ALEXANDER BORG

CYPRIOT ARABIC

ABHANDLUNGEN
FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES

IM AUFTRAGE DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON EWALD WAGNER

XLVII, 4

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A historical and comparative investigation into the phonology and morphology of the Arabic vernacular spoken by the Maronites of Kormakiti village in the Kyrenia district of North-Western Cyprus.

DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

KOMMISSIONSVERLAG FRANZ STEINER WIESBADEN GMBH
STUTTGART 1985

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Borg, Alexander:

Cypriot arabic: [a histor. and comparative investigation into the phonology and morphology of the Arabic vernacular spoken by the Maronites of Kormakiti village in the Kyrenia district of North-Western Cyprus] / Alexander Borg. Dt.
Morgenländ. Ges. – Stuttgart:
Steiner-Wiesbaden-GmbH, 1985.
(Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; Bd. 47,4)

ISBN 3-515-03999-6

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I dedicate this research to the memory of my teacher

Professor Haim Blanc

(1926-1984)

FOREWORD

My interest in the Arabic vernacular spoken by the Maronites of Kormakiti village (N.W. Cyprus) was initially aroused by a passing remark in Roth (1975:21, fn. 1) to the effect that the inhabitants of Kormakiti claim to understand Maltese, my native language, and the theme of a doctoral dissertation I completed in October 1978.

A weightier reason rendering the Arabic dialect of Cyprus a particularly tempting research theme to the specialist in Maltese is the striking set of close sociocultural parallels shared by these one-time Arabic vernaculars, e.g. virtually complete separation from the Arabic-speaking world, linguistic interaction across genetic boundaries (with Italian and English in the case of Maltese, with Greek in that of Cypriot Arabic), the Christian and Catholic affiliation of their speakers, as well as their Mediterranean and insular habitat (cf. Lüdtke 1975).

A preliminary field investigation in Cyprus, however, soon revealed that far from being a close congener of the predominantly Maghrebine Arabic vernacular used in the Maltese Islands (cf. Borg 1978, Ch. XI), the Arabic dialect of Kormakiti, not surprisingly, shares its most numerous and systematic formal affinities with certain Arabic vernaculars spoken by sedentaries in the Middle East. The origin of the Kormakiti Maronites' claim concerning their alleged familiarity with Maltese (also maintained in my presence) remains therefore highly intriguing!

Cypriot Arabic is a corrected and slightly expanded version of the *Habilitationsschrift* I submitted to the Philosophische Fakultät II of the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg in July 1982. It represents the principal research objective attained in the course of a two-year Alexander von Humboldt fellowship lasting from Feb. 1981 to Jan. 1983. I am happy to express my obligation to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for generously furthering my research interests and defraying the publication costs of the present book, and to Professor Ewald Wagner of the German Oriental Society for accepting to include my work in the Society's publication programme.

It is my pleasant duty here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Wolfdietrich Fischer of the Institut für Außereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg for sponsoring my research project and *Habilitation*, and for the cordial reception extended to me at the institute.

My thanks are especially due to Professor Otto Jastrow of the same institute for his friendly interest in my work, and for many stimulating exchanges on matters relating to Arabic dialectology. Both these scholars read my manuscript and made important observations on several parts of it. Many useful suggestions and criticisms were also put forward by Professor Heikki Palva (University of Helsinki), and Professor Werner Diem (University of Köln), external readers on

my *Habilitation* committee, and by Professor Paul Wexler (Tel-Aviv University), and Dr. Kees Versteegh (Catholic University of Nijmegen). Needless to say, the responsibility for any remaining errors of fact or interpretation in this work is entirely my own.

Most of the fieldwork for this linguistic investigation was carried out among refugees from Kormakiti currently residing in the Greek sector of Nicosia. I was, regrettably, unable to extend my field inquiry to Kormakiti itself, now behind the Turkish armistice lines, since the visitor's permit issued by the Turkish military authorities at the Ledra Palace checkpoint was granted to me solely for the duration of one day; subsequent requests for further permits were repeatedly turned down.

Of all the Kormakiti folk who aided me in my work, I should like to single out Mrs Eleni Skullu and her husband Peppis, who acted as my principal informants throughout my stay in Cyprus; it is no exaggeration to state that without their generous cooperation the present work would not have been possible on this scale. Much help in various forms was also readily given by their son Antonis, who not only aided me with the interpretation and translation of much of the recorded material, but himself located and interviewed a number of informants; two of his recordings have been transcribed and included in the text section (i.e. texts IX and XIII). The names of other important informants consulted will be found appended to the texts elicited from them.

In view of the considerable difficulty I experienced in the recruitment of suitable informants for this Arabic dialect, given the dispersal of the Cypriot Maronite community in the aftermath of the Greek-Turkish hostilities of July 1974, two of my Maronite friends deserve special thanks: Mrs Christalla Antoniou and Mr Yannakis Kokkinos, both of whom were instrumental in arranging meetings with informants. Mrs Antoniou also helped me by elucidating several points relating to Maronite life and customs.

Outside the Maronite community, I wish to thank Dr. Menelaos Christodoulos of the Cyprus Research Centre for clarifying issues connected with Greek loans in Kormakiti Arabic, and Dr. Costas Kyrris, director of the Centre, for information on the history of the Cypriot Maronites. I also wish to acknowledge the prompt and efficient services of the Cyprus Broadcasting Authority for undertaking at very short notice a studio recording of informants for the purpose of a spectrographic analysis.

For general help with matters concerning Greek philology, I am beholden to Mr Theodoros Radisoglou, at the time of writing, doctoral candidate at the University of Erlangen's Deutsches Seminar.

A.B.

Tel-Aviv University
October 1984

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 PRELIMINARIES

The Cypriot village of Kormakiti is situated near the western extremity of the Kyrenian littoral, some 6 $^1/_2$ miles in a south-easterly direction from Cape Kormakiti.

Before the Turkish invasion of the island in July 1974, it was inhabited by about 1260 Maronites bilingual in Cypriot Greek (CG) and a special variety of dialectal Arabic to be investigated in the present study. There are, according to figures supplied by the Cyprus Department of Statistics in September 1979, approximately 500 inhabitants (chiefly old and retired) still residing in Kormakiti. The rest of the community have abandoned their village and are currently to be found scattered throughout the main urban centres of the Greek-controlled south, mostly in the centre and suburbs of Nicosia's Greek sector, in Larnaca, Limassol, etc.

The Kormakiti speech community represents roughly one quarter of the entire Cypriot Maronite population (numbering about 4800), the rest of which is entirely and solely Greek-speaking [1].

The existence of a Cypriot Arabic-speaking community of Maronite Catholics appears to have been completely overlooked by linguists and orientalists before F. E. Boustany's informal communication about this group at the 22nd Congress of Orientalists held at Istanbul in 1951 (see bibliography). Thus, whereas historical work on Cyprus adverts to the presence of the Maronite community, it generally maintains silence regarding their linguistic situation (Mas-Latrie 1879; Hill 1948; de Groot 1980; but see Kyrris 1970:180).

We owe our earliest concrete notions regarding the Arabic dialect of Kormakiti (henceforth Kormakiti Arabic or more simply KA) [2] to the linguist and Greek specialist Brian Newton, who collected and published original data relating to linguistic interference in this vernacular (Newton 1964). Though not intended as a contribution to Arabic dialectology, the useful data supplied in this short but stimulating paper was subsequently analyzed and insightfully interpreted from the comparative viewpoint in Jastrow (1977).

The first attempt at extended formal description of this dialect was carried out by the Cypriot linguist Maria Tsiapera, also a non-Arabist. While Tsiapera

[1] There are three other Maronite villages in Cyprus: Aγía Marína, Asómatos, and Karpáša; the linguistic history of their inhabitants appears to be completely unknown.

[2] KA speakers lack a specific name for their language, which they normally refer to simply as /*sánna*/ 'our language' < **lsa:nna*. The CG term *arápika* is also used, but occurs mostly as a facetious designation or as a makeshift term fending off further inquiry.

(1969) can claim the merit of having drawn attention to a virtually unknown and largely uncharted terminal dialect of Arabic, it is regrettably marred by serious methodological and factual shortcomings ascribable, in large part, to insufficient familiarity with Arabic language structure, and to poorly executed fieldwork. No further reference to this work will appear in the following pages, since formal refutation of Tsiapera's many baffling claims relating *inter alia* to alleged KA retention of Old Arabic emphasis, of the voicing contrast in plosives, and of the length opposition in vowels, would burden this study with needless polemics[3].

KA has since received the attention of the Arabic dialectologist A. Roth, whose comprehensive survey of the KA verbal system (Roth 1975) clearly revealed for the first time the extent to which this vernacular has retained its Arabic character, and underscored its potential importance to historical and comparative research on Eastern Arabic.

Original work on KA is both urgently needed and, in view of its speakers' sociolinguistic situation, difficult to execute. Past research on this dialect, all carried out before July 1974, already indicated its recessive posture vis-à-vis CG. Today, use of KA is virtually restricted to the home, where the range of language registers employed is understandably also fairly narrow; its speakers' sudden uprooting from their traditionally rural habitat, and their resettlement in a modern urban context, having confronted them with a host of novel life situations in which CG is undoubtedly a more serviceable linguistic medium. There can be very little doubt that the dispersion of the Kormakiti community triggered off by the Turkish invasion and military occupation of Northern Cyprus has greatly accelerated and practically ensured the disappearance of this intriguing Arabic vernacular from the Cypriot linguistic map. Field research on KA must then contend with some of the problems endemic to moribund languages. It should also be noted, in this connection, that, excluding children of pre-school age, all KA speakers, including such as have had little or no formal education, are, for all practical purposes, natively fluent in CG; many of them also possess a good command of *dhimotiki* and *katharevusa*. The multiple linguistic systems at play in the Kormakiti Maronites' sociocultural milieu (KA, local Cypriot, koineized Cypriot, Demotic[4], Puristic, and Turkish) often renders the analysis of borrowing and codeswitching observed among KA speakers highly complex.

Finally, KA is, like the majority of contemporary Arabic vernaculars, an unwritten language. Its traditional functional role can be plausibly assumed to have been circumscribed by the communication needs of a relatively self-contained rural settlement. Higher language functions necessarily entailed the use of other languages, e.g. Syriac, a form of semi-literary Arabic (= Middle Arabic;

[3] For a thoroughgoing evaluation of Tsiapera's monograph, the reader is referred to Jastrow (1977).

[4] Concerning the linguistic trichotomy characterizing the use of spoken Greek in Cyprus, see Newton (1983, 55).

cf. Blau 1966-67), and Greek in the liturgy [5]. The nonexistence of literacy in KA, together with its speakers' acute awareness of their heavy dependence on Greek as a source of linguistic enrichment, is largely responsible for the rather low esteem KA enjoys among them [6].

0.2 AIM AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

The principal objective of the present study is to investigate historical aspects of KA phonology and morphology, with the aim of clarifying the genetic links and typological affinities of this peripheral Arabic dialect with the contemporary Arabic vernaculars. Given the specifically historical and comparative orientation of the present work, my main concern here has been to describe a basilectal variety of KA for the light this can shed on evolutionary aspects of vernacular Arabic. Systematic documentation of the spectrum of sociolectal variation in KA concomitant with its terminal state is outside the purview of this research.

0.3 SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The main source for the data analyzed in the present work is the corpus of field-notes made on three separate visits to Cyprus, undertaken between August 1979 and May 1982, each lasting approximately a month.

Whereas my predecessors in field research on this vernacular enjoyed the important advantage of interviewing their informants in Kormakiti itself, the present inquiry had of necessity to be conducted among scattered refugees, whose usual medium of communication outside the home since 1974 has been CG.

The task of locating and interviewing suitable informants also posed considerable problems. While young and middle-aged speakers were generally eager to cooperate, it proved difficult to ensure a comparably broad base of informant support among the older generation (i.e. people over sixty) on either side of the armistice lines [7]. The impossibility of carrying out field work in Kormakiti itself, in effect, put paid to my original plan of eliciting comprehensive coverage of ethnolinguistic aspects pertaining to traditional life as reflected in local customs

[5] All three languages are currently employed in liturgical ceremonies held at the Maronite church in Nicosia, though lay participants have no knowledge of Syriac or liturgical Arabic. Mimeographed handouts of prayers and hymns intended for their perusal utilize a rough transcription of the non-Greek portions of the liturgy in Greek letters.

[6] All KA informants interviewed freely interlard their Arabic speech with Greek, mostly in the direction of code-switching as opposed to actual expansion of KA. Their use of unintegrated Greek *Sprachgut* in KA utterances amounts, in effect, to an implementation of the High/Low stylistic continuum (Ferguson 1959), which, given the absence of a literary tradition in KA, is unavailable to them without recourse to bilingualism.

[7] The Kormakiti Maronites enjoy a certain amount of freedom of movement across the Green Line.

and village industries (i.e. weaving, building and use of traditional agricultural equipment, production of charcoal, olive cultivation and processing, etc.). It is conceivable that systematic inquiry along these lines effectuated *in situ* among older village folk currently living in Kormakiti could have yielded the most archaic linguistic stratum in KA, thereby enhancing the time depth of this essentially diachronic study, besides supplying a unique source for the historical reconstruction of the Kormakiti community's sociocultural past.

Nevertheless, despite the unavoidable handicaps associated with the investigation of 'culture geography at a distance' (Weinreich 1962), I believe that the extensive body of first-hand data gathered for this study, together with the accompanying commentary, provide an authentic structural profile of KA, and I seriously doubt that further informant work with older KA speakers would lead to a substantially different linguistic analysis.

The principal informants throughout my field investigation were Eleni and Peppis Skullos (housewife and carpenter respectively), both in their forties. The Skullos proved to be in many ways ideally suited for the role of linguistic informants. Both were born of native stock and grew up in Kormakiti, where they lived until their evacuation of the village in 1974. The fluency in KA displayed by their three children witness to their continued habitual use of Arabic in the home. In Nicosia, the Skullos and many members of their extended family have lived in or close to the 'Maronite Quarter', i.e. in the immediate proximity of the Maronite Church and the Vicar's residence, where a certain communal structure among refugees from Kormakiti has been retained through parochial activities, maintenance of a community centre and football club, etc.; several businesses owned by KA-speaking Maronites are also located in this neighbourhood.

In addition to the help received from Mr and Mrs Skullos in Cyprus, I was later fortunate to have the assistance of their eighteen-year-old son Antonis in Jerusalem when he enrolled for undergraduate studies at the Hebrew University. The numerous informant sessions we held over a period of several months not only facilitated elucidation of points I had overlooked or inadequately covered during my stay in Cyprus, but also enabled me to expand the data base of this research.

All the linguistic data elicited from the Skullos via recording of impromptu speech and in more direct ways were checked, counterchecked, and supplemented in interviews with several other KA speakers. This additional material very rarely contradicted the data obtained from my principal informants, though consultation of older individuals occasionally yielded terms not used or known by them. In all, about twenty subjects ranging between eighteen and eighty years of age were recorded or consulted. The total linguistic corpus gathered amounts to approximately 20 hrs of tape-recording and some 300 foolscap pages of manuscript.

Given the relatively high degree of literacy obtaining among the majority of KA speakers, especially the young and middle-aged, it also proved possible to supplement the recordings of unprepared speech with direct questioning aimed at eliciting specific forms, filling out morphological paradigms, and ensuring the

accurate analysis, transcription, and translation of recorded material. Despite its pitfalls, this more formal method of elicitation was of intrinsic interest in that it yielded the expected correlation between degree of active knowledge of KA and the age differential.

The most confident and reliable speakers of KA tend, by and large, to be the elderly and middle-aged. Notable exceptions to this general trend involve elderly folk who left Kormakiti in their youth and who have, as a consequence, retained only vestigial knowledge of, and interest in, their Arabic vernacular, and, at the other extreme, young people in their teens who still habitually use KA in their families. The latter, however, tend as a rule, to reveal signal lacunae in their active knowledge when questioned in a systematic fashion, e.g. loss of Arabic terms for features of traditional village life of which they have had no direct experience, as well as a propensity for levelling structural differences still observable among more conservative speakers, entailing, for instance, substitution of plural suffixes for internal pluralizing devices, re-etymologization of certain lexical items via deletion of morphemic boundaries, etc.

0.4 KORMAKITI ARABIC AS A 'COMMUNAL DIALECT'

As can be inferred from certain remarks in the preceding section, the age differential among KA speakers represents only one among a set of parameters correlating with the linguistic continuum ranging from 'unimpaired' to purely passive ability in KA. Though the relevant sociolinguistic data have yet to be systematically documented, one surmises that the varying degrees of proficiency shown by individual KA speakers are also likely to reflect, to a considerable extent, the specific status role adopted by them vis-à-vis the Maronite community from the religious, social, and economic standpoints. It is, in fact, highly probable that their Arabic vernacular traditionally played, as it still does, a highly significant role in setting the Kormakiti Maronites apart from other socioreligious entities in Cyprus, i.e. the Greek Orthodox majority, the Turkish Muslims, the Armenian community, and, to a lesser extent, the monolingual Greek-speaking Maronites from the villages of Aγía Marína, Asómatos, and Karpáša, who are generally regarded by the Kormakiti group as products of cultural assimilation.

The sociolinguistic discreteness of the KA speech community in Cyprus is, in this respect, highly reminiscent of that characterizing a number of other Middle Eastern village communities distinguished from surrounding populations by confessional affiliation and language, e.g. the Judeo-Arabic speakers of Arbīl and Sandōr in the Kurdish-speaking region of Iraq (personal communication from Professor Otto Jastrow).

The historical background to the present linguistic situation obtaining among the Cypriot Maronites appears to be undocumented; thus, whereas the Arabic speech peculiar to the Kormakiti community clearly marks them as ethnic 'immigrants' to this traditionally Greek-speaking island, their provenience and approximate date of arrival remain open to conjecture; it seems reasonable from

the available literature [8], to date the establishment of the Maronite community in Cyprus between the 9th and 12th centuries.

An equally intriguing question bearing on the communal dimension of KA relates to the origins of the present dichotomy within the community, i.e. the bilingualism of the Kormakiti group vs. the monolingualism of their co-religionists from the other three villages. A systematic investigation of this problem should ideally include Cypriot Greek within its purview in order to determine whether:

(a) The CG speech of the Kormakiti Maronites is consistently differentiated from that of other Maronites or Greek Orthodox Christians from the same dialect area;
(b) the monolingual Maronites show any speech peculiarities realistically ascribable to a previous history of bilingualism in Arabic and Greek.

0.5 PHONOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS AND NOTATION

Seen against the background of the contemporary Arabic vernaculars, the KA sound system presents, by reason of its phonotactic constraints on obstruents, a relatively complex synchronic profile. Thus, for instance, the KA root morpheme *ktp* 'to write' < OA *ktb* shows up in the following phonetic shapes:

(i)	[*k'dp*]	e.g. [*k'ídep*]	'he wrote'
(ii)	[*k'ɗb*]	e.g. [*k'íɗbet*]	'she wrote'
(iii)	[*xtf*]	e.g. [*xtuft*]	'I wrote'
(iv)	[*xtp*]	e.g. [*páxtop*]	'I write'
(v)	[*xp*]	e.g. [*pk'áxpu*]	'they write'

Most of the surface forms assumed by the individual stop segments in this KA morpheme can be systematically derived from an unchanging underlying representation by means of phonological rules requiring:

(a) automatic voicing of intervocalic stops;
(b) spirantization of stops before other stop segments;
(c) palatalization of velar segments before front vowels and /*y*/;
(d) deletion of medial stops in morphophonemic *CCC* obstruent clusters.

The voiced realization of KA [*ɗb*] < *[*db*] < OA *tb* in (ii), on the other hand, is lexically determined (cf. § 1.2.1 (ex. 13) below).

Rules (a), (b) and (d) are generally untypical of Arabic vernaculars as a whole; their existence in this dialect is uniquely ascribable to the fact that its speakers are bilingual in Arabic and Greek, and tend, in a rather systematic fashion, to carry over into their Arabic speech certain phonological conditions and processes characteristic of their CG dialect.

The partial systemic overlap between the phonologies of KA and CG is of

[8] For treatment of these historical points, see Dib (1930, 259-71), Hill (1948 *passim*), and, more recently, Kyrris (1970, 173-81).

considerable intrinsic interest in that several phonological conditions that in CG represent the outcome of essentially historical processes, e.g. the aforementioned restriction on the occurrence of 'stop + stop' sequences (cf. Modern Greek /fteró/ 'feather', /oxtó/ 'eight' < Ancient Greek πτερόν and οκτώ; Newton 1972, 106), constitute synchronic shifts in KA[9].

The differential treatment accorded to these phonological processes in CG and KA is a direct consequence of the fact that whereas the morphology of Arabic requires the 'inflection' of consonant positions within root morphemes, Greek consonant clusters within word boundaries are, for the most part, morphophonemically inseparable. KA has, as a result, retained in its synchronic phonology 'historical information' largely inaccessible to monolingual CG speakers, without reference to the Greek writing system or to learned pronunciations.

The standard notation utilized for most of the KA material cited in the descriptive portions of this work is, unless otherwise indicated, a close approximation of what is often referred to as the 'autonomous phonemic level', which, on account of its concreteness perhaps best serves the essentially historical and comparative aims of this research.

In fact, like other phonological notations traditionally used in work on Arabic dialectology, it represents a compromise between phonetics, phonemics, and morphophonemics reached in the interests of a practical reading transcription. Whereas a more abstract phonological notation than the one adopted here is no doubt possible and, in a strictly synchronic study, perhaps desirable, abstract representations have here been resorted to mainly in order to exemplify grammatically conditioned sound alternation, since their indiscriminate use would tend to minimize information relative to the extent of historical change actualized in KA, given the well-known tendency for abstract representations to resemble historically antecedent forms. The rather explicit transcription adopted here should, at all events, render possible alternative analyses of the KA sound system.

Starred forms cited in this research comprise: hypothetical reconstructions postulated on the basis of attested KA forms and, more commonly, etyma occurring in their cited or in a cognate form in some variety of dialectal Arabic or in a literary source. In the latter case, the relevant etymology is regularly supplied for the first occurrence of the lexical item in question.

0.6 NOTE ON STRESS

Given the historical loss of the vowel length opposition in KA, the accentual pattern of isolated words in this dialect is, phonologically speaking, only partially

[9] To the extent that synchronic and diachronic processes exemplified in the KA sound system have been carried over from CG phonology, I have not hesitated, whenever I found it useful, to adopt the terminological framework developed by Brian Newton in his phonological survey of the modern Greek dialects (Newton 1972), and in his descriptive analysis of Cypriot Greek (Newton 1972a).

predictable, i.e. in the case of word-final syllables ending in a *CC* cluster, e.g. KA [*neʕist*] 'I felt sleepy'. Outside this and certain grammatically conditioned cases of stress assignment (§ 1.5), KA generally tends to accentuate penultimate syllables.

By way of simplifying the phonological transcription adopted for the KA material cited in this work, KA stress in polysyllabic words will only be marked for cases in which it is not penultimate.

0.7 PHONETIC DESCRIPTION

Linguistic material cited from Arabic dialects and other languages is here reproduced as found in the sources utilized, except that the length symbol [:] has, for the sake of convenience, been substituted for the macron. The phonological transcription adopted for KA utilizes the following set of phonemic symbols with the approximate phonetic values indicated. The descriptive statements that follow refer to automatic, virtually exceptionless, types of phonetic redundancy; predictable but unsystematic segmental alternation is accounted for in §§ 1.2.1-1.2.5 below and in sections dealing with KA morphophonemics.

/*p*/ : voice-indifferent, bilabial stop; partially voiced, lax and unaspirated intervocalically, but fully voiced after /*m*/. KA /*p*/ is otherwise voiceless, lax, and unaspirated in most other positions. Geminated /*p*/ is invariably voiceless, tense, and heavily aspirated, especially if abutting on to a stressed syllable.

/*t*/ : voice-indifferent, dental stop; partially voiced, lax, and unaspirated intervocalically, but fully voiced after /*m*/ and /*n*/. KA /*t*/ is voiceless, lax, and unaspirated in most other positions.

/*tt*/ : voiceless, tense, and heavily aspirated dental stop.

/*dd*/ : voice-indifferent, lax, unaspirated dental stop, distinguished from /*t*/ by its longer duration, and from /*tt*/ by its lack of aspiration.

/*k*/ : voice-indifferent, velar stop; partially voiced, lax, and unaspirated intervocalically, but fully voiced after /*m*/ and /*n*/. KA /*k*/ is voiceless, lax and unaspirated in most other positions. Before front vowels and /*y*/, KA /*k*/ has the palatal allophone [*k'*] (uttered without affrication); when geminated, /*k*/ is tense, voiceless, and heavily aspirated.

/*f*/ : voiceless, labiodental fricative.

/*v*/ : voiced, labiodental fricative.

/*θ*/ : voiceless, interdental fricative.

/*ð*/ : voiced, interdental fricative.

/*s*/ : voiceless, alveolar fricative.

/*z*/ : voiced, alveolar fricative.

/*š*/ : voiceless, alveopalatal fricative.

/*ž*/ : voiced, alveopalatal fricative.

/*x*/ : voiceless fricative, palatal ([*x'*]) before front vowels and /*y*/, velar elsewhere. Intervocalically, KA /*x*/ tends to alternate freely with the glottal fricative [*h*].

/*ʕ*/ : voiced, pharyngeal fricative.

