The Personal Markers in the Modern Arabic Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula

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This study of the dialects in the Arabian Peninsula is made as part of my project to investigate the personal markers of the Central Semitic languages. It is mainly a collection of material accompanied by remarks and a preliminary analysis. Ultimately, the aim of my project is to elucidate the morphological development of the Semitic suffix conjugation from Proto-Semitic down to the historically attested languages. Such an investigation is bound also to involve comparative analyses of the personal pronouns (separate and suffixed) as well as of the personal markers of the prefix conjugation, and thus the data are exposed in comparative tables with four or five columns, exhibiting the independent personal pronouns, the suffixed pronouns, the personal markers of the suffix and prefix conjugations, and, in some instances, the imperative. By methodological reasons – in order to study the mutual influence and dependence of the personal markers in the two verbal conjugations and the personal pronouns (sometimes also the imperative) – I have found it preferable to display paradigms from one and the same dialect in a table. This means that many tables, each showing the forms of one sample dialect, are presented. The dialects that are represented in the following survey are chosen to reflect the main characteristics of the respective region. Unfortunately, the dialect geography of some regions is very insufficiently explored and so we are not in a position to decide whether the dialects that happen to be described in the available scientific literature are actually representative. At the present state of research this is a deficiency that cannot be completely remedied. In the following survey, dialects from the main linguistic regions of the Arabian Peninsula are picked out and displayed in schemes of paradigms. Regional deviations from a scheme will be commented upon in the remarks.

As for the prefix vowels of the PC there is a point in the statement of A. A. Bulos that the segmentation of the PC form "should occur at /y-/ and not at /ya-/", since the prefix vowel depends on the following stem rather than on the prefix consonant. The prefix vowel bears no distinctive connotation as to person, gender, or number. My justification for including this vowel anyhow in the tables below is that the rule has an obvious exception: in the first person singular form the prefix vowel is always -a- in the simple verb, regardless of the vowel in the other PC forms of the paradigm.

1. NORTH ARABIAN (BEDOuin) DIALECTS

1.1. Syro-Mesopotamian (Pre-'Anaze), Šammar and 'Anaze Dialects:
Sample dialect: Banī Ḫālid (Šammar)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>huwwa</td>
<td>C 0, V ^15 -Ø</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparative remarks

1. Or *'ana. With final imäla *'ane in-slot (Šammar). 'Umür (Šammar) *'ana*<sup>2</sup>. *'ana* (with variants) is the dominating form among the big cattle Bedouins of Naḏd and their client tribes. *'ani* is the form among the small cattle Bedouins of Syria (the Pre-*Anaze* tribes and some Šammar dialects, e.g. Ragg and Ḥanāḍrē). The latter is probably an analogical formation from the verbal object suffix. A form with final *'-i is found in most of the Pre-*Anaze* tribes accounted for by Cantineau (N'em, Faḍl, Ḥadīḍūn). The Mawāli form (also Pre-*Anaze*) Cantineau describes as *'ane*<sup>3</sup> < *'ani* with secondary diphthongization of the final *'-i.*<sup>4</sup>

2. This is the dominating form in the dialects. *'enna* in Sirhān (Šammar), Sarāīyeh (Šammar), Rwalā ('Anaze). The form *'ohne* in *'Umūr, Šlūt, Ḥadīḍūn, and the form *'ōhne* in N'em and Faḍl show imäla of the old final long *'-ā*. This form seems to stem from an Old Arabic *'annah, instead of Classical Arabic *'am;nū, by dissimilation.*<sup>5</sup> The *'enna* might have been formed from *'ohne* by development of a disjunctive vowel between *'h* and *'n*, dropping of the beginning phaschthetic syllable, and gemination of *'-n*. An *'ōhne* is attested in Ḥadīḍūn (Pre-*Anaze*). According to Cantineau *'enna* (henna) is the form of the Naḏdī big cattle Bedouins, whereas *'ohne* is the form used by the small cattle Bedouins of Syria.<sup>6</sup>

3. Bani Ḥālid also *'ent, a form that is used in Slūt and the Pre-*Anaze* dialects N'em, Ḥadīḍūn, Mawāli (but not Faḍl). *Umūr and Faḍl *'ente. This variation Cantineau believes is due to an ancesp variation in the final vowel of the original form *'anta* or *'inta.*<sup>7</sup> Forms with and without final vowel may coexist within one and the same dialect with an *"emphatic"* difference: the one with final vowel having a more solemn, emphatic, connotation. Second person forms with a pure beginning *'a- are found in Sāba'ā ('Anaze) and ar-Rass.

4. With diphthongization of the final *'-u to *'-ū* (Fischer-Jastrow: *'-ow<sup>10</sup>*), by analogy from the corresponding SC ending.<sup>11</sup> This form is found also in Mawāli and N'em (both Pre-*Anaze*). Faḍl (Pre-*Anaze*) and Manāḍrē (Šammar) *'ontom, Ragg (or Raqqa, a Šammar dialect) *'ontum. Ḥadīḍūn exhibits a perceptible *h* after t: *'ent'tom.<sup>2</sup>

5. This is the form in most Šammar dialects. Cantineau does not give a form for Bani Ḥālid. The Pre-*Anaze* tribes show a tendency to gemination: *'otent<sup>3</sup>*.

6. The Pre-*Anaze* tribes studied by Cantineau (N'em, Faḍl, Ḥadīḍūn, Mawāli) all exhibit a slight variant: hūva. In *'Umūr, Šlūt, Manāḍrē, and Sirhān (all Šammar) a short form is used: hū, hū<sup>2</sup>.
7. A short form is used in 'Umūr and Ślūt (hām, a variant of ham) as well as in Manādre and Sirhān (hom). Faḍl homma.

8. The Pre-'Anaze tribes studied by Cantineau exhibit a slight variant: hiye. A short form (hi, hī) is used in 'Umūr, Ślūt, Manādre, and Sirhān.


10. From 'anti or 'inti with long final vowel. 'Umūr (ointe) and Sirhān (oئte) exhibit diphthongization of the final long -i. This "diphthongization", though, he suggests has a non-phonetic origin.

11. Thus also in 'Anaze. I disregard in this instance the various shades in the pronunciation of the -k-. Faḍl has the form -kām (in Cantineau's notation a denotes a posterior a). Seemingly, -kām is to be regarded as a phonetic variant of -kam, rather than of -kom (< -kum). In fact, -kām is often simply pronounced -kam, a form Cantineau finds difficult to explain. Most Ṣammar tribes have -a- (or -ā-) rather than -o-. -kam (or -kām) is found in i.a. 'Umūr, Ślūt, Sardiye, Sirhān, Bānī Şahar, Rōgga, and Faḍl.

12. Thus also 'Anaze. Most Ṣammar tribes have -a- (or -ā-) rather than -o-. -ham (or -hām) is found in i.a. 'Umūr, Ślūt, Sardiye, Sirhān, Bānī Şahar, Rōgga, and Faḍl.

13. Goes back to a -ha that was anceps. Cantineau is probably wright when he suggests that the alternation C -ah/V -ha derives its origin from an alternation -ḥa after short vowel/-ḥa after long vowel. He maintains that -ah goes back to a flexional -a plus -ḥa. In this alternation the Bānī Ḥālid are exceptional. In the other dialects the 3fs suffix is usually either -ḥa (or -ḥā) or -ah (regardless of the preceding phoneme). Among the small cattle Bedouins of Syria the 3fs suffix is -ha in all positions (the preceding phoneme being a consonant or not).

14. From -ki. The consonant alternation č/k is due to a conditioned affrication, which was in force before front vowels (i, e, æ). Ṣammar (of the Ṣammar confederation) and Ġōf 2fs C -ėč, V -ě. Among the 'Anaze tribes usually -ě in both instances.


16. The same dialect may have both forms. This is the case in 'Umūr, Ślūt, Manādre. If the survey of Cantineau were exhaustive, we might conclude that Ḥadidin, Rōgga, and Faḍl have only -om; however, this is probably a premature conclusion (cf. pron. suff. -kām/-ḥām in Rōgga and Faḍl). In Nēm (Pre-'Anaze), Bānī Ḥālid (the sample dialect), and Sirhān only -o. For 2mp the Bānī Şahar show only -tom. The -tom form is older than the -to. In 3mp the -o form is the older one, the -om being formed in analogy with the 2mp form of the suffix or with the corresponding independent pronoun. The habitual variants are -o/-to, which constitute an important characteristic of the Bedouin speakers. According to Cantineau the -o should be interpreted as originating from an addition of final plural -u to the ancient singular form: 3ms -a + -ū > 3mp -aw, -o, 2ms -ta + -ū > 2mp -taw, -to. In this instance it should be noted that Cantineau has also heard the variant pronunciation -ām/-tām and -a (side by side with -om/-tom and -o).
17. The Šammar dialects have no b- prefix in the PC, as is found in the Syro-Palestinian group. As for the prefix vowel, only Ḫumūr and Ṣlūt show one and the same prefix vowel -a- in all forms of the paradigm, corresponding to the habit in Classical Arabic.

