur with determiners. Other differences between pronouns and nouns is that the former are a closed-system item, while the latter are an open-class item. Pronouns show a case-contrast for subject and object and a person distinction, as well as a gender-contrast, in the second and third persons singular.

3.3.2.1 Subject pronouns

In CB, as in all Arabic dialects, the subject is an intrinsic part of the verbal form, as, for example,

aktəb "I write" < base pattern *-ktəb* + subject pronominal prefix *a-*

katabu "they wrote" < base pattern *katab* + subject pronominal suffix *-u*

In the first example neither part of the verbal form, viz. *a-* or *-ktəb* can occur independently. In the second example *katab* can occur without the pronominal suffix, in which case it would mean "he wrote", since the subject implied in the perfective base form is the third person masculine singular subject pronoun. Since the bound subject pronouns are implied in the verbal forms, the inde-

pendent subject pronouns are used when stress is required. Thus compare:

saddət əl-bāb
"She shut the door"
həyyi saddət əl-bāb
"It was her who shut the door"
katabli maktūb
"He wrote me a letter"
həwwa katabli maktūb
"It was him who wrote me a letter"
xābaġtak
"I phoned you (m.s.)"
ana xābaġtak
"It was I who phoned you"
ğəbtūlna waġəd
"You (c.p.) brought us flowers"
əntəm ğəbtūlna waġəd
"It was you who brought us flowers"
šəfnākəm
"We say you (c.p.)"
nəḥna šəfnākəm
"It was us who saw you"
tkallalti
"You (f.s.) got married"
ənti tkallalti
"It was you who got married"

3.3.2.2 Direct object pronouns

Direct object pronouns are ordinarily suffixed to the verbal forms, as, for example,

samaʕtūnu
"I heard him"
ḥabasni
"He imprisoned me"
nasaḥnākəm
"We advised you (c.p.)"

xaġġabəwa
"They wrecked it (f.s.)"
qayḥabba
"He loves her"
ġaḥ yətġəka
"He is going to leave her"
qayənfaʕni
"He is useful to me"
ġaḥ ybahdələm
"He is going to reprimand them"
fhamīnu
"Understand it!" (f.s.)
xallūnu
"Leave it!" (c.p.)
ktəbu
"Write it!" (m.s.)
šəmməwəm
"Smell them!" (c.p.)
xaġmašətni baẓẓūnəti
"My cat scratched me"
l-mudīġ qāṣaṣəm
"The headmaster punished them"
hadōli ġaššōkəm
"These people cheated you (c.p.)"
saḥaqəta sayyāġa
"A car ran her over"

3.3.2.3 Indirect and double object pronouns

Some verbs in CB take an indirect object. The indirect object suffix differs from the direct in having morpheme *-l-*, implying the idea of action to, or at, or for someone, as, for example,

ġamaẓla
"He winked at her"
qalli
"He said to me"
ğəbnālkəm
"We brought (to) you"

samaḥlu
"He allowed him"
haffətləm
"She fanned them"
faġašətlu
"She spread for him"
ṣabaġnāləm əl-qəbbi
"We painted the room for them"
ḥaġaqətla tannōġəta
"She burnt her petticoat for her"
ġattabətli ḥwēsi
"She tidied my clothes for me"
qabalūlna əbənna bəl-madġasi
"They accepted our son (for us) at the school"
ḥağaznālna lōğ bəs-sīnama
"We reserved ourselves a box at the cinema"
xayyaṭṭūla blūz əl ʕīd mīlāda
"I sewed a blouse for her for her birthday"
ṭalaʕlu ḥabb ʕala ğabīnu
"Spots have appeared on his forehead"

There are several verbs in CB which take a double object. In a construction in which two object pronouns occur, the pronoun referring to the person for whom the action is performed comes first, as, for example,

nassānəyyānu
"He made me forget it"
ṭaʕākyāhəm
"He gave them to you (m.s.)"
fahhamakyānu
"He made you (m.s.) understand it"
faġġağtəwwəmyāha
"You (c.p.) showed it (f.s.) to them"
ʕallamətthayyānu
"She taught it (m.s.) to her"
šaġġabtīnuyyānu
"You (f.s.) gave it to him to drink"

3.3.2.4 The anticipatory pronominal suffix

An anticipatory pronominal suffix followed by the object it refers to, introduced by prefix *l-*, is of common occurence in CB. The construction involving an anticipatory pronominal (ant. pro.) suffix, (subject + verb + ant. pro. suffix + *l* + object), has the same semantic value as a subject + verb + direct object construction. Thus:

qaġētu l-əktēb and *qaġētūnu ləl-əktēb*
"I read the book"

fataḥu š-šabēbīk and *fataḥəwwəm ləš-šabēbīk*
"They opened the windows."

saddu m-madġasi and *saddəwa ləm-madġasi*
"They closed down the school"

ṭaġattəm əx-xādmi and *ṭaġattəwa ləx-xādmi*
"You (c.p.) sent away the maid."

The ant. pro. suffix implies definiteness, and hence cannot approximate a construction involving an indefinite object. Thus compare:

ǧammaʕtu ṣəwaġ
"I collected pictures."

ǧammaʕtəwwa ləṣ-ṣəwaġ
"I collected the pictures."

qaṣṣ ḥašīš
"He cut grass."

qaṣṣu ləḥ-ḥašīš
"He cut the grass."

šammēti waġdi
"You (f.s.) smelt a flower."

šammētəyya ləw-waġdi
"You (f.s.) smelt the flower."

ḥaġaqtu xəbəz
"I burnt bread."

ḥaġaqtūnu ləx-xəbəz
"I burnt the bread."

The ant. pro. suffix occurs also in nominal constructions, involving possessions, as, for example,

maġtu l-axūyi
"my brother's wife, my sister-in-law"

kalbu l-əbən ǧīġānna
"our neighbours' son's dog"

ṣaḥḥəta l-ṣadīqəti
"the health of my friend"

ləʕabem ləl-əwlēd
"the children's toys"

3.3.3 Prepositions

Prepositions express a relationship between a verb/ noun/ noun phrase/ pronoun and another element, usually referred to as the "object" of the preposition. There are a number of prepositions in CB, the most frequently occuring being *b* "in" and *l*(-) "to". The following examples show the occurrence of the preposition in a sentence or a nominal phrase.

ḥaṭṭētu ǧanṭəti fōq ət-təllāǧa
"I put my handbag on top of the fridge."

l-əbġi hawwēna ʕala k-kəġsi
"Here is the needle on the chair."

sāfaġtu l amēġka bəṣ-ṣēf
"I went to America in the summer."

ǧəbtu xəbəz mən əf-fəġən
"I brought bread from the bakery."

katabna b qalam əġṣāṣ
"We wrote with a pencil."

l-bazzūni ǧawwa l-mēz
"The cat is under the table."

3.3.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions ordinarily connect two items. The most common conjunction in CB is *w* "and" which connects verbal-verbal and nominal-nominal elements.

verbal-verbal

ǧā šāfna w ġāḥ
"He came, saw us and went."

ṯḥəbb təzbaḥ w təġkab əḥṣān
"She likes to swim and to go horse-riding."

ḥaġaqu w xaġġabu kəl šē
"They burnt and wrecked everything."

ṭ-ṭēġ ṭāġ w wakka ʕala šaǧaġət əl-ʕaġmūṭ
"The bird flew and landed on the pear-tree."

nominal-nominal

ǧamīl w fāḍəl bəl-bəstān
"Jamil and Fadel are in the garden."

ana w əxti nafs əṭ-ṭūl
"My sister and I are the same height."

ṣ-ṣəlēx w əl-maẓbaḥ maḥaltēn əb-baġdād
"Sulaykh and Masbah are two Baghdad quarters."

abu zōǧi w abu ʕaẓẓ ṣadīqəti əxwi
"My husband's father and the father of my dearest friend are brothers."

Other conjunctions in CB are *idā* "if"; *lō* which functions as both "if" and "or"; *aw* "or"; *bass* "but"; *lākən* "but"; *baʕdēn* "then"; *mbōġ* "because"; *ləʔann* "because"; *lō ... lō ...* "either ... or ...", etc. The following examples show the occurrence of the conjunction in sentence contexts:

idā ǧītu aǧīblak hadəyyi wəyyāyi
"If I come I shall bring you a present with me."

lō ṭalaʕət ləl-bəstān qaṭṭəʕəlna aġbaʕ xaməs waġdāt
"If you go out to the garden pick us four or five flowers."

nəṭġadda hassaʕ lō nəsmaʕ axbāġ eḍ-ḍəhəġ qabəl?
"Shall we have lunch now, or shall we hear the noon news before (we have lunch)?"

mā ʕəndi mānəʕ idā xtāġēti hāda aw hadāk
"I have no objection if you (f.s.) choose this or that."

kān ġaḥ yəštəġīlu panṭaġōn bas mā yaʕġəf ḥaǧmu
"He was going to buy him a pair of trousers, but he does not know his size."

kānət qatġīd tədġəs ṭəbb lākən ġayyaġət fəkġa w daġasət handasa
"She had wanted to study medicine, but then she changed her mind and studied engineering."

ġəḥtu ləs-sōq baʕdēn maġġētu ʕala māġgəġīt
"I went to the market then I dropped in on Marguerite."

ma qayġīd yəǧi wəyyāna mbōġ ʕəndu šəġəl
"He does not want to come with us because he has got some work."

štaġētu mōz laʔann abūyi yḥəbb əl-mōz əktīġ
"I bought bananas because my father likes bananas very much."

qāl lō yğībəlna həwwa l-maktūb lō yxalli axūnu yğību
"He said he would either bring us the letter himself or let his brother bring it."

3.3.5 Interjections

Interjections are exclamations expressing emotion. An interjection does not occur in a sentence but is sometimes used to initiate one. The following are some of the more frequently occurring interjections in CB:

ōy	an expression of dissatisfaction
āx	an expression of pain
ōx	an expression of pleasure or satisfaction
walli	"get away from here!"
yalla	"come on!"
mšē	which is frequently reduplicated as *msē msē* "go on!" implies incredulity and even dissatisfaction. This particle inflects for number, thus: *mšō mšō*.
dəġōḥ	which occurs also as *dəġōḥ ġōḥ* "go on! get away!" implies incredulity and perhaps dissatisfaction. This interjection inflects for gender and number to agree with the gender and number of the person(s) addressed.

In each of the following examples an interjection initiates a sentence.

ōy hāda l-əzdəḥām əšqadd yḍawwəğ
"Oh, this traffic jam is so annoying!"

āx sənni qayōğaʕni
"Ouch, my tooth is aching."

ōx šlōn manḍaġ ḥəlu
"Oh, what a beautiful view!"

walli ana zaʕlāni wəyyāki
"Get away from here! I am angry with you."

yalla mənu yqūl əx-xabaġəyyi ṣədəq?
"Come on! Who says the news is true?"

mšē mšē bəʕyūni ma qāṣaddəqki
"Go on! I swear I do not believe you!"

dəġōḥu ġōḥu lēš ana ġašīmi ma qā-aftəhəm
"Get away (c.p.)! Am I so innocent that I do not understand!"

3.3.6 Vocatives

A vocative is a nominal element added to a sentence or clause optionally, denoting the person(s) to whom it is addressed. A vocative in CB is frequently expressed by the particle *yā* preceding a proper name or noun / noun phrase. The vocative particle + the noun / noun phrase may occur in initial, medial or final position.

yā ašṭaġ bənət bəṣ-ṣaff wēn kənti yōm əx-xamīs
"You, who are the cleverest girl in the class, where were you on Thursday?"

yā klēmōntīn wēnki?
"Clementine, where are you?"

ana šəftūki yā bənti kənti qēʕdi qəddām
"I saw you, my girl, you were sitting in front."

hāy əd-dənyi šlōn qatətġayyaġ yōm ʕan yōm yā bībī
"How this world is changing from day to day, Granny!"

A vocative may also be a proper name or noun / noun phrase without a particle.

sēsīl xallīki b əfġansa l-ḥayāt aḥsan hōnīki
"Cécile, stay in France, life is better over there."

štaġētūlak hadəyyi qalbi
"I bought you a present, my darling."

əbn əl-kalb tfakkəġ təqdaġ ətġəšni?
"Son of a bitch! Do you think you can cheat me?"

Another vocative particle is *walak* "hey you (m.s.)" which inflects for gender and number to give *wəlki* (f.s.) and *wəlkəm* (c.p.). It should be stressed that the use of this particle is a very familiar, and perhaps impolite way of addressing people.

wəlki baʕadki hōni?
"Hey you (f.s.)! Are you still here?"

wəlkəm šbīkəm ṭaġšīn?
"Hey you (c.p.)! What's the matter with you, are you deaf?"

walak ana ma qā-aḥki wəyyāk
"Hey you (m.s.)! I'm not talking to you!"

A person may be addressed familiarly by the use of the verbal form *aqūl* "I say" initiating a sentence, or formally by starting a sentence with "please", *ġəğā?an* or *mən faḍəl-* + the pronominal suffixes.

aqūl wēn ḥāṭṭīn əš-šaġbat?
"I say, where have you put the soft drinks?"
aqūl hāda l lābəstīnu šqadd bəšəʕ
"I say, what you are wearing is so hideous."
ġəğā?an təqdaġ ətqəlli wēn mawqəf əl-bāṣ
"Please, could you tell me where the bus stop is."
ġəğā?an aġīd ġaqəm taləfōn ʕā?əla bəl-baṣġa
"Please, I'd like the phone number of a family in Basrah."
mən faḍlak hāda l-əktēb wēn aqdaġ alqi mətlu?
"Please (m.s.), where can I find a book like this one?"
mən faḍəlki šīli l-mēz wəyyāyi
"Please (f.s.), could you carry the table with me."
mən faḍəlkəm xallūni amәġġ
"Please (c.p.), could you let me pass."

3.4 The Sentence

A sentence is the largest grammatical unit consisting of different parts of speech, like nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, etc. There are three types of sentence, the declarative, the negative, and the interrogative. A sentence can be either simple, containing one nominal or verbal clause only, or complex, containing an independent clause and one or more dependent clauses; or it can be compound, containing two or more independent clauses joined by coordination.

3.4.1 The declarative sentence

A declarative sentence ordinarily functions as a statement, and consists of a subject and predicate. The predicate is either nominal or verbal, depending on the type of clause.

3.4.1.1 The simple declarative sentence

3.4.1.1.1 The nominal sentence

The shortest type of a simple declarative sentence consists of one subject and one predicate only. In nominal sentences the two nominal elements, the subject and the predicate, are frequently followed by a postpositional copula *yā-* + a pronominal suffix.[6] The postpositional copula functions as an affirmation of the predicate. Although its use seems to be optional nowadays,[7] the postpositional copula tends to emphasize the predication, as, for example,

(1) *həyyi ḥəlwi*
"She is pretty"
həyyi ḥəlwi yāha
"She is pretty" or "she is indeed pretty"

(2) *ənta šāṭəġ*
"You (m.s.) are clever"
ənta šāṭəġ yāk
"You are clever" or "you are indeed clever"

(3) *hāda t-təlmīd dabang*
"This pupil is a blockhead"
hāda t-təlmīd dabang yānu
"This pupil is certainly a blockhead"

(4) *wlēdna naymīn*
"Our children are asleep"
wlēdna naymīn yāhəm
"Our children are definitely asleep"

(5) *əntəm kəlkəm maʕzūmīn ʕəndna*
"You are all invited to our house"
əntəm kəlkəm maʕzūmīn yākəm ʕəndna
"You are all definitely invited to our house"

(6) *bənət axūyi l-əzġēġi bəm-madġasi*
"My brother's younger daughter is at school"

6 Blanc (1964: 124) suggests, that the usage of the postpositional copula, which is a hallmark of CB, "is old-fashioned and obsolescent".

7 Cf. Blanc (ibid.). Single-word constructions, such as *malēḥ* "he is good" are rare, and the postpositional copula seems to be compulsory, giving *malēḥ yānu*.

bənət axūyi l-əzġēġi bəm-madġasi yāha
"My brother's younger daughter is clearly at school"

3.4.1.1.2 The verbal sentence

There are five different elements in a verbal sentence, viz. (S)ubject, (V)erb, (O)bject, (C)omplement and (A)dverbial. The shortest type of a simple verbal sentence consists of SV elements only. Longer sentences can have different combinations of SVOCA, with SV always present and occuring in initial position, and OCA frequently occurring in post-verbal position.[8] The various combinations which make up a simple sentence can be of two, three, four or even five-element patterns, as, for example, SV, SVO, SVA, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA, SVCA, SVOOA, SVOCA. Thus:

	O - O
	A
SV	OC - A
	OA
	CA

SV	*ǧā*
	"He came"
	qāl
	"He said"
	nəmna
	"We slept"
	akalət
	"She ate"
	qatākəl
	"She is eating"
	ġaḥ yətkallal
	"He is going to get married"

8 While O invariably occurs in post-SV position, A, and to a lesser extent C, can occur in pre-SV position, as, for example, *mbēġḥa šəftūnu* "I saw him yesterday"; *ḥəlwi ṣāyġa bəntu* "his daughter has become beautiful."

SVO

ǧəbtūnu
"I brought it"

šəfnānu
"We saw him"

katab maktūb
"He wrote a letter"

māġsēl qayəsmaʕ mōsīqa
"Marcel is listening to music"

əxti qatədġəs ġūsi
"My sister is studying Russian"

əbən ʕammi qayətzawwaǧ bənət xayyāṭətna
"My cousin is going to marry our dressmaker's daughter"

SVA

ǧā hōni
"He came here"

ʕādəl ysūq ḥēl
"Adel drives fast"

ṣadīqəti kən ətġayyaġət əktīġ
"My friend (f) has changed a lot"

abūyi qaysāfəġ qaġīban
"My father will be going away soon"

mašētu bəl-ʕaǧal
"I walked quickly"

ġaḥ təbdi l-ʕəṭla ġada
"The holiday will start tomorrow"

SVOO

ṭaʕāni ḥzēmu
"He gave me his belt"

sammaʕətna mosīqa klāsīkəyyi
"She made us listen to classical music"

ḍaġabətu ġāšdi
"She slapped him; she gave him a slap"

naṣaḥnānu naṣēḥa
"We gave him advice"

hadətu xəṣla mən šaʕġa
"She gave him a lock of her hair"

labbasəta tannōġəta
"She put her skirt on for her"

SVOOA *šaġġabətu d-dawa faġəd kaġʕa*
"She gave him the medicine to drink in one gulp"
ḍaġabu əbġi hōni
"He gave him an injection here"
qatšawfu l-fələm bəl-ʕağal
"She is showing him the film quickly"
ʕallama ġeyāḍa malēḥ
"He taught her gymnastics well"
xabbaġətu x-xabaġəyyi b kəl bəġūd
"She broke the news to him very coolly"
ʕaššētūnu bāmya w əplāw qabl əšwayya
"I gave him a supper of okra and rice a short while ago"

SVOCA *yəntaxbūnu mandūbəm kəl maġġa*
"They elect him as their representative each time"
tṣawwaġtūnu šāṭəġ əktīġ
"I imagined him to be very clever"
ʕāmaləwwa xādmi hōnīki
"They treated her like a servant there"
maġtu sawwətu asʕad mən qabəl
"His wife made him happier than before"
šāfa ḥəlwi ktīġ
"He found her very beautiful"
ṣaḥaġna bāb bētna azġaq
"We painted the door of our house blue"

3.4.1.2 The complex declarative sentence

S, V, O, C and A are elements of clause rather than sentence structure (Quirk et al., 1972: 342). A complex sentence, made up of an independent clause, and one or more dependent clauses, therefore, can have more than one S, V, O, C and A.