/m/ : bilabial, nasal resonant; usually labiodental before /f/ and /v/.
/n/ : alveolar, nasal resonant; palatalized and slightly lengthened before /y/, velar before /k/.
/l/ : alveolar, lateral resonant; palatalized and slightly lengthened before /y/.
/y/ : voiced, palatal glide.
/i/ : tense, high front vowel; slightly diphthongized in stressed, word-final *VC* sequences where *C* is a non-back consonant segment.
/e/ : lax, mid front vowel.
/a/ : lax, low central vowel.
/o/ : lax, mid back vowel accompanied by moderate lip-rounding.
/u/ : tense, high back vowel accompanied by full lip-rounding; slightly diphthongized in stressed word-final *VC* sequences, where *C* is a non-back consonant segment.
/ay/ : complex vocalic nucleus with a steady state component slightly more fronted than the low central vowel /a/, and a palatal off-glide with a target between /e/ and /i/.
/aw/ : complex vocalic nucleus with a steady state component slightly more backed than the low central vowel /a/, and a bilabial off-glide with a target between /o/ and /u/.

0.8 ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL SYMBOLS

acc. = accusative case
adj. = adjective
Ar. = Arabic
C = any consonant; when followed by a subscript numeral (C_1, C_2, ...), it represents a radical.
<u>*CC*</u> = (underlining of dyadic obstruent clusters indicates obligatory surface voicing; § 1.2.1)
c. = common gender
CG = Cypriot Greek
Chr. = Christian term
coll. = collective
dim. = diminutive
dir. obj. = direct object
f. = feminine gender
fn. = footnote
Gk. = Greek
imp. = imperative
ind. obj. = indirect object
intr. = intransitive
KA = Kormakiti Arabic
lit. Ar. = literary Arabic
m. = masculine gender
M, *J*, *C*, after place names refer to Muslim, Jewish, and Christian dialectal varieties respectively

OA	=	Old Arabic (usually, medieval literary Arabic)
pers.	=	person
pl.	=	plural number
pron.	=	pronoun
s.	=	singular number
syll.	=	syllable(s)
tr.	=	transitive
Syr.	=	Syriac
Tk.	=	Turkish
V	=	any vowel
vn	=	verbal noun
voc.	=	vocative case
< >	=	derives from, yields (diachronically)
← →	=	derives from, yields (synchronically)
#	=	word boundary
–	=	morpheme boundary
~	=	free variants; etymological cognates
[ ]		enclose phonetic representations
/ /		enclose phonemic representations
| |		enclose morphophonemic representations

I

PHONOLOGY

1.1 THE SEGMENTAL INVENTORY

The KA sound system comprises the following set of phonemic segments, determined on the basis of traditional distributional criteria:

Consonants:

p		*t*		*k*	
f	*θ*	*s*	*š*	*x*	
v	*ð*	*z*	*ž*		*ç*
m		*n*			
		l			
		r			
			y		

Vowels:

i	*u*	(*ey*)	*ay*	(*uy*)	
e	*o*		*aw*		
a					

As will become evident from the sections dealing with KA morphophonemics, certain segments in this paradigm also alternate in partial complementary distribution.

Except for the inclusion, for notational convenience, of the palatal glide /*y*/ (distributionally, the nonsyllabic counterpart of /*i*/) and of the functionally peripheral nuclei /*ey*/ and /*uy*/ (§ 1.4.5.1), the segmental inventory proposed here is virtually identical with that postulated in Roth (1975, 24).

The phonetic sequence [*tš*] occurring mostly in CG and Turkish loans (KA [*tšeçi·r*] 'grass' < CG *čairi*, KA [*tšap·ʰú·t*] 'rag' < Tk. *çaput*, etc.), but also in a few native terms ([*šígitš*] 'nothing', [*xágitš* ~ *xáitš*] 'a little', etc.) is probably best interpreted biphonemically; note, for instance, the KA tendency to epenthesize before postjunctural occurrences of [*tš*] as before other dyadic consonant clusters in this context (§ 1.4.2): KA [*l-itšaúš*] 'the sergeant' (~ CG *čaúši* < Tk. *çavuş*).

KA also disposes of a further set of phonological oppositions arising from the functional contrast between the KA geminates *tt:dd* discussed in § 1.3.4 below.

As can be readily inferred from a comparison of the KA sound system with the segmental paradigms of many contemporary Arabic vernaculars, KA has undergone a number of striking diachronic changes. Some of these are plausibly ascribable to phonological interference from Cypriot Greek, e.g. the treatment of stop voicing (§ 1.2.1), fusion of the historical emphatics with their plain counter-

parts (§ 1.3.6), loss of the length opposition in vowels (§§ 1.4.3 and 1.4.6) etc.; others almost certainly hark back to the phonological evolution of KA's historical antecedent, e.g. the fusion of OA /ʕ/ and /γ/ paralleled by that of OA /ḥ/ and /x/ (§ 1.3.9), the *imāla* of OA /a:/ (§ 1.4.4), etc.

The structural impact of CG on KA actually extends beyond paradigmatic aspects of KA phonology to relatively complex rules governing allophonic and morphophonemic alternation.

Finally, whereas specific phonetic characteristics of KA phonology, e.g. voicing norms in stops, the surface realization of stop gemination (§ 1.2.2), etc., warrant an independent investigation, the essentially historical and comparative focus of the present study precludes special treatment of KA phonetics in greater detail than is strictly pertinent to an outline of functional aspects of the KA sound system.

1.2 SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF KA CONSONANTS

1.2.1 *Obstruent voicing*

In contrast with the common developmental trend towards enhancement of the voicing opposition exemplified in the obstruent systems of many contemporary Arabic vernaculars, KA has, under the influence of contact with CG, lost the functional role of voicing in its stop series; this comprises the voice-indifferent, unaspirated segments /p/, /t/, and /k/:

(1)	*pitel*	'he changed'
	tilef	'it leaked'
	kitel	'he killed'
	sipel	'stubble'
	fitel	'he twisted'
	niker	'he refused'
	tap	'he recovered'
	mat	'he died'
	nak	'he had sexual intercourse'

(For the historical derivation of KA obstruents, the relevant sections below should be consulted.) The following statements relative to voicing norms in KA obstruents accord fairly well with the information provided in Roth (1975, 25). Voiced realizations of KA plosives occur most often in intervocalic positions and in contact with resonant segments or the voiced alveolar fricative /z/:

(2)	/p/	[k'íber]	'he grew'	←	/kiper/
		[tábax]	'he cooked'	←	/tapax/
		[árbaʕa]	'four'	←	/árpaʕa/
		[k'ílbe]	'bitch'	←	/kilpe/
		[k'íbzaʕa]	'he fears'	←	/kyípzaʕa/
	/t/	[psedí·n]	'gardens'	←	/psetin/

	[*míden*]	'when'	←	/*miten*/
	[*índí*]	'you (f.)'	←	/*inti*/
	[*várde*]	'flower'	←	/*varte*/
/*k*/	[*tága*]	'window'	←	/*taka*/
	[*págar*]	'cows'	←	/*pakar*/
	[*piŋgol*]	'I remove'	←	/*pinkol*/
	[*mgas*]	'scissors'	←	/*mkass*/
	[*nágza*]	'sharp pain'	←	/*nakza*/

As already indicated in Roth's work (*loc. cit.*), voicing in intervocalic stops is particularly stable after *CV* sequences in which *C* is itself voiced:

(3)	[*mbídel*]	'it was changed'	←	/*mpitel*/
	[*mamdudí·n*]	'stretched out (pl.)'	←	/*mamtutin*/

Prejunctural stops are, nevertheless, invariably voiceless, even when preceded by resonant segments:

(4)	[*k'ilp*]	'dog'	←	/*kilp*/
	[*širp*]	'drinking (vn)'	←	/*širp*/
	[*part*]	'cold'	←	/*part*/
	[*pint*]	'daughter'	←	/*pint*/
	[*xaŋk*]	'mouth'	←	/*xank*/
	[*xurk*]	'anger'	←	/*xurk*/ (< OA *kurh*)

Outside the immediate adjacency of nasals and liquids, phonation in KA stops falls short of full voicing; thus fully voiced stops tend to be perceived by KA speakers as deriving from underlying biphonemic sequences of 'nasal + homorganic stop'; note, for instance, the following freely alternating phonetic realizations of Form VII verbs, where optional deletion of word-initial nasals before homorganic stops (§1.2.5) renders stop voicing *de rigueur* and functionally significant:

(5)	*KA*			
	[*pálas*]	'he squashed'	←	/*palas*/
	[*bálas ~ mbálas*]	'he got run over'	←	/*mpalas*/
	[*tílef*]	'it leaked'	←	/*tilef*/
	[*dílef ~ ndílef*]	'it got soaked'	←	/*ntilef*/
	[*k'íser*]	'he broke'	←	/*kiser*/
	[*g'íser ~ ŋg'íser*]	'it got broken'	←	/*nkiser*/

The KA rule requiring automatic voicing of postnasal stops has, in a few cases, also occasioned permanent diachronic reinterpretation of historically voiced stops, both single and geminate, as 'nasal + stop' sequences:

(6)	*KA*					*OA*
	[*mbla*]	← /*mpla*/	'without'	< **bla*	<	*bila:*
	[*k'indám*]	← /*kintám*/	'in front of'		<	*qudda:m*
	[*ʕánda*]	← /*ʕanta*/	'he entered'		<	*ʕadda:*

Equally striking in this respect, is the propensity for intramorphemic 'nasal + stop' sequences, both primary and secondary, to be morphophonemically inseparable in certain words:

(7)	*KA*			*OA*
	[*sandúk*]		'coffin'	< *ṣundu:q* 'chest'
	[*sfendí·k*]		'coffins'	< *ṣana:di:q* 'chests'
	[*xandzí·r*]	← /*xanzír*/	'pig'	< *xanzi:r*
	[*xnendzí·r*]	← /*xnenzír*/	'pigs'	< *xana:zi:r*

Voiceless realizations of KA stops occur most often in non-sonorant environments, i.e. in contact with voiceless fricatives and before final word-boundary.

The KA fricatives /*f*, *θ*, *s*, and *š*/, on the other hand, freely contrast with their voiced counterparts in most positions:

(8)			
	f:v	*firex*	'he fainted'
		virem	'it swelled'
		ʕifen	'it rotted'
		ʕiver	'he blinded'
		xalf	'behind'
		xilv	'sweet (m.)'
	θ:ð	*θawp*	'shirt'
		ðawm	'light'
		kiθer	'it increased'
		xiðen	'he embraced'
		xuθ	'mad (pl.)'
		pið	'white (pl.)'
	s:z	*san*	'tongue'
		zan	'he weighed'
		kisem	'he divided'
		ʕizem	'he invited'
		xass	'he felt'
		xazz	'he shook'
	š:ž	*šart*	'tear'
		žarr	'he carried'
		nišef	'it dried'
		ʕižen	'he kneaded'
		freš	'mattress'
		xvež	'bedclothes'

The phonotactic behaviour of KA fricatives generally discriminates between sibilant and nonsibilant continuants; thus, whereas KA /*s*, *z*, *š*, and *ž*/ remain mostly unaffected by the voicing specification of neighbouring obstruents:

(9)			
	štit	'hard (m.)'	
	žtit	'new (m.)'	
	šva ~ *šfa*	'he roasted'	(< OA *šawa:*)
	žva	'it stank'	

underlying and historical KA /θ, ɗ, f, v, and x/ are normally subject to voicing neutralization in contact with other fricatives:

(10)	*KA*			*OA*
	isfet	'black'	< **isvet*	*ʔaswad*
	mišfi	'roasted'	< **mišvi*	*mašwiyy*
	nesfán	'women'	< **nesván*	*niswa:n*
	vɗeyxa	'shame'	< **fɗeyxa*	*faḍi:ḥah*
	xžar (= [γžar])	'stones'	< **ḥžar*	*ʔaḥǧa:r*

The common CG tendency to voice fricatives before liquids and nasals (Newton 1972a, 29) is not automatically transferred to parallel KA clusters, as can be inferred from the contrasts:

(11)		
	flex	'cultivated fields'
	vlete	'parturition'
	sman	'fat (pl.)'
	zman	'time'
	(p)kyišrap	'he drinks'
	(p)kyižri	'he runs'

The allophonic treatment of KA /ɗ/ before epenthetic /k/ (§1.2.4b) tends to fluctuate from one speaker to another; whereas most elderly speakers retain the opposition θ:ɗ in this environment:

(12)		
	θkyep	'clothes' (cf. *θawp* 'shirt')
	ɗkyaʕa	'villages' (s. *ɗeʕa*)

young speakers tend to neutralize the voicing distinction, the result being /θ/.

A peculiar phonological trait relating to KA obstruent voicing is the rule requiring surface realizations of certain 'fricative + stop' clusters to be consistently voiced in particular words and roots. The most common manifestations of this phenomenon occur in combinations of the segments /x/ or /θ/ and a following stop:

(13)						
	[γbi:r]	'big (m.)'	← /xpir/	< **gbi:r*	< *kabi:r*	
	[ráybe]	'neck'	← /raxpe/	< **ragbe*	< *raqaba*	
	[réybe]	'riding (f.)'	← /rexpe/	< **regbe*	< *ra:kiba*	
	[ɗbaxt]	'I slaughtered'	← /tpaxt/	< **dbaxt*	< *ɗabaḥt*	
	[paɗbún]	'river'	← /paθpún/	< **patmún*	< CG *potamón*	
	[γdi:š]	'horse'	← /xtiš/	< **gdi:š*	< *kadi:š*	
	[móγde]	'stove'	← /moxte/	< **mogde*	< *mawqida*[1]	

Roth (1975, 25) treats sonorous realizations of such KA obstruent sequences as optional; nevertheless, all informants consulted for this study have stable voicing in these clusters and reject devoiced realizations thereof as inadmissible. The distributional restriction of this type of obstruent voicing to dyadic clusters in which the second member harks back to a historically voiced segment (contrast

[1] Cf. *mawqde* 'fourneau' (Barthélemy, 903).

KA [*xtiˑr*] 'much', [*xtiˑl*] 'murder' < **ktiːr*, **qtiːl*) justifies its synchronic treatment as a residual surface feature that has fortuitously survived loss of functional voicing in the KA stop series. The retention of voicing in these 'fricative + stop' clusters is fairly striking inasmuch as obstruent clusters with /*γ*/ or /*đ*/ appear to be foreign to CG phonotactics (Newton 1972a, 29). The lexical distribution of voicing in these dyadic clusters is synchronically unpredictable, and will therefore be systematically indicated (by underlining) in phonological transcriptions: /*mo<u>x</u>te*/, /*<u>x</u>pa*/, etc.; it remains, nonetheless, functionally *non-distinctive*.

1.2.2 *Consonant gemination*

In marked contrast with its systemic loss of the vocalic length opposition, KA generally retains the consonantal single: geminate distinction in word-initial and intervocalic contexts, though, as in many other contemporary Arabic vernaculars, consonantal length contrasts are generally neutralized in pre-consonantal and prejunctural environments:

(14) *KA*

[*ʕáslet*]	'she washed'	←	*ʕassel* + /*It*/
[*mor*]	'bitter (m.)'		(cf. f. /*morre*/)

All KA consonants except /ʕ/ can participate in phonological length contrasts; nevertheless, no instances of geminated intramorphemic /*v*/ occur in my materials. Similarly, OA /*yy*/ generally yields surface zero intervocalically, but has been retained as such in certain contexts (§ 1.3.11).

As in other Arabic dialects, KA geminate segments are uttered with a single onset and release, the phonological length component in obstruents co-occurring with notable articulatory tenseness. The phonetic implementation of the length contrast in KA stops merits special notice in this respect. An impressionistic analysis of spectrographic data relative to the respective realizations of single and geminate stops revealed that the durational differential of the actual vocal tract closure involved in the length contrast is relatively small, and suggests that the most likely perceptual cue signalling this phonological distinction in stops is aspiration, or delayed voicing onset in the following vowel[2]. The strongly aspirated release of the KA geminates /*pp*/, /*tt*/, and /*kk*/, contrasting with the unaspirated quality of their single counterparts, is presumably a further instance of phonic interference from the CG sound system, 'where the articulation of long obstruents is tenser than that of short ones and, in the case of stops, completely voiceless and accompanied by strong aspiration' (Newton 1972a, 32). Given the crucial morphological and morphosyntactic function of consonant gemination in Arabic grammar, the potentially contrastive role of stop aspiration in KA deserves further investigation, since preliminary experimental work on other

[2] This statement is based on approximately 50 spectrograms of KA sentences uttered by one speaker, and displaying single vs. geminated intervocalic stops in identical syntactic frames.

Eastern Arabic vernaculars (Obrecht 1965, 40) has underscored the marginal role (if any) of secondary cue factors in the perception of consonant length.

Long consonant segments after pause, in the native lexicon of KA, derive mostly from annexation of the definite article /*l*/ or the homophonous dative marker |*L*| 'to, for', to following words; both proclitics tend to assimilate completely to most word-initial consonants:

(15)	*KA*			
	pir	'well'		
	ppir	'the well'	←	|*l-pir*|
	tipn	'straw'		
	ttipn	'the straw'	←	|*l-tipn*|
	kilp	'dog'		
	kkilp	'the dog'	←	|*l-kilp*|
	ḍeʕa	'village'		
	ḍḍeʕa	'to the village'	←	|*L-ḍeʕa*|

Certain lexical loans from CG retain initial geminates without an intervening morphemic boundary: /*ppará*/ 'money' < CG *ppará* < Tk. *para*, /*kkef*/ 'delight' < CG *kkéfi* < Tk. *keyif*, etc. Word-medial consonant length in KA plays a particularly important distinctive role at both lexical and grammatical levels, and many minimal pairs occur:

(16)	*KA*	
	ʕasel	'honey'
	ʕassel	'he washed'
	sala	'evening service'
	salla	'he prayed'
	xmara	'female donkey'
	xmarra	'he blushed'
	ʕata	'lid'
	ʕatta	'he covered'

There is no reason to doubt that the overall systemic treatment of segmental length in KA (i.e. loss of functional length in vowels, and its retention in consonants) has been determined by the internal evolution of the CG sound system, which has, significantly, also faded out the distinctive role of quantity in vowels while retaining and enhancing it in consonants (cf. Newton 1972, 90). Further diachronic interference from CG in the matter of consonantal length can be recognized in sporadic secondary gemination of certain KA consonants flanking stressed syllables (cf. Newton 1968). Particularly prone to this form of spontaneous gemination in KA are the fricatives /*z*/, /*ž*/, and /*x*/:

(17)	*KA*			*OA*
	xazzúk	'stake'		*xa:zu:q*
	mizzán	'scales'		*mi:za:n*
	šrizze	'kind of saddle-bag'	< **šri:ze* <	*sari:ǧah*

žazze	'marriage' (~ *ǧa:ze*; Barthélemy, 129)		
žežže	'hen'	< **že:že*	< *daǧa:ǧa*
xažže	'enough!'		< *ḥa:ǧa* 'need'
saxxar	'dawn'	< **saxar*	< *sahar*
rixxán	'myrtle'		< *rayḥa:n*

Whereas intervocalic lengthening of /*z*/ and /*ž*/ in CG appears to be an automatic process (Newton 1972a, 22), KA nevertheless retains the single: geminate contrast for all three segments:

(18) *KA*

nizel	'he descended'
šrizze	'kind of saddle-bag'
xažar	'stones'
xažže	'enough!'
taxak	'he laughed'
šaxxet	'he begged'

1.2.3 *Manner dissimilation*

The phonological treatment of dyadic obstruent clusters in KA also reflects fairly systematic interference from CG phonotactics, though as will be seen, the scope of surface restrictions entailed is narrower in KA than in CG.

Briefly, whereas CG 'follows the general trend of Greek dialects to limit obstruent clusters to fricative-stop sequences' (Newton 1972a, 128), KA similarly restricts most 'stop + stop' clusters to underlying representations but retains (with minor exceptions) most 'fricative + fricative' sequences unaltered.

The chief effect of the KA manner dissimilation rule is to generate, for instance, surface /*ft*/, /*θk*/, /*xt*/, and /*fk*/ from underlying and historical /*pt*/, /*tk*/, /*kt*/, and /*pk*/ respectively:

(19) *KA*

xtuft	'I wrote'	←	|*ktupt*|
kitep	'he wrote'		
θkura	'male (pl.)'	←	|*tkura*|
takar	'male (s.)'		
xtilt	'I killed'	←	|*ktilt*|
kitel	'he killed'		
fkum	'I get up'	←	|*pkum*|
pikúm	'he gets up'		

Lexically and morphologically conditioned violations of this restriction, entailing surface retention of 'stop + stop' clusters, e.g. /*pt*/ in the root *ptr* (cf. KA /*ptar*/ 'seed'; /*páptor*/ 'I sow') are nevertheless a stable feature in the speech of most informants consulted. In rare cases, suspension of the manner dissimilation rule serves to disambiguate potential homophones:

(20)

ptilt	'I changed'	←	|*ptl*|	<	OA *bdl*
ftilt	'I twisted'	←	|*ftl*|	<	OA *ftl*

Irregular 'stop + stop' surface clusters are also frequently encountered across stem-final morphemic boundaries in the verbal inflection of the Perfect, where non-application of manner dissimilation remains, however, only optional:

(21) *xtuf-t* ~ *xtup-t* 'I wrote'
sux-t ~ *suk-t* 'I ploughed'

and is generally characteristic of elderly speakers.

Conversion of underlying or historical KA spirants to corresponding stops appears to be uncommon, chiefly because the distributional patterning of fricatives amenable to such change (e.g. KA /f/, /θ/, etc.) rarely yields morphophonemically productive combinations; the following instances have, however, been noted:

(22) /θ/ → /t/
xtir 'much (m.)' ← |*kθir*|
(*kiθer* 'it increased')
/f/ → /p/
pzaˤat [*bzáˤat*] 'I feared' ← |*pzaˤt*|
(*fizˤe* 'he feared')
rapš (pl. *rpuš*)[3] 'shovel' (~ Lit. Ar. *rafš*)

KA /x/ and /ɗ/, on the other hand, do not yield occlusivized counterparts in contact with fricatives; observe, for instance, the *CC* combinations in:

(23) *KA*
sxune 'fever'
xser 'mats'
(p)kyaxɗar 'it goes numb'

where the requirements of CG surface structure lead one to expect KA /*sk*/, /*ks*/, and /*xt*/ respectively (Newton 1972, 109; 1972a, 128). The phonological

[3] Occlusivization of underlying and historical /f/ in these examples could equally well have been lineally inherited from a form of vernacular Arabic, since parallel voicing and/or occlusivization of the labiodental fricative in the roots *fzˤ* 'to fear' and *qfz* 'to jump' are also attested for certain Arabic dialects:

Daragözü (Jastrow 1973, 19)
bəzaḥ 'er fürchtete sich'
Maltese
beza, yibza 'to fear'
ʔabez, yaʔbez 'to jump'
Algiers J (Cohen 1912, 97)
qbəz 'sauter'
Damascus (Stowasser and Ani 1964, 130)
ʔavze 'jump'
Baghdad (Woodhead and Beene 1967, 395)
gamza 'jump'

Similarly KA /*rapš*/ may hark back to Lebanese *rabš* 'pelle à enlever la terre' (Feghali 1928, 48) rather than to the Lit. Ar. cognate.

behaviour of KA /x/ in this respect may ultimately relate to its historical derivation from *ḥ/ (< OA /ḥ/ and /x/; cf. § 1.3.9) and /h/, which, prior to their historical fusion into KA /x/, presumably stood outside the domain of the manner dissimilation rule altogether.

It should be evident from the preceding remarks that a notable difference between KA and CG in their implementation of manner dissimilation lies in the virtually uni-directional scope of the KA version of the rule, which tends to convert underlying stops to corresponding fricatives, but generally leaves fricatives unaltered.

Finally, attention is drawn to the interaction of this KA phonological process with yod-occlusivization (§ 1.2.4b), and especially to the asymmetrical surface treatment of *pky* and *tky* sequences vis-à-vis the manner dissimilation rule.

1.2.4 *Phonological processes in the environment of front vowels and /y/*

A highly pervasive phonological trait in KA directly ascribable to phonic interference from CG is its treatment of historical and underlying sequences consisting of a consonant and a following front vowel or /y/. Two phonological strictures are needed to account for the KA surface forms observed:

(i) a regressive palatalization rule affecting the segments /k/, /x/, /l/, and /n/;
(ii) a rule generating occlusivized realizations of /y/ after certain obstruents and /r/.

(a) *Palatalization*

KA /k/ and /x/ have parallel phonetic realizations and allophonic distributions: the palatalized variants [k′] and [x′] respectively before front vowels and /y/, alternating with phonetically unmarked velar counterparts elsewhere:

(24) *KA*

[k′ilp]	'dog'	←	/kilp/		
[x′ilv]	'sweet (m.)'	←	/xilv/		
[k′éʕe]	'sitting (m.)'	←	/keʕe/	<	OA *qaːʕid*
[x′et]	'wall'	←	/xet/		
[pk′uːt]	'houses'	←	/pkyut/	←	/pyut/
[x′ar]	'cucumbers'	←	/xyar/		
[kal]	'he said'	←	/kal/		
[xal]	'sickness'	←	/xal/		
[kon]	'hencoop'	←	/konn/		
[xops]	'bread'	←	/xops/		
[xurk]	'anger'	←	/xurk/		

No instances of further fronting of KA /k/ and /x/ to /č/ and /š/ respectively, as are commonly attested in CG (Newton 1972a, 126), were encountered.