18. The -n in 2fp, 3mp, and 2mp is a characteristic of the Bedouin dialects.

19. Many Šammar and ĖAnaze dialects have a plosive: -ken⁴.

20. In the Šammar dialect the -t tends to disappear in pause and become -h. Sometimes it is even replaced by a weak and very short -j.²⁶

21. Muṭair (ĒAnaze) -ik/-k.²⁷ Among the ĖAnaze tribes otherwise usually -k in both positions.²⁸

22. The imperative of the Bedouin dialects shows a remarkable morphological independence vis-à-vis both the PC and the SC.²⁹ The plural -u is an archaic trait of the imperative. Cantineau is silent as to the other imperative endings.

23. As to a suffix -ye Cantineau suggests that it is only a phonetically conditioned variant that goes back to an ancient -ya.³⁰

24. Šammar (belonging to the Šammar confederation) and ar-Rass (also a Šammar tribe according to Cantineau) show the form -an, originating from an -a- plus -ni. Among the people of ar-Rass it is reduced to a simple -n after vowel, whereas the Šammar speakers instead insert a connecting -ni, resulting in a 1cs suffix -nan, at least after long vowels. Probably, this -a- is derived from the final -a of the Old Arabic SC 3ms form qatala and the PC endings -ina and -ūna. Among the Šammar tribes Ḫumūr, Ṣlūt, and Sirhān there is an alternation C-an/V-ni.³¹

25. According to Cantineau the gemination of n is "faible", which he denotes -n°.³²

26. The Pre-ĒAnaze tribes show final imāla: -ne.

27. æ represents an “a antérieur”, denoted ā by Cantineau.

### 1.2. Eastern Arabian (the Gulf Dialects)³³

<table>
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<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>hū 9</td>
<td>C -ih, -ah, V -h -∅</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>hī 10</td>
<td>-ha, -hā 15 -at</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>int 11</td>
<td>C -ik, V -k -t</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>C -ič, V -č -t</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ana 12</td>
<td>C -i, V -y -t (verb)</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks

1. A common variant is -o (especially in Dubai), sometimes also -u (the regular ending of the plural imperative) is used. The 3mp ending is communis generis in Kuwaiti (rarely -u), in Bahraini (mostly -u, rarely -aw), and Dubai (mostly -o).
2. The prefix vowel is i if the stem vowel is a, otherwise it is a. The pattern *yuFul* occurs however in Kuwaiti and *yiFil* in Bahraini. An important feature of the Bahraini dialect is that the semivowel y- is usually dropped, making the PC prefix i- rather than yi- (except where the prefix carries stress). In Qatari also the pattern *yaFal* occurs together with *yiFal*.

3. Occasionally -in in all dialects. The parantheses indicate that the masculine plural (2mp, 3mp) form is usually used also for the feminine plural (thus also in Holes' "Educated Gulf Arabic"). In Qatari, Buraimi, and Abū Zabi, though, the separate 3fp/2fp forms are frequent.


5. Free variant -en.

6. The 3mp form is communis generis in Kuwaiti and Bahraini. In Bahraini the forms *uhumme, ahumme, humme* (sophisticated people often *ahumma, humma*) are used, also for the 3fp.

7. This form is communis generis in Kuwaiti and Bahraini.

8. The parantheses indicate that the masculine plural (2mp, 3mp) form is usually used also for the feminine plural (Kuwaiti, Bahraini, and Holes' "Educated Gulf Arabic"). In Qatari, Buraimi, and Abū Zabi, though, the separate 3fp/2fp forms are frequent.

9. In Bahraini *ahuwwe, huwwe* (sophisticated people often *ahuwwa, huwwa*). In Qatari sometimes *huwwa*. Holes adds the form *huwa*.

10. In Bahraini *ihiyye, hiyye* (sophisticated people often *ihiyya, hiyya*). In Qatari sometimes *hiyya*. Holes gives the form *hiya*.

11. In Bahraini the form *inte* (sophisticated people often *inta*) is used. In Qatari sometimes and Dubai always the form *inta* is used. Holes adds the form *inta*.

12. In Bahraini *åne* (sophisticated people often *åna*). In Dubai sometimes *åna*. Uneducated people sometimes distinguish gender: 1ms *åna*, 1fs *ånani*.

13. In Bahraini (as well as Holes' "Educated Gulf Arabic") the same as 3mp. Holes notes that in the Lower Gulf there is the 3fp variant (also in educated speech) *hin*.


15. In Bahraini -éh or -è. A variant in Dubai is -â.

16. In Holes' "Educated Gulf Arabic" the same as 2mp. He notes, however, the Lower Gulf 2fp variants (also in educated speech) *intan, intin*.

17. The parantheses indicate that the masculine plural (2mp, 3mp) form is usually used also for the feminine plural. This also pertains to the "Educated Gulf Arabic" described by Holes. According to Holes there are in the United Arab Emirates specific 3fp/2fp forms -*hin* and -*kin*.

18. Holes adds the ending -taw.

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2. **ḪĪGĀZI DIALECTS**

2.1. **Meccan Dialect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>Suff. pron. 3</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC 12</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td><em>hüwa</em> 1</td>
<td>-u, V 4</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As we have seen above, among the North Arabian Bedouins both a short form hii and a long form huwwa (hīwa) occur, and likewise for the other forms of the third person (3fs, 3mp, 3fp) the North Arabian Bedouin dialects exhibit both long and short forms, e.g. 3fp hi and hiya. In Yemen the short forms of the third person dominate (see below).

As far as we know, the distinction of gender in the plural is dropped only in the Meccan, Aden, and Riyāḍ dialects.45

In square brackets is given the connecting vowel that is used when the preceding form ends in a vCC (short vowel and geminated consonant) or vvC (long vowel plus consonant) syllable. Some suffixes also have allomorphs used in complementary distribution, some after consonant, the others after vowel. This convention is used also in the following paradigms.

Unlike most other Arabian dialects the final -h is dropped in Mecca.46 The allomorph used after a vowel consequently only consists of a stress on this final vowel.

-ḥa is the most common form among Arabian dialects. The allomorph after vCC- and vvC-syllables is -ɑha.47

Instead of -ya in some dialects -yi or -y.

This is the most common 1cs ending among the t-dialects. In some Yemenite dialects there is also -tu (cf. Yaṣiṛ and al-Ḥugarīyeh below).

According to M. H. Bakalla the form niḥna is also used in Mecca, although less frequently.48

According to Schreiber a contamination between old 3mp -hum and 3fp -hunna.49

According to Schreiber a beginning hamza is always pronounced “wo dieses zur Wurzel gehört.”50 Against the notation of Fischer-Jastrow I therefore include the hamza in the transcriptions.

Before object suffixes -o-.51

According to B. Ingham the third person prefix has the allomorphs ʾi- (initial utterance), yi- (post-vocalically), i- (post-consonantically), and y- (prevocalically). However, in verba primae h or ʾ the prefix is exclusively yi-.52

Evidently formed in analogy with the singular forms ʾinta, ʾinti and the verbal flexion (plural suffix -u in both conjugations).53
2.2. Dialects of Saudi Arabia studied by T. Prochazka

Type I: Dialects of Southern Ḥiḡāz and Tihāmah

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>huw 10</td>
<td>-ah 20</td>
<td>-Ә</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>hiy 11</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-at 1</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>Ḥantā 14</td>
<td>-ak 23</td>
<td>-t 7</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>Ḥanti 15</td>
<td>-ki 24</td>
<td>-ti 4</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>Ḥana 18</td>
<td>-i, -ya 27</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>?a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ni (verb)

3mp | hum 12 | -hum 21 | -aw 2 | yi- |
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>(ḥunna) 13</td>
<td>(-ḥunna) 22</td>
<td>(-na) 3</td>
<td>(yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>Ĥantūm 16</td>
<td>-kum 25</td>
<td>-tu 5</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>(Ĥantūna) 17</td>
<td>(-kunna) 26</td>
<td>(-tunna) 6</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>Ĥanḥin 19</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks

1. One dialect, Bal-Qarn, shows the ending -an, which is found also in Yemen, cf. Al-Maḥābšeḥ and the Coastal Plane, below.
2. In most dialects this ending is communis. Al-Qahabah -u, ��ṣyā -ō.
3. In al-Qahabah, -nah and -n in Ḥamid. In the other dialects the same as the 3mp form.
4. ﬁṣyā -ṭīn.
5. Al-Qahabah and Ḥamid -ṭum. Al-Qauz -ṭun, ﬁṣyā -ṭūn. In most dialects this ending is communis.
6. Thus al-Qahabah. Ḥamid -ṭunnah. In the other dialects the same as the 2mp form.
7. -ṭa is attested in the Maḥāyil region.
8. Usually the same as 3mp. -nah in Ḥamid. -na in al-Qahabah.
9. Usually the same as 2mp. -nah in Ḥamid. -na in al-Qahabah.
10. There is some variation among the dialects and the same dialect may have several variants. In al-Qahabah and Abha huwwa is also used, in Rufaidah also huww, in Bal-Qarn also huwa which is the only form in Ḥamid, Ḥuh in al-Qauz, Ḥū in ﬁṣyā.
11. In al-Qahabah and Abha hiyya is also used, in Rufaidah also hiyye, in Bal-Qarn also hiyya which is the only form in Ḥamid, hīḥ in al-Qauz, Ḥī in ﬁṣyā.
12. him in Tanūmah and Bal-Qarn, hun in al-Qauz and ﬁṣyā.
13. In al-Qahabah. hunnah in Ḥamid. In the other dialects the same as the 3mp form.
15. In Abha, Bal-Qarn, al-Qauz, and Ḥamid Ḥinti, in ﬁṣyā Ḥintīn.
17. Usually the same as 2mp. ۳اثننا in al-Qahabah. ۳اثنننا in Gāmid.
18. Al-Qauz ۳انا.
19. Thus al-Qahabah and Abha. In Rufaidah, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah ۳بن. In Rufaidah and Tanūmah also ۳بنا. In Bal-Qarn and Gāmid ۳بن, in Gāmid also ۳عنبن. In al-Qauz and Ṣabyā ۳اوننا. In some dialects also ۳اونمن is attested.
20. Other forms in this dialect group: -یح, -یحه, -یحه, -یحه, -یحه.⁵⁹
22. Thus al-Qahabah. Gāmid -هوننا. In the other dialects the same as the 3mp suffix.
23. Other forms in this dialect group: -یک, -یک, -یک.⁶⁰
24. Thus al-Qahabah. Other forms in this dialect group: -یس, -یس, -یس, -یک', -یک', and -یک'.⁶¹
25. In al-Qauz and Ṣabyā -کون. In most dialects this suffix is communis.
26. Thus al-Qahabah. Gāmid -کوننا. In the other dialects the same as the 2mp suffix.
27. A variant -ی only in Rufaidah and Abha.
28. In most dialect this ending is communis.
29. Usually the same as mp. ۳ناح only in Gāmid.