(1) *aḥəbba l ʕammәti ləʔanna ktīġ malēḥa*
"I love my aunt because she is very nice"

(2) *šqadd qā-atʕab ʕalēnu l əbni bas həwwa mū malēḥ yānu*
"I am really exerting myself for my son, but he is not good (i.e. worthy)"

(3) *ǧībi axūki wəyyāki lamman təǧēn ġada*
"Bring your brother with you when you come tomorrow"

(4) *idā ʕayyanūni bəš-šaġəka ġaḥ aštaġəl malēḥ*
"If they employ me in the company, I shall work well"

(5) *ktīġ nās yǧōn ləb-bēʕa waqt əlli yətnāwalūn əwlēdəm*
"Many people come to church when their children take their first communion"

(6) *bass əṣīġ ʕəndi flūs ġaḥ aštaġīlki qmāš txayṭīlki mənnu tannōġa*
"As soon as I shall have some money, I shall buy you material so you can make yourself a skirt out of it"

(7) *naǧaḥtu bəl-əmtəḥān lākən əxti mā naǧaḥət w mən hāda maqhōġa*
"I passed the exam, but my sister did not pass and that is why she is upset"

(8) *šəftəwa qatətmašša lamman ġəḥtu b sayyāġəti bas həyyi mā šāfətni*
"I saw her walking when I went in my car, but she did not see me"

In sentences (1) and (2) the independent clause is followed by a dependent nominal clause, while in (3) and (5) it is followed by a dependent verbal clause. In (4) the dependent clause occurs at the beginning of the sentence. In each of (6), (7) and (8) there are two dependent clauses.

(6)
[*bass əṣīġ ʕəndi flūs*][*ġaḥ aštaġīlki qmāš*][*txayṭīlki mənnu tannōġa*]

dependent independent dependent

(7)
[*naǧaḥtu bəl-əmtəḥān*] [*lākən əxti mā naǧaḥət*] [*w mən hāda maqhōġa*]

independent dependent dependent

(8)
[*šəftəwa qatətmašša*] [*lamman ġəḥtu b sayyāġəti*] [*bas həyyi mā šāfətni*]

independent dependent dependent

3.4.1.3 The compound declarative sentence

A compound sentence is ordinarily made up of two or more independent clauses joined by co-ordination. The most frequently occuring co-ordinator is the particle *w* "and". Other common co-ordinating particles are *lākən* and *bass* "but"; *aw* and *lō* "or". Conjoined clauses in a compound sentence are usually referred to as conjoins. These are ordinarily semantically related to each other.

(1) *həyyi zġēġi yāha lākən kəlləš qawəyyi*
"She is small, but she is strong."

(2) *hadōli ṣīnəyyīn lō yābānəyyīn yāhəm*
"These (people) are Chinese or they are Japanese."

(3) *šaʕġu ṭawīl w panṭaġōnu mašqōq*
"His hair is long and his trousers are torn."

(4) *ʕādəl w salwa tkallalu qabəl santēn w hassaʕ həmma b wāšənṭən*
"Adel and Salwa got married two years ago, and they are now in Washington."

(5) *amәġġ ašūfak ġada lō yəmkən axābġak*
"I shall drop in to see you tomorrow, or I might phone you."

(6) *maša ləm-madġasi bəm-maṭaġ w hassaʕ qayqəḥḥ*
"He walked to school in the rain, and now he is coughing."

(1), (2) and (3) are made up of two nominal conjoins each, while (4) consists of a verbal conjoin followed by a nominal, and (5) and (6) consist of two verbal conjoins each. In (1) the second clause, referring to the same subject, introduces a contrast. In each of (2) and (5) the second clause is an alternative to the first. In (3) the second clause is an addition to the first. In (4) the second clause is chronologically sequent to the first, and in (6) the clause is a consequence of the first.

The following compound sentences consist of three conjoins each:

(1) *baqət bəl-bēt w ġasalət šaʕġa w baʕdēn ġāḥət nāmət*
"She stayed at home and washed her hair, and then she went to bed."

(2) *yəmkən əngōḥ ləs-sīnama lō ngōḥ ləl-maṭʕam lō nəbqa bəl-bēt*
"We shall go to the cinema, or we shall go to the restaurant, or we shall stay at home."

(3) *ḥəṭṭ kam dīnāġ əb īdu w həwwa ykayyəf w ydīġ bālu ʕalēk malēḥ*
"Put a few dinars in his hand, and he will be pleased and will look after you well."

(4) *yəkġah ǧīġānu w ana ma qā-atʕaǧǧab ləʔan ǧīġānu məzʕəǧīn*
"He hates his neighbours, and I am not surprised, because his neighbours are tiresome."

(1) consists of three chronologically sequent clauses. (2) has three clauses, with each clause occuring as an alternative to the other two. In (3) the second and third clauses are consequences of the first, and the third clause is a sequent of the second. In (4) the second clause is a comment on the first, and the third clause is an explanation of the second.

3.4.2 The negative sentence

3.4.2.1 The simple negative sentence

A negative sentence is formed by the addition of a negative particle immediately before the predicate in a simple nominal sentence, and before the verb, or the auxiliary verb, or the verbal particle in a simple verbal sentence. There are three negative particles in CB, *mū* which is prenominal, and *mā* and *lā* which are preverbal.

mū in subject implied nominal sentences:

mū bəġʕa yāha
"She is not rude"

mū ḥāməḍ yānu
"It is not sour"

mū ǧəddad yāhəm
"They are not new"

mū ġašīmi yāki
"You are not ignorant"

mū in subject stated nominal sentences:

hal-akli mū ṭaybi yāha
"This food is not tasty"

hāda ġ-ġəǧǧāl mū əbən ʕammi yānu
"This man is not my cousin"

š-šaṭṭ hay-yōm mū xābəṭ yānu
"The river is not choppy today"

m-maḥēbəs māləti mū dahab yāhəm
"My rings are not gold"

mā, which frequently occurs wirth a short vowel as *ma*, negates all verbs and verbal constructions.

mā ġādo šē
"They did not want anything"

mā ʕallamtu mōsīqa
"I did not learn music"

ma qā-aqdaġ asmaʕ ṣōtki
"I cannot hear your voice"

ma ġaḥ yətkallal has-sani
"He is not getting married this year"

əbən ʕammməti ma qayəği ʕəndna hal-ayyām
"My cousin (paternal aunt's son) is not visiting us these days"

mā ġağaʕət əxti mən əs-sōq baʕəd
"My sister has not come back from the market yet"

matġōḥēn wəyyānu
"Don't (f.s.) go with him!"

matəšġabūn wəski
"Don't (c.p.) drink whisky!"

matəddāxal əb amġi
"Don't (m.s.) interfere in my business!"

As can be seen from the above examples, *ma* is frequently affixed to an imperative verb.

lā, which often occurs with a short vowel as *la*, negates an imperative verb in simple sentences.

latqəllu šē
"Don't (m.s.) say anything to him!"

latəftaḥēn əš-šəbbāk
"Don't (f.s.) open the window!"

latğībūnu wəyyākəm
"Don't (c.p.) bring him with you!"

latxalli aḥad yəḍḥak ʕalēk
"Don't (m.s.) let anyone laugh at you!"

latətṣaġġafin taṣaġġuf banāt bala taġbəyi
"Don't (f.s.) behave like girls with no manners!"
latʕawdəwəm ʕaṣ-ṣaġəf
"Don't (c.p.) accustom them to spending (money)!"

3.4.2.2 The complex negative sentence

Complex negative sentences are formed by the addition of negative particles to complex declarative sentences.

hāy əx-xəbẓi mū maḥġōqa yāha hadīki maḥġōqa
"This piece of bread isn't burnt, the other one is"
mū ṭawīl yānu walaw abūnu ġəğğāl ṭawīl
"He is not tall, even though his father is a tall man"
mū kaddābi yāha ḥatta lō kəll ən-nās qālu həyyi kaddābi
"She is not a liar, even if everybody said she was a liar"
maštaġētu badli ğadīdi da-albasa b ʕīd əl-əgbīġ
"I did not buy a new suit so that I could wear it at Easter"
mayṣīġ əl-kaləb yfūt ʕal-bēt ḥatta idā ḍall əʕawwi
"The dog must not go into the house even if he goes on barking"
latətṣawwaġ aku ašṭaġ mənnu
"Don't (m.s.) think there is anyone cleverer than him"
latqūlūlu yəštəġəl idā ma qayġīd
"Don't (c.p.) tell him to work if he doesn't want to"
latğībūli hadəyyi ham-maġġa idā ġəḥtəm ləl-uġdun
"Don't (c.p.) bring me a present this time if you go to Jordan"
latxalləya təḥməl kəll ək-kaġāsi
"Don't (f.s.) let her carry all the chairs"

3.4.2.3 The compound negative sentence

In compound negative sentences both clauses are usually negated. *mū* negates a first nominal, while *mā* and *lā* negate a first verbal conjoin. The negative particle of the second and subsequent conjoins is ordinarily the compound *walā*, made up of the two elements *w(a)* "and" and *lā* "no, not".

mū ḥəlu walā bəšəʕ yānu
"He is neither handsome nor ugly"
d-dənyi mū mġaymi walā kəlləš əmšamsi yāha
"It is not cloudy, nor is it very sunny"

mā ġəḥtu l ʕəndu walā xābaġtūnu
"I did not visit him, nor did I phone him"

hadōli kəllətəm mā yətʔammanūn walā yətṣaddaqūn
"All these (people) cannot be trusted nor can they be believed"

lā həyyi gbīġi walā həyyi zġēġi
"She is neither old nor young"

lā katab walā xallāni aktəb
"He did not write, and he did not let me write"

sayyāġəti mū ḥamġā walā xaḍġā walā zaġqā
"My car isn't red, nor is it green, nor is it blue"

mā šəftūnu walā samaʕtu wēnu walā ʕaġaftu ʕannu šē
"I did not see him, nor did I hear where he was, nor did I know anything about him"

latġōḥ walā tətʕaddab walā tḍayyəʕ ay waqət ʕalayəm
"Don't go, nor put yourself to any trouble, and don't (even) waste any time on them"

3.4.3 The interrogative sentence

There are three kinds of interrogative sentences in CB. They are sentences which are initiated by interrogative particles; syntactically declarative sentences which are realized as interrogatives by means of a falling-gradually rising (↘ ↗) intonation pattern; and tag-appended sentences. Interrogative sentences, moreover, can be divided into two groups according to whether the answer expected is yes-no or a reply supplying the missing information.

3.4.3.1 Interrogative sentences intitiated by interrogative particles

These are formed by the introduction of interrogative particles at the beginning of declarative sentences, and expect answers other than yes-no.

mənu hāy əl-bənət?
"Who is this girl?"

mənu qalki ana ġaḥ atkallal?
"Who told you I am getting married?"

šlōn kēfkəm hay-yōm?
"How are you today?"

šlōn šəftəya l amēlda?
"How did you find (lit. see) Imelda?"

šqadd ʕəmġu əbənki?
"How old is your son?"

šqad tətṣawwaġēn nəḥtāğ ḥaṭab?
"How much wood do you think we need?"

šwaqət mawğūdi bəl-bēt dāzūġki?
"When are you at home so I can visit you?"

šwaqət yəbdi l-fələm?
"When is the film starting?"

šxabaġ kəl hal-akəl nəḥna nafaġēn ətlāti bass?
"How come all this food, we are only two or three people?"

šxabaġ qatəbqa bəl-bēt hay-yōm?
"How come you (ms) are staying at home today?"

kam bēt ʕəndu ʕamīd kəlləyyətkəm?
"How many houses has the dean of your college got?"

kam maġġa[9] *tzāʕalti wəyyānu?*
"How many times did you get annoyed with him?"

ay daġəs hāda?
"Which lesson is this?"

ay wēḥəd[9] *qayəʕğəbki ḥatta aštəġīlki yānu?*
"Which one do you like so I can buy it for you?"

wēn ğanṭəti?
"Where is my handbag?"

wēn xallētəya l bənətki?
"Where did you (fs) leave your daughter?"

lēš ənta āxəġ wēḥəd bəṣ-ṣaff?
"Why are you the last in class?"

lēš qayətʕadda ʕalēnu?
"Why is he molesting him?"

bēš əṭ-ṭamāṭa hal-mawsəm?
"How much are the tomatoes this season?"

bēš əštaġētəya l ham-maẓhaġəyyi k-kġəstāl?
"How much did you buy this crystal vase for?"

9 *kam* and *ay* invariably precede nominals. They may, however, occur in verbal sentences provided they precede quantifiers like *wēḥəd* "one" and *maġġa* "once", or nouns functioning as quantifiers, as in the following example, *kam bənət txaġġaġət mən əl-kəlləyyi has-sani* "how many girls graduated from the college this year?"

šənu "what" and *šaku* "what is there" (< *š-* "what" + *aku* "there is") introduce nominal elements only. *šb-* "what is the matter with ..." occurs with pronominal suffixes, while *š-* "what" is prefixed to verbal forms.

šənu hal-ḥaġaki baġġa?
"What is this noise outside?"

šənu ġaʔyak əb ġaʔīs ğəmhūġəyyət amēġka?
"What's your opinion of the American president?"

šaku axbāġ mən əbənkəm w maġtu?
"What news are there from your son and his wife?"

šaku ʕəndkəm ədġūs yā wlēd?
"What homework have you got, children?"

šbīk ma qatəḥki wəyyāyi baʕad?
"What's the matter with you that you are not talking to me any more?"

šbəya xāləti nšalla malēḥa?
"What's the matter with my aunt, I hope she is well?"

šbīkəm nasētu kəl šē qəlnālkəm yānu?
"What is the matter with you (c.p.) have you forgotten everything we told you?"

šbīnu hāda sāyəq ət-taksi ma qayəndalʃ?
"What's the matter with this taxi driver that he does not know the way?"

šlaqēti ğawwa l-mēz?
"What did you (f.s.) find under the table?"

štalabət mən pāpa nəwēl yğīblak bəl-ʕīd?
"What did you ask Santa Claus to bring you at Christmas?"

šsawwēt bəd-daftaġ əlli taʕāk yānu amīl?
"What did you do with the note-book Emile gave you?"

3.4.3.1.1 Exclamatory and rhetorical questions

Most interrogative particles can introduce exclamatory or rhetorical questions, as, for example,

mənu yədġi wēn ṣāġ əy-yōm
"Who knows where he is today!"

wēn həwwa w wēn ana
"What a difference there is between him and me!" (lit. "where is he and where am I!")

šqad ḥəlwi bənta ləx-xayyāṭa[10]
"How pretty the dressmaker's daughter is!"

kam maġġa qəltūlki ma təftaḥēn əl-bāb idā ma təʕəġfīn mənu
"How many times have I told you not to open the door if you do not know who it is!"

šlōn mətkabbəġ ṣāyəġ ḥanna[10]
"How arrogant Hanna has become!"

bēš ət-tīn bəs-sōq
"How much do figs cost in the market!"

šxabaġ ma qayəʕğəbəm aḥad
"How come no one appeals to them!"

lēš nəḥna y-yōm əmbēġḥa nəʕġəfəm
"Is it only recently that we got to know them!" (lit. "why, did we only know them today or yesterday!")

šwaqət ana qəltu ma ḥabbētūnu x-xaṭīb bənti
"When did I (ever) say I did not like my daughter's fiancé!"

3.4.3.2 Declarative questions

Declarative questions are syntactically equivalent to statements, but differ from them in intonation. Declarative questions with a falling-gradually-rising intonation pattern expect a yes-no answer.

qaysāfġōn kəllətəm bəṣ-ṣēf?
"Are they all going away in the summer?"

tʔaġġafət ʕalēnu bəḥ-ḥafli?
"Did she get to know him at the party?"

ğābūla hadəyyi mən amēġka?
"Did they bring her a present from America?"

tʔaxxaġtəm bəl-əzdəḥām?
"Did you (c.p.) get delayed in the traffic jam?"

xallēti məlaḥ bəl-əplāw?
"Did you (f.s.) put any salt in the rice?"

mudīġ madġasətəm hāda lli kān əbnu wəyyāyi bəl-kəlləyyi?
"Is the headmaster of their school the one whose son was with me at college?"

10 *šqadd* "how, how much" and *šlōn* "how" function as adverbs in exclamatory sentences. See 3.4.4.1 below.

sətti w ətlātīn təlmīd w təlmīdi ġāḥō safġa?
"Did thirty-six schoolboys and schoolgirls go on a school outing?"
xallaṣti ətġūḥətki lli kənti badētəya qabəl xams əsnīn?
"Did you finish your thesis, the one you started five years ago?"
bənətkəm tʕallamət fġansāwi lamman kānət b əfġansa?
"Did your daughter learn French when she was in France?"

3.4.3.3 Tag-appended questions

Tag-appended questions consist of statements followed by tags asking yes-no questions. There are a number of tags in CB that can be appended to a declarative sentence to turn it into a question, as, for example,

mū tamām?
"Isn't that right?"
tamām lō lā?
"Is that right or not?"
mū ṣədəq?
"Isn't that true?"
mū ṣaḥēḥ?
"Isn't that correct?"
mū həkki?
"Isn't that so?"
ē lō lā?
"Yes or no?"
ṣaḥēḥ lō ġalaṭ?
"Right or wrong?"
ṭūl ʕəmġu ma qaṣṣaġ wəyyāhəm mū tamām?
"All his life he did not let them down, isn't that right?"
ana lli qəltūlki hāda ġ-ġəğğāl mū malēḥ əlki tamām lō lā?
"It was I who said to you that this man was not good for you, is that right or not?"
kānət ṭaṭlaʕ wəyyānu qabəl ma tnēšanu mū ṣədəq?
"She used to go out with him before they got engaged, isn't that true?"
hāy awwal maġġa qatənğaḥ amīġa b əmtaḥān fizya mū ṣaḥēḥ?
"This is the first time that Amira passes a physics exam, isn't that correct?"

ana ybayyən zaʕʕaltūki mū həkki?
"It seems I've upset you, isn't that so?"

qaġġaġət təqbala ləš-šaġli b dəkkēn ʕammi ē lō lā?
"(I take it) you've decided to accept the job at my uncle's shop, yes or no?"

yqūlūn ġada ġaḥ əṣīġ muḍāhaġāt ṣaḥēḥ lō ġalaṭ?
"They say that there is going to be a demonstration tomorrow, is that right or wrong?"

3.4.3.4 Negative interrogative sentences

Negative interrogative sentences are negative declarative sentences with the same falling-gradually rising intonation pattern as in declarative questions. In a negative interrogative sentence the negative particle is *mū* in prenominal and *mā* in preverbal position. Negative interrogative sentences ordinarily expect yes-no answers.

mū malēḥ ǧītəm kəlkəm hay-yōm?
"Isn't it good you all came today?"

mū hāda əbən ʕammu l ǧōzēf əlli kān bəṭ-ṭabbəyyi?
"Isn't that Joseph's cousin, the one who was at the medical college?"

mū əsma ǧānēt əxt əġ-ġāhbi lli tdaġġəsna qawāʕəd?
"Isn't she called Janet, the sister of the nun who teaches us grammar?"

sayyāġətkəm mū sōdā yāha?
"Isn't your car black?"

māʕġəf mū həwwa lli tʕaġġafna ʕalēnu bəl-baṣġa?
"I don't know, isn't he the one we met in Basrah?"

šənu hāda lli b īdki mū maktūb əli?
"What's that in you hand, isn't it a letter for me?"

ma šəftəyəm kānu kəllətəm qēʕdīn bəs-sayyāġa?
"Didn't you see them, they were all sitting in the car?"

ma qatġōḥ bənətki l nafs əm-madġasi wəyya banātna?
"Doesn't your daughter go to the same school with our daughters?"

ma qayəʕǧəbkəm tətmaššūn bəl-bəstān?
"Don't you (cp) feel like having a stroll in the garden?"

ma qayʔattəġ ʕalēnu hal-məḥīṭ əl-ʕəlmi?
"Isn't this learned atmosphere having any effect on him?"