KA /l/ and /n/ undergo slight fronting before /i/ and /e/, but often fuse with a following /y/, yielding the long palatal glide /yy/. Note, for instance, the KA reflexes of *ly in:

(25) *ʕayye* (m. *ʕáli*) 'high (f.) < **ʕaːlye* < *ʕaːliya*

teyye	'vine'	<	**de:lye*	<	*da:liya*
kuyyom	'every day'	<	**kúlyom*	<	**kúll-yawm*[4]

the geminated glide here being phonemically identical with that in KA /*náyye*/ 'raw (f.)' from vernacular Arabic *nayya*. Parallel assimilation of /*n*/ to a following glide is very common in proclisis of the auxiliary /*kan*/ < OA *ka:n* to a 3rd person masculine singular or plural Imperfect verb form:

(26)	*kayyakol*	'he was eating'	←	|*kan-yákul*|
	kayyísirku	'they were stealing'	←	|*kan-yísirku*|

though surface retention of /*ny*/ in this context is not uncommon in careful speech.

Wherever they are retained in surface forms, KA /*n*/ and /*l*/ before /*y*/ undergo the fronting and slight lengthening characteristic of CG (Newton 1972a, 24):

(27)	[*n'·ar*]	'yokes'	< **nya:r*	<	OA *ʔanya:r*
	[*an'·á*]	'here she is'		<	**hawn hiyya:*
	[*x'itil'·áxa*]	'he took it to him'		←	|*xet-L-yáxa*|

(b) *Yod-occlusivization*

Most other KA obstruents and the apical trill /*r*/ do not themselves undergo palatalization before /*y*/, but generally trigger off occlusivization of the palatal glide to [*k'*] (= IPA [*c*]). This phonological process can be alternatively stated as an epenthesis rule inserting a transitional stop /*k*/ in morphophonemic or historical *Cy* clusters, where *C* stands for one of the KA consonants /*p, f, t, θ, s, š,* and *r*/:

(28)	*KA*			
	pkyara	'wells'	←	|*pyara*|
	pkyut	'houses'	←	|*pyut*|
	safkye	'ash water'	←	|*safye*|
	xefkye	'barefoot (f.)'	←	|*xefye*|
	θkyep	'clothes'	←	|*θyep*| (s. *θawp*)
	ɗkyaʕa	'villages'	←	|*ɗyaʕa*|
	faɗkye	'empty (f.)'	←	|*faɗye*|
	meškye	'walking (f.)'	←	|*mešye*|
	žerkye	'running (f.)'	←	|*žerye*|

The treatment of 'sibilant + yod' clusters is anomalous in KA. Aside from the peripheral case of KA /*škyez*/ 'fence' ← |*šyez*| < **šye:z* < OA *siya:ǧ* (regarding KA *š* < *s* here, see § 1.3.5), these clusters are often retained as such word-initially and medially:

(29)	*KA*	
	syam	'fasting, Lent'
	šyara	'cliffs'

[4] For this stress pattern, cf. Mosul *káll-yo:m* 'jeden Tag' (Jastrow 1979, 56).

ʕatešye	'tomorrow evening'	<	**γada: ʕašiyya*
zyan	'damage'		
zyutát	'kinds of oil'		

In root-final position, historical and morphophonemic *Cky* clusters show deletion of the palatal glide with full or partial lexicalization of secondary /*k*/:

(30) *KA*

ʕosk	'sticks'	<	**ʕosky*	<	*ʕuṣiyy*
mašk	'walking (vn)'	←	|*mašky*|	<	*mašy*
žark	'running (vn)'	←	|*žarky*|	<	*ǧary*

The extension of the yod-occlusivization process to the case of underlying |*sy*| and |*šy*| sequences appears to be internal to KA, since CG normally eliminates these clusters via fusion into the alveolar spirant thus:

|*sy*|, |*š*| → *š* (Newton 1972a, 23; 52-53)

Of interest to the historical phonology of KA here is the linkage of yod-occlusivization to the morphophonemics of finally weak verbs:

(31) *KA*

mišku	'they walked'	←	|*mišyu*|
žirku	'they ran'	←	|*žiryu*|
piθku	'they began'	←	|*pityu*|

where deletion of the palatal glide and concomitant lexicalization of /*k*/ amounts to paradigmatic remodelling of finally weak roots on the pattern of sound roots.

Finally, *Cky* clusters displaying initial stops (KA *pkyut* 'houses') merit notice inasmuch as they constitute a violation of the aforementioned surface restriction on 'stop + stop' clusters (§ 1.2.3). Owing in part to the interplay of grammatical conditioning factors, the surface treatment of KA /*p*/ and /*t*/ before secondary /*k*/ is not symmetrical; thus, whereas underlying |*ty*| usually yields |*tky*| → /*θky*/:

(32)

Underlying form	*pityit*	'she began'
Epenthesis	*pitkyit*	
Manner dissimilation	*piθkyet*	

the surface behaviour of underlying *p* + *y* sequences discriminates between the noncontingency marker /*p-*/ in verbs, and the phoneme /*p*/; the intramorphemic surface sequence /*pky*/ is generally retained as such:

(33) *KA*

pkyeter	'threshing floors'	(s. *paytar*)
pkyara	'wells'	(s. *pir*)
apkyad	'white (m.)'	(pl. *pid*)

but underlying |*p-y*| in the inflection of the Imperfect verb usually undergoes deletion of the bilabial stop thus: |*p-y*| → /*p-ky*/ → /*ky*/, e.g.

(34) *KA*

kyakol	'he eats'	←	/*pkyakol*/	←	|*p-yakul*|

kyakser	'he breaks'	←	/*pkyakser*/	←	|*p-yaksir*|
kyižru	'they run'	←	/*pkyižru*/	←	|*p-yižru*|

1.2.5 *Postnasal epenthesis*

Underlying and historical dyadic clusters consisting of a nasal resonant and a following continuant (fricative or liquid) are subject to a rule of epenthesis introducing a transitional stop segment homorganic with the preceding nasal, but agreeing in voicing with the following continuant, i.e. |*ms*| → [*mps*], |*nz*| → [*ndz*], etc. The class of KA continuants entailed in this phonological process includes /*f*, *v*, *θ*, *ð*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *r*, and *l*/:

(35) *KA*

[*intsán*]	'man'	<	*ʔinsa:n*
[*xandzí·r*]	'pig'	<	*xanzi:r*
[*mandží·p*]	'we bring'	<	**manži:b*
[*kampx*]	'wheat'	<	*qamḥ*
[*žambr*]	'embers'	<	**žamr*
[*x'imbl*]	'load'	<	*ḥiml*

The homorganic sequences /*mf*/ and /*mv*/ are retained in surface representations without change: [*mfedíx*] 'keys' ← /*mfetíx*/, [*mváreš*] 'threshing machines' ← /*mvareš*/ < Ar. *mafa:ti:ḥ* and **mawa:riğ*[5], respectively. Also excluded from the domain of this rule are the KA clusters /*nr*/ and /*nl*/, neither of which appears to be attested intramorphemically. As in many other Arabic dialects, their occurrence across morphemic boundaries (e.g. in verbal inflection) normally yields complete regressive assimilation: /*marrí*/ 'we want' ← |*manri*|, /*mallaki*/ 'we find' ← |*manlaki*|, etc.

The KA epenthesis rule outlined above is not restricted to word-internal clusters, but also freely operates across word-boundary, e.g. after the proclitic /*min*/ 'from':

(36)

min-džava	'from inside'	←	|*min žava*|
min-tšayti	'from my own (f.)'	←	|*min šayti*|

In postjunctural context, the initial nasal in triadic clusters is usually deleted:

(37)

KA				*OA*
psixt	'I held'	←	|*mpsikt*|	*masakt*
psarín	'entrails'	<	**mpsarín*	*maṣa:ri:n*
plexef	'sheets'	←	|*mplexef*|	*mala:ḥif*
pkenes	'brooms'	←	|*mpkenes*|	*maka:nis*
(n)tsa	'he forgot'	←	|*ntsa*| < **nasa:*	*nasiy*
tvilet	'he was born'	←	|*ntvilet*|	*(wld)*

[5] Cf. *mawrağ*, pl. *mwa:reğ* 'traineau, herse à depiquer le grain' (Lebanon: Denizeau 1960, 506).

Occasionally, the secondary nature of the initial stops in this context tends to become obscured, and manner dissimilation of 'stop + stop' clusters ensues:

(38) KA /θketip/ 'letters' < *fketip < *pketip
< *mpketip < *mketip < maka:ti:b

1.3 HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF KA CONSONANTS

1.3.1 *KA reflexes of OA /b/*

KA systematically replaces the OA voiced bilabial stop /b/ by the segment /p/, realized as a labiodental spirant /f/ before stops (in keeping with the manner dissimilation rule outlined in § 1.2.3 above), and as a voice-indifferent bilabial stop in most other environments:

(39)	*KA*		*OA*
	pede	'egg'	*baydah*
	pitel	'he changed'	*badal*
	kiper	'he grew up'	*kabur*
	sipel	'stubble'	*sabal* 'ears of wheat'
	krep	'relatives'	*qara:yib*
	tap	'he recovered (health)'	*ṭa:b*
	xaft	'blows'	*xabṭ*
	sift	'Saturday'	*sabt*

Whereas spirantization of the bilabial is permanent in /*sift*/ and a few other words, the immediate historical source of secondary /f/ is in most cases still morphophonemically recoverable:

(40)	*KA*		
	rapat	'he tied'	
	raft	'tying (vn)'	← /*rapt*/
	žap	'he brought'	
	žift	'I brought'	← /*žipt*/

It is also noteworthy that the manner dissimilation rule is far from being entirely automatic in the case of /p/; thus, exceptions to this rule appear to be more common for the bilabial than for other KA stops; all the informants consulted, for instance, retain /p/ before /t/ in KA reflexes of the OA roots *bdr*, *lšb*, *bdl*, and *bdʔ*:

(41)	*KA*	
	ptar	'seed (coll.)'
	lšapt	'I shot (gun)'
	ptilt	'I changed'
	kyiptu	'they begin'

as well as in certain loanwords, e.g. /*tšépti*/ 'my pocket'[6]. Many elderly speakers

[6] Cf. CG *čepi* 'pocket' (Newton 1968, 23) < Tk. *cep* 'Tasche' (Steuerwald, 152).

tend, moreover, to display /p/ and /f/ in free variation before the person marker /-t/ in the inflection of the Perfect tense:

(42) *xtuft* ~ *xtupt* 'I wrote'

The special treatment accorded to the KA cluster /pt/ may well reflect its integration and functionalization in Greek (*leptá* 'minutes': *leftá* 'money'; Newton 1972a, 30), and its frequency in learned Greek vocabulary (Newton 1972, 124). The higher incidence of this KA cluster in the speech of the elderly would seem to indicate that the manner dissimilation rule is a relatively recent acquisition in this dialect.

Finally, a striking exception to the sound correspondence KA /p/ < OA /b/ merits notice, i.e. the untypical retention of Semitic /p/ in KA /*patrúr*/ 'mushrooms' (~ OA *fiṭr*; Syriac ܦܛܪܐ 'fungi', Brockelmann 1928, 565) and, possibly, other words.

1.3.2 *KA reflexes of OA /f/*

The OA voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is mostly retained as such in KA:

(43)	*KA*		*OA*
	fitel	'he twirled'	*fatal*
	farxa	'joy'	*farḥah*
	ful	'beans'	*fu:l*
	nafax	'he blew'	*nafax*
	xefi	'barefoot (m.)'	**ḥa:fi:*
	žefi	'dry (m.)'	**ǧa:fi:*
	nišef	'it dried'	*našaf*
	xef	'quilt'	*liḥa:f*
	suf	'wool'	*ṣu:f*

The shift of OA /w/ > KA /v/ has, nonetheless, notably altered its functional role; thus, unlike OA and the majority of Arabic vernaculars, KA freely utilizes the *f:v* opposition in most phonological contexts (exemplified in (8) above).

Voicing neutralization in contiguous fricatives has tended to obscure the distribution of historical /f/ and /w/, either via permanent conditioned devoicing of /v/ < */w/:

(44)	*KA*					
	nesfán	'women'	<	**nesván*	<	*niswa:n*
	isfet	'black (m.)'	<	**isvet*	<	*ʔaswad*
	šfé-šfe	'gradually'	<	**švé-šve*	<	*šwayy-šwayy*

or through hypercorrect voicing of historical /f/:

(45)	*KA*			
	šaxve	'hair of head'	<	*šaḥfe*
	xvaef	'light (m.s.)'	<	(*xff*)
	milixve	'sheet'	<	*milḥafa*
	xvurt	'I dug'	<	(*ḥfr*)

The agency of the manner dissimilation rule affecting adjacent stops has, in a few cases, permanently substituted /f/ for the OA bilabial stop, e.g. /sift/ 'Saturday' < *sabt*, and has, in many others, restricted the *p:f* contrast to underlying phonology:

(46) *KA*

pzaʕat	'I feared'	←	/*fzaʕt*/
pzaz	'breasts'	←	/*pzaz*/
ʕarift	'I knew'	←	/*ʕrift*/
rkift	'I rode'	←	/*rkipt*/

KA also tends occasionally to show the velar fricative /x/ for historical /f/ in contact with the rounded back vowels /o/ and /u/: KA /*xok*/ 'on' < *fawq*, /*xost*/ 'in' < **foṣṭ* < OA *fī wasṭ*, /*muxt*/ 'gratis' < Tk. *muft*, etc.; closely similar examples also show up in CG (cf. Newton 1972a, 107 and map 17), the most likely immediate source for this KA shift.

1.3.3 *The interdentals*

KA has, to a notable extent, preserved the interdental articulation in reflexes of historical /θ/ and */ḍ/ (< OA /ḍ/ and /ḍ/):

(47)

KA		*OA*	
θawp	'shirt'	*θawb*	
θappet	'he confirmed (Chr.)'	*θabbat*	'he strengthened'
kiθer	'it increased'	*kaθur*	
nayθie	'female'	(*ʔnθ*)	
ḍaxr	'back'	*ḍahr*	
ḍulme	'darkness'	*ḍulmah*	
ḍa	'he lit'	*ḍa:ʔ*	
ḍarr	'he harmed'	*ḍarr*	
móḍaʕa	'place'	*mawḍiʕ*	
faḍi	'not busy'	**fa:ḍi:*	
apkyaḍ	'white (m.)'	*ʔabyaḍ*	
xameḍ	'lemon juice'	*ḥa:miḍ*	'sour'

but generally tends to show /t/ < */d/ < OA /ḍ/ and, occasionally, for historical */ḍ/ (< OA /ḍ/ and /ḍ/):

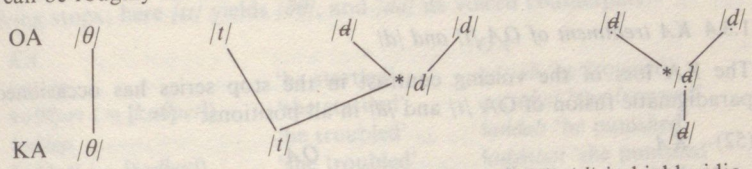
(48)

KA		*OA*
tak	'he tasted'	*ḍa:q*
takar	'male'	*ḍakar*
tapax	'he slaughtered'	*ḍabax*
tuppán	'flies'	*ḍibba:n*
tumpie	'tail'	(*ḍnb*)
l-ʕatra	'the Virgin'	*al-ʕaḍra:ʔ*
mitre	'winnow'	**miḍra:ʔ*
šixet	'he begged'	*šaḥaḍ*
mpit	'wine'	*nabi:ḍ*
taxak	'he laughed'	*ḍaḥik*

The OA voiced interdental fricative has, however, been retained without change in

(49)	*KA*		*OA*
	ađa	'this (m.)'	*ha:đa:*
	ađi	'this (f.)'	*ha:đi:*
	iđn	'ear'	*ʔuđn*

The diachronic development exemplified in KA reflexes of the OA interdental series can be roughly characterized in the following manner:



The differential treatment accorded to KA reflexes of OA /đ/ is highly idiosyncratic when seen in the light of relevant developments among the other Arabic vernaculars, where the historical interdentals /θ/, /đ/, and */ḍ/ are generally either retained as such *in toto* (e.g. among nomadic speakers), or, alternatively, undergo systematic fusion with corresponding stops (e.g. in a large number of sedentary Arabic vernaculars) [7].

Given the manner dissimilation restriction on dyadic obstruent clusters outlined in § 1.2.3 above, the fusion of historical interdentals with corresponding stops in certain words can be plausibly ascribed to contextual rather than paradigmatic occlusivization; note, for instance, the shift of the continuant feature to C_1 position in KA /*xtir*/ 'much' < **kθi:r* < *kaθi:r* (the OA interdental is otherwise retained in this lexeme: KA /*kiθer*/ 'it increased'). The probable agency of back formations should also be considered, as in the case of KA /*takar*/ 'male (s.)', pl. /*θkura*/ < **đku:ra* (OA *đuku:r*). The stop reflex of the interdental in KA /*tlaxe* ~ *tlaθe*/ 'three', on the other hand, is quite possibly inherited; special treatment of /θ/ in this lexeme being typical of many *qəltu* vernaculars (cf. Ch. III, fn. 26).

KA also displays a fairly regular trend towards occlusivization of historically voiced interdentals after the nasal resonant /*n*/, especially in morphophonemically insoluble clusters, but apparently not across morphemic boundaries:

(50)	*KA*		
	ntif	'clean (m.)' <	*naḍi:f*
	stanter	'he waited' <	*istanḍar*
	man-đi	'we lit'	(< **ḍwy* < *ḍwʔ*)

The occlusivization of KA /đ/ after /*n*/ may reflect the nonoccurrence of the sequence *nđ* in CG (Newton 1972, 29); cf. also the synchronic *đ*/*d* alternation in Gk. *đéka* 'ten' and *éndeka* 'eleven' (Newton 1972, 3). Further interference from CG vis-à-vis the KA treatment of interdentals involves occasional replacement of etymological /θ/ by its velar counterpart (CG *xalassa* 'sea' < *θalassa*, Kypris

[7] Cantineau (1960, 44).

1979; Newton 1972a, map 8). In KA, this shift occurs principally in contact with resonant segments:

(51)	*KA*		*OA*
	xnayn	'two'	*iθnayn*
	xmenye	'eight'	*θama:niyah*
	mix(l) [8]	'like'	*miθl*

The parallel CG shift [ð] > [γ] (Newton 1972a, map 14) is apparently not actualized in KA.

1.3.4 *KA treatment of OA /t/ and /d/*

The KA loss of the voicing contrast in the stop series has occasioned the paradigmatic fusion of OA /t/ and /d/ in all positions:

(52)	*KA*		*OA*
	tute	'mulberry tree'	*tu:tah*
	tute	'silkworm'	*du:dah*
	fatax	'he opened'	*fataḥ*
	ratan	'he spun'	*radan*
	siket	'he was silent'	*sakat*
	xiset	'he harvested'	*ḥaṣad*

The opposition between KA reflexes of these OA stops has, nevertheless, been quite extensively retained in geminate clusters:

(53)	*KA*		*OA*
	šatta	'it rained'	*šatta:*
	šadda	'he tightened'	*šadd-ha:*
	fatta	'he crumbled it'	*fatt-ha:*
	vadda	'he sent' < *wadda*	*ʔadda:*
	sitte	'six'	*sittah*
	sidde [9]	'kind of closet'	——

While the lexical distribution of KA /*dd*/ leaves no doubt that it represents a reflex of a historically voiced geminate, the precise nature of the acoustic cue for the perception of the *tt:dd* contrast in this dialect is a matter deserving of an independent investigation. A preliminary spectrographic inquiry into the phonetic features of KA stops revealed that while KA /*tt*/ is normally voiceless and always aspirated, KA /*dd*/ appears to be voice-indifferent but invariably unaspirated. As in the case of the single: geminate opposition in stops (§ 1.2.2), further experimental work is required before the putative functional role of aspiration in the KA *tt:dd* contrast can be determined with certainty.

At all events, the functional distinctiveness of KA /*tt*/ and /*dd*/ merits special emphasis, since past research has neither recognized its existence nor adverted to

[8] Concerning optional deletion of the lateral in this word, cf. examples (75) below, and the accompanying remarks.

[9] Cf. Ar. *sudda* (Dozy I, 651).

its morphophonemic ramifications. Thus Roth (1975), where KA forms are cited in a phonetic transcription, tends to treat the surface sequences [*tt*] and [*t*^{h}] as free variants, e.g. [*satt* ~ *sat*^{h}] 'il a bouché' (p. 52); my informants show exclusively [*sat(:)*] (= /*sadd*/). As against Roth's representations [*svát*^{h}*a*] 'noircir' (p. 76) and [*ʕát*^{h}*ep*] 'fatiguer', I have only encountered [*svát:a*] and [*ʕát:ep*] (= /*svadda*/ and /*ʕaddep*/ respectively).

Of particular relevance to the diachronic link obtaining between the present *tt:dd* contrast in KA and the distribution of historical voicing is the behaviour of these sequences in phonological environments requiring spirantization of underlying stops; here /*tt*/ yields /*θθ*/, and /*dd*/ its voiced counterpart:

(54)	*KA*		*OA*
	kattep	'he startled'	*qaṭṭab* 'he frowned'
	kaθθpet (= [*kaθpet*])	'she startled'	*qaṭṭabat* 'she frowned'
	ʕaddep	'he troubled'	*ʕa~~dd~~ab* 'he punished'
	ʕa~~dd~~pet (= [*ʕa~~d~~bet*])	'she troubled'	*ʕa~~dd~~abat* 'she punished'

Despite the already noted KA propensity for automatic voicing of postnasal stops, voiced realizations of KA /*dd*/ are functionally distinct from those of surface KA /*nt*/ (= [*nd*]):

(55)		
	ʕaddáyt	'I counted'
	ʕantáyt	'I entered'
	kiddás	'Mass'
	kintám	'in front of'

KA /*dd*/ alternates morphophonemically with /*t*/ whenever inflectional or derivational processes require its degemination or reduction:

(56)	*KA*		*OA*
	fiddán	'yoke of oxen'	*fadda:n*
	ftetín	'yokes of oxen'	*fada:di:n*
	kiddás	'Mass'	*qudda:s*
	xtetís	'Masses'	*qada:di:s*
	sfadda	'it went black'	*iswadd*
	sawta	'black f.'	*sawda:ʔ*

It is interesting to note that the KA *tt:dd* contrast can theoretically also arise when KA nominals showing word-initial /*t*/ are preceded by the definite article /*l*/; the resulting surface sequence is, in some cases /*tt*/, in others /*dd*/; the determining historical and synchronic factors are unclear:

(57)				
	ddist	'the pot'	<	*d-dist*
	ddayn	'the debt'	<	*d-dayn*
	ttímm	'the blood'	<	*d-damm*
	ttik	'the rooster'	<	*d-di:k*
	ttute	'the mulberry tree'	<	*t-tu:ta*

The phonemic contrast of KA /*tt*/ vs. /*dd*/ in this position, however, appears to be unstable; thus, the lexical distribution of word-initial voiced and voiceless dental

geminates in this specific grammatical context tends to vary from one speaker to another: /*ttarp* ~ *ddarp*/ 'the road' < OA *darb*.

Finally, KA occasionally deletes historical or underlying /*t*/ (< OA /*d*/, /*ḍ*/, and /*t*/) in prejunctural context; note, for instance, the permanent loss of etymological /*d*/ in:

(58) *KA*

aška	'how much?'	<	*ašqad*	<	**ayš qadr*
exen[10]	'one'	<	**exe*	<	*wa:ḥid/ʔaḥad*

and the alternation of KA /*t*/ with morphophonemic zero in the words:

(59)

pirí, piritu	'he wants, they want'	<	*biri:d(u:)*
keʕe, kéʕetet	'he, she sat'	<	*qaʕad(at)*
paʕa	'yet'	<	**baʕad*
páʕatu	'the day after tomorrow'	<	**baʕadu*
paxo, paxúta	'I take it (f.)'	<	*ba:xuḍ(a)*
sko, skútu	'keep quiet! (m.s., pl.)'	<	**sko:t, *skutu*

Analogous surface loss of word-final dentals, especially in reflexes of OA *ʔaxaḍ* 'to take', is exemplified in several other Arabic dialects:

(60)

Maltese		**Aleppo** (Sabuni 1980, 87 and 120)	
huu	'take! (s.)'	*xo:*	'nimm! (m.)'
huudu	'take! (pl.)'	*xe:*	'nimm! (f.)'
		xədu	'nehmt!'

1.3.5 *KA treatment of OA /s/ and /z/*

The OA sibilants /*s*/ and /*z*/ are normally retained in KA, and are functionally differentiated in all phonological contexts; automatic lengthening of intervocalic CG /*z*/ (Newton 1972a, 23) is not normally carried over into KA outside the few instances of permanent gemination exemplified in (17) (§ 1.2.2). Many CG loans tend, however, to display synchronic surface gemination of word-initial /*z*/ with concomitant prothesis of /*i*/ after the definite article /*l*/:

(61)

záxari	'sugar'
l-izzáxari	'the sugar'
zumí	'juice'
l-izzumí	'the juice'

Native lexicon with word-initial /*z*/ generally shows the expected assimilation of the article:

(62)

zayt	'oil'
zzayt	'the oil'
zaʕtára	'wild thyme'
zzaʕtára	'the wild thyme'

[10] Regarding prejunctural /*n*/ in this word, see § 1.3.7.