Type II: Nağdi and Eastern Arabian Dialects⁶²

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<td>-یح 20</td>
<td>-یزء 32</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3fs hiy 11</td>
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<td>-یت 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2ms ۳ینت 14</td>
<td>-یک 24</td>
<td>-یت 31</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-یزء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ۳ینتای 15</td>
<td>-یک 25</td>
<td>-یت 4</td>
<td>ta- ... -ین</td>
<td>-یزء 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs ۳انا 18</td>
<td>-ین, -یانا 28</td>
<td>-یت</td>
<td>?ة-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp ḥam 12</td>
<td>-ینن 22</td>
<td>-یئن 2</td>
<td>ya- ... -یئن</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3fp (ba) 13</td>
<td>(-یبن) 23</td>
<td>(-یان) 3</td>
<td>(ya- ... -یان) 8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp ۳ینتم 16</td>
<td>-یکم 26</td>
<td>-یت 5</td>
<td>ta- ... -یئن</td>
<td>-یئن 34</td>
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<td>(-یتن) 27</td>
<td>(-یتن) 6</td>
<td>(ta- ... -یتن) 9</td>
<td>(-یتن) 35</td>
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<tr>
<td>1cp Ḥina 19</td>
<td>-یئن 30</td>
<td>-یئن 7</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks
1. Ḥayil before suffixes -یئن-, in the free form, however, -یئن.⁶⁴
2. In most dialects this ending is communis. Rwail -یام and -یان.
3. Rwaili -ین or -ین. The -ین suffix is explained by Prochazka as *ین > *یئن > -یئن. Ḥayil, al-Qaṣim, Sudair -یئن.⁶⁵ In the other dialects the same as the 3mp form.
4. Rwaili -یتی or -یتی, Hofuf -یتی. In Maḥma' of Sudair -یتی.⁶⁶
5. In most dialects this ending is communis. Rwaili -یئنام, -یئنام, -یئنام,⁶⁷ and -یئنام. Hofuf -یئنام. In Maḥma' of Sudair -یئنام.⁶⁸
6. Rwaili -یئن or -یئن. Ḥayil, al-Qaṣim, Sudair -یئن.⁶⁹ In the other dialects the same as the 2mp form.
7. Hofuf -ne.
8. In most dialects the same as 3mp. Rwaili, Hāyil, al-Qaṣīm -in, Sudair -an.  
10. In Hāyil and al-Qaṣīm hu, in Bīṣah huh.  
11. In Hāyil and al-Qaṣīm hi, in Bīṣah hih.  
12. In al-Qaṣīm, Bīṣah, and Hofuf hum. In most dialects this form is communis.  
13. Thus Rwaili, Hāyil, al-Qaṣīm. In the other dialects the same as the 3mp form.  
14. In al-Qaṣīm, Bīṣah, and Nağrān ‘ant. According to P. Abboud ‘ant is also the form used in Hāyil. In most dialects this form is used as a communis form.  
15. Thus only Rwaili and Hofuf. Riyāḍ ‘inti. Hāyil according to Prochazka ‘inti but according to Abboud ‘intay, in al-Qaṣīm, Bīṣah, and Nağrān ‘anti.  
16. In Rwaili also ‘intum and ‘intaw. ‘intaw is also found in Hofuf. In al-Qaṣīm ‘antum. In Hāyil according to Abboud ‘antam.  
17. Thus in Rwaili, Hāyil. In al-Qaṣīm ‘antin (according to Abboud also Hāyil). In the other dialects the same as the 2mp form.  
20. Other forms in this dialect group: -ah, -uh (thus in Hāyil after consonant), -h (in Hāyil after vowel), -w, -wh. In Mağma’a of Sudair -h after vowel, -ih after consonant.  
21. Other forms: -ah (thus Hāyil), -he. Abboud posits an original long vowel (-hā) in order to explain that the vowel was not dropped.  
22. Hāyil -ham. In most dialects this suffix is communis.  
23. Thus Rwaili, Hāyil, al-Qaṣīm. In the other dialects the same as the 3mp suffix.  
24. Other forms in this dialect group are -ik, -k (thus in Hāyil after vowel). In Mağma’a of Sudair -h after vowel, -ih after consonant.  
25. Other forms are -iĉ, -iš, -aĉ, -aş, -ę (thus in Hāyil after vowel), -ĉ, -ś.  
26. Hāyil -kam. In most dialects this suffix is communis.  
27. Thus Rwaili where also the suffix -kin is used. In Hāyil, al-Qaṣīm -kin. In the other dialects the same as the 2mp suffix.  
28. Other forms are -yeh, -yi.  
29. Other forms are -anyeh, -nyeh, -an, -nan, and -n.  
30. Hofuf -ne. Abboud posits an original long vowel (*-nā) in order to explain that the vowel was not dropped.  
32. Abboud adduces some evidence that the zero morpheme of the 3ms goes back to an “underlying” -a.  
33. Rwaili and Hofuf -ay.  
34. Rwaili and Hofuf -aw.  
35. Usually the same as mp. Rwaili, Hāyil, al-Qaṣīm -in.
3. SOUTH-WESTERN ARABIAN

3.1. Yemenite Dialects

3.1.1. Northern High Plateau

Sample dialect: Yašīf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>Suff. pron.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms hū</td>
<td>C -eh, V -h</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs hi</td>
<td>-hā</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ʕant</td>
<td>C -ak, V -k</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ʕanti</td>
<td>C -ik, V -ki</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>ti- ... -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs ʕanā</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-tu 2</td>
<td>ʕa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ni (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp him 3</td>
<td>-him 7</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>yi- ... -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp hinna 4</td>
<td>-hinna 8</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>yi- ... -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp ʕantu</td>
<td>-kum</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>ti- ... -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp ʕantinna 5</td>
<td>-kunna 9</td>
<td>-tinna 10</td>
<td>ti- ... -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp ʕihna 6</td>
<td>-[ajnā</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks

1. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
2. In Ḥamir, Wādi Ḥamir, Im-Ġuleh, Raideh, ʕAmrān, ʕAzzīleh, and Sinnatain -t. The distinction between 2ms and 1cs - in spite of the general tendency to drop final short vowels in all modern Arabic dialects - is upheld also in the qoltu dialects of the Mesopotamian domain.
3. Im-Ġuleh, Raideh, ʕAmrān, and Ḥamideh hum.
4. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh hin. Raideh and ʕAmrān have both forms.
5. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh ʕantin. Raideh and ʕAmrān have both forms.
6. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh have a form with a diachronically long final vowel: ʕihnā (pronounced short).
7. Im-Ġuleh, Raideh, ʕAmrān, and Ḥamideh -hum.
8. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh -hin. Raideh and ʕAmrān have both forms.
9. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh -kin. Raideh and ʕAmrān have both -kin and -kinna. These four dialects thus show no levelling of the stem vowel (in the other dialects influence from the 2mp form. This pertains also to the third person plural forms.
10. Im-Ġuleh and Ḥamideh -tin. Raideh and ʕAmrān have both forms.
11. Ḥamir, Sinnatain, Raideh, and ʕAmrān have the forms C -ić, V -č, as well as the secondary forms C -ś, V -ś. The rural country dialects all have C -ik, V -ki. ʕAzzīleh shows C -ik, V -č.
3.1.2. **Southern High Plateau**

Sample dialect: Ḍafār

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>Suff. pron.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms ḫū</td>
<td>C -eh, V -h</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs ḫi</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-at 7</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ʕantā</td>
<td>C -uk, 2 V -k</td>
<td>-t 17</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ʕantī</td>
<td>C -iš, V -š</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>ti- ... -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs m ʕana, f ʕani 8-i</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ʔa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ni (verb)

| 3mp hum 11 | -hum 13 | -u | yi- ... -u |
| 3fp hin 12 | -hin 14 | -āyn 5 | yi- ... -āyn |
| 2mp ʕantu 9 | -kum 15 | -tu 18 | ti- ... -u |
| 2fp ʕantayn 10 | -kin 16 | -tayn 6 | ti- ... -āyn |
| 1cp ʕihna | -na 4 | -na 19 | ni- |