A negative imperative construction, with the particle *ma* prefixed to an imperfective verb, frequently implies "why don't you do s.t.?" when it occurs with interrogative intonation. Thus compare:

negative imperative	negative interrogative
matġōh wəyyānu	*matġōḥ wəyyānu?*
"Don't go with him!"	"Why don't you go with him?"
maṭəṣʕadīn əl fōq	*maṭəṣʕadīn əl fōq?*
"Don't (fs) go upstairs!"	"Why don't you go upstairs?"
matǧībūnu l hōni	*matǧībūnu l hōni?*
"Don't (cp) bring him here!"	"Why don't you bring him here?"
matədġəs kīmya	*matədġəs kīmya?*
"Don't (ms) study chemistry!"	"Why don't you study chemistry?"

maḥadd "nobody, anybody" (< *ma* "no, not" + *aḥad* "somebody") frequently occurs in negative interrogative sentences.

maḥad qāyəlləm mayṣīġ yqaṭʕōn waġəd mən əs-sāḥa l-ʕəmūməyyi?
"Hasn't anybody told them they must not pick flowers from the main (public) square?"

lēš ma təǧēn maḥad yəqdaġ ywaṣṣəlki?
"Why don't you come, can't anybody give you a lift?"

maḥad waṣṣaləlkəm əx-xabaġ axūyi ġaǧaʕ mən kanada?
"Nobody gave you the news that my brother came back from Canada?"

maḥad qayġīd baʕad əplāw?
"Nobody wants more rice?"

3.4.4 Adverbs and adverbial clauses

Adverbs deserve a special mention. According to Quirk et al. (1972: 267) "the adverb class is the least satisfactory of the traditional parts of speech. Indeed it is tempting to say simply that the adverb is an item that does not fit the definitions for other parts of speech." The adverb has two main functions:

(1) as a modifier

(2) as a clause constituent

3.4.4.1 Adverbs as modifiers

Adverbs function as modifiers of verbs or adjectives, as, for example

dāʔəman ysūq ḥēl
"He always drives fast"

kān kəl waqət ysāfəġ əl ləbnān
"He always used to travel to Lebanon"

ğāwabni bəl-ʕağal ʕala maktūbi
"He answered my letter quickly"

ṯḥammalət kəl maġaḍ əbšağāʕa
"She endured every illness bravely"

kəlləš saʕīdīn yāhəm
"They are very happy"

l-fələm əl šəfnānu mbēġḥa kān əktīġ ḥəlu
"The film we saw yesterday was very nice"

šlōn ṣaʕəb kān daġəs ʕəlm ən-nabāt
"How difficult the botany lesson was!"

šqad saxīfi ənti tṣadqēn kəl šē
"How stupid you (f.s.) are, you believe everything!"

The adverb *kəlləš* "very" occurs also as a modifier of other adverbs, as, for example,

ma ḥabbētu asūq kəlləš ḥēl
"I did not like to drive very fast"

waṣalna ləl-ḥəlla mən baʕqōba kəlləš əbsāʕ
"We reached Hilla from Baᶜquba very quickly"

mā samaʕna ay ṣōṭ lāzəm fāt ʕal-bēt kəlləš bəskūt
"We did not hear any noise, he must have gone into the house very quietly"

ana ašūf bənətkəm ġaḥ tənğaḥ əb kəll əmtaḥānāta kəlləš bəshūli
"I think your daughter is going to pass all her exams very easily"

3.4.4.2 Adverbs as clause constituents

A clause consists of a group of words which occur as a grammatical unit. A subject and a verb are essential elements of clause structure, while an object, a complement and an adverb are, on the whole,

optional. Adverbs as clause constituents can be divided into two groups, those that are an integral part of a clause and those that are peripheral to clause structure. Where an adverb is integrated into a clause it is referred to as an adjunct. Where an adverb is peripheral to the clause, which can function just as easily without it, it is called either a disjunct or a conjunct. As its name implies, a conjunct has a connective function in a clause, while the function of a disjunct is non-connective.

The following are examples of adverbial clauses where the adverb in each case is an adjunct:

mā ġəḥna ləb-bēʕa yōm əl-aḥad lākən kənna hōniki s-sabət bəl-lēl
"We didn't go to church on Sunday, but we were there Saturday night"

lamman taġak əl-ḥafli ḍēf əš-šaġaf kənna kəlna nəqdaġ nəṭlaʕ waġānu b kəll əshūli
"When the guest of honour left the party we could have all gone out after him very easily"

ana l-ḥaqīqa mā aqdaġ aṣaddəq həwwa bāq əl-əflūs
"I personally can't really believe that he stole the money"

nəḥna nqaddəġ mawqəfki kəl taqdīġ
"We fully appreciate your (f.s.) situation"

yəʕġəf ədġūsu maʕġəfi ṣaṭḥəyyi bass
"He knows his lessons only superficially"

qāmu yətnāqašūn əb ṣōṭ ʕāli ktīġ
"They started to argue in a very loud voice"

The majority of disjuncts in CB are prepositional phrases. Most disjuncts are loans from LA, and hence tend to occur in educated speech. The following examples show the occurrence of disjuncts in CB:

əb kəl ṣaġāḥa ana aġağğəḥ əs-safaġ bəṭ-ṭayyāġa
"In all honesty, I prefer travelling by plane"

bədūn muğāmala mā atṣawwaġ aku aḥsan mənnak əl hal-maġkaz
"Without any flattery, I do not think there is anyone better than you for this position"

ana afaḍḍəl təğōn kəlkəm wəyyāna ğəddəyyāt
"I prefer that you all come with us, seriously"

bala šaqa qayəʕğəbki panṭaġōnu ğ-ğadīd
"Joking apart, do you like his new trousers?"

atmannālkəm kəll əs-saʕāda mən kəl qalbi
"I wish you every happiness, with all my heart"

ṭabʕan ana awāfəq ʕala kəl šē qatqūlu bas ġaḥ aʕāġḍak əb nəqṭa wēḥdi
"Of course, I agree with you on everything, but I shall disagree with you on one point"

In the above examples the adverbials or disjuncts are peripheral to the sentences they occur in. Each sentence would have the same clause structure and semantic value if it were to occur without the disjunct. Because *əb kəl ṣaġāḥa* "in all honesty"; *bədūn muğāmala* "without flattery"; *ğəddəyyāt* "seriously"; *bala šaqa* "joking apart"; *mən kəl qalbi* "with all my heart"; *ṭabʕan* "of course" are not integrated into the sentences, they can occur in initial or final position.

Conjuncts, like disjuncts, are peripheral and hence not integrated into sentences. Yet conjuncts tend to have a closer relationship with sentences than disjuncts do. This is primarily because conjuncts function as connectives whereas disjuncts do not. The following are examples of conjuncts:

bəl-awwal ktəbəya ləl-maḥfūḍa[11] *məswaddi w baʕdēn bayḍəya*
"At first write out the poem in rough, and then copy it out in neat"

aškəġki ʕala l-əktēb w bəl-munāsaba aḥəbb aqəlki ʕağabni ktīġ
"I thank you for the book, and incidentally I'd like to tell you that I liked it very much"

tnēnna ʕəndna nafəs wəğhat naḍaġ aw bəl-aḥġa nafs ət-tafkīġ
"We both have the same point of view, or rather the same way of thinking"

qabəl ma tətzawwağ lāzəm təlqi bēt aw ʕala l-aqall ət?ağğəġ šəqqa
"Before you get married you must find a house, or at least (you must) rent an apartment"

11 This is the name applied to short poems, usually learnt by heart at school, hence its name (< *ḥafaḍ* "to learn by heart").

qāl ġaḥ yəṭṭəṣəl bīkəm əb awwal fəġṣa ʕala kəl ḥāl ma ġaḥ yxallīkəm bala axbāġ mənnu

"He said he would get in touch with you at the earliest opportunity, at any rate he is not going to leave you without any news from him"

abūyi w ʕammi waʕadūni yənṭōni šəġəl mahma ykūn ġaḥ yšaġlūni wəyyāhəm

"My father and uncle promised to give me work, whatever happens they are going to let me work with them"

latətxaṣṣaṣ bəl-ādāb awwalan əl-ādāb māku mənna manfaʕa hay-yōm tānəyan kəl wēḥəd əl yəʕġəf maṣlaḥətu yədġəs ʕəlūm tālətan əlli yətxaġġaġ mən qəsm əl-ādāb ma yəlqi šəġəl

"Don't specialize in arts, firstly there is no benefit from the arts nowadays, secondly anyone who knows what is good for him studies sciences, thirdly the person who graduates from an arts faculty finds no work."

In the above examples *baʕdēn* "then"; *bəl-munāsaba* "incidentally"; *bəl-aḥġa* "rather"; *ʕala l-aqall* "at least"; *ʕala kəl ḥāl* "at any rate"; *mahma ykūn* "whatever happens"; and *awwalan ... tānəyan ... tālətan* "firstly ... secondly ... thirdly" are all conjuncts connecting dependent clauses or noun phrases to main clauses.

All adverbial clauses, be they adjuncts, disjuncts or conjuncts may be classified according to the type of adverb they contain.[12] Thus, an adverbial clause consisting of an adverb of time would be called an adverbial phrase of time, an adverbial clause with an adverb of place would be referred to as an adverbial clause of place, etc.

3.4.5 Cleft sentences

A cleft sentence is so called because it consists of a clause divided into two parts, each with its own verb. In CB cleft sentences frequently consist of a relative clause introduced by *(ə)l* / *(ə)lli*. The relative clause helps to give additional information about a noun / noun phrase which is always defined.

12 See morphology, 2.6

hāy əl-bənət əlli kānət qēʕdi hōni hāy əxta l ṣōnya
"This girl who was sitting here is Sonya's sister"

l-əstād ṭaʕāni l-əktēb əlli katabu həwwa qabəl santēn
"The teacher gave me the book which he wrote two years ago"

ḍayyaʕtu šamsəyyəti hadīk əl-lēli lli kānət qatmaṭṭəġ w ḍalamāt
"I lost my umbrella that night when it was raining and pitch black"

qatəštəġəl əb kəlləyət əl-handasa lli hassaʕ əṭhawwalət ləl-waẓīġəyyi
"She is working at the engineering college which has now moved to the Waziriyya district"

ma qayəʕğəbni əš-šəġəl əl qā-aštəġlu hal-ayyām
"I am not liking the work I am doing these days"

hāy əm-maġa l kənti təkġahəya šəftəwa mbēġḥa bšāġəʕ əġ-ġašīd
"That woman whom you used to dislike, (well) I saw her yesterday in Rashid Street"

In all the above sentences the relative clause functions as a postmodifier of the defined or focused noun or noun phrase. There is another type of cleft sentence in CB which does not involve a relative pronoun, and where the focused element is an adverb.

bəmā anna tədġəs əb ğadd qaġġaġna nəʕfəya mən əl-əmtəḥān
"Because she studies hard, we decided to excuse her from the exam"

ləʔannu tmaġġaḍ mā qadaġ yōfi b waʕdu w yāxədna ləl-ḥabbānəyyi
"Because he became ill, he could not fulfil his promise and take us to Habbaniyya"

māṭūlkəm kammaltəm əmġəwwi w ğītəm məġġu ʕala ğəddīti
"Since you made the effort and came, drop in on my grandmother"

lamman ğā āb w mā ġağaʕ mən kanada ʕaġaftu mā ġaḥ yəğğaʕ has-sani
"When August came and he did not return from Canada, I knew he would not come back this year"

A BRIEF SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

4.1 Triglossia vs. diglossia

Ferguson's definition of diglossia (1959) that (H)igh and (L)ow, two varieties of one language, refer to the formal and the everyday respectively, like classical and vernacular Arabic, has been extended by Fishman (1967) to include two totally different languages. Fishman gave Paraguay, with its two official languages, Spanish and Guaraní, as an example of a diglossic community. Fishman and others have also recognized the co-occurrence of three or more languages, or varieties of one language, in a given community, which they called triglossia and polyglossia, (Abdulaziz Mkilifi, 1978 [triglossia]; Gumperz, 1964; Fishman 1967 and Platt, 1977 [polyglossia]). Some scholars have found, moreover, that the vernacular, or a L variety for one group of speakers, can function as a H variety for another group, (Gumperz, 1964; Platt, 1977; Krysin, 1979; Eckert, 1980).

In Baghdad LA is the H variety shared by MB and CB speakers. MB is the L variety for Muslim Baghdadis, whereas it is another H variety for Christian Baghdadis, falling between LA and their own CB dialect, which is their L variety. MB functions as a H variety for Christian Baghdadis, since it is not learnt at home and not spoken with in-group members, but used in situations requiring a certain level of formality and perhaps more guarded behaviour.[1] CB speakers, therefore, are triglossic because they use three distinct varieties of Arabic, viz. LA, MB and CB, for three different communicational purposes, in highly formal, less formal,[2] and informal situations respectively.

1 In my Christian primary school in Baghdad in the early fifties, the conversation between the teachers, who were all Christian women at that time, and the pupils, was often in CB. But whenever a teacher referred to the text or assumed a more serious tone, even with a Christian child, she would switch to MB.

2 Some CB speakers think that MB is closer to LA than CB. Cf. Ghanima, *op.cit.*, p.302.

The following examples were provided by two CB speakers. Each example is divided into three parts, (i) in CB, (ii) in MB, and (iii) in LA, demonstrating the triglossic repertoire of CB speakers:

1. (i) *štaġētu gawanāt māl ṣēf*
   (ii) *štərēt nafānīf ṣēfiyya*
   (iii) *štaraytu fasātīna ṣayfiyya*
   "I bought summer dresses."

2. (i) *kən samaʕ ənta hōni*
   (ii) *səmaʕ ənta hnā*
   (iii) *laqad samiʕa annaka hunā*
   "He heard you were here."

3. (i) *axūyi ġah yətkallal ġada*
   (ii) *axūya raḥ yətzawwağ bāčər*
   (iii) *sayatazawwağu axī ġadan*
   "My brother is getting married tomorrow."

4. (i) *l-kaləb əgbīġ yānu*
   (ii) *l-čaləb čəbīr*
   (iii) *al-kalbu kabīrun*
   "The dog is big."

5. (i) *hāda s-sīlān mū malēḥ yānu*
   (ii) *hāḏa l-dəbəs mū zēn*
   (iii) *hāḏa l-dibsu laysa ğayyidan*
   "This date syrup is not good."

6. (i) *ġasalet əḥwēsa qabəl ma tmaṭṭəġ*
   (ii) *xəslat əhdūmha gabəl ma ṭumṭur*
   (iii) *ġasalat ṭiyābaha qabla an tumṭir*
   "She washed her clothes before it rained."

7. (i) *kānu kəllətəm qēʕdīn lamma waṣalləm əl-xabaġ*
   (ii) *čānaw kulhum gāʕdīn mən wəṣaləlhum əl-xabar*
   (iii) *kānu ğamīʕuhum ğālisīna ʕindama waṣalahum al-xabar*
   "They were all sitting down when the news reached them."

8. (i) *ṭaʕāna plāw kən ṭabaxətu ğəddətu*
(ii) *nṭāna təmman ṭəbxata bībīta*
(iii) *qaddama lanā aruzzan ṭabaxathu ğaddatuh*
"He gave us rice which his grandmother had cooked."

9. (i) *ṭaġadəwəm mən əl-madġasi mbōġ kasāli yāhəm*
(ii) *ṭərdōhum mən əl-madrasa čēf kaslānīn*
(iii) *ṭaradūhum min al-madrasati liʔannahum kaslānūn*
"They expelled them from school because they were lazy."

10. (i) *hay-yōm qayəğōn ʕəndna xəṭṭāġ*
(ii) *hal-yōm dayəğūn ʕədna xəṭṭār*
(iii) *sayaʔtīna l-yawma zuwwār*
"Today guests are coming to (visit) us."

11. (i) *abūyi māʕġəf əšbīnu ybayyən ʕalēnu zaʕlān*
(ii) *abūya mādri šbī ybayyən ʕalē zaʕlān*
(iii) *lā adrī mā huwa l-amru maʕa wālidi yabdu annahu mustāʔun*
"I don't know what is the matter with my father, he seems to be angry."

12. (i) *ğīġānna ʕəndəm əbən əw bənət*
(ii) *ğīrānna ʕədhum walad w əbnayya*
(iii) *ğīrānuna ʕindahum ṣabīyyun wa bint*
"Our neighbours have a son and a daughter."

13. (i) *kān qayəlʕab čəqqi w qās*
(ii) *čān dayəlʕab duʕbul əw xəṣar*
(iii) *kāna yalʕabu bil-daḥal wa xasir*
"He was playing marbles and lost."

14. (i) *ṣtanḍaġətu ləs-sāʕa ṭnaʕəš əw baʕdēn ġāḥət nāmət*
(ii) *nəṭrata ləs-sāʕa ṭnaʕaš əw baʕdēn rāḥat nāmat*
(iii) *intaẓarathu ḥattā l-sāʕa l-ṯāniya ʕašara ṯumma ḏahabat ilā l-nawm*
"She waited up for him until twelve o'clock, and then she went to bed."

4.2 Variation within CB

There is a fairly high level of phonological variation within CB which is not only noticeable in the difference between the speech of one idiolect and another, but can also be found in the repertoire of the same speaker. This variation, therefore, does not appear to be related to social variables, like gender or generation. For example, one elderly woman informant gave both *tmām* and *tamām* "complete, whole", while a man from the younger group of informants provided the two variants *nhāġ* and *nahāġ* for "day". This variation can be detected in the examples provided by Blanc's informants. Blanc (1964: 80) cites *nhāġ* as the CB equivalent of MB *nhār*, whereas he gives *šaġāb* "wine" as the CB variant of MB *šrāb*.

Blanc (p 82) gives *biyūt* "houses", for which I have both *bəyūt* and *byūt*. Similarly for Blanc (p 83) *fēsəd* "corrupt", *ǧēhəl* "child", *ḥēfi* "barefoot"; (p 85) *ḳəslān* "lazy", (p 86) *fəġḥān* "glad", I have *fēsəd* and *fāsəd*, *ǧāhəl*,[3] *kəslān* and *kaslān*, *fəġḥān* and *faġḥān*, respectively. In my data also *səyyāġa* and *sayyāġa* "car", and *ṭəyyāġa* and *ṭayyāġa* "aeroplane", seem to be in free variation. Another form, *nēs* appears to be in free variation with *nās* "people". Jastrow (1979: 53) gives *nās* as the form current in Mosul, and *nēs* in both Bəḥzāni and Mardin. For "schools", Blanc (p 87) gives both *madērəs* and *madārəs*. Apart form the *ē/ā* vocalic variation, I have found in my data examples of this form with *ġ/r* consonantal variation. Thus: *madērəs*, *madārəs* and *madēġəs*. Blanc also gives *čawēdər* "tents", for which I have only *čawēdəġ*. *gbīġ* "big" with initial *g*, was used more frequently by my informants than its variant *kbīġ* which both Oussani (p 97) and Blanc (p 81) give to the exclusion of *gbīġ*. Evidence that this form is current in some *qəltu* dialects was provided by Jastrow (1973: 15 and 1978: 47) who found it in Mardin.[4]

As far as morphological variation is concerned, for the plural of the pattern CaCēCīC, Blanc (p 89) gives the following examples: *xabēbīz* "bakers", *xayēyīṭ* "tailors", and *maḥēlīl* "quarters", for which I have *xabbāzīn*, *xayyāṭīn* and *maḥallāt* respectively. For *maqēṣīṣ* "scissors", I have also *mqāṣīṣ*. Blanc says (p 99) that some Stem I verbs of the base form CvCvC have a dual pattern of CaCaC and CəCəC, as, for example *labas* and *ləbəs* "to wear", *samaʕ* and *səməʕ*

3 I have not come across *ǧēhəl* with *imāla*.

4 See 1.1.4.

"to hear", *kabaġ* and *kəbəġ* "to grow". This feature is still current in the CB of my informants.[5] For the third person plural of Stem I perfective verbs of the CaCa pattern, I have both *banō* and *bano* "they built"; *baqō* and *baqo* "they stayed". Blanc (p 102) gives *banō* with long *ō* only, while Jastrow (1979: 46) gives *bano* with short *o* for the *qəltu* dialects he has surveyed. In third person pronominal suffixes gemination occurs frequently. Blanc (p 122) gives the following forms:

ʕalayya "on her" *ʕalayyəm* "on them"

I have also come across these forms without gemination, thus: *ʕalaya* and *ʕalayəm*. Similarly, in pronominal suffixes in verbal forms my informants gave both *ǧābəwwa* and *ǧābəwa* "they brought her", and *ṭaġadəwwəm* and *ṭaġadəwəm* "they expelled them, they sent them away", etc.