As in certain Arabic dialects, a few marginal cases of diachronic interaction between sibilants and the reflex of *ǧi:m* occur, i.e. metathesis in derivates of the root *zwǧ*:

(63) *KA*

žawz	'husband'
žazze	'marriage'

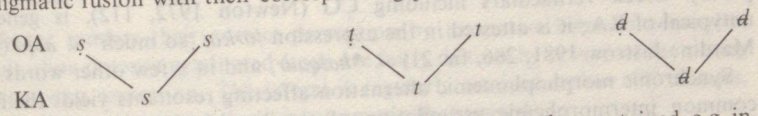
and transfer of the palatal articulation from the reflex of *ǧi:m* to the preceding sibilant in:

(64) *KA*

škyez	'fence'	<	*siya:ǧ*
šrizze	'kind of saddlebag'	<	*sari:ǧa*

1.3.6 *KA treatment of OA emphatics*

KA has completely lost all trace of phonetic emphasis in its consonant system; reflexes of /ṣ/, /ṭ/ and /ḍ̣/ (< OA /ḍ/ and /ḍ̣/) have, as a result, undergone paradigmatic fusion with their corresponding plain counterparts thus:



Secondary reflexes of historical emphasis have, to an extent, been retained, e.g. in KA nouns harking back to the OA schemes *fiʕa:l* and *fa:ʕil*, where historical emphatics tended to inhibit diffusion of the *imāla* reflex (§ 1.4.4.2). Clear traces of OA and secondary emphasis are also discernible in the KA treatment of word-final *CV̌C* sequences vowelled with /a/; these normally show /e/ in the adjacency of historically plain consonants, but /a/ when flanked by historical */ṛ/ or a syllable-initial emphatic segment:

(65) *KA*

				OA
ʕates	'lentils'			*ʕadas*
xašep	'wood'			*xašab*
ʕasel	'honey'			*ʕasal*
kasel	'laziness'			*kasal*
xaraz	'beads'	<	**xaṛaz*	*xaraz*
kamar	'moon'	<	**qamaṛ*	*qamar*
pasal	'onions'			*baṣal*
xatap	'firewood'			*ḥaṭab*

Diachronic loss of OA emphasis in KA is closely paralleled in a number of other Arabic vernaculars with a history of prolonged contact with foreign languages, such as Maltese (Borg 1978, § 1.6), and the Arabic dialects of Uzbekistan (Fischer 1961, 238) and Afghanistan (Sīrat and Knudsen 1973, 91), which have, like KA, merged emphatic consonants with plain counterparts. The tendency of transferring the distinctive role of historical emphatics to adjacent vowel segments is particularly well exemplified in Maltese, where loss of emphasis has

occasioned extensive compensatory enrichment of the vowel system (Borg 1978, Ch. I, *passim*).

1.3.7 *The resonants*

The OA liquids and nasals have been mostly preserved as such; stable changes involving permutation or assimilation occur in the following words, where they are largely self-explanatory:

(66)

KA			*Ar.*
ḏrofir	'fingernails'	<	**ḏawa:fi:r* [11]
smemík	'broomsticks'	<	*swe:mi:k* (Barth., 359)
ʕamemít	'props for vine'	<	*ʕawa:mi:d*
tumpie	'tail'	<	(*ḏnb*)
sunt	'plough'	<	**ṣumd* [12]
xank	'mouth'	<	*ḥalq*
muxxol	'sieve' < **muŋxol*	<	*munxul*

Delateralization of /*l*/, a widely reported phonological trait among the contemporary Greek vernaculars including CG (Newton 1972, 112), is generally untypical of KA; it is attested in the expression /*arka*/ 'so much' < *alqa* (Siirt, Mardin: Jastrow 1981, 286, fn. 21) < **halqadr*, and in a few other words.

Synchronic morphophonemic alternation affecting resonants yields the fairly common intermorphemic assimilation of the lateral /*l*/ in sandhi with the pronominal suffixes /*-ni*/ and /*-na*/:

(67)

KA			
pikunni	'he tells me'	←	|*pikul-ni*|
pisainni	'he does to me'	←	|*pisay-L-ni*|
šinna	'we took away'	←	|*šil-na*|

and that of the 1st pers. pl. marker /*n-*/ (Imperfect verbal paradigm) to certain following consonants:

(68)

KA			
mavvaddi	'we send'	←	|*manvaddi*|
maffatteš	'we look for'	←	|*manfattiš*|
marrúx	'we go'	←	|*manrúx*|
mallaki	'we find'	←	|*manlaki*|
maxxalli	'we leave'	←	|*manxalli*|

When followed by /*i*/ across certain morphemic boundaries, the lateral resonant is prone to fusion with a preceding /*u*/ and subsequent surface deletion:

[11] This reconstruction is based on the dialectal cognates *ḍawa:fer* (Cairo: Tomiche 1964, 176), *ḍwa:fer* (Tunis J: Cohen 1975, 200), and Maltese *dwiifer*, all meaning 'fingernails'.

[12] Cf. *ṣəmd* 'charrue' (Lebanon: Barthélemy, 445).

(69) *KA*

kúitna	'all of us'	←	|*kúllitna*|	←	|*kúll + na*|
piθkúillu	'she says to him'	←	|*piθkúlillu*|	←	|*pitkúl + L + u*|

The morphophonemic treatment of the definite article /*l*/ in KA merits notice. In contrast with Classical Arabic and many contemporary vernaculars, which show automatic assimilation of the article exclusively before certain coronal segments, KA extends the assimilation rule to most word-initial consonants except /ʕ/. In post-junctural position, the resulting geminate clusters are rendered without auxiliary vowels thus:

(70) *KA*

p-pint	'the girl'
v-varak	'the books'
θ-θawp	'the shirt'
d-dist	'the pot'
ž-žežže	'the hen'
k-kassís	'the priest'
x-xapl	'the rope'

This factor renders their correct perception by nonnative listeners somewhat difficult, though tense geminated stops are fairly distinct by reason of the strong accompanying aspiration. The lateral is regularly retained before *CC* clusters, and a prejunctural anaptyctic /*i*/ is automatically inserted:

(71)

l-iknise	'the church'
l-izʕir	'the small one'
l-itsút	'the pots'

Perhaps in keeping with the already noted trend favouring secondary gemination of intervocalic consonants in certain contexts, many speakers habitually geminate the article /*l-*/ between pre- and postjunctural vowels, e.g. after KA /*ma*/ 'with' and /*u*/ 'and':

(72)

ma ll-ismít	'with the semolina'
u ll-axar	'and the other'

A striking peculiarity relating to the surface treatment of the definite article in KA is the tendency observable among certain speakers towards sporadic retention of the unassimilated lateral reflex in consonantal environments where the majority of KA speakers show automatic assimilation. The phenomenon appears to be a concomitant of careful speech, and probably represents a case of synchronic generalization of the underlying form rather than genuine retention of an archaic trait.

As in certain Arabic vernaculars, confusion of word-initial /*l*/ with the definite article has occasionally led to its deletion in this position:

(73)

KA		*OA*
xef	'quilt'	*liḥa:f*

san	'tongue'	*lisa:n* [13]
xumát	'meat dishes'	*luḥu:m + a:t*

The syllabic treatment of resonants in KA is also noteworthy; in particular, the systematic retention of prejunctural 'obstruent + resonant' sequences without auxiliary syllabics, though usually with accompanying devoicing of the resonant after a voiceless obstruent:

(74)	*KA*		*OA*
	masl	'whey'	*maṣl*
	xapl	'rope'	*ḥabl*
	paxr	'sea'	*baḥr*
	kapr	'grave'	*qabr*
	patn	'belly'	*baṭn*
	tipn	'straw'	*tibn*
	laxm	'meat'	*laḥm*
	ism	'name'	*ism*

KA /*l*/ is, nevertheless, occasionally prone to elision as second member of word-final *CC* clusters, e.g. in the words

(75)	*KA*					
	aššik	'how'	<	**ayš šikl*	<	**ayš šakl*
	mix	'like'			<	**miθl*

The historical and synchronic treatment of medial consonant clusters displaying resonant segments will be outlined in § 1.4.2 below.

Finally, KA shows the accretion of the nasal /*n*/ to word-final open syllables in a few lexical items:

(76)	*KA*			*OA*
	miten	'when'		*mata:*
	exen	'one (m.)'	< **exe*	*wa:ḥid/ʔaḥad* [14]
	innen	'they'		**hunna:*
	máʕazen	'goats'		**miʕza:*

The selection of the dental nasal as a syllable terminal here possibly reflects its unmarked phonological character word-finally in the CG sound system (Newton 1972a, 28), and its amenability to close juncture with most following consonant segments (e.g. labials, dentals, velars, etc.):

(77)	*KA*			
	[*míten-dží·t*]	'when did you come?'	←	|*míten žít*|
	[*éxex-xár*]	'one day'	←	|*éxen xár*| [14a]

[13] Loss of etymological /*l*/ in these specific items is also characteristic of S.E. Anatolian vernaculars; cf. /*ḥe:f*/ 'Bettuch' and /*sayn*/ 'Zunge' (Kaʕbiye, Vocke and Waldner 1982, 391).

[14] The historical development of KA /*exen*/ 'one (m.)' and its feminine counterpart /*exte*/ is discussed in § 3.4a.

[14a] An alternative explanation for accretion of [*n*] is, however, also possible with regard to KA *miten* 'when'; cf. Palestinian *e:mtan* (Piamenta 1966, 1) < **ayy mata: ʔan* (?).

1.3.8 *KA treatment of OA /k/ and /q/*

The OA velar and uvular stops have undergone unconditioned merger in KA, yielding underlying /k/ in most positions:

(78)	*KA*		*OA*
	kitf	'shoulder'	*kitf*
	kism	'part'	*qism*
	takar	'male'	*ɬakar*
	pakar	'cows'	*baqar*
	saˤalúk	'poor (m.)'	*ṣuˤluːk*
	maˤalúk	'shut (m.)'	*maɣluːq*

Secondary reflexes antedating the paradigmatic fusion of */k/* and */q/*, however, commonly occur, specifically in the nominal form class. Of particular note, in this connection, is the KA tendency of treating historical /k/ as a non-back consonant in the matter of final *imāla* of the feminine ending (*taːʔ marbuːṭa*):

(79)	*KA*		*OA*
	šawke	'thorn'	*šawkah*
	káˤake	'round cake'	*kaˤkah*
	varka	'book'	*warqah* 'leaf'
	taka	'window'	*ṭaːq + ah* (cf. Lane 1894)

Similarly, reflexes of OA nominals show regular fronting of stressed /a/ in the environment of /k/, contrasting with retention of the low vowel in contact with historical /q/:

(80)	*KA*		*OA*
	kilp	'dog'	*kalb*
	kilme	'word'	*kalimah*
	ikl	'food'	*ʔakl*
	kapr	'grave'	*qabr*
	kašš	'straw'	*qašš*
	kalp	'heart'	*qalb*

Synchronically speaking, KA reflexes of /k/ and /q/ display identical morphophonemic and allophonic behaviour, i.e. spirantization and sporadic surface voicing before other stops:

(81)	*KA*				*OA*
	xtuft	'I wrote'	←	|*ktupt*|	*katabt*
	xtilt	'I killed'	←	|*ktilt*|	*qatalt*
	xpir	'big (m.)'	←	|*kpir*|	*kabiːr*
	moxte	'stove'	<	**moːqde*	*mawqid + ah*

as well as palatalization before front vowels and /y/:

(82)	*KA*				*OA*
	[*kʼidep*]	'he wrote'	<	**kitib*	*katab*
	[*kʼidel*]	'he killed'	<	**qitil*	*qatal.*

1.3.9 *KA fusion of OA /ʕ/ and /γ/ and of OA /ḥ/ and /x/*

A highly characteristic diachronic shift exemplified in the KA sound system is the loss of the velar: pharyngeal opposition in the KA fricative series; this entails the parallel merger of OA /ʕ/ and /γ/ into the voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, and of OA /ḥ/ and /x/ into *ḥ, yielding the KA voiceless velar fricative /x/ (presumably in alignment with CG /x/):

(83)	*KA*			*OA*
	ʕiref	'he knew'		*ʕaraf*
	ʕilek	'he shut'		*γalaq*
	ʕirek	'he sweated'		*ʕariq*
	ʕilep	'he overcame'		*γalab*
	saʕa	'hour'		*sa:ʕah*
	páʕale [15]	'mule'		*baγlah*
	šeʕír	'barley'	< **šʕi:r*	*šaʕi:r*
	zeʕír	'small (m.)'	< **zʕi:r*	(∼ *ṣayi:r*)
	zarʕa	'he sowed'		*zaraʕ*
	sipʕe	'he painted'		*ṣabaγ*
	xilef	'he swore'		*ḥalaf*
	xirep	'he destroyed'		*xarab*
	taxak	'he laughed'		*ḍaḥik*
	naxal	'he sifted'		*naxal*
	rax	'he went'		*ra:ḥ*
	šax	'he grew old'		*ša:x*

Though this highly deviant historical treatment of the OA velar and pharyngeal fricatives invites comparison with the ostensibly similar merger of these OA series in Maltese, the mutual relevance of these independent shifts is questionable. Thus, whereas the Maltese situation is almost certainly the product of internal development (cf. Cohen 1974, 190; Borg 1978, 45 f.), the KA merger under discussion is quite conceivably an inherited trait harking back to pre-Arabic substratal influence from Syriac, which lacked the phonological oppositions *ʕ:γ* and *ḥ:x*. One compelling reason supporting this view is the KA retention of the pharyngeal segment in the OA voiced series. Had the diachronic merger of OA /ʕ/ and /γ/ in KA transpired within the context of linguistic interaction with CG, it should have logically yielded the voiced, back velar fricative /γ/, which closely approximates CG /γ/, described in Newton (1972a, 22) as a 'dorso-velar, voiced slit fricative' [16].

A rather pervasive synchronic feature pertaining to KA /ʕ/ is the phonotactic requirement ruling out the sequences *ʕX* and *Xʕ* (where the position *X* is filled

[15] Cf. Anatolian Arabic *bayle* 'Maultier' (Āzəx: Vocke and Waldner 1982, 43); the use of the historically feminine form of this term for both genders is also recorded in Littmann (1920, 53).

[16] With respect to the chronology of the **g* > *γ* shift within Greek itself, spirantization of voiced stops is attested in Ancient Greek dialects (Buck 1928, 58-9); it became general in *koiné* (Lejeune 1955, 52).

by a consonant or, in the case of prejunctural /ʕ/, by final word-boundary). KA generally obviates potential sequences of this kind through retention or restitution of short vowels in pretonic *CV syllables:

(84)	*KA*				*OA*
	ʕarús	'bride'			*ʕaru:s*
	ʕarís	'bridegroom'			*ʕari:s*
	ʕatík	'old (m.)'			*ʕati:q*
	ʕažín	'dough'			*ʕaği:n*
	ʕayár	'clouds'	<	**ʕya:r*	*γiya:r* 'rain' (Lisān V, 40)
	ʕaríp	'foreign'			*γari:b*
	šeʕír	'barley'	<	**šʕi:r*	*šaʕi:r*
	meʕík	'deep (m.)'	<	**ʕmi:q*	*ʕami:q*
	maʕállem	'teacher'	<	**mʕallim*	*muʕallim*

and by insertion of auxiliary vowels:

(85)	*KA*				*OA*
	áʕavar	'blind'			*ʔaʕwar*
	áʕavež	'crooked (m.)'			*ʔaʕwağ*
	záʕatar	'wild thyme'	<	*zaʕtar*	*s/ṣaʕtar* (Lane 1360)
	sáʕale	'cough'			*suʕlah*
	šoʕol	'work'			*šuγl*
	tóʕome	'food'			*ṭuʕmah*
	ɗaʕa	'he got lost'			*ḍa:ʕ*
	fizʕe	'he feared'	<	**fiziʕe*	*faziʕ*
	žoʕo	'hunger'			*ğu:ʕ*

As can be inferred from (85), restored or new syllabics are usually easily distinguished from historical vowels, since the former tend to be products of vowel harmony rules matching the height, advancement, and rounding specifications of the secondary vowel with those of the historical or actual stem vowel. Harmonized anaptyctic vowels in the context of /ʕ/ are also particularly common (though optional) after the definite article /l/:

(86)		
	l-eʕit	'the feast'
	l-aʕassa	'the stick'
	l-oʕorne	'the tub'

Anaptyctic vowels in the environment of KA /ʕ/ are, in fact, somewhat unstable in internal open syllables, and tend to undergo elision in fast speech; those occurring prejuncturally are, on the contrary, rarely if ever deleted. The accretion of secondary vowels shielding root-final /ʕ/ from contact with word boundary occurs in most KA form classes, excluding underived verbal nouns, where the annexation of final /-a/ would have neutralized the grammatical distinction between the gerund and its corresponding unit noun: KA /katʕ/ 'cutting', /katʕa/ 'a cut', etc. Neutralization of grammatical marking as a direct result of the anaptyxis rule has, nonetheless, occurred in KA participles and adjectives deriving from historical *faʕi:l* and *fa:ʕil*; note, for instance, loss of the gender

distinction in KA /*rfiʕe*/ 'tall (m. and f.)' < OA *rafi:ʕ* 'high', /*farʕe*/ 'empty (m. and f.)' < OA *fa:riγ*, /*telʕe*/ 'rising (m. and f.)' < *ṭa:liʕ*, etc.

Finally two incidental historical traits relating to KA /ʕ/ and /*x*/ deserve mention: (a) sporadic metathesis of these segments, usually though not exclusively, with resonants in preceding or following syllables:

(87)	*KA*			*OA*
	meʕik	'deep (m.)'		*ʕami:q*
	ʕarif	'loaf'		*raγi:f*
	speʕep[17]	'fingers'	< **ṣwa:biʕ*	(*ṣbʕ*)
	ḏirʕe	'he sucked'		*raḍiʕ*
	xilek	'he reached'		*laḥiq*
	šxa	'he stuffed'		*ḥaša:*
	vešex	'mean (m.)'	< **wiḥiš*[18]	(*wḥš*)

and (b) insertion of secondary /ʕ/ in certain nativized loans from CG and other sources:

(88)	*KA*		*CG*
	tšeʕír	'grass'	*čaíri*
	flaʕún	'Easter cakes'	*flaúna* (< OF *flaon*)
	karaʕula	'frog'	*karaúla*
	ḏkirʕo	place name	*Dhiórios*
	maʕakrún[19]	'macaroni'	

1.3.10 *KA treatment of OA /h/ and /ʔ/*

(a) The regular reflex of the OA voiceless laryngeal spirant in KA verbs and nouns is the voiceless velar fricative /*x*/, having palatalized allophones before front vowels, and phonetically unmarked realizations elsewhere:

(89)	*KA*		*OA*
	xirep	'he left'	*harab*
	tnaxxet	'he sighed'	*tanahhad*
	nappex	'he aroused'	*nabbah*
	ḏaxr	'back'	*ḍahr*
	exl	'parents'	*ʔahl*
	sexr	'son-in-law'	*ṣihr*
	tuxn	'grease'	*duhn*

This amounts, in effect, to a large-scale merger of the OA laryngeal fricative with the reflex of OA /*ḥ*/ and /*x*/ (§ 1.3.9), paralleled in the historical evolution of Maltese (Borg 1978, 54). Despite loss of the phonological function pertaining to

[17] This probably harks back to **ṣawa:biʕ*; cf. Tunis *ṣwa:baʕ* with the same meaning (Stumme 1896, 86; Cohen 1975, 200).

[18] Cf. Aleppo *wəḥeš* 'sauvage ... laid' (Barthélemy, 887).

[19] The identical process is also fairly common in other Arabic dialects: Lebanese *maʕkaro:ne* 'macaroni' (Nasr 1972, 145), Anatolian Arabic *ʕalaktrik* 'Taschenlampe' < Tk. *elektrik* (Vocke and Waldner 1982, 286).

the laryngeal articulation in the KA reflex of */h/, this dialect has, like CG, an optional glottal allophone of intervocalic /x/ (cf. Newton 1972a, 23): KA [*ex'en* ~ *éhen*] 'one', [*tláx'e* ~ *tláhe*] 'three', etc.

A noteworthy exception to its historical treatment of OA /h/ occurs in KA /*užž*/ 'face' (< OA *wağh*); the complete assimilation of the voiceless laryngeal spirant to the reflex of *ğīm* in this specific word finds a close parallel in a large number of contemporary Arabic vernaculars (Barthélemy 1909, 218-9).

In contrast with the retention of KA /x/ < OA /h/ in the nominal and verbal classes, the voiceless laryngeal spirant underwent systematic deletion in KA deictics and pronouns:

(90)	*KA*		*OA*
	aḏa	'this (m.)'	*ha:ḏa:*
	aḏi	'this (f.)'	*ha:ḏi:*
	awna	'here'	*ha:huna:*
	uo	'he'	**huwwa:*
	ie	'she'	**hiyya:*
	enne	'they'	**hunna:*

etc. (see Ch. IV *passim* for further examples). The special treatment of OA /h/ exemplified in KA deictics and pronouns reflects certain functional traits proper to indexical forms in Semitic grammar; in particular, their morpholexical irreducibility to the common constituent structure of 'root + stem formative' characterizing nouns and verbs. In phonological terms, this means that, in contrast with root-morphemic /h/, the laryngeal fricative in KA indexicals occupies a morphophonemically uninflected consonant position; hence its proneness towards merging with adjacent vowels. Optional and obligatory deletion of /h/ in indexicals is also characteristic of the Diyarbakır and Siirt dialect groups of S. E. Anatolia (Jastrow 1978, Ch. III, *passim*).

(b) The OA voiceless laryngeal plosive /ʔ/ has been systematically elided in all positions without leaving secondary reflexes:

(91)	*KA*		*OA*
	ikl	'food'	*ʔakl*
	xtaf	'shoulders'	*ʔakta:f*
	ranep	'rabbits'	*ʔara:nib*
	faʕi	'snakes'	**ʔafa:ʕi:*
	pir	'well'	*biʔr*
	pšan	'in order to'	*bi šaʔn*
	ḏa	'he lit'	*ḍa:ʔ*
	ža	'he came'	*ğa:ʔ*

As already noted in Roth (1975: 74, fn. 2), KA /*sael*/ 'he asked' is unlikely to derive from OA *saʔal*; it presumably continues secondary **sayyil* harking back ultimately to the Form III verb *sa:yal* attested in a number of contemporary Eastern Arabic dialects (cf. Bauer 1913 ed., 44; Jastrow 1978, 156).

1.3.11 *KA treatment of OA /w/ and /y/*

(a) KA has retained OA /w/ unchanged almost exclusively as the offglide portion of the diphthong /aw/; its usual reflex in other contexts being the voiced labiodental spirant /v/:

(92)	*KA*		*OA*
	θawp	'shirt'	*θawb*
	sawk	'ploughing'	*sawq*
	nawm	'sleep'	*nawm*
	mawt	'death'	*mawt*
	žawz	'husband'	*zawǧ*
	vižˤe	'it hurt'	*waǧiˤ*
	velte	'recent mother'	*wa:lidah*
	varka	'book'	*warqah* 'leaf'
	xeván	'animal' < **ḥe:wa:n*	*ḥayawa:n*
	xava	'air'	*hawa:ʔ*
	ˤiver	'he blinded'	*ˤawir* 'he lost an eye'
	tvil	'tall'	*ṭawi:l*
	rvax	'souls'	*ʔarwa:ḥ*
	tirvike	'breakfast' (cf. *tarwi:qa* 'petit déjeûner'; Bar.)	
	xilv	'sweet (f.)' < **ḥilw*	*ḥulw*

The extensive replacement of OA /w/ by KA /v/ can be plausibly attributed to phonic interference from CG, in which the bilabial glide is entirely lacking; the systemic congruence of the KA with the CG sound system achieved in this respect is, nonetheless, only superficial, since grammatically conditioned shift of consonant positions in KA words entails morphophonemic alternation of KA /v/ with the bilabial glide, a process that is entirely unknown in CG:

(93)	*KA*	
	žawlak	'large sack'
	žvalek	'large sacks'
	xawθa	'mad (f.)'
	axveθ	'mad (m.)'

Certain speakers show some irregularity with respect to this alternation, and implement the **w* > *v* shift syllable-finally:

(94)	Roth (1975, 72)	
	tavlet	'elle s'est attardée'
	travket	'ella a pris son petit déjeuner'

The postulation of a phonological opposition between KA /v/ and [w] on the basis of their occurrence after /a/ would, nonetheless, be counterintuitive inasmuch as the nonexistence of the contrast in other environments renders its functional yield negligible, if at all real.

A further qualification to the foregoing statement concerning the distributional restriction of KA /w/ to off-glide position relates to syllable-initial

occurrences of the surface sequence /*kw*/ in the lexemes /*kan*/ 'to be', /*kal*/ 'to say' and /*kull*/ 'all', where it represents the product of morphophonemically conditioned syllable elision:

(95) *KA*

kwa-	(verbal proclitic; see §2.2.3.4)	←	|*kunna-*|
piθkwillu	'you f. tell him'	←	|*pitkulíllu*|
kúitna	'all of us'	←	|*kúllitna*|

In contact with voiceless spirants, KA /*v*/ is liable to undergo permanent devoicing:

(96)

KA			*OA*
isfet	'black (m.)'	< **isvet*	*ʔaswad*
raxf	'loose (m.)'	< **raxv*	*raxw*

though the trend is far from being systematic:

(97)

KA					
sveʕir	'kids'			<	**sawa:ʕi:r*
šva ~ *šfa*	'he roasted'			<	*šawa:*
xvež	'bed-clothes'	<	**ḥwe:yež*	<	*ḥawa:yiğ*

The historical instability pertaining to the underlying voicing specification in KA labiodentals is reflected in occasional hypercorrect permanent voicing of historical /*f*/, mostly after the voiceless velar fricative:

(98)

milixve	'sheet'	< **milḫfe*	<	*milḫafa*
šaxve	'hair of head'		<	*šaḫfe* (Vocke & Waldner)
xiver (cf. *xvurt*)	'he dug'		<	*ḫafar*
švef	'lips'		<	*šafa:yif* / **šifa:f*

Complete historical loss of OA /*w*/ is relatively rare in KA, but does sometimes occur in phonological contexts showing secondary rounding of historical /*a*/:

(99) *KA*

oxt	'time'	<	**wokt*		<	*waqt*
alok [20]	'now'	<	**halwok*		<	**halwaqt*
okít	'fire'				<	*waqi:d* 'fuel'
xost	'in'	<	**fosṭ* [21]		<	**fi wasṭ*
užž	'face'	<	**wužž*	< **wužh*	<	*wağh*

The fading out of historical /*w*/ in KA /*ekef*/ 'standing (m.)' presumably represents an independent grammatically conditioned process (cf. /*kaft*/ 'I stood'). Note also that the deletion of */*w*/ in KA /*exen*/ 'one' is only partial, e.g. /*ši-vexen*/ 'someone' (cf. §3.4a below).