**Remarks**

1. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
2. Diem is unsure as to the origin of the -u- vowel. In Irāyān, ad-Dāmiḡāh, and Bainūn the forms are C -ak, V -k. In Iryān the forms are C -ah, V -h.
3. In Iryān the forms are C -ah, V -h.
4. In Irāyān, Dafinah, Māriyah, and Ḍamār the allomorph after vCC- and vvC-syllables is -ana.
5. In Ḍamār the morphemic variant before object suffix is -ann-, as in Ṣanʿā. The suffix is formed by influence from the flexion of verba tertiae infirmae.
6. In Ḍamār the morphemic variant before object suffix is -tann-, as in Ṣanʿā. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II -tin, in pause -tinneh.
7. In Radāc, ad-Dāmiḡāh, and Bainūn dialect I -it if the stem type is firīl.
8. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn there is no special feminine form.
9. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II that is a Bedouin dialect closer to Classical Arabic, the forms ʕantūm (context) and ʕantummeḥ (pause) are used. The latter is historically a pausal form of ʕantumma.
10. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II the forms ʕantīn (context) and ʕantinneḥ (pause) are used.
11. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II the form hummeḥ is used in pause. This is historically a pausal form of ʔhumma, cf. the long form of the Meccan dialect. Corresponding long forms with gemination are found also in Bahrayn, Baghdad, Haurān (Syria), Palestine, and Cairo.
12. In ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II the form hinneḥ is used in pause.
13. Ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II in pause -hummeḥ.
15. Ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II in pause -kummeḥ.
16. Ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect II in pause -kinneḥ.
17. Ad-Dāmiḡāh and Bainūn dialect I -ta.
18. Ad-Dāmīgah and Bainūn dialect II -tum, in pause -tummeh.
19. Ad-Dāmīgah and Bainūn dialect II in pause -neh.

3.1.3. The Coastal Plane (Tihāmah)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>Suff. pron.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms hū</td>
<td>-oh, -uh</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>yl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs hī</td>
<td>-?</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ʾanta</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ʾanti</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>ti- .. -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs m ʾana, f ʾani</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ʾa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp hun 3</td>
<td>-hun</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>yi- .. -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp hin</td>
<td>-hin</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>ti- .. -na 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp ʾantun</td>
<td>-kun</td>
<td>-tun</td>
<td>ti- .. -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp ʾantin</td>
<td>-kin</td>
<td>-tin</td>
<td>ti- .. -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp ʾiḥna</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks
1. Diem cannot explain this suffix. He suggests influence from the 3fp suffix -na. The ending -an as a 3fs mark of the SC is found also in Bal-Qarn of Saudi Arabia and in Al-Mahābše of Yemen.
2. Thus Diem, who does not comment the prefix of this form.
3. A characteristic of the Coastal Plane, as is in fact the ending -un in general for 3mp and 2mp of the pronouns and 2mp of the SC.

3.1.4. Al-Mahābše

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>Suff. pron.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms hū</td>
<td>C -eh, V -h</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>yl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs hī</td>
<td>-ha</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ntā</td>
<td>C -ak, V -k</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ntī</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>ti- .. -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs ʾana</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ʾa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp hum</td>
<td>-hum</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>yi- .. -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp hinna</td>
<td>-hinna</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>yi- .. -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp ntum</td>
<td>-kum</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>ti- .. -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp ntinna</td>
<td>-kinna</td>
<td>-tinna</td>
<td>ti- .. -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp ḫnā</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks
1. -an also in the Tihāmah of Yemen and Bal-Qarn of Saudi Arabia (near the Tihāmah of Saudi Arabia).
3.1.5. *Southern Part of the Western Mountain Chain*  

Sample dialect: al-Mahāll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sep. pron.</th>
<th>C suff.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>hū</td>
<td>-oh, -h</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ḥi</td>
<td>-[a]ha</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ʾanta</td>
<td>-ak, -k</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ʾanti</td>
<td>-iš/V -š</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ḫan</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks

1. In al-Hādiye V -ho, and the C form after u becomes -woh. Qafr V -h after u and a, -hu after i. Taʾizz -uh.
2. Taʾizz -tum (before 2/3 sing. object suffixes -tunn-, otherwise -tū-). The form before object suffixes becomes in al-Hādiye -kū-, and in al-ʿUdain -kūmū-.
3. Before object suffixes -ann-. Al-Hādiye and al-ʿUdain show the form -ēn, which before object suffixes becomes -inn-. In Taʾizz before suffixes -inn-, although the form without suffixes is -ayn.
4. In al-Hādiye ʾa- only if the prefix is stressed, otherwise the zero mark.
5. Al-Hādiye and al-ʿUdain ʾantan. Ǧiblah intān (below). Qafr and Taʾizz ʾantin.
6. The al-Hādiye form is not known. Al-ʿUdain C -ik/V -ki, Taʾizz only -ik. The -ki ending (instead of -š) is a trait of a southern group.
8. Before object suffixes the final -n is geminated: -kunn-. The al-Hādiye form is not known. Qafr -kin, Taʾizz -tin (before object suffixes -tinn-). Al-ʿUdain -kēn, which before object suffixes becomes -kinn-. Ǧibb also -kēn.
10. Qafr and Taʾizz hīn.
11. Qafr V: -h after i and a, -hi after u. C: -eh. The gender distinction in the third person singular is thus upheld by the opposition -hu/-hi, rather than -hu/-ha, a consequence of the analogical force of the opposite pairs hū/hi, ʾantum/ʾantin, -kum/-kin, etc. in Qafr. ʿThe al-ʿUdain form is not known. Taʾizz -ih. The suffix -eh (-ih) is a trait of a southern group of the dialects, -ha of a northern group.
13. Qafr and Taʾizz -ah (before object suffixes -(a)t-). Al-ʿUdain shows both -at and -ah, of which Diem regards -at to have been borrowed from other dialects. Before object suffixes the form in al-ʿUdain is always -(a)t.
14. Al-ʿUdain also, but rarely, ḥina. Taʾizz also niḥna, which is an innovation.

9 Orientalia Suecana
15. Al-ʿUdain and Ibb -ku. Taʾizz -tu. Taʾizz belongs to a k-group of dialects but contact with people of t-groups has caused a change from k-suffixes to t-suffixes in the SC.¹⁰⁶

16. The al-Hadiye form is not known. Al-ʿUdain -ki. Taʾizz -ti. The -ki ending (instead of -š) is a trait of a southern group.

17. Ibb -um as in Ḥiblah (below). In Taʾizz the ending before 2/3 sing. object suffixes is -unn-, before other suffixes -ū-

18. Taʾizz only -ak.

19. Taʾizz -t.

20. The k-suffixes of the SC is a characteristic of this dialect group.

Sample dialect: Ḥiblah¹⁰⁷

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sep. pron. 1</th>
<th>Suff. pron.</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>PC 25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>huwa³</td>
<td>C -uh, V -h 4</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>hiya⁴</td>
<td>-ih 5</td>
<td>-ah 26</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>inta⁵ 15</td>
<td>C -ak, 7 V -k</td>
<td>-k 21</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>-ik 8</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>ti-...i 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>m ana⁶/f ani 2 -1,</td>
<td></td>
<td>-k 27</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparative remarks

1. As second person independent pronouns Diem adduces forms beginning with an a vowel: ʾanta, ʾanti, ʾantum, ʾantan (he retains initial hamza in transliteration). The 1cp form is according to Diem in context ʾihna, the third person singular forms (also context) hu, hi.¹⁰⁸ He gives no forms for the PC.

2. The morphological expression of the distinction of gender in the first person sing. of the separate pronouns is found in numerous dialects of Yemen. It is also upheld by unlearned categories of people in the Gulf states. In the rest of the Arabian Peninsula the gender distinction is not upheld in the first person.

3. In North Yemen as well as Ḥadramaut, ḏofār, and Oman we encounter short forms of the third person,¹⁰⁹ whereas in Mekka and many North Arabian dialects long forms are formed by gemination of the the middle consonant and addition of an ending -a. The North Arabian Bedouin dialects exhibit both types of third person forms (cf. above).

4. The allomorph after final vowel is -h, common in all Arabian dialects.

5. Some North Arabian Bedouin dialects instead -ah (e.g. Bani Ḥālid above).

6. The Gulf dialects all have -hin without allomorphs (if not the 3mp suffix is used), the North Arabian Bedouin dialects -hinn (in Cantineau’s notation -hen⁸).
7. In Dösiri and the Gulf -ik (Eastern Arabian above), in Yarım and Ḍafār (both on the Southern High Plateau, see above) -uk.

8. According to Diem the form is -ki after vowel. The suffix is affricated or spirantized in most Arabian dialects, e.g. the Southern High Plateau of Yemen C -iš/V -š, the North Arabian Bedouin dialects (above) C -iš/V -č (Cantineau C -eč/V -č).

9. In Tihämah (the Coastal Plane above) -kun.

10. The most common Arabian form has an -i- (e-) vowel, -[e]kin (Ṣanʿāʾ below), -kin (Southern High Plateau), affricated -čenn (Bani Ḥālid above).

11. In Aden, in analogy with the independent pronoun, a differentiation as to gender has developed: lms -na, 1fs -ni. The 1ms form -na became possible by the substitution of the 1cp form with -niḥna, cf. remark 12.