An interesting variation at the syntactical level was provided by three informants who used the independent pronouns instead of the postpositional copula, as, for example,

šāṭəġ həwwa	for	*šāṭəġ yānu* "he is clever"
taʕbāni ana	for	*taʕbāni yāni* "I (f.s.) am tired"
səhġānīn nəḥna	for	*səhġānīn yāna* "we are staying up late"
ǧəddəti ʕaǧūẓi həyyi	for	*ǧəddəti ʕaǧūẓi yāha* "my grandmother is old"
mū xōš awēdəm həmma	for	*mū xōš awēdəm yāhəm* "they are not nice people"

This variation within CB is rare, and could be attributed to hypercorrection.

Particle *kən* preceding a past tense verb, which still occurs in CB, does not seem to have been recorded by Blanc. The following CB text which appeared in Oussani's article shows the occurrence of *kən* separating a past tense verb from its auxiliary, *kān*. The transliteration of the text has been adapted according to the system I have used throughout this work.

5 See 2.1.1.1

mbēḥa ġəḥtu ʕənd abūyi bəs-sōq w mā šəftūnu hōnīki mbōġər kān kən ġāḥ əl ġēġ makēn w-əzʕəltu ktīġ w baʔdu rğəʕtu ləl-bēt w qəltūla l-əmmi w xabbartəwa w həyyi hammēna nḥaṣaġət əktīġ. w ləmma ṣāġ əl-masa saʔaltu abūyi w qəltūlu wēn kənət yā abūyi hal-yōm əṣ-ṣəbəḥ w həwwa ğāwabni w qalli yā ʌaladi kəntu ġəḥtu ləs-sōq ḥətta aṭalləʕ əṣ-ṣanēdīq əlli wəṣlətni mbēḥa mən ōrōpa w baʔdu šawwafni yāha w əfġəḥna bəya ktīġ.

The following translation of the text is by Oussani, and has been reproduced here verbatim.

> When I had gone yesterday to (see) my father in the market, I did not see him there; he had gone to some other place. I was very much disappointed. Then I went home and told my mother and informed her. She, too, was very much disappointed. When the evening came, I asked my father, and said to him: "Where were you this morning, father?" He answered and said to me: "My boy, I had gone to the market to take out the trunks which had been sent to me yesterday from Europe." Thereupon he showed them to me, and we both liked them very much.

In the above text Oussani uses both *ġ* < *r* and *r* as in *mbōġər* "because"; *rğəʕtu* "I returned"; *xabbartəwa* "I told her", and *ġəḥtu* "I went", *ġēġ* "other", *ktīġ* "very", *fġəḥna* "we were happy", or as he translates it, "we both liked". This shows that there was variation in CB in the use of *ġ* and *r*, even at the turn of the century, and that this variation is not altogether a new development. Oussani uses *baʔdu* "then" which still occurs in CB, although *baʔdēn* seems to be more common nowadays. *mbōġər* "because" is no longer current, having been replaced by *mbōġ*.[6] There is no glottal stop between particle *l-* and *əmmi* "my mother", which occurs in the Arabic text as *ləmmi*. *ləmma* "when", which occurs in the text, is the older variant of *lamma* or *lamman* provided by my younger informants. There is variation also in the realization of *yəwāš / yawāš* "slowly". Oussani, elsewhere in his article, gives *yawāš*. Among my informants, the older ones seemed to prefer *yəwāš* while the younger ones invariably preferred *yawāš*. In the text there is *ḥətta* "so that", an archaic variant of *ḥatta*, which is far more common nowadays.

6 My older informants were not familiar with *mbōġər*.

4.3 Levelling or non-levelling

Most CB salient features are levelled during CB non-CB interaction. Some sociolinguists, like Dorian (1973) and Trudgill (1983; 1986), have found that levelling can sometimes be long-term resulting in the complete reduction of certain salient features. CB appears to be under a great deal of threat from several directions. Blanc (1964) found that certain overtly stigmatized features, like dental *t* for interdental *ṯ*, and the postpositional copula, were optional among the speakers he interviewed. According to some of my older informants, these and other CB features are Christian markers which many young people do not want to retain in their speech. Most of my younger informants saw the postpositional copula and particle *kən* as redundant. These two features, therefore, may well become obsolete in due course. The *imāla* is another feature which is frequently being levelled. Most LA loans are realized with medial *ā*, as, for example, *tamāṯīl* "statues"; *maxāẓən* "shops". Other well-established forms seem to be shedding the *imāla* also. *makēn* "place", which appears in Oussani's text, was invariably realized as *makān* by my informants. *madēġəs* "schools", which appeared in the speech of the older informants, was frequently realized as *madārəs* by the younger members of the group. This variant was also recorded by Blanc (p 87).[7] Although at the present time *nēs* and *nās* are in free variation, *nās* could well become the only variant, just as it appears to be in the Mosul dialect, (Jastrow 1979: 53).

Dentals for interdentals appear to be fairly stable among the Christians I spoke to. As Blanc found (p 19), *ṯ* is the interdental which is more frequently realized by CB speakers. The following LA and non-Arabic loanwords occur in CB with the interdental of the donor language:

təmṯāl	"statue"
taʔaṯṯur	"influence"
ṯəyatar	"theatre"
ṯarapi	"therapy"

7 See 4.2 above.

Loans with *ḏ* and *ḍ* usually occur with their corresponding dental variants in CB. In my data only two LA forms were realized with *ḏ*. These were *muḏīʕ* "broadcaster" and *muḏakkərāt* "memoirs". There were no instances of forms with LA *ḍ*. LA loans like *munaḍḍama* "organization"; *ḍənūn* "suspicions"; *maḍhar* "appearance", were realized with CB *ḍ*. *ġ* for *r* seems to be quite stable also. Dentals for inter-dentals, and *ġ* for *r* do not appear to be undergoing long-term levelling. In spite of the fact that the diffusion of LA forms into CB is seen by some Christian Baghdadis as a threat to their dialect, it should be remembered that most LA loans are not replacing CB forms, but are filling lexical gaps in the dialect.

The most immediate danger to CB which could lead to dialect death, similar to the fate Dorian (1981) predicted for Scottish Gaelic, is due to social, rather than to linguistic factors. CB speakers nowadays are scattered throughout the world. Since the 1960s many have settled in non-Arabic speaking communities, either individually or in small groups, where they have little chance of speaking CB. In spite of the fact that many Christian Baghdadis who are living abroad appear to have preserved their dialect, it is difficult to predict whether they will be able to maintain it indefinitely, and to pass it on to the next generation.

TEXTS

The following transcribed texts were selected from numerous recordings of CB speech made in Baghdad and London. In order to give an overview of the dialect as a whole, the twenty texts were transcribed from recordings by twenty different speakers of varying ages. All recordings which were marred by constant repetition or hesitation were avoided. Only recordings of spontaneously produced speech with a narrative slant were chosen, since these needed little or no editing. Texts which gave a personal view of Baghdadi or Iraqi culture and way of life seemed appropriate to include here, because they contained a larger number of CB forms and expressions than texts with a more general bent. Footnotes were restricted to a minimum and used only where an expression or a lexical item appeared vague or contradicted CB phonology or grammar. Many informants expressed the wish to remain anonymous. It is not difficult, however, to tell in some texts whether the speaker is male or female, elderly or young.

Text 1

šaṭṭ dəğla bīnu madd w ğazəġ. bəṣ-ṣēf yənqaṣ mayy əš-šaṭṭ w ṭəṭlaʕ bīnu ğəzəġ təbqa ṭūl əṣ-ṣēf ilā an yəği b-baġəd wəm-maṭaġ w tətġaṭṭa ğ-ğəzəġ. kānu baʕəḍ ʕāʔilāt baġdād yḥəṭṭōn mətəl bəyūt əzġēġi mən saʕəf naxal ʕala ğ-ğəzəġ ysamməwəm čaġādīġ ... əl-məfġad čaġdāġ. hadōli b-šəkəl xəyam yāhəm. kəll əlli ʕəndəm čaġdāġ ysawwūn ʕazīmi bīnu ʕal aqall maġġa aw maġtēn bəṣ-ṣēf. yəʕəzmūn azdəqāʔəm w aqāġəbəm w yəshaġōn ləṣ-ṣəbaḥ. akəl w kēf w mōsīqa ... bəl-awwal kānət mōsīqa šaġqəyyi yaʕni čālġi baġdād ... maqām... əl-gəbbanči w nāḍəm w salīma [1]... baʕdēn ṣāġo yğībūn aġāni faygūz [2] w ḥatta əmm kəltūm [3] ... w maġġāt mōsīqa ġaġbəyyi mətəl ətwīst hāy əġ-ġəqṣa māl əs-səttīnāt wəl-bītəlz wər-rōləng əstōnz. nəḥna kənna bəl-ʕərāq ənsammi l-bītəlz xanāfəs mətl əl-ḥašaġa.

addakkaġ sani b šahaġ āb ysammūnu ʕəndna āb al-lahhāb kənna kəll yōmēn taqġīban ənġōḥ əl-ʕənd azdəqāʔ ʕəndəm čaġdāġ w nəshaġ ləs-sāʕa tlēti aġbaʕa ṣ-ṣəbaḥ. nəġğaʕ ləl-bēt halkānīn. bass kənna nətwannas əktīġ w hadōlāk əl-ayyām mən aḥsan ayyām qaḍḍēnāhəm.

kān aku ʕāʔilāt mətmakkənīn ʕəndəm māṭōġāt. kənna nəṭlaʕ bəm-māṭōġ ənġōḥ əl-nəṣṣ əš-šaṭṭ w-ənčayyət w nəzbaḥ. kān əyməġġ mən yamna ṣayyādīn samak ṭālʕēn yətṣayyadūn šabbūṭ w bəzz.[4] aktaġ ṣayyādīn dəğla yəzbaḥōn malēḥ. həyyi s-səbāḥa bəš-šaṭṭ mū halqad səḥḥəyyi yāha w xaṭaġ. yqūlūn aku kōsaġ bəš-šaṭṭ bass ana b-ʕəmġi mā šəftu šē mən hāda w ana qaḍḍētu aktaġ šabābi azbaḥ bəš-šaṭṭ.

1 These are the Iraqi singers Muḥammad al-Qabbānchī, popularly known as al-Gubbanchi, Nāẓim al-Ghazāli and Salīma Murād.

2 The Lebanese singer.

3 The famous Egyptian singer.

4 Two types of large freshwater fish found in Iraqi rivers.

Translation 1

The river Tigris has high and low tides. In the summer the water of the river decreases and small islands appear in it which stay all summer until the cold and the rain come and the islands become submerged. Some Baghdadi families used to put up little palm-leaf huts on the islands which are called *čarādīġ* ... singular *čardāġ*. These are like tents. Everyone who had a *čardāġ* would give a party in it once or twice in the summer. They would invite their friends and relatives and stay up until morning. Food and fun and music ... At first it used to be Oriental music, that is Iraqi classical music ... *maqām* ... Al-Gubbanchi, Nāḍim and Salīma ... Later they started to bring songs by Fayrūz and even Umm Kulthūm ... And sometimes Western music, like the Twist, that dance of the sixties, and the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. We, in Iraq, used to call the Beatles "beetles", like the insect.

I remember one year in August, (which) they call "flaming August" in our part of the world, we went practically every other day to friends, who had a *čardāġ*, and we used to stay up until three or four o'clock in the morning. We would go home exhausted. But we used to enjoy ourselves very much, and those days were among the best we have ever spent.

There were well-off families who had motorboats. We used to go out in the motorboat as far as the middle of the river, and we would dive in and swim. Fishermen used to go past us on their way to fish *šabbūṭ* and *bəzz*. The majority of the Tigris fishermen swim well. Swimming in the Tigris is not that healthy and is dangerous. They say that there are sharks in the river, but in all my life I did not see anything of the kind, and I have spent most of my youth swimming in the river.

Text 2

madġasəti kānət madġasət banāt w madġasi ahləyyi. əb-baġdād kānət əm-madēġəs əl-əbtədāʔəyyi l-ḥəkūməyyi məxṭalaṭa wəm-madēġəs ət-tānawəyyi[5] *kəlləta mū məxṭalaṭa yāha. lākən aktaġ əm-madēġəs əl-əbtədāʔəyyi əl-ahləyyi lō ləl-banāt lō ləl-wələd. baʕdēn ṣāġo yəftaḥōn madēġəs ahləyyi məxṭalaṭa bəx-xamsīnāt wəs-səttīnāt. əm-madġasi l-ahləyyi təqbal mənu mā kān. ṭabʕan yġīdūn nēs yədfaʕūləm.*

idā wēḥəd ġasab santēn waġa baʕḍəm yənṭəġəd mən əm-madġasi l-ḥəkūməyyi mbōġ bəl-ʕərāq ʕala ṭ-ṭaġīqa l-əfġansāwəyyi idā ṭāləb ġasab əb-āxəġ əs-sani yəbqa b-ṣaffu yʕīdu sani ləxxi. idā ġasab əb-mawḍōʕ aw ətnēn yqūlūn ṭalaʕ əkmāl[6] *w yəqdaġ idā mtaḥan bəyəm əb-āxəġ əs-sani w naǧaḥ yəṭlaʕ əl-ṣaff aʕla. idā ġasab maġġa ləxxi ṭabʕan yəbqa b-nafs əṣ-ṣaff.*

aku maġġāt kānu t-talamīd yənǧaḥōn naǧāḥ ʕaḥ-ḥāffī. yaʕni ykūn məʕaddaləm bēn əx-xamsīn wəx-xamsi w xamsīn. waqta yqūlūn ṭalaʕo əkmāl bəl-məʕaddal. əlli əkmāl bəl-məʕaddal yəxtāġ dağəs aw dağsēn yəmtəḥən bəyəm ḥatta yʕalli məʕaddalu w yənǧaḥ.

madēġəs əl-ʕərāq həyyi əbtədāʔəyyi w tānawəyyi. w ət-tānawəyyi maqsūmi qəsmēn mətawaṣṣəta w əʕdādəyyi. bəm-madġasi əl-əbtədāʔəyyi sətt ṣəfūf. əmtəḥān ṣaff əs-sādəs ysammūnu l-bakalōġya. əl-mətawaṣṣəta tlat əsnīn w əl-əʕdādəyyi santēn. əb-āxəġ ṣaff bəl-mətawaṣṣəta w həwwa ṣ-ṣaff ət-tālət ət-tānawi t-talāmīd ʕəndem əmtəḥān bakalōġya w waġānu yəxtāġōn lō faġəʕ ʕəlmi lō faġəʕ adabi bəl-əʕdādəyyi lli bəya ṣ-ṣaff əġ-ġābəʕ wəx-xāməs tānawi. w əb-āxəġ əṣ-ṣaff əx-xāməs yəmtaḥnūn əmtəḥān bakalōġya lāx qabəl mā yġōḥōn ləǧ-ǧāməʕa aw əl-kəlləyyət ət-taġbəyi aw kəlləyi taknōlōǧəyyi.

5 In Iraq primary schools are usually co-educational while secondary schools are all single sex.

6 *əkmāl* (lit. "completion"; "conclusion"). This implies that the result of the examination is not outright failure and that it is possible to resit the subjects one has failed in.

Translation 2

My school was a girls' school, and a private one. In Baghdad state primary schools were mixed, and all secondary schools not mixed (not co-educational). But the majority of private primary schools were either for girls or for boys. Then in the fifties and sixties they began to open co-educational private primary schools. Private schools accept anybody. Of course they want people who can pay them.

If one failed two years running one would be expelled from a state school, because in Iraq it is according to the French system that if a pupil fails at the end of the (school) year he stays down in his class and repeats it another year. If he fails in one or two subjects they say he has not failed completely, and he would be able to go to a higher class if he is examined in them at the end of the year and is successful. If he fails (in them) one more time of course he stays down in the same class.

There were times when pupils used to have borderline passes. That is when their average would be between 50% and 55%. In such situations they say that they failed in their average. The one who fails in his average chooses one or two subjects to be examined in so that he would increase his average and pass.

Iraqi schools are primary and secondary. Secondary schools are divided into two parts, intermediate and preparatory. There are six classes in a primary school. The exam at (the end of) the sixth class is called the baccalaureate. The intermediate (section is) three years and the preparatory two years. In the last class of the intermediate (section), which is the third class of the secondary school, pupils take a baccalaureate examination, and after that they choose either the sciences or the arts division in the preparatory school which has the fourth and fifth secondary classes. At the end of the fifth class they take another baccalaureate examination before they go to university or to teacher training college or a technological college.

Text 3

nəḥna b-bētna mā kān aḥad yəḥki bəd-dīn "hāda masīḥi yānu. hāy məsəlməyyi yāha. hāda yəhūdi yānu." bass ǧəddəti kānət təsmaʕni aqūl abāna lladi fī s-samāwāti w əs-salāmu ʕalayki yā maġyam. kānət ʕəndna ṣānʕa kātōlīkəyyi w lamman kānət təsmaʕna ana w bībi qa-nṣalli kānət ətṣalli wəyyāna. ē ʕala kəll ḥāl mā kān bāba yḥəbb aḥad yqūl šē ʕan dīn ġēġ nēs. kān ʕəndna azdəqāʔ aktaġəm əslām w kəntu atṣawwaġ kəllətna nafs əš-šē yaʕni kəntu atṣawwaġ ṣadīqəti bənət ǧīġānna həyyi hammēna ġaḥ tətnāwal mətli lamman yṣīġ ʕəmġa tman təsəʕ əsnīn. lamman əgbəġtu ṣəġtu aššəġ bəf-faġəq bēn adyān ən-nēs. hāda šē ṭabīʕi xāṣṣatan əb-bəlād mətl əl-ʕərāq bəya mən kəll əl-adyān. bəm-madġasi kənna nġōḥ ləb-bēʕa kəll əl-banāt əl-masīḥəyyāt mā ʕada l-pġotəstān ləʔan madġasətna kānət madġasi kātōlīkəyyi ... madġasət ġāhbāt.

awwal mā ġəḥtu ləm-madġasi kāno aktaġ əb-banāt masīḥəyyāt lō əsġāʔīləyyāt[7] *yaʕni yəhūd həkki kənna nsamməyəm qabəl. ṣadīqātna l-masīḥəyyāt hammēna mā kāno yəḥkūn bəd-dīn. baʕdēn ṣāġo yəğōn banāt mən baġġāt baġdād mā mətʕawwadīn ʕala ḥayāt madīni gbīġi. hadōli bass kāno yəsʔalūn "ənti šənu dīnki?" wəḥdi bənət agbaġ mənni b-əktīġ qālətli maġġa "ənti naṣġānəyyi yāki." qəltūla "lā lā ana masīḥəyyi." kəntu baʕadni zġēġi māʕġəf naṣġānəyyi w masīḥəyyi faġəd šē. zaʕaltu w əbkītu w həyyi tqəlli "bali bali ənti naṣġānəyyi." kənna qēʕdīn ʕal-ʕaša qalli bāba "šbīki bənti?" qəltūlu "mā šē." qalli "lāzəm aku šē. mā qa-təḥkīlna y-yōm ʕan əṣfūfki w ədġūski." sakattu šwayya. baʕdēn qəltūlu "bāba šənu naṣġāni ṣaḥēḥ mətl əl-masīḥi?" qalli "ē māku faġəq. masīḥi yaʕni yətbaʕ əl-masīḥ w naṣġāni yətbaʕ yassōʕ əl-masīḥ əlli kān mən ən-nāṣəġa." waqta kayyaftu w mā zaʕaltu baʕəd idā aḥad qalli "ənti naṣġānəyyi yāki."*

7 Up until the fifties Iraqi Christians frequently referred to Jews as *əsġāʔīləyyīn* (lit. "Israelites"). This was considered a more polite form than *yəhūd* "Jews". It was only when the word Israelite took on a political meaning that this practice was dropped.