[20] Most Arabic dialects of Greater Syria retaining a reflex for **halwaqt* show the assimilatory shift **lw* > *ll*, e.g. Damascus *hallaʔ* (Stowasser and Ani 1964, 160); fusion of the bilabial glide with the following vowel yielding /*o*/ in this term is also attested for Central Asia, cf. *alok* (Fischer 1959, 146).

[21] Cf. Aleppo *faṣṭ* 'au dedans de' (Barthélemy, 611) and Maltese *fost* 'among'.

An important diachronic process affecting the historical bilabial glide is its systematic intramorphemic degemination, for which KA shows no compensatory secondary change:

(100)	*KA*		*OA*
	žava	'inside'	*ǧawwa:*
	tavel	'he lingered'	*ṭawwal*
	xaveš	'he gathered'	*ḥawwaš*

KA /*v*/ < */*ww*/ is, nevertheless, phonologically marked in reflexes of Form II verbs; thus, morphophonemic stress shift in the inflection of the Perfect does not entail the expected pretonic vowel deletion contingent on open syllabicity:

(101)	*KA*	
	žávez	'he gave in marriage'
	žavízt	'I gave in marriage'
	rávež	'he hurried'
	ravížt	'I hurried'

Geminated KA /*v*/ occurs exclusively across morphemic or lexical boundaries, as in

(102)	*KA*			
	mavvaddi	'we send'	←	|*manvaddi*|
	mavvadder	'we expel'	←	|*manvadder*|
	v-varka	'the book'	←	|*l-varka*|
	v-velte	'to the new mother'	←	|*L-velte*|

where it is invariably the outcome of secondary assimilatory processes.

Aside from the special case of /*sava*, *pisáy*/ 'to do', discussed in §2.2.1.6 (e), reduction of historical */*ww*/ in KA appears to be an internal development unrelated to language contact; thus CG freely tolerates /*vv*/ geminate clusters, both word-medially and across word boundaries (Newton 1972a, 34).

(b) The OA palatal semivowel /*y*/ has been systematically retained in pre- and postjunctural contexts:

(103)	*KA*			
	yawm	'today'	<	**l-yawm*
	yepes	'dry (m.)'	<	*ya:bis*
	yaps	'dryness'	<	*yabs*
	žey	'coming (m.)'	<	*ǧa:y*

Its preservation in intervocalic position appears to be mainly restricted to phonological environments where it provided a distinct syllabic onset, i.e. before low or back vowels:

(104)	*KA*			*Ar.*
	ʕayár	'clouds'	<	*γiya:r* 'rain'
	ʕayún	'springs'	<	*ʕuyu:n*
	šaya	'things'	<	*ša:ya* (Barthélemy 421)

Before non-low and non-back vowels, historical /y/ is generally deleted in intervocalic position, even if geminated:

(105) *KA*

sael	'he asked'	<	**sayyil*	<	*sa:yal*
taep	'good (m.)'			<	*ṭayyib*
maet	'dead (m.)'			<	*mayyit*
ie	'she'			<	**hiyya:*
uo	'he'			<	**huwwa:*
moe	'water'			<	**mwayya*

but tends to resurface wherever morphological inflection required its historical shift to preconsonantal position:

(106) *KA*

mayte, maytín	'dead (f., pl.)'	<	**mayyte, *mayyti:n*
taype, taypín	'good (f., pl.)'	<	**ṭayybe, *ṭayybi:n*

From the synchronic standpoint, the palatal glide here can be said to alternate morphophonemically with its corresponding front vowel when the latter occupies an unstressed open syllable:

(107) *KA*

saylu	'he asked him'	←	*|sail-u|*
ʕaytu	'they shouted'	←	*|ʕait-u|*

Between preceding and following mid front vowels, elision of historical /y/ in KA entails concomitant loss of syllable boundary thus:

(108)

					OA
KA					
knes	'churches'	<	**kne:yes*	<	*kana:yis*
krep	'relatives'	<	**qre:yeb*	<	*qara:yib*
nem	'sleeping (m.)'	<	**ne:yem*	<	*na:yim*

Geminate /yy/ clusters are uncommon in KA; they occur exclusively at certain morphological boundaries, e.g. before the feminine ending:

(109) *KA*

žeyy-e	'coming (f.)'
nayy-e	'raw (f.)'

or as a secondary reflex of */ly/ (cf. examples (25) above).

(c) A striking fact emerging from the preceding paragraphs is the asymmetrical historical development of */w/ and */y/ in KA, particularly in intervocalic positions, where the former yields the regular spirant reflex /v/, whereas the latter is most often dephonologized, i.e. reduced to an optional transitional glide: [*máʸet*] ← /*máet*/ 'dead (m.)'.

A marginal point still needing clarification relates to the functional role of prejunctural semivowels at earlier historical stages of KA. The reflexes of the OA terms meaning 'walking', 'sticks', and 'loose (m.s.)':

(110)

KA						*OA*
mašk	<	**mašky*	<	**mašy*	<	*mašy*
ʕosk	<	**ʕosky*	<	**ʕosy*	<	*ʕuṣiyy*
raxf	<	**raxv*	<	**raxw*	<	*raxw*

suggest that prior to contact with CG, which had the effect of fading out postconsonantal word-final /*y*/, KA semivowels may well have contrasted with corresponding vocalic counterparts, as in the reconstructed forms:

(111)

Old Kormakiti Arabic			*KA*
**ʕé:ṣi(:)*	'tough'	>	*ʕesi*
**ʕóṣy*	'sticks'	>	*ʕosk*
**intu(:)*	'you (pl.)'	>	*intu*
**raxw*	'loose (m.s.)'	>	*raxf*

Similar phonological contrasts between glides and corresponding high vowels have been retained in a number of contemporary Arabic vernaculars, e.g. Cairene (Harrell 1957, 28).

1.4 THE VOWEL SYSTEM

The KA vowel system comprises chiefly the seven nuclei: /*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ay*, and *aw*/, which can be functionally defined on the basis of the following sets of minimal pairs:

(112)

i:e	*tin*	'figs'	*ten*	'hands'
i:a	*xiss*	'sound'	*xass*	'lettuce'
i:o	*ski*	'water! (f.s.)'	*sko*	'keep quiet! (m.s.)'
i:u	*ʕit*	'feast'	*ʕut*	'wood'
e:a	*skek*	'ploughshares'	*skak*	'lane'
e:o	*kel*	'he ate'	*kol*	'eat! (m.s.)'
e:u	*šexa*	'old woman'	*šuxa*	'old people'
a:u	*pakra*	'cow'	*pukra*	'tomorrow'
a:o	*xaps*	'prison'	*xops*	'bread'
o:u	*sko*	'keep quiet! (m.s.)'	*sku*	'water! (pl.)'
ay:e	*tayn*	'debt'	*ten*	'hands'
aw:o	*nawm*	'sleep'	*nom*	'sleep! (m.s.)'

The functional yield of contrasts involving the secondary KA diphthongs /*ey*/ and /*uy*/ appears to be very restricted; thus, stressed /*ey*/ is rare outside the lexical items:

(113)

veyxa	'shame'
žeyye	'coming (f.)'
teyye	'vine'

though its opposition with /*ay*/ is supported by the near minimal pair

(114)

žeyy-e	'coming (f.)'
žayye	'stink'

Stressed /*uy*/ in the native lexicon occurs most often across a syllable boundary, where it seems to be exclusively confined to the medially weak class of verbal nouns built on the morphological matrix *tCúC(C)oC*: KA /*tsuyol*/ 'inquiry', /*tsuyož*/ 'fencing in', etc.; among its rare intrasyllabic occurrences in this grammatical class, the following have been noted:

(115) *tfuylot* 'looseness'
tsuyʕot 'help'

The second example has a free variant without the offglide: /*tsuʕot*/.

As in the CG sound system, vowels do not participate in phonological length contrasts in KA. Most KA nuclei can potentially occur in stressed and unstressed syllables, both open and closed; minor gaps in the distributional pattern (e.g. the rare occurrence of pretonic /*u*/ outside labial environment) are due to historical accident and may not necessarily represent synchronic distributional constraints. The most systematic restriction in KA vowel distribution is that ruling out the high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/ in unstressed prejunctural *VC* sequences; observe, for instance, the morphophonemic alternations exemplified in the following verb forms:

(116) *KA*
mannákol 'we eat'
mannakúla 'we eat it'
písrok 'I steal'
pisrúka 'I steal it'
šírep 'he drank'
širípa 'he drank it (f.)'
žávez 'he gave in marriage'
žavíza 'he gave her in marriage'

Exceptions to this rule are rare and all involve the occurrence of prejunctural *-iC* in specific grammatical contexts, i.e. in deictic forms showing reflexes of 'long **/i:/* + consonant':

(117) *KA*
állik 'those' < **hawli:k*
áɗik 'that (f.)' < **ha:ɗi:k*

and in the pronominal suffix /*-ik*/ (f.s.). KA /*aššik*/ 'how' has the fuller underlying form /*aššikl*/ that is often retained as such in surface structure by elderly speakers.

It is reasonable to suppose that the distributional constraint relative to KA /*i*/ and /*u*/ and their mid counterparts is an inherited trait, given the fact that closely parallel phonological alternations also characterize a number of Syro-Palestinian vernaculars and Maltese:

(118) **Jerusalem Arabic** (Informant)
ʔíben 'son'
ʔibinna 'our son'
kútob 'books'

kutúbna	'our books'

The treatment of vowel clusters in KA is also worth noting. *VV* and *VVV* sequences of dissimilar vowels occur quite freely:

(119) *KA*

ie	'she'
uo	'he'
pitsaion (4 syll.)	'she makes them'

Clusters of identical vowels are, however, disallowed in KA; note, in this connection, the height dissimilation process that yielded KA /*xkie*/ 'conversation' < **xkeye* < OA *ḥika:yah*, as well as the fusion of historically adjacent mid front vowels in KA reflexes of OA *faʕa:yil*:

(120) *KA*

knes	'churches'	<	**kneyes*	<	*kana:yis*
xvež	'bed-clothes'	<	**xveyež*	<	*ḥawa:yiǧ*

1.4.1 *KA treatment of OA short vowels*

As is the case in many other Arabic vernaculars, the historical treatment accorded to OA short vowels in KA discriminates between the nominal and verbal categories, the distribution of vowel segments in verbs having undergone a notable degree of paradigmatic levelling. The following remarks deal with the historical phonology of KA nominals; the investigation of vowel patterns in verbs will be taken up in its proper grammatical context (Ch. II).

OA /*i*/ is normally retained without change in stressed *VCC* sequences, but regularly undergoes lowering to /*e*/ in prejunctural, unstressed *VC* sequences:

(121)

KA		*OA*
pint	'girl'	*bint*
ipre	'needle'	*ʔibrah*
sitte	'six'	*sittah*
kitf	'shoulder'	*kitf*
milx	'salt'	*milḥ*
pkyeter	'threshing floors'	*baya:dir*
nešef	'dry (m.)'	*na:šif*
rekep	'riding (m.)'	*ra:kib*

When simultaneously flanked by a historical emphatic and OA /*q*/ /*γ*/, and /*ʕ*/, OA /*i*/ tends to yield KA /*a*/:

(122)

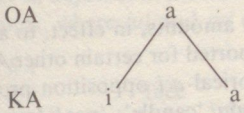
KA		*OA*
katt	'cat'	*qiṭṭ*
ʕata	'lid'	*γiṭa:ʔ*
módaʕa	'place'	*mawḍiʕ*

KA unstressed /*i*/ can also represent the most common reflex of historical zero in the context of potentially problematic *CCC* medial clusters:

(123) *KA*

milixve	'sheet'	<	**milḥfe*	<	*milḥafa*
kyísirku	'they steal'	<	**byísrqu*	<	**yasriqu:*
táˤirfe	'loaves'	<	**taˤrfe*	<	**t-ʔarγifa*

The historical evolution of OA /*a*/, on the other hand, is characterized by the systematic conditioned split



roughly along the main allophonic division of this OA segment into *[*ä*] and *[*â*] respectively. Thus, the low back vowel that in the short vowel systems of many contemporary Arabic vernaculars represents the usual realization of OA /*a*/ in phonetically backed or emphatic consonantal environments, has yielded the low, central KA vowel /*a*/ in most positions:

(124) *KA*

			OA
sala	'evening service'		*ṣala:h*
masl	'whey'		*maṣl*
ɗaxr	'back'		*ɗahr*
apkyaɗ	'white (m.)'		*ʔabyaḍ*
tapx	'cooking'		*ṭabx*
patn	'belly'		*baṭn*
rappi	'God'	< **rabbi*	*rabb + i:*
šart	'tear'		*šarṭ*
xašep	'wood'		*xašab*
xapl	'rope'		*ḥabl*
naxl	'bees'		*naḥl*
ˤates	'lentils'		*ˤadas*
kaˤak	'round cakes'		*kaˤk*
ˤazl	'thread'		*γazl*
páˤale	'mule'		*baγlah*
kapr	'grave'		*qabr*
pakar	'cows'		*baqar*

The low reflex of OA /*a*/ is also occasionally attested in the adjacency of labial consonants:

(125) *KA*

		OA
sama	'sky'	*sama:ʔ*
sapˤa	'seven'	*sabˤah*

though KA tends to show rounding of /*a*/ in this context.

Outside the environment of historically backed or emphatic consonants, OA /*a*/ yields mostly KA /*i*/ in stressed *VC* and *VCC* sequences, alternating with /*e*/ in prejunctural *VC* sequences:

(126)

KA		*OA*
nite	'dew'	**nada:*
ikl	'food'	*ʔakl*
šims	'sun'	*šams*
ʕates	'lentils'	*ʕadas*
avel	'the year before last'	*ʔawwal*
axsen	'better'	*ʔaḥsan*

The historical treatment of OA /*i*/ and /*a*/ in KA amounts, in effect, to a large scale fusion of these segments such as has been reported for certain other Arabic vernaculars (Cohen 1970, 176). Though the historical *a:i* opposition probably survived this merger, (cf. KA /*šims*/ 'sun' and /*šamʕa*/ 'candle'; /*xapl*/ 'rope' and /*ximl*/ 'load'), the height opposition in the KA vowel system undoubtedly underwent a notable degree of rephonologization after historical loss of emphasis and the merger of OA /*k*/ and /*q*/ entailed the transfer of these segments' distinctive roles to neighbouring vowels:

(127)

KA		*OA*
kilp	'dog'	*kalb*
kalp	'heart'	*qalb*
sipel	'stubble'	*ṣabal*
sapi	'boy'	*ṣabiyy*

In marked contrast with the systemic instability typifying the height opposition in the historical evolution of the KA vowel system, the functional role of the historical rounding and advancement features has been extensively preserved and enhanced. OA /*u*/ is generally retained as such in contact with labial, velar, and emphatic consonants:

(128)

KA		*OA*
umm	'mother'	*ʔumm*
mušt	'comb'	*mušṭ*
žumʕa	'week'	*ǧumʕah*
muxx	'head'	*muxx* 'brain'
xumr	'red (pl.)'	*ḥumr*
župn	'cheese'	*ǧubn*
supx	'early morning'	*ṣubḥ*
rummán	'pomegranates'	*rumma:n*
fustán	'dress'	*fusta:n*
ḏulme	'darkness'	*ḏulmah*
ḏufr	'finger-tip'	*ḏufr* 'fingernail'
nuss	'half'	*nu/iṣf*
slupén	'crosses' < **ṣulbe:n*	*ṣulba:n*

and /*o*/ in the environment of a preceding or following /ʕ/ (< OA /ʕ/ and /ɣ/), /*x*/ (< OA /*ḥ*/ and /*x*/), and /*r*/:

(129)

KA		*OA*
ʕors	'wedding'	*ʕurs*

ʕorpa	'strangers'	*ɣuraba:ʔ*
xops	'bread'	*xubz*
koxl	'antimony'	*kuḥl*
forn	'oven'	*furn*
morr	'bitter (m.)'	*murr*

The KA tendency of treating vocalic rounding as a phonological extension of labiality in adjacent consonants is also sporadically exemplified in the following KA words, where /*u*/ and /*o*/ continue historical /*a*/:

(130) *KA*			*Ar.*
užž	'face'		*wağh*
žump	'side'	< **ğamb*	*ğa:nib*
tumpie	'tail'		*ḏanab + iyya*
šummás	'sacristan'		*šamma:s*
oxt	'time'		*waqt*
xost	'in'	< **fosṭ*	**fi waṣṭ*
okit	'fire'		*waqi:d*
alok	'now'	< **halwaqt*	

Since present-day KA has to a large extent preserved the consonantal environments conducive to this conditioned split of OA /*u*/, the KA *u:o* opposition rests principally on reflexes of long */*u:*/ and */*o:*/, which, owing to systemic loss of the length opposition in this dialect, have been merged with their short counterparts:

(131) *KA*			
rox	'go! (m.s.)'	<	**ro:ḥ*
rux	'soul'	<	*ru:ḥ*
sko	'keep quiet! (m.s.)'	<	**sko:t*
sku	'irrigate! (pl.)'	<	**squ:*
sop	'towards'	<	*ṣawb*
suf	'wool'	<	*ṣu:f*

Diachronic change involving the advancement contrast of OA high vowels is rare in KA; note, however, the occasional fronting and unrounding of OA /*u*/ in contact with coronal segments:

(132) *KA*		*OA*
iḏn	'ear'	*ʔuḏn*
fižle	'radish'	*fuğlah*
mislem	'Turk'	*muslim* 'Muslim'

1.4.2 *Historical treatment of OA CV̆ syllables*

KA tends, like many contemporary Arabic vernaculars designated in Cantineau (1960, 108-9) as 'parlers non-différentiels', to delete all three historically short vowels in unstressed open syllables:

(133) *KA*		*OA*
klep	'dogs'	*kila:b*

xpar	'large (pl.)'	*kiba:r*
xlip	'milk'	*ḥali:b*
slip	'cross'	*ṣali:b*
trap	'dust'	*tura:b*
sxun	'crockery'	*ṣuḥu:n* 'plates'

Most of the ensuing word-initial dyadic clusters (including those displaying resonants in C_1 position), are freely tolerated after pause, but usually generate a secondary prosthetic vowel /*i*/ when preceded by a word-final consonant, especially at certain morphosyntactic word-boundaries characterized by close juncture, such as occur within numerical constructs, noun phrases showing the definite article /*l*/ or the homophonous dative marker |*L*|, and elsewhere:

(134) *KA*

tlax-iksús	'three priests'	←	|*tlax + ksus*|
l-ixlíp	'the milk'	←	|*l-xlip*|
l-imtine	'to Nicosia'	←	|*L-mtine*|

OA /*a*/ in unstressed open syllables is, however, mostly preserved after KA /ʕ/:

(135)

KA		*OA*
ʕatík	'old'	*ʕati:q*
ʕaríp	'strange'	*ɣari:b*
ʕasíl	'washing'	*ɣasi:l*
ʕaríf	'loaf'	*raɣi:f*
ʕamút	'support for vine'	*ʕamu:d* 'pillar'
ʕarús	'bride'	*ʕaru:s*

Though comparable retention of unstressed short /*a*/ in backed or emphatic consonantal environments also occurs in other Arabic dialects of the 'non-differentiating' type (cf. Fleisch 1947-48, 83; Marçais 1902, 48), this KA trend should probably be viewed within the context of its special overall treatment of /ʕ/, a feature constituting one of its most pervasive hallmarks (for more detail, see § 1.3.9).

Word-final *CC* clusters without /ʕ/ are systematically retained in KA even when consisting of 'obstruent + resonant' sequences:

(136)

KA		*OA*
zipl	'manure'	*zibl*
kapr	'grave'	*qabr*
patn	'belly'	*baṭn*
ism	'name'	*ism*

This trait presents a marked contrast with the widespread tendency of most Arabic vernaculars, both eastern and western, to epenthesize in this context.

The KA treatment of word-medial *CCC* clusters resulting from short vowel loss replicates morphophonological processes familiar from other Arabic vernaculars: principally, diffusion of closed syllabicity transforming pre- or post-stress *CCV+C* sequences (where the plus sign stands for syllable boundary) into

surface *CCC* or *CVC+C*. Whereas the occurrence of new syllabic peaks is mostly contingent on the presence of resonant segments in C_2 position, the quality of the auxiliary vowel itself is in most cases unrelated to actual or historical phonological environment:

(137) *KA*

kyaxtmu	'they work'	<	**yaxdmu*	<	**yaxdimu:*
kyaxtlu	'they kill'	<	**yaqtlu*	<	**yaqtulu:*
misilke	'spool'	<	**mislke*	<	*mislaka* (Dozy I, 677)
milixve	'sheet'	<	**milḥfe*	<	*milḥafa*
mížipne	'rennet'	<	**mižbne*	<	**maǧbana*
sáʕilke	'poverty'	<	**saʕlke*	<	*ṣaʕlaka*
táʕirfe	'loaves'	<	**tarʕfe*	<	*t + ʔarγifa*

one notable exception being KA /*kúzupra*/ 'coriander' (< **kuzbra* < *kuzbara*), in which the new vowel harmonizes with the stressed stem vowel.

Another interesting though for KA untypical solution for potentially problematic *CCC* clusters occurs in /*minkse*/ 'broom' < **miknse* < *maknasa*, where metathesis has shifted the resonant to an outside position in the cluster, yielding the homorganic surface sequence [*ŋk*].

The surface handling of triadic obstruent clusters, on the other hand, is not entirely determined by phonological factors; note, for instance, the deletion of C_1 in KA /*kyaxpu*/ 'they write' ← |*pkyaxtpu*| ← |*pyaktpu*|, in contrast with the dissolved cluster in /*kyáxitpu*/ 'they become engaged' < |*pyaxtpu*|.

As can be partially inferred from (137), potential triadic clusters with /ʕ/ (< OA /ʕ/ and /γ/) generally conform to the anaptyxis rule if the KA pharyngeal occurs in C_1 position:

(138) *kyáʕimtu* 'they baptize' (< OA *ʕmd*)
kyáʕirfu 'they know' (< OA *ʕrf*)

but usually preserve the historical syllable structure if /ʕ/ is C_3:

(139) *kyáxtaʕu* 'they cut' (< OA *qṭʕ*)
kyízraʕu 'they sow' (< OA *zrʕ*)
kyísmaʕu 'they hear' (< OA *smʕ*)

The extent to which breaking up of word-internal *CCC* clusters reflects synchronic syllable structure conditions in KA is unclear; the frequent intermorphemic retention of various kinds of triadic consonant clusters, arising, for instance, in pronominal suffixation of nouns:

(140) *sudrna* 'our breast'
ismna 'our name'
exlna 'our name'

would seem to imply extensive morphologization of historical anaptyxis in this dialect.

1.4.3 *KA reflexes of the OA long vowels /i:/, /a:/ and /u:/*

KA has, functionally speaking, lost the length opposition in the vowel system, the most common secondary reflex of historical length for all three OA long vowels being stress:

(141)	*KA*		*OA*
	ʕarapíl	'sieves'	*ʕara:bi:l*
	ʕažín	'dough'	*ʕaǧi:n*
	tíne	'fig tree'	*ti:nah*
	moɗéʕi	'places'	**mawa:ḍi:ʕ*
	xérep	'leaving'	*ha:rib* 'fleeing'
	pléxef	'sheets'	*mala:ḥif*
	ránep	'rabbits'	*ʔara:nib*
	insán	'man'	*ʔinsa:n*
	túte	'mulberry tree'	*tu:tah*
	maxtúp	'letter'	*maktu:b*

A subphonemic length component nevertheless occurs fairly systematically in stressed, especially prepausal, syllables vowelled with /i/ and /u/ < OA /i:/ and /u:/ respectively, wherever KA surface phonetics favours retention of the transitional off-glides [^{y}] and [^{w}], i.e. before nonback consonant segments:

(142)	*KA*			
	[$i^{y}t$]	'hand'	<	*i:d*
	[$ti^{y}n$]	'figs'	<	*ti:n*
	[$tu^{w}t$]	'mulberries'	<	*tu:t*
	[$su^{w}f$]	'wool'	<	*ṣu:f*

These examples should be contrasted with the following:

(143)	*KA*			
	[*fix*]	'to, in it'	<	*fi:h*
	[*pisíx*]	'it (cock) crows'	<	*biṣi:ḥ*
	[*rux*]	'soul'	<	*ru:ḥ*
	[*mazrúʕ*]	'sown (m.)'	<	*mazru:ʕ*

The other KA vowels are phonetically short irrespective of historical derivation or present phonological environment:

(144)	*KA*			
	[*štára*]	'he bought'	<	*ištara:*
	[*štára*]	'smartness'	<	*šaṭa:ra*
	[*sfár:a*]	'he grew pale'	<	*isfarra*
	[*ten*]	'hands'	<	**i:dayn*
	[*tén:a*]	'ours' ← |*telna*|	<	**ɗaylna* (?)
	[*méne*]	'who is she?'	<	**man-ya:* (< **man-hiyya:*)
	[*θor*]	'ox'	<	*θawr*
	[*mor*]	'bitter (m.)'	<	*murr*

The KA tendency to display the aforementioned surface off-glides before

nonback consonants yields potential length contrasts in stressed word-internal positions, as in the pairs:

(145) [*tílep*] 'he requested'
[*tvíʸle*] 'long (f.)'
[*txúvor*] 'digging'
[*maʕrúʷfa*] 'known (f.)'.