12. In Aden and some Yemenite dialects the independent form is used: -niḥna (even sometimes after nouns).

13. This form is hard to explain. Fischer and Jastrow regard it an Old Arabic form. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Ḍafār) bin.

14. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Ḍafār) ʿantayn in analogy with the regular verbal flexion, which in its turn has been influenced by the verbs III inf.

15. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Ḍafār) we have the series 2ms ʿanta, 2fs ʿanti, 2mp ʿantu, and 2fp ʿantayn (see remark above), with the old vowel maintained in the prefix.

16. Among the North Arabian Bedouins ʿontom (thus e.g. Manāḍre) and ʿontow (e.g. Mawālī), the latter form probably in analogy with the 3ms form.

17. Influence from the pronominal (-)hum and from 2mp -kum (as against singular -k). The allomorph before object suffix lacks the final -m. In the Gulf dialects (Eastern Arabian, see above) and Southern Ḥiḡāz -aw, in the North Arabian Bedouin dialects often -ow < -aw. The Southern High Plateau of Yemen -u. The -um suffix has been formed in analogy with the personal pronoun hum and is then also taken over by the corresponding PC forms.

18. -en < -ayn; monophthongization of diphthongs is a common phenomenon in the dialects of the western mountain chain. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Yarım) -ayn, a generalization of the ending in verbs III inf. The Gulf dialects have -an (if not the same as 3mp). In the north of Yemen (Northern High Plateau, see above) and in Tihāmah (The Coastal Plane above) the Classical Arabic ending -na is preserved.

19. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Yarım and Ḍafār), Mecca (cf. above) and the Gulf dialects -tu, which is the dominating ending among the t-dialects. Other attested forms of the 2mp ending are -tum (e.g. al-Ḥuğariyeh) and in the North Arabian Bedouin dialects sometimes -taṭ (thus Fischer & Jastrow; Cantineau -tom, see above). In Tihāmah (the Coastal Plane of Yemen and also al-Qauz of Saudi-Arabia) -tun in analogy with the independent pronoun ʿantun (al-Qauz ʿintun). The k-dialects uniformly show the ending -kum.

20. On the Southern High Plateau (e.g. Ḍafār) and Ṣanʿāʾ -stayn (in analogy with the 3fp form and the verbs III inf.). The Gulf dialects -tin. The most frequent Arabian forms of the ending are -tan and -tin. In the k-dialects -kan and -kin are found, in some dialects the analogical formation -kayn (or contracted -kēn).
21. Suffixes with -k- instead of -t- are found in some Western Yemenite mountain dialects (e.g. al-Maḥall above), but -t- is the more common element among the Arabian dialects. Besides -t there is in Tihāmah (e.g. Maḥāyil in Saudi Arabia and the whole Coastal Plane of Yemen) and some other Yemenite dialects (ad-Dāmiḡah, Bainūn) also the SC ending -ta.

22. In the North Arabian dialects, some Ḥīḡāzī and Naḏgī dialects as well as Ḍuḥān of Southern Yemen the suffix -in is used.

23. In the North Arabian dialects, some Ḥīḡāzī and Naḏgī dialects as well as Ḍuḥān of Southern Yemen the suffix -in is used.

24. In the North Arabian dialects including Sudair of Eastern Saudi Arabia -an is used.

25. The prefix vowel of the PC is most often i if the PC stem has not an u vowel, in which case it is u. In ʿUmūr and Ṣlūṭ of Ṣammar, Dōsiri and the Gulf dialects the prefix vowel is a. The prefix vowel varies considerably among the dialects and is usually conditioned by the PC stem vowel.

26. -ah is the dominating 3fs suffix in the -k- dialects (al-Maḥall and most southwestern mountain dialects however -at). Before object suffixes there is the allomorph -(a)t. The ending -ah is probably due to analogy with the feminine ending of the noun.114

27. With change of the stem vowel to u: 1cs katubk against 2ms katabk, a change that was caused by assimilation to the (later dropped) final -u in *-ku.115 In the k-dialects the most frequent form is -ku116 (cf. al-ʿUdain and Ḥīy of the southwestern mountains of Yemen), which is the original ending. This -u manifests itself in the assimilation of the stem vowel, katubk instead of katabk, although the vowel ending itself was later dropped.

3.1.6. Al-Ḥugariyeh (southern part of Yemen)

| Sep. pron. | Suff. pron. | SC | PC
|-----------|-------------|----|---------|
| 3ms hū, huwa | C -oh, V -uh | -Ø | ya-
| 3fs hī, hiya | C -eh, V -ih | -at | ta-
| 2ms ṭanta | C -ak, V -k | -t | ta-
| 2fs ṭanti | C -ik/V -k | -ti | ta- ... -i 7
| 1cs mi ūna/f ūani | -i | -tu | ʿa-
| | | -ni (verb) | |
| 3mp hum | -[o]hum | -u | ya- ... -u 8
| 3fp hin | -[e]hin | -ayn | ya- ... -ayn
| 2mp ūntum | -[o]kum | -tum | ta- ... -u 8
| 2fp ūntin | -[e]kī | -tin | ta- ... -ayn
| 1cp nāḥnu, niḥna | -[a]na | -na | na- |

Remarks

1. huwa is the older form, the short form is due to later influence from other dialects.
2. **hiya** is the original form of the dialect.
3. **nahnu** is the original form of the dialect.
4. -k after **u**, -**uk** after **a** and **i**.
5. -**u** after **a**, -**uh** and -**h** after **i**.
6. -**ih** after **u**, -**i** after **a**.
7. In **Dubhān -in**.
8. In **Dubhān -ūn**.

### 3.1.7. Ṣanʿāʾ

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<td>ḥnē’ 4</td>
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**Remarks**

1. Unlearned people (that have not studied literary Arabic) **ḥūḥ**.
2. Unlearned people **ḥīḥ**.
3. Thus (in pause with imāla) in Ṣanʿāʾ and its neighbourhood. On the rest of the high plateau ʾana. In the western lowland a gender distinction is observed. 1ms ʾanā’, 1fs ʾanīr or ʾani’ (according to Rossi in analogy with the gender distinction of the second and third persons).
4. Thus (with imāla) in Ṣanʿāʾ and its neighbourhood. On the rest of the high plateau **ḥnā**.

### 4. ʿOMĀNI ARABIC

**Sample dialect: Banī Ḥarūṣ**

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*Note: t(†) refers to a particular phonetic variation.*
Remarks

3. Before negation with final -ā: hīyā-ši “not she”.
4. Before negation with final -ā: nūtā-ši “not you (m.)”.
5. Before negation with final -ā: enūnā-ši “not I (m.)”.
6. Thus after emphatic consonants and laryngals, otherwise -he. Before negation (-ši) always -hā.
7. Thus after emphatic consonants and laryngals, otherwise -ek.
8. Emphatic form ine, to be analyzed as the normal suffix -i plus sep. pronoun ene. Before negation (-ši) the form is -i. Before negation (-ši) -innā.
9. Or -ine. Emphatic form nine, to be analyzed as the normal object suffix -ni plus sep. pronoun ene.
10. Before negation (-ši) -ū.
11. Before negation (-ši) -nā.
12. The prefix vowel as well as the stem vowel of the PC seem to be phonetically determined by the following radical. The prefix vowel can be i, o, a, u, ū. However, it is never a except in the 1cs form where it is always e- (< ā-).
13. If the third radical is h, ū, q,  č, or r the suffix changes to -an.

OBSERVATIONS

#1. One fundamental opposition in the paradigmatic tables established above is that between masculine and feminine gender. In fact, a rewarding subgrouping within a table is a division of the forms in masculine/feminine pairs, huw/hiy, int/intay, -/at, ya/-ta, etc. The presence of masculine and feminine forms in most positions of the table might be taken to indicate that a masculine form would possess (or be) a masculine morphological mark and that a feminine form in a similar way would possess a feminine mark. This is not true. If, for a moment, we consider the morphological marks of the prefix conjugation, the third person forms look something like this. 3ms ya/-3fs ta-, 3mp ya--...-ūn/3fp ya--...-in. Here, the 3fp form ya--...-in shows that y- cannot reasonably be a positive mark of the masculine gender. Rather, the presence of the ya- prefix in the forms above should be attributed to another circumstance, which can only pertain to the prefix conjugation as such. The distinguishing mark of the PC is the presence of a prefix before the stem. Every form of the PC must have this mark. The ya- prefix, used in both

A similar argument, based on Classical Arabic, is found in A. A. Bulos, The Arabic Triliteral Verb, 37f.
masculine and feminine forms, is a positive mark of the PC as such, but as to the gender distinction it is a neutral mark. ya- (or yi-) in the paradigms is not a mark of the masculine, rather it is to be regarded as a zero sign (as to gender). In particular, the 3ms form of the PC paradigm (ya-...) should be considered zero signalized, or unmarked. The y- prefix is not a masculine mark, nor is it a mark of singularity or of the third person. It is just a zero mark as to the gender, number, and person, and this conclusion is valid not only for the Arabic dialects, but for Afroasiatic as a whole. This means that whereas 3ms yaktib (Rwaili) is zero signalized in regard to all the three fundamental categories within the paradigms displayed, 3fs taklib bears a distinctive mark of the feminine, which in this case is the prefix consonant t-. Likewise, yaktbun (< *yaktibun) bears a distinctive mark of the plural, in this case the suffix -ün, and so on. The trebly unmarked state of the 3ms yaktib constitutes the linguistic foundation for its treatment as a kind of base form for the prefix conjugation. Even more, an unmarked form is also a frequently used base form for innovations, as will be illustrated below.