Translation 3

In our house nobody spoke about religion. "This man is a Christian. This woman is a Muslim. That one is a Jew." But my grandmother used to hear me recite "Our Father who art in heaven" and "Hail Mary". We had a Catholic maid, and when she heard my granny and me praying she used to pray with us. Anyway, Daddy did not like anyone saying anything about other people's religion. We had friends who were mostly Muslim, and I used to think that we were all the same, that is to say I used to think that my friend, our neighbours' daughter, was also going to make her first communion like me at the age of eight or nine. When I got older I started to be aware of the differences between people's (different) religions. That is natural, especially in a country like Iraq which has all the religions. At school we used to go to chapel, all of us Christian girls, except the Protestants, because our school was a Catholic school ... a school run by nuns.

When I first went to school most of the girls were Christian or Israeli, I mean Jewish, that is what we used to call them in the past. Our Christian friends also did not talk about religion. Later girls from outside Baghdad, who were not used to life in a big city, started to come. Only those used to ask: "What is your religion?" One girl who was much older than me said to me: "You are a Christian (lit. Nazarene)." I said to her: "No, no, I am a Christian." I was still young and did not know that a Nazarene and a Christian were the same. I got angry and cried. She went on saying to me: "Yes, yes, you are a Nazarene." We were sitting down to supper (and) Daddy said to me: "What's wrong, my girl?" I said: "Nothing." He said to me: "There must be something. You're not talking to us today about your classes and lessons." I was quiet for a little bit. Then I said to him : "Daddy, what is a Nazarene? Is it true that it is the same as a Christian?" He said to me: "Yes, there is no difference. A Christian means (someone) who follows Christ, and a Nazarene follows Jesus Christ who was from Nazareth." It was then that I felt happy and I did not get angry after that if someone said to me: "You are a Nazarene."

Text 4

awwal aṣanṣōġ[8] *yaʕni maṣʕad kahġabāʔi šəftūnu b-baġdād kān əb ōġəzdi ... maxzan bīnu kəll šē ... badlāt lər-rəğāl wən-nəsāʔ wəl-aṭfāl w atāt bēt*[9] *w-əqmāšāt w ṣūf w kəll šē ḥatta maṭʕam ... maqha ... nġōḥ nəqʕad bīnu w nākəl dōndərma. kānət waqta d-dōndərma s-sūġəyyi kən əštahaġət bəl-ʕərāq. šqadd ṣāġo yəftaḥōn maḥallāt ybīʕōn bəya dōndərma w ḥalawəyyāt sūġəyyi w ləbnānəyyi. b ōġəzdi kāno yğībūn dōndərma mətl əd-dōndərma əl-mašhōġa b-dəmašq hāy əlli msawwāyi mən ḥalīb sāda lō fəstəq. baʕdēn qāmo yətfannanūn yōm əfġēz yōm məšməš yōm mōz lō baṭṭēx.*

kənna nəḥna nġōḥ əl-ōġəzdi həkki bass nəštamm hawa šwayya. idā ġədna nəštəġi šē kənna nġōḥ əl-ʕənd ḥasso, yaʕni maxzan ḥasso əxwān. abūyi kān yaʕġəf əl-mədīġ. ʕāʔilat ḥasso kəllətəm sabtəyyīn həmma ašhaġ ʕāʔila sabtəyyi b-baġdād.

ē fa awwal mā ğābo maṣʕad kahġabāʔi b ōġəzdi ṣāġət ən-nēs ətġōḥ təġkab bīnu yəṭlaʕōn w yənzalūn šē ğədīd yānu b-baġdād. maġġa kəntu bəl-maṣʕad wəyya wəḥdi əmm əl-ʕabāyi kānət wəyya wəḥdi səfūġ. əs-səfūġ qālətla l-əmm əl-ʕabāyi "šlōn qatšūfīn əl-maṣʕad?" qālətla "mū halqad faġəd šē malēḥ yānu. əl-maṣāʕəd əb-maṣəġ agbaġ w aḥsan b-əktīġ mən hāda. hōnīki kəll maṣʕad bīnu mġāyi w maqʕad." bass bən-nəsbi l-ġēġ nēs kān šē ʕaḍīm. yqūlūn lamman ğābo awwal daġağ kahġabāʔi l-baġdād kāno nēs əktāġ yġōḥōn bass ḥatta yəṭlaʕōn w yənzalūn. hadāk əl-waqət ana mā kəntu b-baġdād kəntu bəğ-ğāməʕa b-amēġka.

8 < the French ascenseur.

9 While enumerating the articles sold in the department store this informant reverted to the use of literary Arabic while retaining CB *t* for *ṯ* in *atāt* "furniture"; "furnishings".

Translation 4

The first lift, that is elevator, that I saw in Baghdad was in Orozdi Back ... a department store which has everything ... clothes for men, women and children, household furnishings, materials, wool and everything, even a restaurant ... a café ... where we used to go and sit down to have ice cream. At that time Syrian ice cream was famous in Iraq. So many shops which sold Syrian and Lebanese ice cream and sweets opened (then). So at Orozdi Back they used to sell ice cream like the famous Damascus ice cream, the one which is made of plain milk or pistachio. Later they started to vary (it). One day (there would be) strawberry (ice cream), another day apricot, another day banana or melon.

We used to go to Orozdi Back just for a breath of air. If we wanted to buy something we would go to Hasso's, that is Hasso Brothers' Store. My father knew the manager. All the Hasso family are Seventh-day Adventists. They are the best known Seventh-day Adventist family in Baghdad.

Yes, so the first time they brought an electric elevator to Orozdi Back people started to go there and get into it to go up and down. It was a novelty in Baghdad. Once I was in the elevator with a woman wearing a *ʕabāya*. She was with a bareheaded woman. The bareheaded (woman) said to the one in the *ʕabāya*: "How do you find the elevator?" She said to her: "It's not all that good. The elevators in Egypt are a lot bigger and better than this one. There each elevator has a mirror and a seat." But according to other people it was fantastic. They say that when they brought the first escalator to Baghdad many people only wanted to go up and down. At that time I was not in Baghdad. I was at university in America.

Text 5

ntašaġət əs-sīnama b-baġdād bəl-aġbaʕīnāt wəl-xamsīnāt qabəl mā yəği l-talavəzyōn. atṣawwaġ awwal məḥaṭṭət talavəzyōn ənfataḥət əb-sant əl-xamsi w xamsīn. qabl əl-talavəzyōn əs-sīnama kānət ahamm lahu l-ʕāʔilāt baġdād yaʕni baʕd əs-sahġāt bəl-əbyūt.

əs-sīnama nōʕēn šatwi w ṣayfi. əṣ-ṣayfi baġġa. əb-ayyām əḥ-ḥaġġ ṣaʕbi wēḥəd yəbqa ğəwwāt bənāyi əlla idā kānət əmbaġġadi. kəll əs-sīnamāt kān bəyəm maqāʕəd w lōğāt kəll lōğa bəya aġbaʕ kaġāsi. maġġāt idā kənna xamsi lō sətti nəḥğəz kəġsi aw kəġsəyyēn yḥəṭṭəwəm bəl-lōğa. nəsāʔ waḥdəm aw ʕāʔilāt yəqʕadūn bəl-lōğāt. ġyāğīl w šabāb w ğənūd yəqʕadūn əb-maqāʕəd ysamməwəm abu l-aġbaʕīn w abu l-sabʕīn. ləʔan awwal mā nfataḥət əs-sīnamāt kān səʕġ əl-maqʕad əl-līqəddam aġbaʕīn fələs wəl-aḥsan sabʕīn fələs. baqo həkki ysammə-wəm ḥatta baʕəd mā ṣāġo aġla.

əl-aflām əl-amēġəkəyyi həyyi lli kānət šaʕbəyyi aktaġ. awwalan əmsawwāyi malēḥ w tānəyan təği ləs-sīnamāt əl-məḥtaġama. qalīl ʕāʔilāt kāno yġōḥōn ləs-sīnamāt əlli bəyəm aflām ʕaġabəyyi yaʕni maṣġəyyi ləʔan aktaġəm kāno b maḥallāt qadīmi w faqīġi. əl-aflām əl-amēġəkəyyi kānət bəl-ləġa l-aṣləyyi wəyya taġğami bəl-ʕaġabi wəl-faġansi. əs-sīnamāt kānət əktīġ əla šaʕbəyyi w baqət həkki ilā awwal əs-sətināt.

Text 6

bəl-ʕərāq aku ḥaġaki fannəyyi qawəyyi. mən əl-aġbaʕīnāt əštahaġo l-fannānīn əl-ʕərāqəyyīn bəġ-ġasəm wən-naḥət. kān qabəl yəğōn fannānīn ōġōppəyyīn ləl-ʕərāq yəġəsmūn w əyğəġġōn ṣəwaġ fōtōġrāfəyyi ləl-ātāġ əl-ʕərāqəyyi wəl-maḥallāt əl-qadīmi xāṣṣatan əb baġdād w bəl-mōṣəl. məṣawwəġīn almān əhtammo b ṭaṣwīġ əl-bəyūt əl-qadīmi hadōli l-bəyəm šanēšīl w ḥōš əb-nāfōġa w ašğāġ mətl əl-bəyūt əl-əspānəyyi ... al-andalusəyyi. w ġassāmīn əngəlīz ṣāġo yəğōn

Translation 5

Cinemas in Baghdad became widespread in the forties and fifties before television arrived. I think the first television channel opened in 1955. Before television the cinema was the most important pass-time for Iraqi families, that is to say after evening gatherings in (people's) homes.

There are two kinds of cinema, indoors (lit. for winter) and open-air (lit. for summer). Open-air is outdoors. On hot days it is difficult to stay inside a building except when it is air-conditioned. All cinemas had (individual) seats and boxes. Each box had four chairs. Sometimes if we were five or six we would book a chair or two which they would put for us in the box. Women on their own or families would sit in the boxes. Men, young men and soldiers would sit in the seats which they (still) call those at forty fils and others at seventy fils. That is because when cinemas first opened the price of a seat in front was forty fils, and the better (seat) seventy fils. They kept calling them that even after they became more expensive.

It was American films which were more popular. Firstly they were well made, and secondly they came to respectable cinemas. Few families went to cinemas which showed (lit. had) Arabic films, that is Egyptian (films), because most of them were in old and poor quarters. American films were in the original language with subtitles in Arabic and French. Cinemas were very popular and remained so until the beginning of the sixties.

Translation 6

There is a strong art movement in Iraq. From the forties (onwards) Iraqi artists became well known in (the fields) of painting and sculpture. Previously European artists used to come to Iraq to paint and take photographs of Iraqi landmarks and old quarters, especially in Baghdad and Mosul. German photographers took an interest in photographing old houses, those which have overhanging windows and a courtyard with a fountain and trees, like Spanish ... Andalusian houses. And

ləl-ʕərāq w yəġəsmūn manāḍəġ məʕmāġəyyi w əğtəmāʕəyyi. bass əl-fannānīn əl-ʕərāqəyyīn əl-ḥaqēqa baddaʕo.

bəx-xamsīnāt bado l-fannānīn yəʕəġḍūn lōḥāt əb alwān ʒaytəyyi w māʔəyyi[10] *b maʕāġəḍ xāṣṣa. w qāmo n-nēs yəštaġōn ṣəwaġəm. w əštahaġo l-fannānīn əl-ʕərāqəyyīn bən-naḥət wəḥ-ḥafəġ bas mū nafs əd-daġağği lli štahaġo bəya bəġ-ġasəm.*

Text 7

əl-aʕyād bəl-ʕərāq mā kānət qaḥaṭ abadan. əl-məsəlmīn ʕəndəm aʕyādəm wəl-aqalləyyāt mətl əl-masīḥəyyīn, wəl-yəhūd wəl-aġman wəl-ātūġəyyīn wəl-akġād kəllətəm ʕəndəm aʕyādəm. w ṭabʕan dāʔəman aku l-aʕyād əl-waṭanəyyi mətəl ʕīd mīlād əl-mələk w ʕīd əl-tatwīğ[11] *hadōli bəl-ʕahd əl-malaki. bəğ-ğəmhūġəyyi aku qabəl kəll šē ʕīd əl-ṭawra*[11] *yaʕni aġbāṭaʕəš tammūz w yōm əğ-ğayš sətti kānūn ət-tāni.*

əb aʕyād əl-məsəlmīn kəll əl-əwlād kāno yəlbasūn əḥwēs ğadīdi mlawwani l-banāt yəġəbṭūn šaġāyəṭ tafta mlawwani b šaʕġəm. yəġkabūn bəʕ-ʕaġabānāt yṣafqōn w yġannūn. əl-banāt hammēna yḥannūn īdayəm w ġəğlayəm.

baʕd əl-məsəlmīn kāno l-yəhūd yəhtammūn əktīġ əb-aʕyādəm ... yōm kīpōġ w ʕīd ġās əs-sani mālətəm w lamman yḥəṭṭūn ʕaġāzīl bəs-ṣṭōḥ[12] *əl-ʕaġzūli msawwāyi mən saʕəf naxal. kənna nġōḥ əl-ʕənd azdəqāʔna nšūf ʕaġāzīləm. hāy qabəl mā yṣaqṭūn*[13] *əl-yəhūd mən*

10 There are no CB forms for oil or water colours, and so informants usually code-switch to literary Arabic.

11 With non-CB forms informants frequently retain the *l* of the definite article instead of assimilating it to the following phoneme.

12 This practice refers to the celebrations of Succoth or the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles.

13 *ṣaqqaṭ* < *ṣaqqaṭ ğənsəyyətu* "he renounced his (Iraqi) nationality" came to mean that an Iraqi Jew had left or was about to leave Iraq.

English painters started to come to Iraq to paint architectural and social scenes. But Iraqi artists in fact excelled themselves.

In the fifties (Iraqi) artists began to exhibit their oil and water-colour paintings in special exhibitions. People started to buy their pictures. They also became well-known for (their) sculpture and etchings, but not to the same extent as for (their) paintings.

Translation 7

There was no dearth of feasts in Iraq at all. Muslims have their own feasts, and (so do) the minorities like the Christians, the Jews, the Armenians, the Assyrians and the Kurds who all have their feasts. And of course there are always the national festivals, like the king's birthday and Coronation Day; these were during the monarchy. In the republic there is first of all the anniversary of the Revolution, that is on 14 July, and Army Day on 6 January.

During the Muslim feasts all the children used to wear brand new colourful clothes, the girls used to tie coloured taffeta ribbons in their hair. They used to ride in horse-drawn carriages and clap their hands and sing. Girls also used to put henna on their hands and feet.

After the Muslims it was the Jews who used to make the most of their feasts ... Yom Kippur and their new year (Rosh Hashanah) and when they put *ʕarzūlas* on the roofs. An *ʕarzūla* is made of palm leaves. We used to visit our friends to see their *ʕarzūlas*. That was before Jews started leaving from the forties (onwards). How they used to enjoy their festivals! They would take with them hard-

awāxəġ əl-aġbaʕīnāt. šqad kāno ykayfūn əb-aʕyādəm. yāġdūn wəyyāhəm təbīt[14] *bēḍ w ğēğ yġōḥōn əl-paġk əs-saʕdūn əlli qaġēb mən bētna. kəntu ašūfəm yənṣəbūn samāwəġ w ysawwūn čāy bəl-paġk.*

nəḥna l-masīḥəyyīn ʕəndna ʕīd əl-mīlād w ġās əs-sani w ʕīd əl-əgbīġ yaʕni l-faṣəḥ. əl-ōġtodoks w xāṣṣatan əl-aġman ʕīd əl-mīlād ʕəndəm yōm sətti kānūn ət-tāni baʕəd ʕīd ġās əs-sani. w aktaġ əs-sənīn ʕīd əl-faṣəḥ ʕəndəm ykūn baʕəd ʕīd əl-faṣəḥ mālət əl-kātōlīk wəl-əpġōtəstān. kānət əs-sani kəlləta ʕəndna b-baġdād məlyāni aʕyād.

əš-šīʕa yəḥtaflūn əb ʕīd nawġōz bəġ-ġabēʕ. ysammūnu bəl-ʕərāq ʕīd dōġt əs-sani lamman əs-sani ddōġ ʕala nōʕ ḥaywān. ysawwūn ṣawāni kəlləta namnamāt w yzawqəwa b yās. kəl ṣīnəyyi lāzəm ykūn bəya tamaġ. yḥəṭṭūn əšmōʕ lən-nadəġ əlli yəndəġ šē yḥəṭṭ dambūs bəš-šamʕa. šē ktīġ ḥalu yānu. nēs əktāġ yʔāmnūn bīnu məsəlmīn w masīḥəyyīn. əm-maġa lli mā qa-yṣīġla wlād təndəġ idā ṣāġla əbən aw bənət ətqōm həyyi tsawwīləm kəll sani ṣīnəyyi. xāləti nadaġət əb ṣīnəyyət maġt əl-fallāḥ mālətəm. lamman waladət awwal əbna qālətla maġt əl-fallāḥ "lāzəm kəll sani tsawwīlu ṣīnəyyi hāda əš-šaġəṭ." qāmət xāləti kəl nawġōz ətsawwi ṣīnəyyi l-əbna ilā an mātət aḷḷa yəġḥama.

əl-məsəlmīn baʕəḍ mənnəm yṣadqōn bəl-qaddīsīn əl-masīḥəyyīn. kān aku wəḥdi maġa məsəlməyyi naʕġəfa qālətla l-ṣānʕəta l-masīḥəyyi "əššʕalīli šamʕa ləl-ʕadġa yōm əl-aḥad." mbōġ əbna kān qayḥəbb wəḥdi mū mnāsabi l-ʕāʔələtəm. lamman əbna taġaka l-hāy w ətnēšan wəyya wəḥdi yaʕəġfūn ahla ṣāġət əmmu tdəzz əflūs əb īd ṣānʕəta lək-kanīsi.

14 lit. "left overnight". Eggs and chicken were cooked on Friday afternoon and put on low embers to keep warm for the Sabbath.

boiled eggs and boiled chicken and they would go to Saᶜdūn Park which is near our house. I used to see them putting up samovars and making tea in the park.

We Christians have Christmas, New Year and the Great Feast, that is Easter. The Orthodox, and especially the Armenians, have their Christmas on 6 January, after New Year. And most years their Easter falls after the Catholic and Protestant Easter. Our whole year in Baghdad was full of feasts.

The Shiᶜites celebrate Nawrūz in the spring. They call it in Iraq the revolving of the year, when the year revolves on a kind of animal. They prepare trays full of tidbits which they decorate with privet leaves. Each tray has to include dates. They (also) put candles for making wishes. Anyone wanting to make a wish sticks a pin in a candle. It's something very nice. Many people believe in it, (both) Muslims and Christians. A woman who has no children (usually) makes a wish. If she has a boy or a girl she has to prepare a tray for them every year. My (maternal) aunt made a wish in the tray of their gardener's wife. When she had her first child the gardener's wife said to her: "You must prepare a tray every year. That is a must." So my aunt began to prepare a tray for her son every Nawrūz until she died, God have mercy on her soul.

Some Muslims believe in Christian saints. There was a Muslim woman we knew who said to her Christian maid: "Light me a candle to the Virgin on Sunday." (This was) because her son was in love with a woman who was not suitable for their family. When her son left this (woman) and got engaged to someone whose family they knew, (his mother) began to send money to the church with her maid.