Quite apart from the low functional yield of such length contrasts, the marked phonological character of the 'V + glide' sequence as evinced by its distributional contingency on the presence of a following word-boundary (cf. KA [*tvíʸl-e*] 'tall') renders long and short realizations of KA /*i*/ and /*u*/ positional variants. The rule assigning phonetic length in allophones of these KA segments can be characterized as follows:

$$\mathrm{V}_{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{high}\\+\text{stress}\end{bmatrix}} \rightarrow [+\text{tense}] \quad / \quad \mathrm{C}_{[\overset{\#}{-}\text{back}]}$$

As can be inferred from the preceding remarks, KA can be said to display large-scale merger of OA /*i:*/ and /*u:*/ with their corresponding short counterparts in most contexts. A noteworthy qualification to this statement relates to the treatment of */*i*/ and */*u*/ in prejunctural closed syllables, where the usual KA reflexes are the mid vowels /*e*/ and /*o*/ respectively:

(146) *KA*

žvalek	'large baskets'		<	**ǧawa:liq*
lepes	'wearing (m.)'		<	*la:bis*
pakol	'I eat'		<	**ba:kul*
paxo	'I take'	< **ba:xod*	<	**ba:xud*

In a few cases, fusion of historical /*i:*/ and /*i*/ yields surface zero for both, as in

(147) *KA*

it	'hand'	<	**i:d*
ten	'hands'	<	**i:dayn*
ižr	'leg'	<	**ižr*
žren	'legs'	<	**ižrayn*

showing deletion of the KA high vowel /*i*/ concomitant with morphophonemic stress shift.

Diachronic changes in KA affecting the height feature of OA /*i:*/ and /*u:*/ appear to be few and incidental, e.g. lowering before /ʕ/:

(148) *KA*

pipeʕe	'he sells'	<	**bibi:ʕ*
pižoʕo	'he is hungry'	<	**bižu:ʕ*

and the wholly untypical diphthongization of */*i:*/ in /*vdéyxa*/ 'shame' < OA *faḍi:ḥah*[22].

[22] See comments in §1.4.5.1 below.

The vowel /*e*/ in KA /*xetán*/ 'walls' and /*xetán*/ 'threads' (< OA *ḥiːṭaːn* and *xiːṭaːn* respectively) should probably be derived via intermediate */*ay*/ (cf. Anatolian Arabic *ḥayṭaːn*; Kaʿbīye, Vocke & Waldner 1982, 129) as in KA /*šetán*/ 'devil' < OA *šayṭaːn*, and /*xeván*/ 'animal' < *ḥaywaːn* < *ḥayawaːn*.

The KA high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/ appear to be phonologically marked in prejunctural position, possibly by reason of their role as pronominal suffixes in this environment: /*pint-i*/ 'my daughter', /*umm-u*/ 'his mother', etc. This may conceivably account for the shift exemplified in KA /*xawm*/[23] 'father-in-law' < OA *ḥamuw-*, and especially for the fairly common deletion of word-final high vowels in integrated loans and in KA renditions of certain Cypriot place names:

(149) *KA*

tšeʿír	'grass'	<	CG *čaíri*
sapún	'soap'	<	CG *sapúni*
marázz	'worry'	<	CG *marázzi*
kammín	'charcoal furnace'	<	CG *kammíni*
sirkanoxór	'Siryanoxori'		
karpás	'Karpasi'		
morf	'Morfu'		

Closely analogous developments occur in Maltese which also shows frequent loss of final /*i*/ and /*u*/ in Romance loans (Borg 1978, § 2.20.5).

In contrast with its extensive merger of long high vowels with their respective short counterparts, KA has to a considerable extent kept the respective reflexes of stressed */*a*/ and */*aː*/ apart in nonback consonantal environments, since the former frequently yields /*i*/ (§ 1.4.1), while the latter often undergoes the *imāla* shift to */*eː*/ > KA /*e*/ (see following section).

Fusion of */*aː*/ and */*a*/ in KA is, however, the norm in the environment of historically backed consonants:

(150) *KA*

		OA
xazzúk	'stake'	*xaːzuːq*
xarrúp	'carobs'	*xarruːb*
kal	'he said'	*qaːl*
kalp	'heart'	*qalb*

1.4.4 *KA imāla*

The diachronic treatment accorded to word-medial **aː* and word-final **-aː*, **-aːʔ*, and **-ah* in KA constitutes one of the most clearcut and historically revealing isoglosses in its entire phonological profile. The KA reflexes of these OA sequences therefore call for a fairly thorough investigation within the comparative framework emerging from the relevant dialectal literature; in particular, A. Levin's exhaustive inquiry into evolutionary and areal aspects of the *imāla*-shift in several varieties of literary and vernacular Arabic.

[23] Cf. the similar restructuring of Anatolian Arabic *ǧawr* 'Hundejunges' < *ǧarw* (Daragözü, Vocke and Waldner 1982, 93).

1.4.4.1 *The medial imāla in the Arabic dialects*

Levin (1971) clearly established the existence of two principal dialectal types of strong medial *imāla* in the phonological systems of the contemporary Arabic vernaculars: (1) fronting of OA /a:/ in nonemphatic and nonback consonantal environments, such as has been described for many Arabic dialects spoken in Lebanon, the Ḥōrān (by the Druze), the oasis of the Syrian desert, Sāḥil Maryūṭ, the Cyrenaican Ǧabal, and the Maltese Islands [24], e.g.

(151)	**Maltese**		**OA**
	saam	'he fasted'	*ṣa:m*
	msiimer	'nails'	*masa:mi:r*
	hitaan	'walls'	*ḥi:ṭa:n*
	tiini	'second'	**θa:ni:*
	ʔaam	'he rose'	*qa:m*
	kiin	'he was'	*ka:n*

and (2) fronting of */a:/ chiefly in reflexes of OA nominal patterns displaying adjacent syllables with /i/ or /i:/:

(152)	**Mardin** (Jastrow 1969)	**Baghdad C** (Blanc 1964, 48)			
	kle:b	*kle:b*	<	*kila:b*	'dogs'
	ǧe:mə̄ʕ	*ǧe:meʕ*	<	*ǧa:miʕ*	'mosque'
	bəse:ti:n	*base:ti:n*	<	*basa:ti:n*	'gardens'

This second type of vowel fronting process is a striking phonological hallmark of the Aleppo vernacular and of a highly distinctive Mesopotamian dialect group investigated in Blanc (1964) and Jastrow (1978, 1981), commonly referred to as the *qəltu* dialect type. As will become evident from the following exposition, the KA version of the *imāla*-rule is indisputably of the latter variety.

1.4.4.2 *KA medial imāla*

The most common KA reflex of OA medial /a:/ in historically non-conditioning environments is /a/:

(153)	*KA*		*OA*
	šal	'he took off'	*ša:l*
	nam	'he slept'	*na:m*
	pistán	'vegetable garden'	*busta:n*
	kislán	'lazy'	*kasla:n*
	xeván	'animals'	*ḥayawa:n*
	xpaz	'loaves'	*ʔaxba:z*
	snan	'teeth'	*ʔasna:n*
	tlaxe	'three'	*θala:θah*
	xlave	'sweetness'	*ḥala:wah*

[24] Details relating to areal aspects of the *imāla*-shift have been reproduced from Levin's work.

Word-medial KA /e/ < OA /a:/ occurs almost exclusively in the context of a preceding or following historical (though not secondary) high front vowel, either long or short; it is therefore predictably diffuse in KA reflexes of the OA nominal patterns *CiCa:C(a)*, *Ca:CiC*, *CaCa:CiC*, and *CaCa:Ci:(C)* under a set of conditions to be described in the following sections.

(i) KA reflexes of OA *CiCa:C* and *CiCa:Ca*

KA singular and plural nouns harking back to the OA *fiʕa:l* pattern regularly display /e/ in historically non-emphatic consonantal environments:

(154)	*KA*		*OA*
	xef	'quilt'	*liḥa:f*
	θkyep	'clothes'	*θiya:b*
	klep	'dogs'	*kila:b*
	freš	'mattress'	*fira:š*
	ržel	'men'	*riǧa:l*
	xpel	'ropes'	*ḥiba:l*
	skek	'ploughshares'	**sika:k* [25]
	xsep	'account'	*ḥisa:b*
	kmem	'sleeves'	*kima:m*

In the adjacency of primary or secondary emphatics and before /ʕ/, the low vowel is retained:

(155)	*KA*		*OA*
	xmar	'donkey'	*ḥima:r*
	xtat	'cats'	*qiṭa:ṭ*
	ptar	'seeds' < **bda:ṛ*	*biḍa:r*
	xsat	'harvest'	*ḥiṣa:d*
	syam	'Lent' < **ṣya:m*	*ṣiya:m* 'fasting'
	ḏkyaʕa	'villages'	*ḍiya:ʕ*

The only counter-example occurring in reflexes of this morphological pattern is KA /sán/ 'tongue' < OA *lisa:n*, for which no immediately apparent historical reason (apart from the possibility of dialectal borrowing) can be invoked [26].

KA plural adjectives built on this pattern, on the other hand, invariably show the low reflex in all consonantal environments:

[25] Literary Arabic has the plural *sikak*; dialectal reflexes of **sika:k* occur in parts of S.E. Anatolia (cf. *ske:k*, s. *səkke* 'Pflugschar'; Vocke and Waldner 1982, 204) and in Aleppo (Barthélemy, s.v. *skk*).

[26] The possible derivation of KA /a/ < /ay/ in this word should not be overlooked. Reflexes of historical diminutives for this lexeme are fairly common in S.E. Anatolia:

Vocke and Waldner (1982, 391)

Mardin:	*lse:n*	'Zunge, Muttersprache'
Qarṭmin:	*nse:n*	
Kaʕbiye:	*sayn*	

KA /san/ occurs most often in the suffixed form /sánna/ 'our language', the usual native designation for Kormakiti Arabic. The putative loss of the historical off-glide may be ascribable to contraction of the diphthong in a doubly arrested syllable.

(156)	*KA*		*OA*
	tval	'tall'	*ṭiwa:l*
	xpar	'big'	*kiba:r*
	zˤar	'small' < **zɣa:r*	~ *ṣiɣa:r*
	xtar	'many' ← *|kta:r|*	< *kiθa:r*
	ntaf	'clean'	*niḍa:f*
	žtat	'new'	*ǧida:d*
	sman	'fat'	*sima:n*
	rfaˤa	'high'	*rifa:ˤ*

As suggested for Baghdad *J* in Blanc (1964, 47), the retention of the low vowel in this morphological class is plausibly attributable to its putative evolution from an OA **fuˤa:l* pattern which, though unattested in literary Arabic, does nonetheless show up in a number of contemporary dialects, e.g. Cairene (cf. *guda:d* 'new (pl.)', *guma:l* 'beautiful (pl.)', etc.); the morphologization of KA /a/ in plural adjectives deriving from this pattern is also clear from its analogical diffusion to the new KA adjective /*xman*/ 'short pl.' (s. /*xmin*/) < **xmal*, harking back ultimately to **xml* < Gk. χαμηλός 'low'.

With the exception of a few words displaying a reflex of the secondary emphatic */ṛ/:

(157)	*KA*			
	pkyara	'wells'	<	*biya:ra*
	šyara	'cliffs'	<	**šiya:ra*[27]

KA noun plurals deriving from historical *fiˤa:la*, on the other hand, appear to be all *imāla*-prone irrespective of the phonetic quality of the historical consonants flanking OA /a:/:

(158)	*KA*		*OA*
	xtepe	'engagement'	*xiṭa:bah*
	xleke	'birth'	*xila:qah*
	vlete	'parturition'	*wila:dah*
	ˤamete	'baptism'	*ˤima:dah*
	skefe	'shoe-making'	*sika:fah*
	šlele	'sewing'	*šila:lah* (Lane 1591)

KA also has /*xkie*/ 'conversation' (< OA *ḥika:yah*), in which the higher *imāla*-vowel is presumably the outcome of a regressive height dissimilation rule occasioned by the adjacency of the raised feminine ending /*-e*/ (i.e. final *imāla*, see §1.4.4.4 below).

The historical evolution characterizing OA /a:/ in the KA reflexes of these two OA morphological patterns is of notable comparative interest in as much as it replicates fairly closely the diachronic treatment of these patterns in the Aleppo dialect and in the *qəltu* Arabic vernaculars. The following specific set of parallel features should be noted:

[27] Cf. *šya:r*, s. *ši:r* 'rocher en surplomb' (Barthélemy, 445).

a) the clearcut nature of the historical conditioning relevant to the *umlaut* of /*a:*/ in nominal reflexes of *fiʕa:l* (Levin 1971, 89);
b) the total absence of the vowel shift in plural adjectives corresponding to OA *fiʕa:l* (Levin 1971, 94-95; Blanc 1964, 47; Jastrow 1978, 66);
c) the ill-defined conditioning role of historical emphatics in KA reflexes of OA *fiʕa:la*. Thus, for instance, the distribution of the Aleppine and *qəltu* reflexes of */*a:*/ in this morphological class also appears to be unrelated to that of historically emphatic segments (Levin 1971, 95-96).

(ii) KA reflexes of *Ca:CiC* and *Ca:CiCa*

The present distribution of KA /*a*/ and /*e*/ < OA /*a:*/ in adjectives and participles harking back to OA *fa:ʕil* does not correlate in any systematic fashion to factors of historical phonological conditioning; either vowel, for instance, being liable to occur in contact with historical emphatics and back consonants:

(159)	*KA*		*OA*
	ketʕe	'passing (f.s.)'	*qa:ṭiʕ*
	ekef	'standing (m.s.)'	*wa:qif*
	keʕe	'sitting (m.s.)'	*qa:ʕid*
	xefi	'barefoot (m.s.)'	**ḥa:fi:*
	ʕesi	'hard (m.s.)'	**ʕa:si:*
	šater	'smart (m.s.)'	*ša:ṭir*
	xaḍer	'ready (m.s.)'	*ḥa:ḍir*
	xameḍ	'lemon juice'	*ḥa:miḍ*
	faḍi	'not busy (m.s.)'	**fa:ḍi:*
	ʕakel	'intelligent (m.s.)'	*ʕa:qil*
	farʕe	'empty (c.s.)'	*fa:riy*

It is, nevertheless, striking that only /*e*/ shows up in historically plain consonantal environments:

(160)	*KA*		*OA*
	peret	'cold (m.s.)'	*ba:rid*
	yepes	'dry (m.s.)'	*ya:bis*
	žeri	'running (m.s.)'	**ǧa:ri:*
	meši	'walking (m.s.)'	**ma:ši:*
	lepes	'wearing (m.s.)'	*la:bis*
	feter	'tepid (m.s.)'	*fa:tir*

The situation vis-à-vis KA nouns and numerals built on this pattern is equally unclear on account of the paucity of examples attested in the materials collected. These, however, are predominantly *imāla*-prone:

(161)	*KA*		*OA*
	exen	'one (m.)'	*wa:ḥid*
	θénixar	'the next day'	**θa:ni:* + *naha:r*
	teyye	'vine'	*da:liyah*
	velte	'recent mother'	*wa:lidah*
	fekye	'fruit'	*fa:kihah*
	raʕi	'shepherd'	**ra:ʕi:*

(iii) KA reflexes of OA *CaCa:CiC* and *CaCa:Ci:(C)*

These OA patterns yield chiefly KA *CCéCeC* (*CCeC* < OA *faʕa:yil*), and *CCeCiC* respectively:

(162) *KA*		*OA*
tvežen	'frying pans'	*ṭawa:ǧin*
pkyeter	'threshing floors'	*baya:dir*
pkenes	'brooms'	*maka:nis*
mfetíx	'keys'	*mafa:ti:ḥ*
ftetín	'yokes of oxen'	*fada:di:n*
skekín	'knives'	*saka:ki:n*
sfenṭík	'coffins'	*ṣana:di:q*
fsetín	'dresses'	*fasa:ṭi:n*
xtetís	'Masses'	*qada:di:s*
znepíl	'baskets'	*zana:bi:l*
xvezík	'stakes'	*xawa:zi:q*
tvexín	'flour mills'	*ṭawa:ḥi:n*
žveríš	'hand mills'	*ǧawa:ri:š*

The low reflex of OA /*a:*/ is restricted to syllables displaying historically backed consonants and /*r*/:

(163) *KA*		*OA*
plaʕek	'spoons'	*mala:ʕiq*
xkaʕi	'pieces of cloth'	**raqa:ʕi:* (?)
faʕi	'snakes'	**ʔafa:ʕi:*
xkali	'fields'	**ḥaqa:li:*
mnaxel	'sieves'	*mana:xil*
ranep	'rabbits'	*ʔara:nib*
mvareš	'threshers'	**mawa:riǧ*
psarín	'entrails'	*maṣa:ri:n*
ʕarapíl	'sieves'	*ɣara:bi:l*

KA /*e*/ is, nevertheless, also occasionally attested in backed consonantal environments, i.e. in contact with historical /*ʕ*/, /*ḥ*/ and /*x*/:

(164) *KA*		
tisveʕi	'hours'	**t-sawa:ʕi:*
sveʕír	'kids'	*sawa:ʕi:r* [28]
naʕér	'earthenware jugs'	*naʕa:yir* [29]
seʕelík	'poor people'	*ṣaʕa:li:k*
plexef	'sheets'	*mala:ḥif*
mnexír	'noses'	*mana:xi:r*

Greek loanwords with quadriliteral internal plurals analogized on these OA patterns show both /*a*/ and /*e*/, though the number of such words in KA is too

[28] Cf. *swa:ʕi:r*, s. *sa:ʕu:r* 'chevreau' (Lebanon, Denizeau 1960, 246).

[29] Cf. Aleppo *naʕa:yer*, s. *naʕa:ra* 'gargoulette sans bec' (Barthélemy, 835).

small to reveal a systematic trend underlying the distribution of these vocalic reflexes:

(165)	Plural		Singular	
	kmemín	'charcoal furnaces'	*kammín*	(< CG *kammíni*)
	spepín	'bars of soap'	*sapún*	(< CG *sapúni*)
	kšenír	'axes'	*kišnár*	(< CG *ksinári*)
	krekís	'colocass'	*kurkás*	(< CG *kolokási*)
	ftamín	'rivers'	*paθpún*	(< CG *potamón*).

As can be seen from the *imāla*-prone forms cited in (162) through to (164), the historical conditioning factors relevant to KA reflexes of OA /*a:*/ in this morphological class are not altogether clear beyond the fact that the low vowel never occurs in contact with historically plain consonants in the native lexicon. The areal typology pertaining to the distributional behaviour of the KA *imāla* in these plural forms is equally ill-defined since the conditioning factors indicated for the *qəltu* dialects and the Aleppo vernacular show a notable degree of regional variation (for details, see Levin 1971, 102-110; Jastrow 1978, 65f.). A special phonological development relative to the KA treatment of OA *faʕa:yil* plurals and of medially weak *fa:ʕil* participles deserves mention here, i.e. the systematic contraction of historical */-e:ye-/* (< OA /*-a:yi-*/) to */e:/* > KA /*e*/, in contrast with the regular retention of the historical syllable division in *imāla*-free contexts:

(166)	*KA*		*OA*
	krep	'relatives'	*qara:yib*
	mpet	'wines'	*naba:yid*
	knes	'churches'	*kana:yis*
	ftel	'wicks'	*fata:yil*
	švef	'lip(s)'	*šafa:yif* (?) [30]
	ʕep	'absent (m.s.)'	*ɣa:yib*
	nem	'sleeping (m.s.)'	*na:yim*
	ʕaeš	'alive (m.s.)'	*ʕa:yiš*
	psael	'I ask' < **basayyil*	*ʔusa:yil*

The diachronic syllable fusion typifying the *imāla*-prone words cited here is also clearly exemplified in S.E. Anatolia (cf. Āzəx *ḥağe:r*, paralleled by Kəndērīb *ḥağe:yər* and Siirt *ḥağe:yər*, all being plural forms of *ḥağara* 'Stein'; Vocke & Waldner 1982, 109; Jastrow 1981:176, fn. 13). In either case, the syllable fusion is plausibly ascribed to the weak syllabic arrest afforded by the palatal segment /*y*/ between historically front vowels. The differential syllabic treatment of *imāla*-free reflexes of OA word-medial /*-a:yi-*/ in KA is reminiscent of the tendency in Christian and Jewish Baghdadi towards reinforcement of the historical syllable division in this sequence via spontaneous gemination of /*y*/, with concomitant retention of the low reflex of */a:*/:

[30] It is a moot point whether KA /*švef*/ derives from historical *fiʕa:l* or *faʕa:yel*; both are attested in the Syrian area: *šfa:yef* (Damascus), *šfe:f* (Palmyra); Denizeau (1960, 283).

(167) **Christian Baghdadi** (Blanc 1964; 43, 48)

ʕayayyes	'brides'	<	*ʕara:yis*
ʕağayyez	'old women'	<	*ʕağa:yiz*
ʕtayyeq	'old things'	<	**ʕata:yiq*
nayyem	'sleeping (m.s.)'	<	*na:yim*

A closely related phenomenon occurs in Cabali phonology, which shows stylistically determined alternation of /*a:yi*/, /*ayyi*/, and /*e:*/ (Lewin 1969, 31).

(iv) KA reflexes of OA *CiCCa:n* and *miCCa:C*

KA nouns harking back to OA *fiʕla:n* (both singular and plural) and to OA *mifʕa:l* generally retain the low vowel:

(168)

KA		*OA*
insán	'man'	*ʔinsa:n*
nesfán	'women'	*niswa:n*
xetán	'pieces of thread'	*xi:ṭa:n*
peḏán	'testicles' < **bi:ḍa:n*	(*byḍ*)
firán	'mice'	*fi:ra:n*
tuppán	'flies'	*ḏibba:n*
miftáx	'key'	*mifta:ḥ*
mizzán	'scales'	*mi:za:n*
maxpát	'clothes beater'	*mixba:ṭ*

The sole instance of *imāla* in a KA reflex of OA *fiʕla:n* occurs in /*ʕutén*/ 'pieces of wood' (< OA *ʕi:da:n* ?)[31]. As is the case in the *qəltu* vernaculars and the Aleppo dialect (Levin 1971, 99), the *imāla* reflex also shows up in a few plural nouns harking back to *CVCCa:n*, for which no appropriate OA etyma with /*i*/ are attested:

(169)

KA		*OA*
slupén	'crosses'	*ṣulba:n*
turfén	'ends'	(*ṭrf*)

KA *imāla* in reflexes of OA *mifʕa:l* occurs uniquely in the expression /*ʕit miléti*/ 'Christmas', where it is, however, almost certainly due to a regressive vowel harmony process conditioned by the *nisba* suffix /*-i*/. This type of *imāla* shift operating across a morphemic boundary will be examined in the following section.

1.4.4.2.1 *KA reflexes of the 'productive imāla'*

Besides the diachronic form of the *imāla* affecting the OA morphological patterns surveyed in the foregoing sections, certain Arabic dialects of the *qəltu* group (i.e. Mosul and S.E. Anatolia) as well as the Aleppo dialect show a

[31] The historical shift *Ci:Ca:n* > *CuCe:n* is not generally typical of KA, but is well exemplified in parts of S.E. Anatolia (Jastrow 1973, 84). The possible derivation of KA /*-én*/ here from the pseudo-dual suffix /*-ayn*/ should also be considered (§ 3.3.1.3).

synchronic vowel shift of /*a:*/ occurring in stem-final closed syllables when followed by the plural morpheme /*-i:n*/ or the *nisba* suffix /*-i*/:

(170) **Āzəx** (Jastrow 1978, 69)

ḥəmma:l, ḥəmme:li:n	'porter(s)'
xədda:m, xədde:mi:n	'servant(s)'

Aleppo (Sabuni 1980, 42-43)

ḥadda:d, ḥədde:di:n	'blacksmith(s)'
gadda:b, gədde:bi:n	'liar(s)'
nəswa:n	'women'
nəswe:ni	'pertaining to women'
rəǧǧa:l	'men'
rəǧǧe:li	'pertaining to men'

The apparently sole surviving traces of this form of synchronic *imāla* in KA occur in the words:

(171) *KA*

šixxát	'beggar'
šixxetín	'beggars'
kintám	'in front of'
kintemi	'front (adj.)'

The vowel shift in the last item discriminates between derivational and inflexional morphology; thus, the first person pronoun suffix /*-i*/ leaves the stem-vowel unaltered, yielding /*kintámi*/ 'in front of me'. The purely vestigial role of this synchronic vowel fronting rule in KA is undoubtedly related to the highly depleted state of the relevant morphological patterns (e.g. the *faˤˤa:l* nominal pattern) in this dialect.