#2. What is stated in #1 accords well with the paradigm of the suffix conjugation, where the 3ms form is distinguished by a zero signalization (Rwaili kitab). This form, which is designated "3ms", is in fact zero signalized as to gender, number, and person. It may be considered the base form of the suffix conjugation. Its feminine counterpart, in Rwaili ktibat, is feminine signalized but lacks number and person signalization. Its plural counterpart (3mp), Rwaili ktibaw, is plural signalized, and the suffix may be interpreted as being formed from an ancient ending -a and the plural sign -ö, a phenomenon that might be identified as a general tendency to produce new marked formations starting from an unmarked form. At the same time, however, the 3mp ending -aw must be considered in the light of the general tendency in the Arabic dialects to confuse (or merge) the flexion of verba tertiae infirmae with that of the regular verb. This will be elaborated below (#5). Although ktibaw has a plural mark it is unmarked as to gender and person. This unmarkedness as to gender the SC 3mp form shares with the other 3mp forms in the tables (separate pronouns, suffix pronouns, the PC). The same holds true for the 2mp forms. This is the foundation for their use as communes in some of the dialects (e.g. Mecca). The need for a gender distinction was felt less urgent than in the singular. The former "masculine" unmarked form thus in those dialects came to be used also for the feminine plural. In the singular it was more important to distinguish gender, and so in the singular this distinction has been everywhere upheld.

#3. Due to the general loss of short final vowels in the dialects, the final -a of Old Arabic "anta (also "inta?) should have been generally dropped. In many dialects, though, the -a is retained, or is sometimes (within the same dialect) retained. When the -a is preserved as a variant form within a dialect it is in some instances used to achieve emphasis. In such a case the "ant (or "int) form is quite unmarked as to emphasis. However, the acceptance of a form "ant without -a also constitutes an indication that the ending -a in the gender opposition "anta/"anti was dispensable. The 2ms form "ant retained its functions without the ending. Regardless of the designation "2ms", the form "ant, and also the form "anta, is in reality unmarked as far as gender is concerned. If, now, the 2ms independent pronoun is
unmarked, its counterpart in the gender opposition must retain its state of markedness, and this is also shown in all the dialects, where the ending -i of the Old Arabic ḍanti (‘inti) is everywhere retained. This retention of the final -i is probably not a consequence of a supposed long -i in Proto-Semitic. Instead the final -i was lengthened in many dialects to preserve the feminine mark when short final vowels fell. In the privative opposition the signifier level of which is represented by ḍanti/‘ant(a), only the marked term had to retain (or alternatively, renew) its mark, whereas the unmarked term constantly exhibits zero signalization, whether it ends in a short -a or not. A cursory observation might give rise to the assumption that -ta (or -t) is a masculine mark and -ti the feminine mark. Further analysis, however, forces us to conclude that the masculine form is unmarked and that the ḍVnt(a) or ḍVnt form in fact represents zero signalization. This unmarked state of the 2ms form implies that it may take on two values, non-feminine = masculine, or non-feminine = neutral. Obviously, this potential gender neutrality of the 2ms form ḍVnta (or ḍVnt) is shared by all masculine forms in the tables.

#4. In some Nağdi and Eastern Arabian dialects studied by T. Prochazka we encounter the 2fs form ḍintay (or ‘antay see remark above), which may be interpreted as the ancient unmarked form ḍinta supplied with a feminine mark -i: ḍinta-i > ḍintay. However, as with the SC suffix -aw, influence from verb tert. inf. must be given due consideration, because where the 2fs sep. pron. ḍintay is used (Rwaili, Hofuf), we find also the 2fs SC suffix -tay. As far as we know this form is used only in Rwaili and Hofuf (and possibly Ḥāyil). The rest of the Arabian dialects uses the regular form ḍVnti. Although ḍintay is obviously a new formation it conforms to the general structural pattern that in the gender opposition ḍVnt(a)/ ḍVnti of the second person singular the ḍVnt(a) form represents zero signalization and the ḍVnti form positive feminine signalization. This means that the marked form ḍVnti should be regarded as the unmarked form ḍVnt(a) supplied with the feminine mark -i. As can be seen from the tables -i (or -i-) is a generally used mark of the feminine in the singular and it is frequent also in the plural.

#5. In the North Arabian and Ḥiğāzī dialects a very frequent 3mp ending of the suffix conjugation is -aw or -ow (Cantineau: -o°). The form katabaw (Rufaidah) is marked as to number (however unmarked as to gender). It may be interpreted as an internal Arabic development, where the old unmarked 3ms form kataba became the starting point for a new plural formation by addition of the general ending of the masculine plural, -u (or -ū). Thus -a + -u > -aw. The -ow ending is the result of a phonetic change of the pronunciation (assimilation to w). Frequently, -ow is even reduced to -o° (Banî Ḥālid, Sirḥān, Wild ‘Alī; sometimes Şlūt), or -o. An analogous development is to be assumed for the 2mp SC ending -taw, e.g. Hofuf kitabtaw, which under influence of the change of the 3mp form was formed from the old 2ms ending -ta (the Classical Arabic form) by addition of the plural ending -u (-ū): -ta + -u > -taw (> -tow in some dialects).

#6. In the Šammar dialects ḍUmūr and Sirḥān the 2fs form of the independent pronouns is ḍante (Sirḥān ‘ontene’ instead of the usual North Arabian ḍanti. Cantineau gives no 2ms form for Sirḥān but in ḍUmūr the form is ḍante. The -e’ ending of the 2fs form he explains as a diphthongization of the old long -i, but he suspects that this “diphthongization” must have a non-phonetic origin. This form is to be
explained in accordance with #4 above. The marked form َونَتْي is an innovation based on the unmarked form َونَتْ which simply has been supplied with the commonly used feminine mark -ي: َونَتْي > َونَتْ.

#7. َانا (ُاتنا, etc.) is the most widely used form of the independent 1cs pronoun. The small cattle Bedouins of Syria, especially the Pre-Ánaze tribes, instead use the form َاني (communis) with final -ي, probably in analogy with the object suffix form -نی. The speakers of most Yemenite dialects as well as some (unlearned) speakers of the Gulf dialects, distinguish between a masculine form َانا and a feminine form with final -ي, َاني. Naturally, this distinction is not found in the mouth of one and the same speaker, but is a trait of the socio-linguistic phenomenon of female language. However, the feminine form َاني as such is not due to analogical influence from the communis suffix -ي (or -نی), but is caused by the analogical force of the second person singular forms. The pair َانتًا/َانتي made a new feminine formation possible in the first person by the analogical opposition َانا/َاني, where the unmarked, zero signalized, term was َانا.138

#8. The force of analogy is everywhere perceptible in the stock of forms of the dialects. Among the third person independent pronouns there are a long and a short type (sometimes within the same dialect), both types occurring with a frequency that indicates that this variety probably is inherited from Old Arabic. The Classical Arabic form ِهوَة is found only occasionally among the studied dialects. It is attested in the Gulf Dialects,139 in Saudi Arabia (Bal-Qarn) and in Yemen (al-Hugariyeh). The short type predominates in Yemen, whereas the long form is more frequent in the North Arabian dialects.140 Therefore it would be premature bluntly to regard the forms of the dialects as innovations from the Old Arabic ِهوَة. Only a few dialects have retained the ancient difference in length between short unmarked (as to gender) forms (ِهو, ِهوُم, ِانتُم, ِكُم, etc.) and long marked forms (ِهوُنَة, ِهوُنَّة, ِانتُنَّة, ِكُنَّة, etc.), e.g. al-Qahabah (ِهوُنَة/ِهوُنَّة, etc.) and ِةَمِيد (ِهوُنَّة/ِهوُنَّة, etc.) of Saudi Arabia, most dialects of the Yemenite Northern High Plateau (َهوُنَة/ِهوُنَّة, or ِبوُنَة/ِبوُنَّة), and al-Mahāšēh (also Yemen, pattern: ِبوُنَة/ِبوُنَّة). In most dialects, the variation between long (ِهوُوَة, ِهوُوَّة) and short forms (ِهو) is consistent as to the individual language: if there is a short form in one position of the system then in the same dialect short forms are found also in the other positions of the scheme, and vice versa. This variation may occur among dialects of the same group. Thus, in the ِةَمَار dialect Bani ِهَلِيد long forms of the separate third person pronouns occur (ِهوُوَة, ِهِيِّعْنَا, ِهِوُمُمَا, ِهِنَّنا), whereas the ِةَمَار dialects ِةَمُعْرُ, ِسُلُط, ِمَانَدِر, and ِسِرِّحَان all use short forms (ِهوُ, ِهِ, ِهِوُم, ِهِنَ). In the dialect of ِةَأَر both long and short forms occur, at least in the singular: ِهوُوَة, ِهِيِّعْنَا. G. Schreiber explains the long communis form ِهوُمَا in the Meccan dialect as a “contamination” of the Old Arabic forms -ِهوُم and -ِهوُنَة,141 and such a mutual influence between the masculine and feminine pronouns can be traced in many instances. Already in Old Arabic some dialects came to change the Proto-Semitic vowel -ي, a characteristic of the feminine, to -و-, by influence of the corresponding masculine form. Thus the masculine ِهوُمُو (ِهِوُمُوُو) caused the following changes of the feminine forms to occur in some Proto-Arabic dialects: ٌهَنْمَا > ِهوُنَة, ٌهَنْمَا > ِهوُنَة, ٌهِتْنَمَا > ِهِتْنَمَا, ِهِتْنَمَا > ِهِتْنَمَا, ِهِتْنَمَا > ِهِتْنَمَا. This change was
possible because of the double signalization of the feminine forms: 1) the vowel -i-, 2) the consonant n (in the forms inherited from Proto-Semitic probably already geminated). By this change, the feminine forms preserved only one feminine (plural) mark, the -n(a). The force of analogy caused this change to permeate all the corresponding forms, the separate pronouns, the suffix pronouns, the endings of the suffix conjugation. In the singular pronouns huwa/hiya, -hū/-hā such a levelling of the feminine signalization could not occur without loss of the gender distinction, and so was not permitted. Some Old Arabic dialects, however, must have retained the Proto-Semitic vowel -i- in the feminine plural pronouns, because in the North Arabian dialects, in Yemen (the Northern High Plateau) and in Oman such forms dominate, either as long (hinna, ʔantinna) or short (hin, ʔantin) variants.