Text 8

kəl madġasi bəl-ʕarāq ətxaṣṣəṣ yōm wēḥəd bəs-sani d-dəġāsəyyi l-ṣaff mən əṣfūfa yġōḥōn safġa l-xāġəğ əl-madīni. qalīl talāmīd mā yġōḥōn. aku maġġāt əwlād ahləm mā yxalləwəm yġōḥōn wəyya baqəyyət azdəqāʔəm. yğūz yxāfūn ʕalayəm. bass əl-aktaġəyyi yəntazhūn əl-fəġṣa w yġōḥōn wəyya ṣaffəm.

l-əzbōʕ kəllu qabl əs-safġa ykūnūn əl-əwlād fəġḥānīn w məğtahdīn bəm-madġasi. kəntu ana w azdəqāʔi mā nəqdağ nəġfa qabəl lēlt əs-safġa halqad mā nkūn fəġḥānīn. kəntu axbəṣa l-əmmi idā mā šəftəwa qatḥaddəġli ġadāyi ləs-safġa. tqəlli "əbni baʕəd waqət." kəntu aqōm əṣ-ṣəbəḥ w bəl-ʕağal aġīd aġōḥ ləm-madġasi. yqəlli abūyi "lēš əl-ʕağali hay-yōm?"

lamman kəntu ōṣal ləm-madġasi aġōḥ adawwəġ ʕala kəll azdəqāʔi w nəṭlaʕ əb-bāṣ māl əm-madġasi. safġātna kāno lō l-bābəl lō ləl-ḥəlla nəqʕad ʕala šāṭəʔ əl-fəġāt lō l-abu ġrēb. hōnīki aku mazġaʕa w nahağ w ašğāġ ənqaḍḍi n-nahāğ nəlʕab səmbēla w xəttēba wəl-banāt yāxdūn wəyyāhəm ḥabəl. w nəġğaʕ kəllətna taʕbānīn ləl-bēt əl-məġrəb.

Text 9

l-mōsīqa l-ʕarāqəyyi həyyi nōʕēn l-əklāsīkəyyi wəš-šaʕbəyyi. l-əklāsīkəyyi yaʕni l-maqām wəš-šaʕbəyyi l-aġāni l-badawəyyi l bəl-aṣəl. bass əl-maqām həwwa mafxaġat əl-ʕarāq əl-mōsīqəyyi. bəl-waqt əl-ḥādəġ kən ətġayyaġ əktīġ məmma kān əb ʕahd əl-ʕabbāsəyyīn.[15] *māʕğəf idā l-əlqāʔ baʕdu mətəl mā kān qabəl. lākən kən ṣāğ aqṣağ mən qabəl liʔan məstamaʕīn qağn əl-ʕəšğīn mā ʕəndəm lā nafs əṣ-ṣabəğ wa lā waqət yəqdağōn yəbqōn sāʕāt yəsmaʕōn qāġi l-maqām yəlqi maqām wēḥəd waġa laxxi. ʕād əl-qāġi yəlqi maqām qaṣēğ lō tnēn w*

15 It is generally believed that the contemporary Iraqi *maqām* is a direct descendant of Abbasid court songs.

Translation 8

Every school in Iraq dedicates one day in the school year for each one of its classes to go on an outing outside the city. There are few pupils who do not go. There are sometimes children whose parents do not allow them to go with the rest of their friends. Perhaps they worry about them. But the majority take the opportunity and go with their class.

The whole week before the outing the children are excited and work hard at school. My friends and I could never get to sleep the night before an outing, so excited were we. I used to pester my mother if I did not see her preparing me a (packed) lunch for the outing. She used to say to me: "It's still early, my boy." I would get up in the morning and want to rush to school. My father would say to me: "Why the hurry today?"

When I got to school I would go and look for all my friends and (then) we would get into the school bus. Our outings were either to Babylon or to Ḥilla where we would sit on the bank of the Euphrates, or to Abu Ghraib. There is a farm there and a river and trees where we would spend the day playing leapfrog and hide-and-seek, and the girls used to take a skipping rope with them. We all used to go back home in the evening exhausted.

Translation 9

Iraqi music is of two kinds, the classical and the popular. The classical means the *maqām*, and the popular (consists of) songs which are of bedouin origin. The *maqām*, however, is the musical pride of Iraq. At the present time it has changed a great deal from what it was in the Abbasid era. I do not know whether the recitation is still as it used to be before. But (the *maqām*) has become shorter than before because twentieth century audiences have not got the same patience nor the time to be able to spend hours listening to a reciter delivering one *maqām* after another. So the reciter delivers one short *maqām* or two, and then the orchestra starts to play a popular ditty or a folk song and the audience starts to clap to its rhythm and join in the refrain.

baʕdēn yqūm əč-čālġi ydəqq lō pasta lō ġənnəyyi šaʕbəyyi əl-məstaməʕīn yqōmōn yṣafqōn ʕala naġməta w yəštaġkūn bəġ-ġadd.

mā baqa qəġġāʔ maqām mətəl qabəl. aktaġ əl-məġannīn əš-šabāb yġannūn aġāni ğadīdi mətʔatġa b mōsīqa ġaġbəyyi. awwalan həkki nōʕ mōsīqa marġōb aktaġ w tānəyan mā baqa məġannīn qadīmīn yʕalmūn əl-məġannīn əš-šabāb əlqāʔ maqām ʕala ṭ-ṭaġēqa t-taqlīdəyyi. ʕala kəll ḥāl baʕəd wēḥəd yəqdaġ yəlqi sahġāt wəyya čālġi baġdād bəḥ-ḥaflāt lō bəl-aʕġās ... sahġāt əlli təbda mən əs-sāʕa təsʕa w təbqa ilā s-sāʕa tlāti əṣ-ṣəbəḥ lamman əl-ʕāzmīn yqadmūn əl-xəṭṭāġəm pāča.[16]

Text 10

əl-aġman əb-baġdād mū mən əs-səkkān əl-aṣləyyīn mətəl baqəyyət əl-fəʔāt əl-masīḥəyyi matalan əl-kəldān w ātōġəyyīn wəy-yaʕqōbəyyīn. bass əl-aġman ṣāġō qəsəm məhəmm mən əğ-ğāləyi l-masīḥəyyi bəl-ʕərāq. aktaġəyyət əl-aġman ōġtodoks. lākən aku mənnəm kātōlīk. baʕəḍ mənnəm ysamməwəm aġman məhāğəġīn hāy lamman yġīdūn yfaġqōn bēnəm w bēn əlli ğō qabəl mənnəm əlli ysamməwəm aġman baġdād.

əl-aġman əl-məhāğəġīn kāno mā yəḥkūn ʕaġabi malēḥ w aktaġəm yəḥkūn təġki w aġmani. aġman baġdād mā yaʕəġfūn təġki w ləġatəm əl-aġmanəyyi maxlōṭa b kaləmāt w ʕəbāġāt ʕaġabəyyi ktīġi. b qaġn əl-māḍi kāno aġman baġdād maqsūmīn bēn hadōli lli yḥəbbūn qayṣaġ ġūsya w bēn əlli yḥəbbūn əl-maləka vəktōġya. ṭabʕan əl-aġman əl-məhāğəġīn ğō b-bədāyət haq-qaġən baʕd əl-madābəḥ əlli ṣāġət ḍəḍḍ əl-aġman. ʕādatan əl-ōġtodoks mayṣēġ yətzawwağūn qaġāyəb. aqall qaġābi bēnātəm lāzəm ətkūn ʕala baʕəd sabəʕ maġġāt. bass ḥatta lā yənqaġḍūn əl-aġman əl-baṭġak mən zamān qāl yğūz zawāğ bēn qaġāyəb. w mən hāda aku kam aġmani mətzawwəğ bənt xālətu lō bənt ʕammətu.

16 It is customary to eat tripe following a *maqām* concert.

There are no longer *maqām* reciters as before. Most young singers sing new songs influenced by Western music. Firstly, this type of music is more popular, and secondly, there are no longer old (style) singers (who can) teach the young singers *maqām* recitation according to the traditional method. Anyway, one can still find evening gatherings with (traditional) Iraqi music at parties or weddings... evening gatherings which start at 9 o'clock and go on until 3 o'clock in the morning when the hosts offer tripe to their guests.

Translation 10

The Armenians in Baghdad are not among the original inhabitants of Iraq like other Christian groups, for example, the Chaldeans, the Assyrians and the Jacobites. But Armenians have become an important part of the Christian community in Iraq. The majority of Armenians are Orthodox. But there are Catholics among them. Some of them are known as "Refugee Armenians", that is when people want to differentiate between them and those who had come before them whom they call "Baghdadi Armenians".

"Refugee Armenians" did not use to speak Arabic well and most of them speak Turkish and Armenian. "Baghdadi Armenians" do not know Turkish, and their Armenian language is mixed with a lot of Arabic words and expressions. In the last century "Baghdadi Armenians" were divided into those who liked the Czar of Russia and those who liked Queen Victoria. Of course "Refugee Armenians" came at the beginning of this century, after the massacres which took place against the Armenians. Ordinarily the Orthodox cannot marry relatives. The nearest blood ties (between relatives) have to be seven times removed. But in order not to allow the Armenian (population) to die out, a long time ago the Patriarch said that it was permissible for relatives to marry each other. That is why there are some Armenians who have married cousins (lit. a maternal aunt's daughter or a paternal aunt's daughter).

Text 11

ət-taməġ mən ahamm əl-aġdəyi ṣ-ṣəḥḥəyyi. əl-vītāmīnāt wəš-šakaġ bīnu məġaddəyi ktīġ. yqūlūn əl-badu ṣaḥḥatəm malēḥa yāha mbōġ yāklūn taməġ w xəbəz w yəšġabūn ḥalīb ṭāza. ət-taməġ anwāʕ məxtaləfi. hōnīki l-xəstāwi yqūlūn hāda aḥsan nōʕ w yḍāyən w mən hāda yğaffəfūnu w yāklūnu bəš-šəta. baʕdēn ʕəndna l-ḥəllāwi wəl-maktūm əlli ḥabbətu zġēġi yāha wəl-baġban əlli ḥabbətu gbīġi yāha. hadōli l-anwāʕ maʕġōfin malēḥ.

ən-naxīl əlli bəl-bəyūt kəllətəm ənāt. wəb-basētīn taməġ xəṣūṣəyyi yəzġaʕōn naxīl dakaġ. bəġ-ġabēʕ yəğōn ʕaġab mən əb-basētīn w ğaybīn wəyyāhəm səʕūf dakaġ. ydəqqōn əl-bībān w yəsʔalūn idā aḥad yġīd naxīlu tətlaqqaḥ. yətsallaqōn hadōli mətəl əğğēdəyyət naxal w yəġəbṭūn kəll saʕəf dakaġ əb saʕəf ənta. təbqa hakki əs-səʕūf ilā awwal əṣ-ṣēf lamma tōqaʕ əs-səʕūf əd-dakaġ wət-taməġ yqōm ybayyən.

Text 12

nəḥna b-bētna kənna nḥəbb xəbz əl-əʕġōq. hāda nōʕ xəbəz yəxəbzūnu wəyya baqəyyət əl-xəbəz ləl-ʕāʔila bass yḥəṭṭūn bīnu laḥəm qīma w maʕdanōs w-əkġafəs w kammūn bəʕ-ʕağīn qabəl mā yəxəbzūnu bət-tannūġ. kān ʕəndna bəb-bəstān tannūġ w kānət təği maġa ʕəġbəyyi təxbəzəlna kəll ətlat əyyām maġġa.

hāy əm-maġa kānət əthəbba l-əmmi ktīġ. kəlma ṭətlaʕ əmmi l-baġġa tšūfa w həyyi qa-təxbəz kānət təbtəsəm w ətqūl "nūġ nūġ ṭalaʕ əmnət-tannūġ." kānət təği maġġāt mā təḥki w lā tqūl "šlōnkəm" bass ətġōḥ dəġri lət-tannūġ w-ətqūm təʕğən. maġġa əğət w ʕēna l-yəsġa sōdā. saʔaləta əmmi qālətla "šbīki ḥūġəyya?" ... kān əsma ḥūġəyya ... qālətla "mā šē. ana malēḥa yāni lēs qa-təsʔalīn?" qālətla əmmi "lā yā ḥūġəyya hay-yōm ənti mū ʕala baʕəḍki."[17] hāy ətqəlla "ana malēḥa yāni" w hadīki tqəlla "mā mbayyən ʕalēki malēḥa yāki." baʕdēn xaṭṭəyyi

17 lit. "you are not altogether" or "you are not up to scratch".

Translation 11

Dates are among the most important nutritional foods. The vitamins and sugar in them are very nutritious. They say that bedouins are healthy because they eat dates and bread and drink fresh milk. Dates are different varieties. There is the *xəstāwi* which they say is the best variety and is long-lasting. That is why they dry it and eat it in winter. Then we have the *ḥəllāwi*, the *maktūm* which is small-grained, and the *barban* which is large-grained. These are the best known varieties.

The palm-trees (one finds) in houses are all female. In special palm-groves they plant male palm-trees. In spring bedouins from the groves come bringing with them male branches. They knock on doors and ask if anyone wants his palm-trees pollinated. These (men) climb (the palm-trees) like squirrels and tie each male branch to a female one. The branches stay (tied) in this manner until the beginning of summer when the male branches fall off and the dates start to appear.

Translation 12

In our house we used to like herb bread. That is a kind of bread which they bake with the rest of the bread for the family, except that they put in the dough ground meat, parsley and cumin before they bake it in an earthenware oven. We used to have an earthenware oven in the garden, and a bedouin woman used to come to bake us bread once every three days.

That woman loved my mother very much. Whenever my mother went out to see her while she baked, (the woman) would smile and say: "Oh light, light, that has come out of the earthenware oven". There were times when she came and did not speak or say "how are you". She would just go straight to the oven and start to knead (the dough). Once she came with her left eye black. My mother asked her and said: "What is the matter, Ḥūriyya?" ... Her name was Ḥūriyya ... She said to her: "Nothing. I'm all right, why are you asking?" My mother said to her: "No, Ḥūriyya, today you're not yourself." (So they went on) this one would say (to the other): "I'm all right", and the other would say to her: "You don't look all right".

ḥūġəyya qāmət təbki. xabbaġəta l-əmmi zōğa ḍaġaba mbōġ mā ṭaʕətu kəll əflūsa. həyyi xaṭṭəyyi təštəġəl w əṭḥaṣsəl əflūs w həwwa yəqʕad bəq-qahwi yəšġab čāy w yəlʕab əqmāġ.

Text 13

baġdād bəya swāq əktīġi. qəsəm mənnəm mašhōġēn mətəl sōq əš-šōġğa. hadōli b-baġdād əl-qadīmi bəm-maḥallāt əlli bəyəm əbyūt qadīmi w daġābīn w šawēġəʕ mā mballaṭa. kəntu aġōḥ wəyya ğəddəti w ġassā-lətna l-sōq əl-əgbīġ mbōġ kəntu aḥəbb əl-aṣwāṭ wəl-alwān mālət əs-sōq wəm-maḥallāt əl-qadīmi wa law kānət kəlləta ṭīn w waṣax w ġēḥa mū ṭaybi. lākən əl-manāḍəġ lāyqa lət-taṣwīġ ... maxāzən əl-əqmāšāt bəya alwān ḥəlwi aḥmaġ w aġḍaġ w aṣfaġ w banafsağī wə-qmāšāt təlmaʕ w təġhəğ ... wəl-haġağāt lamman maġa təʕāġak wəyya bayyāʕ ... baʕdēn makānāt ybīʕōn bəyəm akəl w namnamāt mətəl ḥabb w ḥəmməṣ w lōz w bahāġāt fəlfəl aḥmaġ w aswad w kammūn aṣfaġ w dāġsīn qahwā?i. yənʕaġfūn hadōli maḥallāt əl-ʕaṭṭāġēn mən ġēḥətəm mən baʕēd. aku hammēna maḥallāt ybīʕōn bəyəm ṣəfəġ w ənḥās w yənsəməʕ əd-daqq bəyəm mən masāfa.

Text 14

qabəl mā təği l-kōka kōla wəl-papsi kōla wəl-savən ap ləl-ʕərāq kāno n-nēs ysawwūn šaġbat bəl-bēt. ay bēt wēḥəd yġōḥlu bəġ-ġabēʕ aw əṣ-sēf lamman ətṣīġ ḥāġġa d-dənyi yəlqi šaġbat bēgəd. kənna nəḥna nsawwi anwāʕ əktīġi mnəš-šaġbat w nəxzan əl-əbṭūli bək-kəlaġ əlli mayšūf šaməs aw ay nūġ ḥatta š-šaġbat yəbqa sani kāmli w mā yəxxab.[18] *kāno ymәġġōn bayyāʕēn əb šawēġəʕ baġdād ybīʕōn anwāʕ əš-šaġbat bala ġāz w bīnu ġāz. əlli bīnu ġāz kāno ysammūnu nāmlēt*

18 < *yəxrab* "to be spoilt"; "to spoil" where *r* is assimilated to x. See 1.1.2 on the treatment of *r*.

Then poor Ḥūriyya started to cry. She told my mother that her husband had beaten her because she had not given him all her money. She, poor (woman), used to work and earn money, while he (just) sat in the coffee-house drinking tea and gambling.

Translation 13

Baghdad has a lot of old markets. Some of them are famous like the Shōrja market. These are (situated) in old Baghdad, in quarters which have old houses, alleys and unpaved streets. I used to go with my grandmother and our washerwoman to the large market because I liked the sounds and colours of the market and old quarters, in spite of the fact that they were full of mud and dirt and an unpleasant smell. But the scenes were worthy of being photographed ... Fabric shops with beautiful colours, red, green, yellow and purple, and materials which shone and sparkled ... And the uproar when a woman would quarrel with a vendor ... Then there were places where they sold food and titbits like melon seeds, chick peas, almonds and spices, red and black pepper, yellow cumin and brown cinnamon. These spice shops could be felt from far away because of their smells. There were also places where they sold brass and copper, and one could hear the banging in them from a distance.

Translation 14

Before coca-cola, pepsi-cola and seven-up were brought to Iraq people used to make soft drinks at home. Any house one went to in spring or summer, when the weather became hot, one would find cold soft drinks. We used to make different kinds of soft drinks and store the bottles in the larder which did not see the sun or any light so that the soft drinks would keep a whole year and not spoil. Vendors used to pass through the streets of Baghdad selling different kinds of drinks, still and fizzy. Those which were fizzy were called

wəl-bayyāʕēn lamman yṣīḥōn yqūlūn "bāġəd bāġəd ğəllāb ʕal-qaləb".[19]

ʕəndna bəl-bēt kāno ğəddəti wəṣ-ṣānʕa ysawwūn šaġbat kəll sani ... šaġbat may waġəd w qəddāḥ w nūmi ḥāməḍ w pəġtaqāl w məšməš w ġəmmān w zəbīb. šaġbat may waġəd ḥatta kān əṭ-ṭabbāx yəstaʕməlu bəḥ-ḥalawəyyāt. kənna nəštaġi mnəs-sōq ʕašəġ kīlōwāt aw aktaġ waġaq waġəd ğūġi[20] *w ənḥəṭṭəm əb ğədəġ ʕaġēḍ mən taḥət w ḍayyəq mən fōq w nətġəsu may w ənḥəṭṭu ʕala nāġ xafīfi. lamman yfōġ əl-mayy ənqōm ənḥəṭṭ būġi xēzaġān bəğ-ğədəġ w ənġakkəb ʕalēnu būġi lāstīk ṭawīl ənməddu l-ğaġġa. lamma yəṭlaʕ əl-bəxāġ yqūm əl-būġi ynaqqəṭ šwayya šwayya qaṭġāt may waġəd. may qəddāḥ hammēna ysawwūnu b nafs əṭ-ṭaġēqa w yqūlūn malēḥ ləl-qaləb. əlli yəšġab may qəddāḥ yəṭḥāša n-nawbāt*[21] *əl-qalbəyyi. may waġəd malēḥ ləğ-ğələd. kāno l-banāt qabəl mā yəktašfūn l-əkġēmāt yəmṣaḥōn əxdūdəm w ğabīnəm bīnu ḥatta mā yəṭlaʕləm ḥabb əš-šabāb.*[22]

əš-šaġbat əlli kəntu aḥəbbu ana aktaġ šē həwwa šaġbat əz-zəbīb. kənna nḥəṭṭ kīlo zəbīb əb-ṭāsi w ənġaṭṭi z-zəbīb əb-may bēġəd. baʕd yōmēn nṣaffi l-may w ənḥəṭṭu ʕala ṣafḥa w ənġaṭṭi z-zəbīb əb-may ğədīd. nʕīd əl-ʕamaləyyi maġġa ləxxi baʕəd yōmēn ləxəġ. əl-mayy əl-əmṣaffa mən əz-zəbīb ənḥəṭṭu b-bəṭəl bət-təllāği w baʕəd əzbōʕ ənqōm nəstaʕməlu. idā wēḥəd taġak šaġbat zəbīb sani aw aktaġ yṣēġ šaġāb. qəsəm mən əl-yəhūd kāno yəšġabūn šaġbat zəbīb əmbadāl šaġāb əb faṣḥ əl-yəhūd.