A kindred form of synchronic *imāla* that KA shares with these Arabic vernaculars is that affecting surface realizations of the OA *nisba* /*-a:ni:*/ for which KA shows the allomorph /*-éni*/ next to historically plain consonants, alternating with /*-áni*/ in contact with historically backed segments:

(172)

KA		**Aleppo** (Barth.)
xalfeni	'back (adj.)'	*xəlfe:ni*
taxteni	'lower'	*təḥte:ni*
xokani	'upper'	*fo:ʔa:ni*

Whereas both types of vowel shift exemplified in (171-2) above constitute highly systematic morphophonemic processes in the mainland dialects cited, the KA instances thereof are a lexicalized residue of purely historical interest.

1.4.4.2.2 *Residual forms*

The KA *imāla*-vowel /*e*/ appears in a small set of words lacking a high front vowel in their OA etyma; these include the nouns

(173)

KA		*Ar.*
nes	'people'	*na:s*

žež(ž)	'hens'	*dağa:ğ*
θkyem	'days'	**-tiyya:m*

and the Form VI verbs

(174) *θperek*	'he kissed a holy image'	<	*taba:rak*
tmesek	'he got caught'	<	*tama:sak*

The KA *imāla*-vowel in reflexes of OA /*na:s*/, /*dağa:ğ*/, and /*ʔayya:m*/ is undoubtedly an inherited trait, this identical set of exceptions to the *imāla*-rule being also commonly attested in the *qəltu* area and Aleppo (Levin 1971, 132-134). The raised vowel in the Form VI verbs cited above is also significant. Roth (1975, 80-81) draws attention to its unexpected nature and suggests the possibility of linguistic interference from an unspecified Lebanese dialect. It should, however, be noted that the *imāla*-shift in Form III and/or Form VI verbs is also typical of certain Mesopotamian *qəltu* vernaculars:

(175) **Mardin** (Jastrow 1973, 257)
be:rak, *ybe:rək* 'gratulieren'

Āzəx (Jastrow 1978, 178, 186)
se:wa, *yse:wi* 'gerade machen'
tse:wa, *i:tse:wa* 'gerade werden'

As pointed out for the *qəltu* group in Jastrow (1973, 255), the historical fronting of OA /*a:*/ in these verbal forms clearly originated as a vowel harmony process in the Imperfect paradigm of Form III verbs thus *yCa:CiC* > *yCe:CiC*, whence it tended, in most of these vernaculars, to spread analogically to the Perfect and, subsequently, to the corresponding Form VI verbs. The purely vestigial nature of the *imāla*-reflex in the KA verb forms cited above invites comparison with the situation in Jewish Baghdadi where the raised reflex of */*a:*/ in verbs appears uniquely in /*be:γak*, *ybe:γek*/ 'to bless' (Blanc 1964, 143; Jastrow 1978, 175).

1.4.4.3 KA /*o*/ < OA /*a:*/

In addition to the highly regular frontal shift of OA /*a:*/ under the conditions specified in the foregoing sections, KA also displays occasional backing and rounding of */*a:*/ in contact with historically labial consonants, yielding /*o*/ or /*u*/:

(176) *KA*

ɖrofir	'fingernails'	<	**ɖawa:fi:r*
moɖeʕi	'places'	<	**mawa:ɖi:ʕ*
uo	'he'	<	**huwwa:*
yapó	'father!'	<	**ya:ba:*
muvárt	'rose water'	<	**ma: ward*

Vowel rounding in the adjacency of labial consonants in KA is, however, more typical of its historical treatment of OA short /*a*/ (cf. ex. (130) above); thus the low central reflex of OA /*a:*/ has been retained in

(177) *KA*

mvareš	'threshing sleds'	<	**mawa:riǧ*
tvakíl	'sheaves'	<	**θawa:qi:l* (?)

while, in certain cases, the *imāla*-shift has occurred:

(178) *KA*

sveʕír	'goats'	<	*sawa:ʕi:r*
tisveʕi	'hours'	<	*t + *sawa:ʕi:*
žveríš	'handmills'	<	*ǧawa:ri:š*
ʕamemít	'props for vine'	<	*ʕawa:mi:d* 'pillars'

In the Arabic dialect area, the diachronic shift OA /*a:*/ > /*o:*/ appears to be rare outside certain Lebanese vernaculars (Fleisch 1963, 112) and rural Maltese (Borg 1977, 215); in both cases, the backing is conditioned by historically adjacent emphatics. Rounding of */*a:*/ in labial environment is vestigially attested in Daragözü Arabic: *mo:ẓi:ḥ* 'places' (Jastrow 1973, 84).

1.4.4.4 *Final imāla*

(a) The feminine ending *-ah*

The Old Arabic feminine ending *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa* has yielded the following reflexes in KA:

(i) /*-t*/ occurring exclusively with suffixed forms of a closed list of nouns comprising chiefly kinship terms and feminine nouns that can take pronominal and dual suffixes:

(179) *KA*

xalt-u	'his aunt'
kint-i	'my daughter-in-law'
saʕtáyn	'two hours'
žumʕatáyn	'two weeks'

(ii) the allomorphs /*-a*/ and /*-e*/ alternating distributionally under a set of phonological conditions familiar from other Eastern Arabic vernaculars. Thus, the feminine ending in nouns and adjectives is usually /*-e*/ in contact with historically plain root-final consonants, and /*-a*/ after historically backed and emphatic segments:

(180)

KA		*OA*
šakfe	'earthenware platter'	*šaqafah* 'potsherd'
perte	'cold (f.)'	*ba:ridah*
knise	'church'	*kani:sah*
žežže	'hen'	*dağa:ğah*
naxle	'bee'	*naḥlah*
korne	'corner'	*qurnah*
šawke	'thorn'	*šawkah*
varka	'book'	*waraqah* 'leaf'

korka	'brood hen'	**qurqa*[32]
pazka	'spittle'	*bazqah*
šexa	'old woman'	*šayxah*
saʕa	'hour'	*sa:ʕah*
katta	'cat (f.)'	*qiṭṭah*
xmuđa	'acidity'	*ḥumu:ḍah*

This type of phonological conditioning for reflexes of the feminine ending **-ah* has been widely reported throughout the Syro-Palestinian dialect area as well as for specific *qəltu* vernaculars, e.g. Baghdad *C* (Blanc 1964, 45) and Qarṭmīn (Jastrow 1978, 70). It should, however, be noted that the potential backing role of historical /q/, /ʕ/, /ḥ/ and /r/ in KA tends to become neutralized in the environment of a preceding high vowel:

(181)	*KA*		*Ar.*
	taka	'window'	*ṭa:qah*
	tirvike	'breakfast'	*tarwi:qah*
	saʕa	'hour'	*sa:ʕah*
	rfiʕe	'high'	*rafi:ʕah*
	farxa	'joy'	*farḥah*
	rixe	'scent'	*ri:ḥah* 'smell'
	štara	'smartness'	*šaṭa:rah*
	xtire	'much (f.s.)'	*kaθi:rah*
	sfara	'paleness'	*ṣafa:rah*
	ʕire	'jealousy'	*γayrah*

Similarly, the presence of historical /i/ or /y/ in the preceding syllable tends to favour the incidence of *imāla* after historical emphatics:

(182)	*KA*		*OA*
	xamđe	'lemon'	*ḥa:miḍah*
	peđe	'egg'	*bayḍah*

The agency of a vowel harmony rule affecting the feminine ending is particularly evident in the KA class of derived participles where it also operates across non-back consonantal environments (§2.2.4).

Whereas a type of vocalically conditioned *imāla* of the feminine ending occurring exclusively in the context of stem-final /r/ is fairly common in the Syro-Palestinian dialect area:

(183) **Jerusalem** (own observation)

ḥma:ṛa	'female donkey'
šaṭa:ṛa	'cleverness'
kbi:re	'big (f.)'
zγi:re	'small (f.)'

systematic vowel harmony affecting the reflexes of OA **-ah* is essentially typical

[32] Cf. Aleppine *qərqa* 'poule qui glousse' (Barthélemy, 652).

of Jewish Baghdadi (Blanc 1964, 45) and of the Syrian dialect of De:r izZo:r (Jastrow 1978, 72-74).

(b) KA treatment of OA final *-*a:* (<ـاء-, ـا-, and ـى-)

As is also the case among the *qəltu* vernaculars (Blanc 1964, 44; Jastrow 1978, 76), OA *-a:ʔ* yields fronted KA reflexes in the context of a high vowel in the preceding syllable:

(184)	*KA*		*OA*
	šite	'rain'	*šita:ʔ*
	árpeʕi	'Wednesday'	*ʔarbiʕa:ʔ*
	pne	'act of building'	*bina:ʔ*
	štre	'act of buying' < **šre*	*šira:ʔ*

Elsewhere, the low vowel is systematically retained:

(185)	*KA*		*OA*
	faɗa	'free time'	*faḍa:ʔ* 'empty space'
	vafa	'payment'	*wafa:ʔ*
	xava	'wind'	*hawa:ʔ*
	ʕorpa	'strangers'	*ɣuraba:ʔ*
	l-ʕatra	'the Virgin'	*al-ʕaɗra:ʔ*
	ʕaša	'evening meal'	*ʕaša:ʔ*
	šaya	'things'	*ʔašya:ʔ*
	xara	'faeces'	*xara:ʔ*
	xamra	'red (f.s.)'	*ḥamra:ʔ*
	peɗa	'white (f.s.)'	*bayḍa:ʔ*

The treatment of word-final OA *-a:* (< ـا - and ـى -) and *-a:h* on the other hand, appears to be conditioned by the phonetic quality of the preceding historical consonant; this has yielded KA /*-a*/ after OA emphatics and /*w*/, alternating with /*-e*/ after plain segments:

(186)	*KA*		*OA*
	ʕassa	'stick'	**ʕaṣa:*
	sala	'evening service' < **ṣala*	*ṣala:h*
	mítre	'winnow'	**miɗra:*
	nite	'dew'	**nada:*
	maʕazen	'goats'	**miʕza:*
	pike	'weeping (vn)'	**buka:*
	exte	'one (f.)'	*ʔiḥda:*
	xuple	'pregnant'	*ḥubla:*
	oxre	'other (f.s.)'	*ʔuxra:*

Nevertheless, the only attested KA reflex of a *faʕa:la:* plural i.e. /*xpala*/ 'pregnant (pl.)' shows no *imāla*.

KA deictics, interrogatives and other particles fall into a special category with respect to their treatment of OA final /*-a:*/, the *imāla* shift here being apparently lexically determined:

(187)	*KA*				*Ar.*
	aḏa	'this (m.s.)'		<	*ha:ḏa:*
	mpla	'without'		<	*bila:*
	awna	'here'		<	*ha:huna:*
	ayna	'which'		<	**ʔayna:* (§4.6c)
	kifta	'why'	< **ki:fta:*	<	**ki:f ḥatta:* (§4.6f)
	miten	'when'		<	*mata:*
	awnke	'there'		<	**hawnaka:*
	akke	'thus'	< **hakḏa*	<	**ha:kaḏa:*
	alli	'these'	< **hawli*	<	**hawla:*

1.4.5 *KA reflexes of OA /aw/ and /ay/*

The OA diphthongs */aw/* and */ay/* are normally retained without change in KA:

(188)	*KA*		*OA*
	θawp	'shirt'	*θawb*
	nawm	'sleep'	*nawm*
	zawž	'husband'	*zawǧ*
	mawt	'death'	*mawt*
	šawk	'thorns'	*šawk*
	ʕayn	'eye'	*ʕayn*
	mnayn	'wherefrom'	*min ʔayn*
	sayf	'summer'	*ṣayf*
	zayt	'oil'	*zayt*

As has already been indicated in §1.3.11 above, the KA labial offglide often alternates with the labiodental fricative in morphophonemically inflected consonant positions.

Similarly, the palatal glide in secondary KA */ay/* < **ayy* alternates with */i/* in certain words showing forward stress shift concomitant with suffixation of pronominal suffixes displaying an actual or historical initial consonant:

(189)	*KA*			
	xáyti	'my brother'	<	**xáyyti*
	xaíta	'her brother'	<	**xayyítha*
	xaítna	'our brother'	<	**xayyítna*
	šáyti	'mine (f.s.)'	<	**šáyyti*
	šaíθkon	'yours (pl.)'	<	**šayyítkun*

Aside from rare deletion of the offglide in de-stressed diphthongs:

(190)	*KA*				
	ʕayn	'eye'		<	*ʕayn*
	ʕanén	'eyes'		<	*ʕaynáyn*
	yawm	'today'	< **yyawm*	<	**l-yawm*
	yamuxnáyn	'on Monday'		<	**yawm iθ-θnayn*

monophthongization of OA /*aw*/ and /*ay*/ involves the usual fusion of the steady state and offglide portions, yielding KA /*e*/ and /*o*/ < */*e:*/ and */*o:*/ respectively:

(191)	*KA*		*OA*
	xok	'on, above'	*fawq*
	θor	'ox'	*θawr*
	lox	'plank'	*lawḥ*
	sop	'towards'	*ṣawb*
	móđaʕa	'place'	*mawḍiʕ*
	šex	'old man'	*šayx*
	tel	'of'	*đayl* (?)
	peđe	'egg'	*bayḍah*
	peʕe	'sale'	*bayʕ*
	ʕer	'except	*ɣayr*
	xet	'wall' < **ḥayṭ*	*ḥa:yiṭ*

Whereas monophthongization of OA /*aw*/ in the reflex of the function word *fawq* is paralleled in many other Arabic vernaculars that normally retain OA diphthongs (cf. Mardin *fo:q* 'über', Jastrow 1978, 79; Maltese *fu:ʔ*; etc.), the lexical distribution of KA /*e*/ and /*o*/ does not otherwise reflect a recognizable pattern. Despite the sporadic nature of these diachronic shifts in KA, the functional contrasts *aw:o* and *ay:e* are, nonetheless, well established (§ 1.4), though of low functional yield. Particularly noteworthy in this dialect is its treatment of the OA diphthong in the dual morpheme *-ayn*, which yields both KA *-ayn* and *-en* under the respective grammatical conditions specified in § 3.3.1.3 below.

1.4.5.1 *Secondary diphthongs*

As already noted in § 1.4 above, KA has the phonologically peripheral diphthongs /*ey*/ and /*uy*/, which are mostly restricted to specific morphological contexts; thus, KA /*ey*/ generally occurs across a morphemic boundary, as a surface realization of stem-final /*e*/ (< OA /*ay*/) followed by the 1st person pronominal suffix /*-i*/:

(192)	*KA*			
	ʕaléy	'on me'	←	|*ʕale-i*|
	tey	'my hands'	←	|*te-i*|
	žrey	'my legs'	←	|*žre-i*|

Intramorphemic KA /*ey*/ appears to be rare outside

(193)			
žey	'coming m.'	<	*ǧa:y*
teyye	'vine'	<	*da:liya*

the steady state portion here representing the regular *imāla* reflex of OA /*a:*/. Diphthongization of OA /*i:*/ after a historical emphatic in KA /*vđéyxa*/ 'shame' < *faḍi:ḥa* is untypical of KA. Similar phonologization of the diphthong-like

element corresponding to the rising F_2 vocalic transition in the sequence *Ṣi:* (where *Ṣ* stands for an emphatic consonant) also occurs in certain dialectal reflexes of OA *ṭi:n* 'clay': Maltese /*tayn*/ 'mud', Judeo-Arabic *ṭayn* 'argile' (Mainz 1949, 70), and elsewhere.

KA /*uy*/ is altogether rare in the native lexicon; it shows up exclusively in a few verbal nouns built on the *tCúyoC* scheme, e.g. /*tfúylot*/ 'looseness' (cf. /*fáylet*/ 'he loosened'). It is, on the other hand, fairly common as an optional realization of the nativized CG diminutive suffix *-ui* < Gk. -ουδι, e.g. KA /*sapúy* ~ *sapúi*/ 'young boy' < OA *ṣabiyy* + *ui* (§3.3.4).

1.4.6 *Historical overview of vowel shifts in KA*

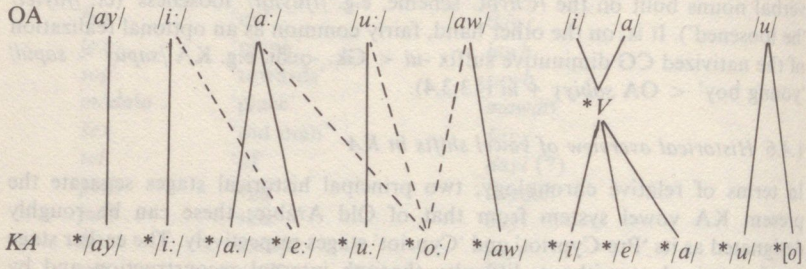
In terms of relative chronology, two principal historical stages separate the present KA vowel system from that of Old Arabic; these can be roughly designated as its 'Pre-Cypriot' and 'Cypriot' stages respectively. The earlier stage can be arrived at without difficulty through internal reconstruction and by drawing on comparative material from certain forms of Old Arabic and the contemporary Arabic vernaculars. To this period belong the *imāla* shifts of OA /*a:*/ and of the feminine ending *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*. As should be evident from §1.4.4 *passim*, the distribution of */*a:*/, */*e:*/, and of their word-final short counterparts /*-a*/ and /*-e*/ was to a very large extent predictable by reference to a set of vowel and consonant harmony rules. Nevertheless, such factors as loss of historical conditioning (e.g. deletion of pretonic /*i*/ in reflexes of OA *fiʕa:l*), irregularity of the *imāla* shift in certain emphatic and/or backed consonantal environments, not to mention the agency of morphological conditioning, must have entailed a corresponding degree of phonologization of the ensuing vocalic reflexes.

OA /*i:*/ and /*u:*/ and the OA diphthongs /*ay*/ and /*aw*/ were mostly continued without change, though lowering of the high vowels before /ʕ/, e.g. **bibe:ʕ* 'he sells' > KA /*pipéʕe*/, **bižo:ʕ* 'he is hungry' > KA /*pižóʕo*/, and sporadic monophthongization of historical diphthongs, e.g. **be:ḍ* 'eggs' > KA /*peḍ*/ and **θo:r* 'ox' > KA /*θor*/, yielded the mid vowel series *[*e:*] and *[*o:*]. The former merged with the *imāla* reflex, and the latter was subsumed under the phoneme */*o:*/, which was otherwise principally confined to the morphological context of the Imperative verbal paradigm of certain Form I verbs: **sko:t* 'keep quiet! (m.s.)' > KA /*sko*/.

As for the short vowels, the KA merger of OA /*i*/ and /*a*/ within the nominal form class should probably also be assigned to this early period; though atypical of the dialects of Greater Syria and Mesopotamia in stressed syllables, it does nonetheless occur in unstressed prejunctural *V̆C* sequences in certain Lebanese vernaculars: Bišmizzīn *walid* 'Kind' < *walad* (Jiha 1964, 122). The KA vocalic opposition **ă*:**ĭ* can be assumed to have survived this merger, which affected primarily the nominal category; note, for instance, the stressed syllables of the KA verbs /*fatax*/ 'he opened' and /*fítel*/ 'he twirled'. A new phoneme /*e*/ was added to the short vowel system via the aforementioned split of the feminine ending (*ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*), and the occasional shift of OA /*a*/ and /*i*/ > KA /*e*/ before /*h*/: /*exl*/ 'parents' < OA /*ʔahl*/, /*sexr*/ 'son-in-law' < OA *ṣihr*, etc.

OA /u/, on the other hand, underwent an allophonic split into high and mid back variants *[u] and *[o] respectively.

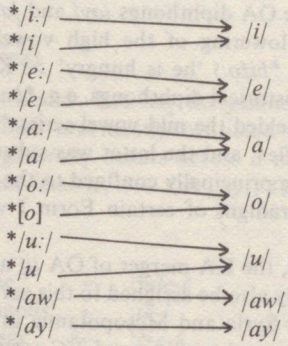
The diachronic shifts pertaining to the 'Pre-Cypriot' stage of the KA vowel system can be characterized in the following schema, where broken lines indicate partial phonemic mergers:



This yields the following vowel system:

*i	*u	*i:		*u:
*e	*a	*e:		*o:
		*ay	*a:	*aw

The second historical stage in the evolution of the KA vowel system corresponds to the chronological period of linguistic interaction with Cypriot Greek, which occasioned loss of the vocalic length opposition entailing complete merger of historically long vowels with their short counterparts, and a drastic curtailment of the vocalic inventory thus:



Defunctionalization of vocalic length in KA does not appear to have occasioned a notable loss of lexical or grammatical distinctions, since this phonological feature tended, as in other Arabic dialects, to co-occur with such factors as stress, certain types of syllable structure, etc. Thus, for instance, vowel length contrasts in prejunctural closed syllables have, in some cases, been transferred to following consonants:

(195) *KA*
xal 'uncle' < *xa:l*

xall	'vinegar'	<	*xall*
šal	'he removed'	<	*ša:l*
šall	'he sewed'	<	*šall*

Similarly, certain historically quantitative distinctions in stressed syllables are now conveyed by qualitative contrasts:

(196)	*nišef*	'it dried'	<	*našaf*
	nešef	'dry (m.s.)'	<	*na:šif*

1.5 STRESS

1.5.1 *Morphologization of stress*

Aside from its untypical shift to word-final syllables in certain KA reflexes of finally weak verbs, e.g. /*xka*/ 'he spoke', /*rva*/ 'he showed', /*nsa*/ 'he forgot, etc. (for discussion see §2.2.1.5), KA word accent reflects fairly closely the distribution of historical stress reconstructed on the basis of its manifestations in the majority of contemporary Eastern Arabic vernaculars, where the most widely attested form of the stress rule is the following:

> 'Stress the *V̆CC* or *V̄C* sequence closest to prejunctural position; otherwise, stress penultimate syllables', e.g.