#9. The vowel opposition u/i that serves to distinguish the genders in the singular (hū/hī, huwwa/hiiya) in some dialects is levelled out in the plural as has already been observed for Classical Arabic (#8). We encounter in many dialects of Saudi Arabia the Classical Arabic opposition hum/hunna, in the Northern High Plateau of Yemen instead him/hinna. It cannot be regarded an established fact that – as Fischer and Jastrow maintain – hinna of the modern dialects has developed from Old Arabic hunna. It is more probable that hinna is an archaic form considering its predominance in the modern dialects exhibited above (when a gender distinction is at all upheld).

#10. The n of the feminine plural form – in oppositions such as ʔintan/ʔintan (Rwaili, Háyil) to be recognized as a feminine plural mark – is sometimes by analogical “Ausgleich” transferred to the masculine form, reducing the distinctive features of the feminine plural form to only one mark, the vowel i (the unmarked masculine form showing u). As in the singular the gender distinction in the plural is achieved by only one mark, whereas in most dialects of the Arabian peninsula the feminine plural form is distinguished by two marks, the vowel i and the consonant n (geminated or not), e.g. hum/hin, ham/hin, and, with a slight phonetic variation, in the North Arabian dialects hom/hen or humma/henna. Examples of a single feminine-plural signalization are found in the Tihāmah of Yemen, 3mp hun/3fp hin, 2mp ʔantun/2fp ʔantin, suffix pron. -hun/-hin, -kun/-kin, SC endings 2mp -tun/-tin. Of course, an unmarked form such as hun may also develop into a communis form in spite of its seemingly “feminine” element -n, as in al-Qauz and Şabyā (both in Saudi Arabia). Thus we are able to state that if a communis form has emerged in a dialect – a rather frequent phenomenon (cf. #4) – it is always the former unmarked “masculine” form that has been used. Furthermore, the “Ausgleich” concerns all paradigms in the tables, separate pronouns, suffix pronouns, SC and PC. Examples: 3cp hun (Kuwait; Bīsah and Hofuf in Saudi Arabia), humme (uhumme, ʔhumme, Bahrajn), humma (Mecca), him (Tanūmah and Bal-Qarn in Saudi Arabia), hun (al-Qauz, Şabyā), ham (Sudair, Nağran).

#11. The prefix conjugation 3fp/2fp suffixes used in the dialects are interesting. Whereas some show the Classical Arabic suffix -na (Saudi Arabia type I, Tihāmah and the Northern High Plateau of Yemen), others have an ending -an. The latter in all instances corresponds to an identical 3fp SC ending -an, the origin of which however remains obscure. Many Yemenite dialects show a 3fp/2fp PC suffix
-ayn, or the contracted variant -ēn (e.g. Ğiblah). This suffix has been formed by analogy with the corresponding 3fp SC suffix -ayn (sometimes even a SC 2fp -tayn suffix is used due to the influence from the 3fp suffix, cf. Dafār). Thus, whereas the prefixes of the PC remain stable, its suffixes vary considerably, because of influence from other morphological subsystems, such as those of the SC and the personal pronouns. Especially in the 3fp forms the correspondence between the PC and the SC is noticeable. In the North Arabian dialects a 3fp PC suffix -an always corresponds to a SC suffix -an, and a PC 3fp suffix -na (in Gämid -nah) likewise corresponds to a SC suffix -na (Gämid -nah). Similarly, a PC suffix -ayn (3fp, 2fp) always corresponds to a SC 3fp suffix -ayn. If, on the other hand, the gender distinction is lost in the plural forms of the PC, then as was noted in #10 this is the case also for the pronouns and the SC.

NOTES
2. Henceforth abbreviated SC and PC.
4. W. Fischer, and O. Jastrow, eds., *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 44, explain the prefix vowel a in the 1esorm as due to analogy with the personal pronoun anā. This is possible, although it should be noted that there are no other traces of an analogical influence from the personal pronouns on the prefix vowels of the PC.
5. My main source has been J. Cantineau, “Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d’Orient,” *Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales* 2 (1936): 1–118, 3 (1937): 119–237. It has not been suitable on the ground of Cantineau’s material to establish separate tables for each of the three main dialect groups. The rather minute differences that regard the forms in the tables are accounted for in the remarks. Mostly I conform to the habit of Cantineau (and many other scholars) to represent a beginning hamza in the transliteration, although it is only an unstable word limit mark, Fischer and Jastrow, eds., *Handbuch*, 106 f. However, I do not regard Cantineau’s phonetic distinction between consonants that are pronounced with tāfḥim and such that are not (op. cit., 12 ff.). It should be noted that the study of Cantineau treats the speech of nomads over a large territory as far south as Naqūd and thus partly overlap regions covered in later sections. Among the tribes treated by Cantineau Bani Ḥālid, Bani Ṣaḥar, ‘Umār, Ṣlūṭ, Maḥāṇiq, Sardiye, Raggā, and Sirḥān belong to Ṣaḥmār (however, Cantineau, op.cit. 202, seems to regard Raggā as belonging to the Pre-Ṣaḥmār small cattle Bedouins of Syria), Naḥām, Faḍl, Ḥadīdīn, Māwālī belong to Pre-Ṣaḥmār, and Rwaḥa, Sbā’a, Muṭair, Ḥsān, Wild ‘Ali belong to ‘Anāzē.
17. Cantineau, “Études,” 202. It seems that both -kåm (or -kam) and -kom are attested in some dialects, e.g. in Faḍl, cf. op. cit. 72.
18. Cantineau, “Études,” 202. It seems that both -håm (or -harn) and -horn are attested in some dialects, e.g. in Faḍl, cf. op. cit. 72.
23. Cantineau, “Études,” 76. The usage of the various forms of this suffix is outlined op. cit. 180 ff.
25. Cantineau, “Études,” 80 f., 186. On pp. 47, 186 he concludes that the “diphthongization” of final -ā has a non-phonetic origin. It should be noted in this instance that the diphthong -aw in these dialects is generally reduced to -öw (Banū Ḥālid, Sīrāhān, Wild ‘Ali; sometimes Slūṭ) or -ō, op. cit. 47. Note, however, the same endings in verba tert. inf., “Études”, 91.
32. Cantineau, “Études,” 21, 73.
33. My main sources have been: T. M. Johnstone, Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies (London, 1967), and C. Holes, Gulf Arabic (London and New York, 1990). The latter work, which is mainly a syntax (even in the “morphology” chapter), concerns a koiné of the Gulf states which Holes calls “Educated Gulf Arabic”. If nothing is said in the remarks the forms adduced by Johnstone and Holes are identical. According to Johnstone “hamza is not usually present in absolutely initial positions” (20) wherefore it is omitted in the paradigms. The Sultanate of Oman is excluded since the dialect spoken in its settled regions is considerably different (it is separately treated below).
34. Johnstone, Eastern Arabian, 71.
39. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 204.
40. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 204.
41. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 159.
42. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 159.
43. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 171.
45. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, § 8.2.1.1.
46. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 7.
47. The example absartaha “you (m.) saw her”, given by Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 113, might be a hint that the -a- has originated from the Classical Arabic 2ms ending -ta in the SC, which has lost its final -a in most dialects. Cf. the allomorphs -ahum, -akum in both Mecca and Ğiblah. In some dialects, however, the quality of the connecting vowel seems to be phonetically conditioned by the vowel in the suffix: Yarım 3mp -uhum, 3fp -ihin, 2mp -ukum, 2fp -ikin (but: 1cs -[a]ni which indicates that the -a- is here an inherited vowel). It should be noted that in the cases when the quality of the connecting vowel is not identical with that in the suffix, it is always a, as in Ṣan‘ā’: -ahin.
49. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 22.
50. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 9.
51. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 36, 85.
53. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 22.
56. The vowel of the prefix varies considerably between the dialects.
58. Diem, Skizzen, 69.
59. Prochazka, Saudi Arabian Dialects, 126. Prochazka does not distinguish postvocalic and postconsonantic allomorphs.
60. Prochazka, Saudi Arabian Dialects, 126.
61. Prochazka, Saudi Arabian Dialects, 126.
63. The vowel of the prefix varies considerably between the dialects. According to P. Abboud, in Ḥāyil (Abboud: Ḥā'il) the prefix vowel of the regular verb is a, except when the first radical is a velar or post velar fricative. P. Abboud, “Some Features of the Verbal System of Najdi Arabic,” 157, more details in Abboud, “The Verb in Northern Najdi Arabic,” 490.
65. In Mağmā'a of Sudair the “underlying” form is -anna according to Abboud, “Verb Suffixation in Najdi Arabic,” 3, which is shown before object suffixes.
69. In Mağmā'a of Sudair the “underlying” form is -inna according to Abboud, “Verb Suffixation in Najdi Arabic,” 3, which is shown before object suffixes.
70. In Mağmā'a of Sudair -ann (“underlying” is -anna = the form before object suffixes) according to Abboud, “Verb Suffixation in Najdi Arabic,” 1.
71. In Mağmā'a of Sudair -un (“underlying” is the form before object suffixes, -anna) according to Abboud, “Verb Suffixation in Najdi Arabic,” 1.
76. Abboud, “The Verb in Northern Najdi Arabic,” 495.
77. Prochazka, Saudi Arabian Dialects, 126.
80. Prochazka, Saudi Arabian Dialects, 126.
84. Abboud, “The Verb in Northern Najdi Arabic,” 495.
89. My main source has been W. Diem, Skizzen jemenitischer Dialekte (Beirut, 1973).
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92. According to Diem, Skizzen, 30, the latter forms are possibly due to influence from the dialect of Sanā‘a.
93. Dafār, Yarim, Iryān, Dāmar, Dafināh, Māriyah, Rādā‘, Gaifeh, Sībūh, Mī‘sal, ad-Dāmiqāh, Bainūn.
94. Diem, Skizzen, 42.
95. According to Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 112, this is the case also in Yarim.
96. Diem, Skizzen, 59.
97. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
98. Diem, Skizzen, 69.
99. Diem, Skizzen, 70.
100. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
102. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
103. Diem, Skizzen, 90. Diem mentions also some other Yemenite dialects with this feminine suffix.
104. Diem, Skizzen, 90 f., 95.
105. Diem, Skizzen, 104.
106. Diem, Skizzen, 105 f.
107. Sources: Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 112 ff. Diem, Skizzen, 99 ff. The pausal forms are given according to Fischer and Jastrow. This distinction is upheld in the forms with the ending -ā, which is dropped in context, Handbuch, § 8.1.6.
109. According to Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, § 8.2.1.2, they go back to the old short forms huwa, hiya, hum, *hin, and *han.
110. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 112.
111. O. Jastrow, “Die Struktur des Neuarabischen,” in Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1982), 137, rather argues that we have here a rare example of influence from the 2mp form.
112. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 103.
113. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 120.
114. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 119.
115. Diem, Skizzen, 100, 112.
116. Thus Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 120.
117. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is a before stem vowel u, and i otherwise.
118. My source is E. Rossi, L’arabo parlato a Sanā‘a (Roma, 1939).
119. The prefix vowel (except in 1cs where it is always a) is conditioned by the stem vowel: it is u before stem vowel u, and i if it is i, and i, o, or a otherwise.
120. Rossi, L’arabo parlato a Sanā‘a, § 4.
121. Rossi, L’arabo parlato a Sanā‘a, § 27.
122. Rossi, L’arabo parlato a Sanā‘a, § 4.
126. The forms are taken from a randomly chosen dialect, Rwaili in Saudi Arabia.
127. In most dialects there is no such distinction in the first person. As will be pointed out below, some dialects (e.g. Mecca) has lost the gender distinction in the second and third persons plural.
128. The forms taken from the Rwaili dialect.
130. Because of the morphemeic merging of the old modes of the PC in one form the classical indicative ending -na became -n in some dialects, or disappeared completely in others. Thus we encounter in the Arabian dialects both -in/-in and -u/-u, the former type being found only in Bedouin dialects, Fischer and Jastrow, ed., Handbuch, 118. This change has taken place without any influence as far as we can see from the personal pronouns or from the SC flexion.