19 lit. "refreshingly soothing for the heart".

20 A special kind of scented pink rose petals are used for extricating rose water.

21 As *nawba qalbəyyi* "heart attack" is a loan from literary Arabic, the diphthong *aw* is retained.

22 lit. "the spots of youth".

nāmlēt. When the vendors called out they used to say: "Cold, cold, refreshing drinks."

At home my grandmother and the maid used to make soft drinks every year ... Rose water, orange blossom water, lemon, orange, apricot, pomegranate and raisin. The cook even used rose water in sweetmeats. We used to buy from the market ten or more kilos of rose petals which we would put in a pot, wide at the bottom and narrow at the top. We used to fill (the pot) with water and put it on a slow fire. When the water boiled we would put a cane pipe in the pot and fix a long rubber tube to it which we would direct into a jug. When the steam came up the tube would start dripping rose water little by little. Orange blossom water is also made in the same way, and they say that it is good for the heart. Anyone who drinks orange blossom water avoids having heart attacks. Rose water is good for the skin. Before they discovered (cosmetic) creams, girls used to apply it to their cheeks and foreheads to stop acne developing.

The soft drink which I liked best was raisin water. We used to put a kilo of raisins in a bowl and cover them with cold water. Two days later we used to drain the water and put it aside, and we would cover the raisins with fresh water. We would repeat the operation another time after a further two days. The water which was drained off the raisins we would put in a bottle in the refrigerator. A week later we used to start using it. If one left raisin water a year or more it fermented (lit. it became wine). Some Jews used to drink raisin water instead of wine during Jewish Passover.

Text 15

bət-tlāti w səttīn əbni l-əgbīġ ġāḥ əl amēġka l ğāməʕat əndəyāna. baqa hōnīki aġbaʕ əsnīn w ətʕaġġaf ʕala bənət ahla mən īṭālya bəl-aṣəl bass həyyi mawlūdi b amēġka. baʕdēn ətkallalu w ġāḥo l dītrōyt yamm ahla həyyi. ana w əmmu mā qadaġna nġōḥ ləl-əklīl bass axūnu l-azġaġ mənnu ġāḥ w ənġaram əb amēġka. kān yəštəġəl mīkānīk əb baġdād w b-əshūli laqa šəġəl hōnīkī. həwwa kān yəštəġəl əb maḥall ṣāḥbu zōğ bənti fa ṣāġ yləḥḥ ʕala əxtu w zōğa yġōḥōn l amēġka ḥatta yəftaḥōn mahall taʕmīġāt səyyāġāt. lamman qaġġaġo bənti w zōğa yġōḥōn əl dītrōyt kān əbni l-azġaġ əl-kəll kən ġāḥ əl ʕammān yəštəġəl əb ōtēl. baqēna ana w maġti bass əb baġdād. yaʕni kān ʕəndna qaġāyəb həyyi əxwi tnēn w əmma w ana əxət w axx. bət-tnēn w sabʕīn ətwaffət maġti alla yəġḥama w baqētu ḥazīn mā aʕġəf əšlōn yəmḍa n-nahāġ. kānət ḥāləti tḥazzən. ğā əbni lli həwwa b ʕammān yānu w qalli "bāba lāzəm lō təği wəyyāyi lō tġōḥ əl amēġ-ka." qaġġaġtu asāfəġ əl dītrōyt. awwal ayyām hōnīki ltahētu šwayya w nasētu ḥəzni. baʕdēn ṣāġət əl-ayyām ətbayyən ṭawīli. n-nēs əb amēġka kəllətəm mašġūlīn w mā ʕəndəm waqət əl aḥad. kəntu aqʕad əb waḥdi sāʕāt. baʕdēn qāmət bənti ġattabətli dġūs əngəlīzi b maʕhad lən-nēs əlli mətli gbāġ bəs-sənn w ğayyīn mən ġēġ bəldān wəyya ahləm. bəm-maʕhad yədəġsūn əngəlīzi ḥatta yəqdaġōn yəḥkūn wəyya ahləm w xāṣṣatan aḥfādəm. ana aḥfādi kəllətəm yəḥkūn əngəlīzi bass w mā aqdaġ atfāham wəyyāhəm. mā qadaġtu adabbəġa. ana aʕġəf kam kaləmi əngəlīzəyyi w bass. w baʕəd ətlat əšhōġ kəntu ʕala nafs əš-šē. qəltūlu l-əbni l-əgbīġ qəltūlu "qatšūfni ašlōn dabang yāni lā aḥsan w lā adġa mən qabəl."

baqētu santēn əb amēġka w baʕdēn ṣallabtu w ṣallētu w qəmtu mašētu. ġağaʕtu l baġdād əl ʕənd əxti. ṣaḥēḥ əwlādi kəllətəm baġġa w baġdād mā baqa bəya šē mən qabəl lākən baʕada madīnəti w madīnət ağdādi w əl-maḥall əlli madfūni bəya maġti alla yəġḥama.

Translation 15

In 1963 my eldest son went to America, to Indiana University. He stayed there for four years, and he met a girl whose parents are of Italian origin, but who was herself born in America. They later got married and went to Detroit (to be) near her family. His mother and I couldn't go to the wedding, but his younger brother went and fell in love with America. He used to work as a mechanic in Baghdad, and he found a job there easily. He used to work in a shop owned by my son-in-law, so (my son) started to urge his sister and brother -in-law to go to America so that they could open a car servicing shop. When my daughter and her husband decided to go to Detroit my youngest son had already gone to Amman to work in a hotel. My wife and I only remained in Baghdad. I mean she had (other) relatives, two brothers and her mother, and I had a sister and a brother.

In 1972 my wife passed away, may God have mercy on her soul, and I was left grief-stricken not knowing how to pass (each) day. I was in a pitiable state. My son who is in Amman came and said to me: "Daddy, you must either come with me or go to America." I decided to go to Detroit. During (my) first days there I found some distraction and I forgot my grief. Then the days began to seem long. People in America are all busy and have no time for anyone. I used to sit for hours on end by myself. Later my daughter arranged English lessons for me at an institute for people who are like me, advanced in years and who have come from other countries with their families. At the institute they learn English so they can speak to their families, and especially their grandchildren. All my grandchildren speak only English, and I can't communicate with them. I couldn't manage it. I only know a few words of English and that's all. And three months later I was still on the same (words). I told my eldest son, I said to him: "Do you see how I am a blockhead, neither better nor wiser than before?"

I stayed for two years in America, and then I crossed myself, prayed and got up and went away. I returned to Baghdad to my sister's. It's true that all my children are abroad and Baghdad has no longer anything left in it of the past, but it is still my home-town, and the home-town of my grandfathers, and the place where my wife is buried, God rest her soul.

Text 16

bəš-šəta kənna nəqʕad nəštəġəl ṣūf lō nṭaġġəz. dāʔəman wəḥdi bəl-ʕāʔəla tkūn ḥāməl w ənqūm kəllətna nḥaḍḍəġla ğhēz ləṭ-ṭəfəl. ana wlādi xamsətəm štaġaltūləm ṣūf w əmmi w xālati hammēna. w waṣṣē-nāləm ʕala ḥwēs mṭaġġazi ʕənd əl-māsēġāt.[23] *kānu mašhōġīn bəṭ-ṭaṭġīz w šəġləm əktīġ naḍīf*[24] *yānu. kānu ytaġzūn čaġāčəf dāyəġ məndāġa dāntēl w əḥwēs kəlləta bəya kəġt əz-zambōġ bəṣ-ṣadəġ. bəʕyūni*[25] *šē badāʕa mā yəltaqa mətlu baʕəd. hassaʕ kəš-šē ḥāḍəġ yānu. banāti tlātətəm eštaġo kəš-šē. ğābōnu mən amēġka w ḥatta štaġo mən hōni. w lā wəhdi mənnəm mā taʕġəf təštəġəl ṣūf ... lā atṣawwaġ šəġəl ṣūf ē lākən lā kġōšē lā ṭaṭġīz ... mʕawwadīn ʕaḥ-ḥāḍəġ.*

Text 17

aku wēḥəd ğīġānna šqad lawča. bass yḥəbb yəḥki w ybayyən ġaʔyu b kəš-šē mən səyāsi l mōsīqa l ʕəlūm l handasa l ğaməʕ ṭawābəʕ ... ḥatta bəf-fūtbōl yətṣawwaġ həwwa yəfham aḥsan mən əġ-ġēġ. lā yəbqa ʕəndəm ṣānəʕ w lā fallāḥ həwwa yḍall yqəlləm "hakki hāda sawwūnu w əntəm ma qataʕəġfūn hāda." xaṭṭəyyi maġtu məskīni lā təḥki w lā təški bass ətğaġġəb ətṣalləḥ maḥall əlli həwwa mxaġġəb bīnu. lamman ywaddi wəḥdi mən banātu ləd-daktōġ yṣīġ həwwa yqəllu ləd-daktōġ əšbəya bəntu. lamma d-daktōġ yqašməg ʕalēnu w yqəllu "fḥaṣa ənta" yqūm yfakkəġ əd-daktōġ qayəstašīġu w yqūl baʕdēn "mā qəttūlkəm? ḥatta d-daktōġ yəsʔalni ġaʔyi ana." šqad ğaġġabu yəḍḥakūn ʕalēnu w həwwa yfakkəġ bass qayəsʔalūnu mbōġ māku aḥad yəfham əb qaddu.

23 < The French *ma soeur* "sister" and the sound feminine plural ending *-āt*. Many older women still use this form instead of the more common *ġāhbāt* "nuns".

24 When referring to handiwork *naḍīf* invariably means "neat".

25 Most Christians avoid using the name of God in oaths, and prefer expressions like *bəʕyūni* (lit. "by my eyes").

Translation 16

In winter we used to sit and knit or embroider. There was always a pregnant woman in the family, and we would all (help her) prepare a layette for the baby. I knitted for all five of my children, and so did my mother and aunts also. And we ordered for them clothes embroidered by the nuns. They were famous for their embroidery and their work was neat. They used to embroider sheets with lace borders, and clothes with smocking on the bodice. I swear it was something exquisite and nothing like it can be found any more. Now everything is ready-made. My three daughters bought everything. They brought (things) from America, and even bought some here. Not one of them knows how to knit ... no, I think knitting yes, but not crochet or embroidery ... They're used to ready-made things.

Translation 17

There is a neighbour of ours who is very chatty. He loves nothing better than talking and expressing his opinion about everything, from politics to music to science to architecture to stamp collecting ... even football, he thinks he understands better than others. No servant or gardener stays with them (because) he keeps telling them: "Do this like that, and you don't know this." Poor thing, his wife is docile, she neither speaks nor complains. She merely tries to put right where he has caused damage. When he takes one of his daughters to the doctor he starts to tell the doctor what is wrong with his daughter. When the doctor makes fun of him and says to him: "You examine her", he starts to think that the doctor is consulting him, and he later says: "Didn't I tell you? Even the doctor asks me my opinion." They often tried to make fun of him, while he would think that they were just consulting him because there is no one who understands as much as he does.

Text 18

ṭalaʕ yaʕni wēḥad ṭalaʕ əl-fōq w nazal yaʕni nazal əlǧəwwa. bass bəl-ʕərāq yəstaʕməlūn ṭalaʕ w nazal əb ġēġ maʕna hammēna. matalan ʕādatan yqūlūn nazal ʕalayəm ḥaġāmi mbōġ əḥ-ḥaġāməyyi yəṭlaʕōn ʕala ḥāyəṭ ʕāli ... bəyūt baġdād kəlləta dāyəġ məndāġa ḥayāṭīn[26] *ṭābōq... ʕād əḥ-ḥaġāmi yəṭlaʕ ʕala šē məġtafəʕ yānu w baʕdēn yənzal ʕal-bēt əlli qayġīd ybōq mənnu. w yqūlūn ṭalaʕət ḥayyi l ʕəndəm mbōġ əḥ-ḥayyi ṭəṭlaʕ mən taḥət ... mən nahaġ lō mən ʕəšəb ... w ṭəṭlaʕ əl fōq. idā qəltu matalan ṭalaʕ əm-məšməš yaʕni ṭalaʕ ʕaš-šaǧaġa. bass idā qəltu nazal əm-məšməš yaʕni nazal ləs-sōq.*

Text 19

nəḥna baʕəd ʕəndna l-əgbāġ yəddāxalūn əb əmūġ l-əzġāġ. matalan ana hassaʕ maġa gbīġi lākən əmmi baʕada tfakkəġ ana mətəl ma kəntu qabəl ʕəšġīn sani təqdaġ ətqəlli "la tsawwēn hāda w la təlbasīn hadāka." əlli yǧōn mən əl-xāġəǧ mā yəqdaġōn yəṭhammalūn hakki šē. axūyi w maġtu w əwlēdəm kānu sēknīn əb ləbnān. lamman ṣāġət əl-ḥāli hōnīki mā tənǧəġəʕ ġaǧaʕu l baġdād. bənt axūyi ʕəmġa tnēn w ʕəšġīn tlāti w ʕəšġīn sani. kānət təštəġəl əb bank əb bēġūt w ʕənda səyyāġa tġōḥ w təǧi wəyya azdəqāʔa w ṣadīqāta. tṣawwaġət xaṭṭəyyi hōni b baġdād təqdaġ ṭəṭlaʕ w tədxəl əšwaqət mā tġīd w mā aḥad yqəlla šē ... hēy ... hēy ... əmmi tqəlli "hāy šlōn bənət yāha wēn qatətṣawwaġ həyyi qēʕdi[27] *b hōlīwūd? hāy baġdād hōni. lēš həyyi əbən yāha tətṣaġġaf mətəl ma qayəʕǧəba lō mətəl banāt əsqāqāt? bahdaltəwwa kaġtēn*[28] *w mā fād."*

26 *ḥayāṭīn* "walls" implies a number of walls, not necessarily in close proximity, while *ḥīṭān* usually refers to the walls of one room.

27 *qēʕdi* (lit."sitting") in this context means "living".

28 *kaġtēn* "twice" < *kaġġa* "once" is a variant of *maġtēn* < *maġġa*.

Translation 18

To go up means to go upstairs and to go down means to go downstairs. But in Iraq they use to go up and to go down in other contexts as well. For example, they usually say a burglar went down to them, because burglars go up on a high wall ... All houses in Baghdad are surrounded by brick walls ... So the burglar goes up on something high and then he goes down into the house he wants to steal from. They say a snake has gone up to them, because a snake creeps up from below ... from a river or from undergrowth ... and goes up. If I said, for instance, that apricots have come up, it means they have appeared on the tree. But if I said apricots have gone down, it means they have appeared in the shops.

Translation 19

We still have older people interfering in younger people's business. For example, I am now a grown woman, but my mother still thinks I am as I used to be twenty years ago, and that she can say to me: "Don't do this and don't wear that!" Those who come from abroad can't stand such things. My brother, his wife and children used to live in Lebanon. When the situation there became unbearable they returned to Baghdad. My niece is about twenty-two or twenty-three years old. She used to work in a bank in Beirut and she had a car, (so) she used to go and come (as she pleased) with her male and female friends. She thought, poor thing, that here in Baghdad she could go out and come in whenever she wanted and no one would say anything to her ... ha ... ha ... My mother says to me: "What sort of a girl is she? Where does she think she is living, in Hollywood? This is Baghdad here. Why, is she a boy to do what she feels like, or (is she) like badly behaved girls? I told her off twice and it didn't do any good."

ṣaʕəb əktīġ ğīl əmmi w abūyi yətġayyaġ. ʕəndəm ʕawēyadəm w taqālīdəm w yətṣawwaġōn həmma yaʕəġfūn aktaġ mən əlli azġaġ mənnəm. ana mətʕawdi yāni mbōġ əġbītu hōni w aʕġəf askət mā aqūl šē w mā ağāwəb. lākən wəḥdi mətəl bənt axūyi mʕawwadi ʕala ḥəġġəyyəta mā təqdaġ tətṣawwaġ hōni šqad yəddāxalūn əb əmūġ ġēġəm.

Text 20

l-adab əlu šaʕbəyyi ktīġ. dūġ ən-našəġ ṭəṣdəġ kətəb adab əktīġi kəs-sani ... yaʕni mū bass adab ʕaġabi. mən zamān kənna mʕawwadīn ʕala dāġ əl-həlāl əb maṣəġ ṭəṣdəġ taġğamāt mən əl-adab əl-ʕālami. atdakkaġ əb bētna əs-səġdāb kān məlyān kətəb ... ġəwāyāt w mas-ġaḥəyyāt ... al-ḥaġəb w as-sələm əl-əxwān kāġāmāzōf al-buʔasāʔ aḥdab nōtəġdām ālām wartar dōn kīšōt qəṣṣat madīnatēn ... kənna bəṣ-ṣēf nəqġa ktīġ ... ayyām ṭawīli w mā ʕəndna madġasi ... ana w axūyi kənna nəqġa ġəwāyāt pōlīsəyyi mətəl āġsīn lōpīn w šaġlōk hōlmz.

l-taġğamāt əlli mawğūdi l-yōm kəlləta malēḥa yāha w ətʕaġġəf əlli yəqġōn ʕaġabi bass ʕala l-adab əl-ġaġbi. taġğamāt kəlləta malēḥa w mū bass adab əklāsīki ... adab qaġn əl-ʕəšğīn w mən bəldān ṣāġət mašhōġa bəl-adab mətəl bəldān amēġka ğ-ğənūbəyyi. ʕəndna mağallāt əktīġi hammēna ʕan əl-adab əl-ʕaġabi wəl-adab əl-ʕālami mətəl mağallət al-aqlām əlli həyyi šahġəyyi w wēḥəd yəqdaġ yqūm əb baḥət ʕan əl-adab əl-ġaġbi mən dūn mā yəṭṭaġġ yəqġānu bəl-ləġa l-aṣləyyi.

It is difficult for my mother's and father's generation to change. They have their customs and traditions, and they imagine that they know more than those who are younger than them. I am used (to their way of thinking) because I was brought up here, and I know how to keep quiet and not say anything, nor answer back. But someone like my niece who is used to her freedom can't imagine how much people here interfere in other people's business.

Translation 20

Literature enjoys a great deal of popularity. Publishing houses produce a number of literary books every year ... I mean not only Arabic literature. A long time ago we were used to the Hilāl publishing house in Egypt which used to publish translations of world literature. I remember in our house the cellar was full of books ... novels and plays ... *War and Peace*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *Les Misérables*, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, *Don Quixote*, *A Tale of Two Cities* ... We used to read a lot in summer ... The days were long and we had no school ... My brother and I used to read detective novels, like (the adventures) of Arsène Lupin and Sherlock Holmes.

The translations available today are all good, and they introduce those who know Arabic only to Western literature. All good translations, and not only of classical literature ... Twentieth century literature, and from countries which have become well-known for literature, like the countries of South America. We have a lot of periodicals also about Arabic literature and world literature, like the periodical *Al-Aqlām* which is monthly, and one can carry out research about Western literature without having to read it in the original language.