131. Except, of course, in the first person. The unmarked state of the 3ms form accords well with general linguistic theory, which regards the third "person" as being actually a non-person, absent in the discourse situation and therefore unmarked as to the concept of personality, whereas the two first persons are marked as to personality. É. Benveniste, "La nature des pronoms," in For Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday 11 October 1956, compiled by H. Halle, H. G. Lunt, H. McLean, et al., 34–37 (The Hague. 1956); idem, "Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe," in Problèmes de linguistique générale, by Benveniste, vol. 1, 225–236 (Paris, 1966).

132. The -i was seemingly anceps in Proto-Semitic, cf. Ethiopic 'anti, Akk. atti.


134. From my sources I have not been able to determine whether in some dialect there is both a communis form and a specific feminine form.

135. -u recognized as such in W. Fischer, ed., Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie, vol. 1, Sprachwissenschaft (Wiesbaden, 1982), 137. The term "masculine" is used in the meaning unmarked as to gender in opposition to the marked (feminine) term.

136. Cantineau, "Études," 47, 80 f., 186. A similar development already in Proto-Arabic gave rise to the regular ending in verb tert. inf.: -a+ũ > -aw, cf. W. Fischer, Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1987), § 252c. It must be assumed that the ending of the "weak" verb has facilitated the change in the "strong" verb.


138. This statement is not meant to be a suggestion as to the age of a form 'ani as such, attested elsewhere in Semitic (Canaanite!). Only that 'ani as a specific feminine (1fs) form constitutes an innovation of some dialects in the Arabian Peninsula.

139. Holes, Gulf Arabic, 159.

140. Cf. however the Ṣammar dialects 'Umūr, Ṣlūt, Manāδrē, and Sirbān, in which the short form is used. It would be premature, though, bluntly to regard the forms of the dialects as innovations from the Old Arabic huwa. The question of origin is not settled, since the short form hū is sometimes used in the poetry of Classical Arabic, and there are traces of a long form hiiwa or huwwa in early Arabic, S. Hopkins, Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic: Based upon Papyri Dateable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D. (London, 1984), 7, note 1.

141. Schreiber, Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka, 22.

142. The question whether there was a form with a geminated n already in Proto-Semitic is not settled. Moscati adds the element *-ina without gemination as the Proto-Semitic pattern because of the evidence from Akkadian, Moscati, ed., Comparative Grammar, 102. Many other scholars suppose *-inna to be Proto-Semitic, thus Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, 301; Bauer and Leander, Historische Grammatik, § 28 p, q.

143. A stable form *huya is not probable. Phonetic assimilation would give rise to either hiya (the present feminine) or huwa (the present masculine).

144. The extensions of the pronouns by the additional -w (-wa, -wwa) and -y (-ya, -yya) do not possess distinctive power. Their function is to render the pronouns dissyllabic due to an analogical tendency (cf. humma/hinna) or to achieve greater emphasis. The semi-vowels w and y in the 3ms/3fs separate pronouns are phonetically conditioned by the preceding vowel. Formations such as *huua or *huwwa would have been unstable. Phonetic assimilation would give rise to *huia < *huya and *huwa (or *hiya) < *hiwa, the present masculine and feminine forms.

145. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 79. However, they seem to regard the short 3fp hin (together with a 3fp han) as an ancient form, op. cit. 112.

146. Al-Qaṣim in Saudi Arabia; in Yemen im-Gūleh and Ḥamīdeh (Northern High Plateau), the Southern High Plateau, Qafr and Ta‘izz (southern part of the Western Mountain Chain), and al-Ḥugariyyeh; ‘Oman, and some Gulf dialects.
144. Rwaili and Háyil of Saudi Arabia.
145. Umür, Şlüt, Manâdreh, and Sirhân (all Şammar dialects).
146. Most other North Arabian Bedouin dialects.
147. Commented upon by Fischer and Jastrow as an “Ausgleich in Richtung auf das Femininum”, Handbuch, note 116.
148. The examples are taken from the third person plural of the separate pronouns, for further examples, see the respective paradigms and remarks.
150. In the Gulf dialects there is also a less frequent 3fp variant suffix -in in the PC. Most other North Arabian Bedouin dialects.
151. The examples are taken from the third person plural of the separate pronouns, for further examples, see the respective paradigms and remarks.
152. Fischer and Jastrow, eds., Handbuch, 120, regard it a “Reflex von aar -na.” Concerning the "Ausgleich in Richtung auf das Femininum”, Handbuch, note 116.
153. In the Gulf dialects there is also a less frequent 3fp variant suffix -in in the PC. The examples are taken from the third person plural of the separate pronouns, for further examples, see the respective paradigms and remarks.
155. Al-Hadiyeh, al-'Udain, and Ḥilâlah where a contracted form, -in, is used.
156. Al-Hadiyeh, al-'Udain, and Ḥilâlah a contracted 3fp suffix -en.
157. As for the Saudi Arabian dialect Sudair the 3fp ending is -an in both conjugations. Háyil and al-Qaṣim have the SC ending -an, but the PC ending -in, and in Rwaili the 3fp SC ending may be both -in or -an, whereas the PC ending is only -in. The vowel change a > i is phonetically conditioned. This is the only discrepancy between the PC and the SC in this respect I have been able to discover. Most of the Saudi dialects in fact conform to the general pattern.

REFERENCES