GLOSSARY

The following is a selective glossary of terms common to CB. The majority are non-Arabic loan words, some of which occur in MB and JB also. Arabic words have generally been avoided, and only those which show variation in CB have been included.

adab	toilet (pl. *adabāt*)
adabsəz	bad-mannered (of common gender)
ādmi	good person
afandi	gentleman; presentable (man)
aġḍa	wood-worm
aku	there is
alaktġīk	electric, electrical
aṣanṣōġ	elevator, lift
axxas	dumb
āzīl	kindergarten
ʕabāyi	woman's black cloak
ʕaġabāni	horse-drawn carriage
ʕaġabanči	horse-drawn carriage driver; coachman
ʕaġaṣa	leasehold property
ʕaġmūṭ	pear
ʕaġōs	bride; queen (as in *ʕaġōs əb-baḥaġ* "queen of the sea")
ʕaġaqčīn	skull cap
ʕāgi	false (teeth, hair)
ʕaġzūli	tabernacle (usu. made of palm branches)
ʕaǧūzi	old woman
ʕalwi	fruit and vegetable wholesale market
ʕamba	mango pickle; mango
ʕaqqabi	scorpion (n. un.)
ʕaqqōqa	frog (n. un.)
ʕāyaṇ	to look at

bābūǧ slippers
badāʕa beautiful, exquisite
badli suit (clothes)
bāġa celluloid; plastic
baġbaʕ to make the most of s. t.
baġbīn purslane (bot.) (*Portulaca oluracea)*
baġqaʕ to cover with cloth
baġṭam to pout
bahāġāt spice(s)
balam rowing boat; small sailing boat
balamči oarsman; boatman
bali yes, certainly
bālkōn balcony
ballōʕa drain
banafsaǧi mauve, violet (colour)
bāq to steal
baqbaq to bulge, to protrude
baqq mosquitoes (n. un. *baqqāyi*)
baṣaṭ to smack; to slap
baṣṭa smack; slap
bāṣṭōn walking stick
bastōqa large earthenware vat in which pickles are left to ferment
baṭbaṭ to swell
baṭġak patriarch
bātġi battery
baṭṭānəyyi blanket
baṭṭēx melon
bawwāq thief, s.o. who is in the habit of stealing
bazzūni cat (n. un.)
bēʕa church; chapel
bəġəʕ insolent, rude
bəġbād awful; very bad
bərġi screw
bəġšāni communion wafer
bəstanči gardener
bēš how much?
bəṭəl bottle
bəʕyūni believe me!, I swear (lit. "by my eyes")

bəzz type of freshwater fish found in the Tigris and Euphrates
bībi granny; grandma
bīġa beer; lager
blūz blouse
bobbi doggy
bōy waiter
bōyəmbāġ tie, cravat
būġi pipe, (water) tap; petunia (bot.)

čādəġ tent
čāġa remedy; solution
čaġčaf bed sheet
čaġdāġ palm-leaf hut erected on islets which appear in the Tigris during the summer months
čāġak quarter (as in *čāġak sāʕa* "a quarter of an hour")
čaġəx wheel
čākūč hammer
čālġi Iraqi orchestral music
čamča ladle
čaqlab to topple
čayyak to check (usu. oil and water in car)
čayyat to dive (into water)
čəġək rotten
čəġpāyi iron bed
čəllāqa kick
čəngāl fork
čətāyi woman's white headscarf trimmed with small beads
čəwīt indigo (dye)
čəwīti dark blue
čīt calico; chintz
čōl wilderness; desert
čōla hopscotch

daʕam to bump; to knock; to crash (car)
dabang blockhead; dolt
dabb to throw
dabdab to become plump
daġbīn binoculars

daġbūni alley
daġdaġ to tickle
daġdam to complain, to grumble
daġdaš to chat
daġəb way; road
daġġ to nudge
daġnafīs screwdriver
dāġsīn cinnamon
dahġi unconcerned; unperturbed
dalġam to frown; to look disturbed
dallal to spoil; to indulge
dallāl go-between; matchmaker
dalli small brass pot with long handle for making coffee
dambūs pin (*dambūs amēġəkāni* "safety-pin")
dāntēl lace
daššan to wear or try out s.t. new for the first time
dāṭli sweet fritters in syrup
dazz to send
dawwaġ to look for; to ask about
dāyəġ məndāġ all around
dġāʕ old measurement (usu. from the tip of the fingers of one hand to the middle of the neck)
dnēn black specks found in rice which has not been picked over
dōndərma ice-cream
dūlāb cupboard
dūni bad person

ḍabān heel
ḍalamāt pitch black, darkness
ḍamm to hide
ḍāyan to last
ḍəġri straight ahead

ē yes
əbən boy; son
əġğəwān Judas tree (bot.) (*Cercis*)
əklīl wedding; marriage ceremony (Christian only)

əkmāl failure in one or two subjects at end of scholastic year examinations (*ṭalaʕ əkmāl* "he failed in one (or two) subject(s)")
əṣṭəwāni gramophone record
əxət sister; scar on face caused by mosquito bite

ʕəġbīd large snake
ʕələk chewing-gum
ʕənǧāṣ pears
ʕətəq palm tree branch

fāfōn aluminium
fāġ to boil
faġāḥəyyāt cheerful
faġəd one; a certain
faġfūġi porcelain
faġġōǧ chick(s)
falla wonderful
fallāḥ gardener
fallaš to wreck; to break; to pull down
fəġġāġa roundabout; paper windmill
fēhi faint; colourless; insipid
fəlka roundabout around which traffic circulates
fəndəq hazelnut(s)
fētəḥ light (colour)
fitaġči mechanic
ftaġġ to go round; to wander

gġām gram
gġūp group
glāṣ glass (for drinking)
glōb light bulb

ġada tomorrow
ġadd to retort, to prompt; refrain, prompting
ġaġbēl sieve
ġahaǧ to sparkle
ġāhbi nun
ġaḥli desk
ġaqqāʕ cobbler

ġasab to fail (in examination)
ġassāli washerwoman; washing machine
ġāšdi slap
ġašš to water, to sprinkle; to cheat
ġāżūni window-sill
ġēġ other
ġēḥa smell
ġēḥān sweet basil (bot.) (*Ocimum basilicum*)
ġəkbi knee
ġəqʕa patch
ġəššād cress (bot.) (*Lepidium*)
ġūl giant; ogre

haġağāt noise, din, clamour
halqad this much, so much
ham also
hamağ uncivilised, uncouth
hammēna also
hāša cow
hassaʕ now
həkki thus; like this
həndələs pitch (as in *aswad həndələs* "pitch black")
hīč not
hōl sitting-room

ḥabb melon seeds (these are usu. fried or toasted with salt and eaten either separately or with mixed nuts)
ḥabbāyi spot, pimple; pill, tablet
ḥāḍəġ ready-made
ḥaġāmāt waste, what a waste!
ḥağli baby's walking frame or support
ḥaləq mouth (*ḥalq əs-sabəʕ* "snapdragon" (*Antirrhinum*))
ḥaṣbi measles
ḥaṣwāyi stone, pebble (n. un.) (pl. *ḥaṣu*)
ḥaġāmi thief, burglar
ḥaġqaṣ to jibe; to taunt
ḥażżōġa riddle, puzzle
ḥəbb large earthenware vat where water is stored to keep cool

ḥəbli pregnant
ḥēl fast
ḥənṭāwi dark-skinned
ḥkayyi story
ḥōḍ pool
ḥōš courtyard
ḥwēs clothes

ǧaġaʕ to endure, to bear, to put up with
ǧaġġ to pull; to take (pictures)
ǧāġūši molar
ǧāhəl young, youthful
ǧām glass
ǧəddəyyāt seriously
ǧədəġ cooking-pot
ǧədġi smallpox (*ǧədġi mayy* "chicken-pox")
ǧəġdām mange
ǧəhannaməyyi bougainvillea (bot.)
ǧēǧi chicken (n. un.) (pl. *ǧēǧ*)
ǧənṭa handbag, suitcase
ǧīġān neighbour(s)
ǧōʕān hungry
ǧōġāb sock
ǧōzi light brown
ǧġēdi mouse (*ǧġēdi n-naxal* "squirrel")
ǧūġi rose(s)

kafəškān room at mezzanine level used for storing food for winter and other household necessities
kaġata shoehorn
kaġət card, postcard
kaġfat to unload in one go
kaġfaš unkempt hair
kaġġa once (variant of *maġġa*)
kaġkaġ to chuckle
kāġōk cradle
kāġtōn cardboard
kāġūz preacher
kaġwi rent, hire
kāla canvas footwear worn by Bedouin men

kalabča handcuffs
kāsi bowl
kašax to show off
kāši tile(s)
kaškaš frill(s)
kattān linen
kayyaf to be happy, to rejoice
kədaġi suede
kēf fun, merriment
kəġġāt flat-leafed pungent herb of the *Allium* family
kəġkəm turmeric (bot.)
kəġt əz-zambōġ smocking, honeycombing
kəlaġ larder
kəmpyāli bill of exchange
kətli kettle
kġafəs celery tops (*kġafəs əb-bīġ* "maidenhair fern")
kġēša seersucker
kōndaġa shoes
kōsaǧ shark
kūx hut, hovel
kūp cup

laʕlaʕ to raise one's voice when talking
laġa to talk at length, to go on talking
laġmaṭ to mess up; to muddle; to confuse
laġwi nonsensical chatter (n.); long-winded (adj.)
lahāna cabbage
lappa mushy rice
lāstīk elastic
laṭaʕ to lick
lawča talkative person; boringly talkative
lāx the other (ms)
lbēs knickers, pants
lḥēf quilt, bed cover
ləxxi the other (fs)
lōġi lorry, truck
lōǧ(a) box in cinema

mʕabbəs frowning (ms)
maʕdanōs parsley

maġəṣ stabbing pain (usu. stomach pain)
maġġaġ to embitter
maġġāt sometimes
maġğōḥa swing
maġmaġ to mumble (v.); marble (n.)
maġqa broth
mahūl excellent
maḥbas ring
maḥfūḍa poem (short piece learnt by heart at school)
maḥḥāġ shell(s)
mākīna machine
makkūk spool
māku there is not
māl belonging to
malʕōn damned, cursed; naughty
malēḥ good
manšūl s.o. who has a cold
masqōf grilled fish
maṣṣax to insult
maṣṭabi bench
mašxōṭ unbalanced, mad
māṭōġ engine, motor; motorboat
maṭṭāġa thermos flask
māṭūl as long as
māwi blue
mayġōn chrism, unction
māzād sale, auction
mazbaḥ swimming-pool
mazbaḥa rosary
mbaqbəq protruding, bulging
mbōġ because
məʕḍaḍ bracelet
məğaġġ drawer
məndaġ cushion
mənqāš tweezers
mənu who?
məqṭāṭa pencil sharpener
məsağğəl tape-recorder
məsmāġ nail
məssāḥa rubber, eraser

məštamal Iraqi type house with no intercommunicating rooms, and where each room has three blind walls and a fourth wall with a doorway leading to a courtyard or garden

məzġīb drainpipe

məṣṣāṣa lollipop; baby's dummy or pacifier

mēwa fruit

mēz table

məzġīb drain-pipe

mġabba jam

mhaffi fan

mḥağğağ banister, stair-rail

mīkānīk mechanic

mīna vervain (bot.)

mpaġpaġ ragged

mqallam striped

mqaššəb chapped

msannāyi verandah overlooking the river

nabəq (bot.) *Zizyphus spina Christi*

nadaġ to vow; to make a wish

naddāf carder

naġbīš hose pipe

nāġənğ Seville orange(s)

nammūni specimen

namnamāt tidbits, roasted nuts and seeds

nāqōṣ bell

našli cold, catarrh

našnaš to thrive

naṣġāni Christian (ms) (fs *naṣġānəyyi*; cp *naṣāġa*)

nāṭōġ watchman, guard

nayyəm asleep (ms)

nazzāḥ drain cleaner, sewage worker

nēs people

nīšān engagement, betrothal

nūmi lemon (*nūmi ḥāməḍ* "lemon"; *nūmi ḥəlu* "sweet citrus fruit native to Iraq"; *nūmi baṣġa* "lime")

ōġgandi organdie, fine muslin

ōġoppa Europe

ōġti bedcover; table-cover
ōġtodoks Orthodox Christian
ōğāġ oven, cooker
ōtēl hotel
ōpālīn opal-glass

pāča tripe
pačata napkin
paġāpīġ rags
paġčam fringe (hair)
paġda curtain
paġk park
pākēt packet, package
pančaġ to have a flat tyre (v.); puncture (n.)
panka fan, ventilator
panṭaġōn trousers
pasali useless object
paskūli tassel
pasta song, ditty; problem, dilemma
pāṣ bus
paškīġ towel
pašpaš to whisper
pāysəkəl bicycle
pəġtaqāl orange(s)
pəġtaqāli orange (colour)
pənti stingy
pīp large metal drum; dustbin
plāw rice
pōkaġ poker (card game)
pōplīn poplin

qābəl possible
qabūl open day for visits among women
qačaġ contraband
qaddīs saint
qadīfa velvet
qaġaṭ to crunch
qaġīb/-i godfather, godmother
qaġnabīṭ cauliflower
qaġqaṭ to nibble

qaġyōli wooden bed
qahwā?i brown
qaḥaṭ dearth
qaḥḥ to cough
qammaṭ to wrap (baby) in swaddling clothes, to swaddle
qamči whip
qapaġ lid, cover
qappūṭ coat
qašab to make fun of s.o., to imitate s.o.
qašmaġ to make fun of
qāšōġa spoon
qaššab to become chapped
qās to lose (in a game)
qass priest
qaṣṣaġ to fall short in one's duties; to overlook. s.o.
qāṭ suit (man's)
qaṭṭan to become mouldy
qawān(i) record
qayyad to register, to put down a name
qazmūz very short person (pejorative)
qəbbi room
qəffi round flat-bottomed boat
qəmāš material, fabric
qəšəġ peel, skin
qēmaġ clotted cream (made from buffalo milk)
qġān 20 fils piece (old currency)
qīġ tar
qīma ground meat
qmāġ gambling
qūġi teapot
qūnəyyi sack
qūṭəyyi box

rādyo radio
raqqi watermelon
rātəb salary
rawḍa kindergarten, nursery
rəyāḍa gymnastics, sport
rōġān patent leather

sabaḥ / yəzbaḥ to bathe, to take a bath; to swim
sabīl pipe (smoking)
sabzi vegetables
sāda plain
saddi (Tigris) barrier
safġa picnic
saġsaġ to behave irresponsibly
saġsaġi lout
salāmāt get well!
salham to have a glazed look; to stare into space
sāqyi irrigation ditch
satan satin
sawwa to do, to make
saxtači cheat
səġdēb cellar
səgōġṭa insurance
səlaq chard (bot.)
səllāyi nib, pen-point
səmbēla leap-frog
səmīṭ sesame-covered savoury bread rings
səmmāq sumac
səndāni flowerpot
səqqāṭa bolt
sətġa jacket (man's)
sīlān date syrup
sīsam iron (usu. in *čəġpāyi sīsam* "an iron bed")
slūqi greyhound
smōkən dinner jacket, tuxedo
sqāqāt streets (usu. occurs in the plural, e.g. *banāt əsqāqāt* "badly-behaved girls")
stīkān small glass for drinking tea

šabbūṭ freshwater fish found in Tigris
šabbōy stock (bot.) (*Malcolmia*)
šadəġ turquoise
šāf to see
šafqa hat
šaġāb wine
šaʕġəyyi vermicelli
šakġāyi sweet (n. un.)

šaku what is the matter?
šalġam turnip
šamġa pose
šaʕšōʕ scatter-brained
šaqa joke
šawēġəb moustache
šaxbaṭ to scribble
šayyəb old man
šbənt dill
šdaʕwa that is too much!
šē thing
šəǧaġ marrow
šəmmās verger
šəmẓi watermelon
šənu what?
šəxxāṭ matches
škam how many?
šlōn how?
šqadd how much?
šwaqət when?
šwayya a little

ṣabbōġa blackboard
ṣaffaṭ to arrange
ṣaġāy palace
ṣaġīfi palm-leaf hut
ṣaḥēḥ true; correct; right
ṣālōn guest room, best room in house
ṣamax to stay the course
ṣānəʕ manservant (fs *ṣānʕa* maid)
ṣānǧi severe stomach pain
ṣanṭa quiet, hush
ṣaqaṭ to fail (in examination)
ṣaṭaġ to slap
ṣaṭġa slap (n. un.)
ṣəfəġ brass; zero
ṣəgṣəġ cockroach
ṣəndāl sandals
ṣōb bank (of the Tigris)
ṣōġa picture; present

ṣoppa paraffin stove
ṣūč blame, fault

tabāšīġ chalk
tābləyyi apron, overall
tafta taffeta
taġalalli unbalanced (usu. in *ʕaqlu taġalalli* "he is unbalanced")
taġas to fill up
tanak tin; useless
tanaki dustbin; tin; can
tanāwəl communion
tānki tank (water; oil)
tannōġa petticoat; skirt
tašġīb a dish of bread soaked in meat broth
tāyaġ tyre
tayyal lawn
təfga rifle
tēl wire; chicken wire
tələf dregs
təllāğġi refrigerator

ṭaʕa to give
ṭabəl drum
ṭabṭab to pat
ṭaġad to expel
ṭaġġaz to embroider
ṭāġma porch, verandah
ṭaġṭōġ good-for-nothing
ṭambaġ to look cross or angry; to sulk
ṭanṭal very tall person (occurs also as *ṭanṭawīl*)
ṭanṭan to strum
ṭappaš to thresh about
ṭaqṭaq to bang, to make continuous noise
ṭaqṭaqa noise
ṭašət washing urn
ṭāsi metal water scoop
ṭāwi frying-pan
ṭawwax to overdo s.t.
ṭaxx to knock

ṭāẓa fresh
ṭəbag card game
ṭəġġa heads (on coin)
ṭəġġahāt useless; nonsensical; bad
ṭəwṣāyi made to order
ṭoppa ball
ṭōx dark (colour)

waġdi pink
waġwaġ revolver
walli go away! get lost! (of common gender)
wanwan to moan
waswas to worry
wašwaš to whisper
waṣwaṣ to squeak
wəčč face
wēn where?
wəlki hey you! (cp *wəlkəm*; ms form is rare in CB)
wəyya with

xabaṣ to confuse; to mess up
xabāṣa mess, untidiness
xābəṭ murky; choppy (river; sea)
xaġāba ruin
xaġbaṭ to spoil, to wreck
xaġəṭ smock; smock-frock
xaġmaš to scratch
xalā? toilet
xamxam to become musty
xarxar to drip
xašxaš to rattle
xaṭṭəyyi what a pity!, poor thing!
xātūn lady, madam
xəṭṭaġ guest(s)
xəttēba hide-and-seek (also occurs as *xəttēla*)
xō (expletive which can best be translated as "by any chance" eg *xō mā qəltəllu ənta hōni?* "You didn't by any chance tell him you were here?")

xōš good (this adjective precedes the noun it qualifies and does not inflect for gender or number, eg *xōš maġa* "a good woman"; *xōš banāt* "good girls")

xrīt mrīt utter nonsense

yalla come on!

yamm near, by

yāxa collar

yēs privet (bot.) (*Ligustrum vulgare*)

yəwāš slowly, gently

yēzi enough!

zaʕfaġān saffron

zalanṭaḥ snail

zambaġ to blow horn

zambōġ wasp

zammaġ to sound (car) horn

zangīn rich

zanǧabīl ginger

zaqnab to give s.o. food grudgingly

zaqnabūt (expletive expressing annoyance or disapproval)

zaʕṭōṭ juvenile

zawwaq to decorate

zbāʕ finger

zbōʕ week

zēn good

zələz naughty

zmāl donkey, ass

zōǧ husband

zūləyyi carpet, rug

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