	KA	**Jerusalem**	**OA**	
(197)	*ʕátta*	*ġáṭṭa*	*ġaṭṭa:*	'he covered'
	áxmar	*ʔáḥmar*	*ʔaḥmar*	'red (m.s.)'
	ʕátes	*ʕádas*	*ʕadas*	'lentils'
	xáder	*ḥá:der*	*ḥa:dir*	'present (m.s.)'
	kislán	*kaslá:n*	*kasla:n*	'lazy (m.s.)'
	ʕatík	*ʕatí:ʔ*	*ʕati:q*	'old (m.s.)'
	skekín	*sakaki:n*	*saka:ki:n*	'knives'
	mizzán	*mizá:n*	*mi:za:n*	'scales'
	saʕítt	*saʕádet*	*sa:ʕadt*	'I helped'

To the extent that the historical stress rule made reference to consonant clusters, it can be said to be still partially operative in KA; note, for instance, the morphophonemic shift of stress in the verb forms:

(198)	*ʕássel*	'he washed'
	ʕassílt	'I washed'
	lákkep	'he cleaned'
	lakkíft	'I cleaned'

Systematic loss of the historical length contrast in the KA vowel system has, however, rendered synchronic stress in many multisyllabic words phonologically unpredictable:

(199)	*máʕak*	'he rubbed'	<	*maʕak*
	maʕák	'deep (pl.)'	<	*ʕima:q*

ʕárak	'sweat'	<	*ʕaraq*
ʕaták	'old (pl.)'	<	*ʕitaːq*

Notwithstanding its ostensible lexicalization as exemplified in the words just cited, the functional role of stress in this dialect remains, nonetheless, fairly restricted; thus minimal pairs distinguished by their accentual pattern appear to be rare outside specific grammatical contexts:

(200)	*kyízraʕu*	'they sow'
	kyizráʕu	'he sows it'
	málluon	'fill them! (imp. pl.)'
	mallúon	'they filled them'
	lákuon	'find them! (imp. pl.)'
	lakúon	'they found them'

The largely peripheral constrastive role of KA stress is in part ascribable to its interdependence with a number of synchronic phonological processes, such as certain types of vowel shift and/or consonant clustering:

(201)	*txítep*, *txetíft*	'he, I got engaged'
	tvílet, *tvelítt*	'he, I was born'
	šírex, *šerxín*	'greedy (m.s., pl.)'
	xilv, *xelvín*	'sweet (m.s., pl.)'

and, especially, its concomitance with specific morphological environments; note, for instance:

(a) the fixed accentual patterns characteristic of the KA nominal schemes *CáCeC*, *CiCCán*, *CCéCeC*, *CCeCiC*, etc., (for examples see § 3.2 *passim*);

(b) the systematic trend for certain KA morphemes to occur stressed, e.g. the plural suffixes *-in* and *-at*, the dual suffix *-ayn* and its pseudo-dual counterpart *-en* (cf. § 3.3.1.3):

(202)	*rex*	'going (m.s.)'
	rexín	'going (pl.)'
	xadd	'Sunday'
	xaddát	'Sundays'
	šaxr	'month'
	šaxráyn	'two months'
	ižr	'leg'
	žren	'legs'

The behaviour of KA stress in grammatically complex phonological strings is equally predictable, as can be inferred from the perfectly regular form of stress shift resulting from the affixation of person markers and pronominal clitics to verb stems:

(203)	*pižípu*	'they bring'
	pižipúx	'they bring him'
	pirítu	'they want'
	piritúx	'they want him'

ʕássel	'he washed'
ʕassílna	'we washed'
ʕassilnáxon	'we washed them'
lákkep	'he cleaned'
lakkípna	'we cleaned'
lakkipnáxon	'we cleaned them'

It is worth nothing that the historical stress rule outlined above for KA's historical antecedent appears to have operated on underlying representations and not on surface strings; this is evident from the fact that KA does not generally stress historically epenthetic vowels occurring in phonological environments satisfying the structural requirements of the stress assignment rule:

(204)	*mížipne*	'rennet'
	sáʕilke	'poverty'
	kúzupra	'coriander'
	táʕirfe	'loaves'
	kyimisku	'they hold'

and not *mižípne*, *saʕilke*, etc. The rule ordering implicit in the phonological derivations of these surface strings is as follows:

(i) Underlying form	*saʕlke*	'poverty' (< *ṣaʕlaka*)
(ii) Stress assignment	*sáʕlke*	
(iii) Epenthesis	*sáʕilke*	

Closely analogous treatment of secondary syllabics can be encountered among many Eastern Arabic dialects spoken in the Syro-Palestinian area:

(205)	**Jerusalem**	
	bíʔilbu	'they overturn (tr.)
	bímisku	'they hold'
	búsuktu	'they keep quiet'

Particularly noteworthy, in this respect, is the KA treatment of constructs consisting of 'verb + Indirect Object marker + pronominal suffix'; observe, for instance, the differential accentual treatment accorded to historical vs. epenthetic vowels in this environment:

(206)	*KA*			
	žíftinna	'you (m.) brought us'	<	**ğibt-L-na:*
	žiftínna	'you (f.) brought us'	<	**ğibti:-L-na:*
	pitsúppinna	'you (m.) pour for us'	<	**bitṣubb-L-na:*
	pitsuppínna	'you (f.) pour for us'	<	**bitṣubbi:-L-na:*

1.5.2 *Lexicalized stress*

In contrast with its extensive morphologization (cf. Jakobson 1962, 118) in inflected word classes, KA stress has undergone lexicalization in uninflected word classes; thus certain monosyllabic adverbials and interrogatives always carry stress irrespective of the intrinsic accentual properties of cliticized elements

or morphosyntactic annexations. Note, for instance, the consistently stressed realization of the KA negative morphemes /*ma*/ and /*la*/, and of the interrogatives /*men*/ 'who' and /*ayš*/ 'which':

(207) *KA*

fia	'there is/are'		
máfkya	'there is/are not'		
rúxna	'we went'		
má-ruxna	'we didn't go'		
pitrúx	'you (m.s.) go'		
lá-trux	'don't go (m.s.)'		
énne	(copula, 3rd pers. pl.)		
mén-enne	'who are they?'		
áyš-o	'which is it (m.)?'		
áššik	'how?'	<	**ayš šakl*

Lexicalization of stress is particularly striking in certain KA neologisms derived via component merger:

(208) *KA*

θénixar	'next day'	<	**θa:ni: nha:r*
nússuxar	'midday'	<	**nuṣṣ n-nha:r*
nússulayl	'midnight'	<	**nuṣṣ l-layl*
tváxxar	'all day'	<	**ṭwa:l n-nha:r*
tvállayl	'all night'	<	**ṭwa:l l-layl*
kúyyom	'every day'	<	**kull yawm*
álok	'now'	<	**hal-waqt*

As can be inferred from the examples just cited, these often display accentual patterns at variance with historical length distribution or syllable structure, and suggest that stress shift played a significant historical role in lexical innovation within KA. This interesting aspect of KA is worthy of an independent historical and comparative investigation, since closely parallel developments have also been noted in the lexical domains of other Arabic vernaculars:

(209) **Maltese**

íssa	'now'	<	**is-sa:ʕa*	<	**is-sá:ʕa*
fiys	'at once'	<	**fi:sa:ʕa*	<	**fis-sá:ʕa*

Djidjelli (Marçais 1956, 579-80)

dérwoq ~ *délwoq*	'maintenant'	<	**ɗa:l-wáqt*

Damascus (Stowasser & Ani 1964)

hállaʔ	'now'	<	**hálwaʔt*	<	**hal-wáqt*

II

THE VERB

2.0 PRELIMINARIES

Synchronic aspects of the KA verb have already received comprehensive treatment in Roth (1975), which presents a morphological classification of a few hundred verb forms with paradigms for most of the postulated inflectional types, as well as a sketch of KA aspect, tense, and modality.

The present chapter will concern itself principally with historical and comparative aspects pertaining to verb inflection and derivation in KA, and with the accompanying morphophonemic processes. Systematic treatment of grammatical categories over and above the exponency of overt morphological markers in KA is outside the scope of this research. In view of the copious illustrative material cited in Roth's aforementioned study, verbal paradigms will be reproduced here only to the extent required to exemplify specific diachronic shifts.

Despite the rather extensive internal restructuring exhibited in the KA verb, probably on a scale unequalled even in the highly evolved verbal systems of other historically deviant Arabic vernaculars, e.g. Daragözü Arabic (Jastrow 1973, 44-75), and Maltese (Borg 1978, 208 f.), the essentially historical orientation of the present research makes it desirable here to retain the general framework that is customary in discussions of Arabic verb morphology, e.g. the designation of the derivational types I to X.

A simplex verb in KA displays three kinds of morphological constituents: a root, a stem formative, and inflectional affixes; derived verbs show additional morphemic increments correlating with specific semantic functions. KA verbal roots are mostly either triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal; morphophonemic restructuring of medially weak verbs occasioned by loss of the phonological length opposition in vowels can be said to have yielded a biconsonantal class (cf. § 2.2.1.4 below).

KA has retained verbal reflexes for most of the Old Arabic derivational types from I to X, with the notable exception of class IV, which appears to be completely extinct in this dialect. The lexically depleted state of some of these verb classes in KA, as well as the numerous cases of semantic shift actualized in specific verbs, have tended to curtail and obscure the functional role of certain derivational affixes, incurring a notable loss of cohesion and generative potency within the derivational apparatus inherited from Old Arabic.

KA verbs are overtly marked for the categories of mood, tense, aspect, voice, person, gender, and number; as is the case in most other Arabic dialects, no trace of the OA internal passive has been retained, this grammatical function having been reassigned to a small set of affixes examined in §§ 2.2.2.3-4.

2.1 VERB INFLECTION

2.1.1 *KA verbal proclitics*

The KA Imperfect rarely appears without a modal/temporal/aspectual prefix. The overt morphosemantic contrasts encountered in the KA uses of the Imperfect paradigm are exemplified in the following sentences; more detailed information on KA verbal proclitics, their allomorphic alternants, and historical development is supplied in §2.2.3 f.:

(a) /*p(i)-*/ (noncontingency marker)

áš pisúr antáxt?	'what's going on down there?'
amma pri xlip, prúx l-mántra u páxlop kwélles.	'when I want milk, I go to the sheepfold and milk some sheep'

(b) /*tta-*/ (future marker)

púkra ttarúx l-imtíne.	'tomorrow I shall go to Nicosia'

(c) /*ta-*/ (contingency marker)

kyíslax tarúx álok.	'I have to go now'
kwanníštri ši pšan tannákol.	'we used to buy something to eat'

(d) /*a-*/ (Optative, polite Imperative)

annílpes θkyépna u arrúx mnáwnke k-kassís.	'let's get dressed and go over to the priest's house'
atrúx atfátteš.	'go and find out (sometime)!'

(e) /*Ø-*/ (Imperative)

kom xók!	'get up!'

(f) /*kan-*/ (habitual or progressive past)

d-dínye kúlla kantížri oxar áwnke .oxar áwna.	'everybody was running about this way and that'
úmma kantínžor p-pǎpe.	'her mother used to bolt the door'

Verbs of motion and stative verbs tend to display a further overt contrast between the active participle and the Imperfect stem:

kanirúx	'he used to go'
kan réx	'he was going'

(g) /*kanta-*/ (past conditional)

an kantílˢe párra, pikúnni, kanteakšáˢni u kantelˢápni.	'if he had come out, he says to me, he would have seen and shot me'

(← |*kantayakšáˢni, kantayilˢápni*|)

As in other Arabic dialects, the Perfect stem preposes reflexes of OA *ka:n* to convey the Pluperfect tense:

kiser	'he broke'
kankiser	'he had broken'

2.1.2 *Form and morphophonemics of KA person markers*

KA person markers display the following morphemic shapes:

	Perfect	Imperfect
s. 1	*-t*	*-Ø-*
2 m.	*-t*	*-T-*
f.	*-ti*	*-T- … -i*
3 m.	*-Ø*	*-Y-*
f.	*-It*	*-T-*
pl. 1	*-na*	*-N-*
2	*-tu*	*-T- … -u*
3	*-u*	*-Y- … -u*

The inflectional system of the KA verb represents the evolutionary outcome of morphological restructuring processes also widely reflected in the Arabic dialect area, i.e.

(a) neutralization of the OA opposition

1 s.	*-tu*
2 m.s.	*-ta*

in the Perfect via loss of the OA short final vowels, a virtually pan-dialectal trend outside the *qəltu* dialect group (Blanc 1964, 61; Jastrow 1978, 217) and certain Yemenite and Western Maghrebine vernaculars (cf. Diem (1973, 27) and Brunot (1950, 63) respectively):

(1) **De:r izZo:r** (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*)

1 s.	*qatal-tu:*
2 m.s.	*qatal-(i)t*

Given the numerous structural traits that KA shares with the *qəltu* dialect area, the absence of this specific morphological feature is highly noteworthy.

(b) Loss of the gender distinction in plural verb forms such as is widely attested among the majority of sedentary Arabic vernaculars spoken in the Middle East and North Africa.

The morphophonemic behaviour of the segments represented by capital letters is as follows. In keeping with the phonological rule outlined in §1.4.1 (ex. 121) disallowing high vowels in unstressed prejunctural *VC* sequences, the third person feminine singular suffix |*-It*| is realized /*-et*/ before word-boundary, but /*it*/ in word-medial position, where it always carries stress:

(2)

víltet	'she gave birth'
viltítu	'she bore him'
kálet	'she said'
kalitillu	'she said to him'

The first person singular affix in the Imperfect is realized as zero before a single consonant:

(3)	*prux*	'I go'	
	psudd	'I block'	
	pxott	'I put'	
	fkaem	'I raise'	← |*pkaem*|

but shows up as /*a*/ or /*i*/ before historical *CC* clusters, the former occurring in contact with reflexes of backed OA consonants, i.e. /*ʔ*, *h*, *ʕ*, *ḥ*, *γ*, *x*, *q* and *k*/, the latter next to historically non-back consonants, both plain and emphatic:

	KA		*OA*
(4)	*paxo*	'I take'	(*ʔxd*)
	pakol	'I eat'	(*ʔkl*)
	paxrop	'I leave'	(*hrb*)
	paksom	'I divide'	(*qsm*)
	paksel	'I am idle'	(*ksl*)
	pitlop	'I request'	(*ṭlb*)
	pitxak	'I laugh'	(*ḍhk*)
	piskot	'I remain silent'	(*skt*)
	piftax	'I open'	(*fṭh*)

The diffusion of the preformative vowel /*a*/ to verbs with historical /*k*/ as C_1 is presumably due to analogical levelling under the influence of stems with /*k*/ < */*q*/ in this position; similarly, the absence of secondary vocalic reflexes of historical emphasis in the preformative vowels is symptomatic of the overall treatment of historical emphasis in the verbal form class, where paradigmatic levelling of vocalic schemes has obliterated all vocalic traces of velarization.

Form I verbs deriving from roots with historical /*w*/ as C_1 fuse the preformative vowel with the bilabial semivowel thus, */*iw*/ > */*u:*/ > KA /*u*/:

	KA		*OA*
(5)	(*p*)*kyukáʕa*	'he falls'	(*wqʕ*)
	(*p*)*kyúžaʕa*	'it hurts'	(*wǧʕ*)
	(*p*)*kyúfi*	'he pays'	(*wfy*)

As in many other Arabic vernaculars, the third person marker |*Y*| is systematically elided in historically open syllables:

	KA		*OA*
(6)	*pikúm*	'he rises'	*yaqu:m*
	pisúpp	'he pours'	*yaṣubb*
	pidarep	'he scolds'	*yuḍa:rib* 'he fights'

but is retained in historical singly or doubly arrested syllables, where contact with the Indicative marker |*p-*| yields the expected occlusivized realization /*ky-*/ (cf. §1.2.4b above):

	KA		*OA*
(7)	(*p*)*kyakser*	'he breaks'	*yaksir*
	(*p*)*kyaxo*	'he takes'	*yaʔxud*

The resulting *CCC* cluster is most often simplified via elision of /*p*-/ thus: /*kyákser*/, /*kyáxo*/, etc. Surface elision of the preformative |*Y*| is also fairly common in the inflection of the Future tense and of the Subjunctive, i.e. after the verbal modifiers /*tta*-/ and /*ta*-/ respectively; these, however, invariably show compensatory fronting of /*a*/ in this context:

(8)	*tteisrok*	'he will steal'	←	|*ttayisruk*|
	tteiširpu	'they will drink'	←	|*ttayiširpu*|
	terúx	'that he might go'	←	|*tayrúx*|
	težíp	'that he might bring'	←	|*tayžíp*|

Finally, the Imperfect personal affix |-*T*-| undergoes automatic gemination in intervocalic position thus:

(9)	*pittaksom*	'you (m.s.) divide'
	pittíšilxi	'you (f.s.) throw'
	pittákisru	'you (pl.) break'

2.1.3 *Morphophonemics of verb inflection*

As in many other Arabic dialects, the present canonic shapes displayed by inflected verb stems in KA are, to a large extent, determined by historical constraints on the occurrence of unstressed open syllables; thus, Imperfect stems of underived triradical verbs show the usual canonic form -*CCVC* in morphophonemic alternation with -*CVCC*-, e.g.

(10)	(*p*)*kyakser*	'he breaks'	<	*yaksir*
	(*p*)*kyákisru*	'they break'	<	*yaksiru:*
	(*p*)*kyitros*	'he threshes'	<	*yadrus*
	(*p*)*kyítirsu*	'they thresh'	<	*yadrusu:*
	pittišrap	'you (m.s.) drink'	<	*tašrab*
	pittiširpi	'you (f.s.) drink'	<	*tašrabi:*

As can be inferred from these examples, the quality of the anaptyctic syllabic is not related to that of the elided stem vowel.

The morphophonemic behaviour of Perfect stems is also, to a large extent, conditioned by restrictions on open syllabicity in unstressed positions; thus Form I verbs systematically delete the pretonic stem vowel in the Perfect:

(11)	*kiser*	'he broke'
	ksirt	'I broke'
	tafaš	'he pushed'
	tfušt	'I pushed'
	šalax	'he threw'
	šlaxt	'I threw'

though the presence of /ʕ/ in C_1 or C_2 positions usually entails retention of the pretonic vowel:

(12)	*ʕiref*	'he knew'

ʕarífṭ	'I knew'
ʕilek	'he shut'
ʕalíxt	'I shut'
neʕes	'he felt sleepy'
neʕíst	'I felt sleepy'
šeʕel	'he ignited'
šeʕílt	'I ignited'

Pretonic vowels before root-medial /ʕ/ tend to be easily elided after word-final vowels, especially in allegro speech:

(13) *ya lʕáptu* 'but you shot it' ← |*ya laʕáptu*|

Reflexes of OA long vowels, on the other hand, are never elided in pretonic open syllables:

(14)

KA		*OA*
laka	'he found'	*la:qa:*
lakáyt	'I found'	
saʕet	'he helped'	*sa:ʕad*
saʕitt	'I helped'	
tmesek	'he got caught'	*tama:sak*
tmesíxt	'I got caught'	

Similarly, pretonic stem vowels preceded by consonant clusters or the semivowel /*y*/ are systematically retained, though de-stressed /*i*/ undergoes reduction to /*e*/ in this position:

(15)

txitep	'he got engaged'	←	|*ntxitip*|
txetíft	'I got engaged'	←	|*ntxitipt*|
yipes	'it dried (intr.)'	←	|*yipis*|
yepíst	'I got dry'	←	|*yipíst*|

KA verb morphophonemics concomitant with suffixation of object pronouns is dealt with in §4.1.1.3.2 below.

2.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

2.2.1 *Reflexes of Form I verbs*

2.2.1.1 *Sound roots*

The historical treatment of the OA Perfect patterns *faʕal*, *faʕil*, *faʕul*, and their corresponding Imperfect stems in KA replicates general trends also observed in several varieties of Eastern Arabic, but shows a number of special developments.

As already established in Roth (1975, 39), KA has, like many Syrian and Egyptian dialects a binary *CÍCIC: CÁCAC* opposition; in KA the high-vowel scheme derives mainly from the merger of OA *faʕil*, *faʕul*, and, less frequently, *faʕal*:

(16)

KA		*OA*
lipes	'he wore'	*labis*
rikep	'he rode'	*rakib*
niker	'he refused'	*nakir*
kiper	'he grew'	*kabur*
kiθer	'it increased'	*kaθur*
ximeđ	'it went sour'	*ḥamuḍ*
kitep	'he wrote'	*katab*
ʕizem	'he invited'	*ʕazam*
ʕiref	'he knew'	*ʕaraf*

The KA low-vowel scheme generally continues OA *faʕal*:

(17)

KA		*OA*	
tafaš	'he pushed'	*dafaš*	
nafax	'he blew'	*nafax*	
sarak	'he stole'	*saraq*	
taras	'he threshed'	*daras*	
xarap	'he left'	*harab*	'he escaped'
faraš	'he spread'	*faraš*	
taxan	'he ground'	*ṭaḥan*	
rakas	'he danced'	*raqaṣ*	
ratan	'he spun'	*radan*	

Form I verbs with root-final /ʕ/ (< OA /ʕ/ and /γ/) yield the KA variant schemes *CiCʕe* and *CaCʕa* < **CíCiʕe* and **CáCaʕa* respectively; interposition of secondary vowels shielding KA /ʕ/ from contact with final word-boundary has been accounted for in § 1.3.9. As can be inferred from the following examples, the quality of this auxiliary syllabic is predictable from that of the synchronic stem vowel:

(18)

KA		*OA*
simʕe	'he heard'	*samiʕ*
tilʕe	'he went out'	*ṭalaʕ*
rižʕe	'he returned'	*rağaʕ*
fizʕe	'he feared'	*fazi*ʕ
katʕa	'he cut'	*qaṭa*ʕ
fakʕa	'it burst'	*faqa*ʕ
šapʕa	'he was sated'	*šabi*ʕ
zarʕa	'he sowed'	*zara*ʕ

The KA Form I verb class also comprises a small set of words deriving from roots with medial /ʕ/; these all display the KA pattern *é-e* (< **i-i*):

(19)

KA				*OA*
keʕe[1]	'he sat'	<	**qiʕid*	*qaʕad*

[1] The etymological dental stop in this root shows up in surface structure exclusively in word-internal position: /*kéʕetet*/ 'she sat', /*keʕte*/ 'sitting (f.)', etc.

šeʕel	'he lit'	<	**šiʕil*	*šaʕal*
leʕep	'he fired (gun)'	<	**liʕib*	*laʕib* 'he played'
neʕes	'he was sleepy'	<	**niʕis*	*naʕas*

The formal criteria correlating with the present lexical distribution of KA *CiCeC* (or *CiCʕe*) vs. *CaCaC* (or *CaCʕa*) are not immediately clear. The occurrence of *CiCeC* with roots displaying reflexes of historical emphatics or backed consonants, and of KA *CaCaC* in the environment of historically plain ones, e.g.

(20)	*KA*		*OA*
	rixes	'it became cheap'	*raxuṣ*
	ximed	'it went sour'	*ḥamuḍ*
	xitep	'he hot engaged to'	*xaṭab*
	xiset	'he harvested'	*ḥaṣad*
	xiden	'he embraced'	*ḥaḍan*
	tilep	'he requested'	*ṭalab*
	kitel	'he killed'	*qatal*
	kisem	'he divided'	*qasam*
	nakaz	'it ached'	*nakaz* 'he pricked'
	ratan	'he spun'	*radan*

rules out the putative agency of phonological conditioning such as is exemplified in certain N. Lebanese dialects, e.g. Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 137).

A general survey of the semantic types represented in this KA verb class also fails to reveal a rigorous principle underlying the present lexical distribution of these schemes (cf. Roth 1975, 39 f.). The extent of the correlation obtaining between KA *CiCeC* and intransitivity:

(21)		
	kiθer	'it increased'
	kiper	'he grew'
	rifʕe	'he grew tall'
	simen	'he grew fat'
	nišef	'it dried'
	ʕifen	'it stank'
	kisel	'he was lazy'

nevertheless lends support to the assumption that the present *CaCaC*/*CiCeC* distribution in KA represents the outcome of partial defunctionalization of a morphosemantic contrast between historically transitive and intransitive verbal patterns. Whereas large-scale retention of such a functional opposition is a well-established feature of several Eastern Arabic vernaculars, e.g. Anatolian Arabic (Jastrow 1978, 147), Aleppine (Sabuni 1980, 84), etc., paradigmatic interference between Form I verb schemes weakening the correlation between form and grammatical meaning has also been indicated for other Arabic dialects spoken in this area, e.g. Christian Baghdadi (Blanc 1964, 99).

As already noted in Roth (1975, 42), a striking innovative trait within this KA verb class is the evolution of a vowel harmony rule matching the height and

advancement features of the Perfect stem vowel in the 1st and 2nd person (s. and pl.) to those of the corresponding Imperfect stem vowel in five out of the six morphophonemic types attested:

(22)	1. (*kitep*)	'he wrote'
	(*p*)*kyaxtop*	'he writes'
	xtuft	'I wrote'
	2. (*širep*)	'he drank'
	(*p*)*kyišrap*	'he drinks'
	šraft	'I drank'
	3. (*kisem*)	'he divided'
	(*p*)*kyaksom*	'he divides'
	ksumt	'I divided'
	4. (*fatax*)	'he opened'
	(*p*)*kyiftax*	'he opens'
	ftaxt	'I opened'
	5. (*xarap*)	'he left'
	(*p*)*kyaxrop*	'I leave'
	xruft	'I left'
	6. (*siker*)	'he got drunk'
	(*p*)*kyiskar*	'he gets drunk'
	skirt	'I got drunk'

2.2.1.1.1 In contrast with the historical treatment meted out to OA short vowels in nominals (§1.4.2), the quality and distribution of the stem vowels in KA reflexes of OA *yafʿal*, *yafʿil*, and *yafʿul* have been largely retained; though, in keeping with the general rule outlined in §1.4.1, high vowels are automatically replaced by their corresponding mid counterparts in prejunctural position:

(23)	*KA*		*OA*
	piskar	'I get drunk'	*ʔaskar*
	pišrap	'I drink'	*ʔašrab*
	pisman	'I get fat'	*ʔasman*
	piftax	'I open'	*ʔaftaḥ*
	paxrep	'I destroy'	*ʔaxrib*
	pinzel	'I go down'	*ʔanzil*
	pakser	'I break'	*ʔaksir*
	piftel	'I twist'	*ʔaftil*
	pirkos	'I dance'	*ʔarquṣ*
	pitros	'I thresh'	*ʔadrus*
	pirpot	'I tie'	*ʔarbuṭ*
	piskot	'I keep quiet'	*ʔaskut*

The quality of the preformative vowels in KA Form I verbs harmonizes with the actual or historical backness feature of the following consonant, yielding /*a*/ before */ʕ/, */γ/, */x/, */ḥ/, */k/, */q/, */h/ and */ʔ/, alternating with /*i*/ in other consonantal environments:

(24)

KA		*OA*	
(p)kyaʕlak	'he closes'	*(ɣlq)*	
(p)kyaxrep	'he destroys'	*(xrb)*	
(p)kyaxset	'he reaps'	*(ḥṣd)*	
(p)kyakser	'he breaks'	*(ksr)*	
(p)kyaksom	'he divides'	*(qsm)*	
(p)kyaxrop	'he leaves'	*(hrb)*	'to escape'
(p)kyaxo	'he takes'	*(ʔxd)*	

The Imperative paradigm utilizes the Imperfect bases and yields the following three stem types:

(25)

	(a)		(b)		(c)	
2 m.s.	*kser*	'break!'	*šrap*	'drink!'	*ksom*	'divide!'
f.s.	*ksir-i*		*šrap-i*		*ksum-i*	
pl.	*ksir-u*		*šrap-u*		*ksum-u*	

The symmetrical morphophonemic alternations *e/i* and *o/u* in (a) and (c) respectively continue a historical stage still reflected in the verb morphophonemics of many contemporary Syro-Lebanese dialects showing tense reflexes of the historical stem vowel in unsuffixed forms of the Imperative:

(26) **Aleppo** (Sabuni 1980, 119)

m.	f.	pl.	
ɣle:b,	*ɣləbi,*	*ɣləbu*	'besiegen'
sko:b,	*skəbi,*	*skəbu*	'gießen'
ḍha:k,	*ḍhaki,*	*ḍhaku*	'lachen'

2.2.1.2 *KA verbs with identical C_2 and C_3*

KA reflexes of this OA class retain /*a*/ in the Perfect; the most common stem vowel in the Imperfect is /*o*/ < OA /*u*/ in historically backed consonantal environments (i.e. */*ḥ*/, */*x*/, */*ʕ*/, */*ɣ*/), but /*u*/ in plain ones:

(27)

KA		*OA*
ʕa~~dd~~, piʕó~~dd~~	'to bite'	*ʕaḍḍ*
~~d~~arr, pi~~d~~órr	'to harm'	*ḍarr*
xatt, pixótt	'to put'	*ḥaṭṭ*
takk, pitókk	'to strike'	*daqq*
ʕatt, piʕótt	'to jump, dive'	*ɣaṭṭ*
ʕadd, piʕódd	'to count'	*ʕadd*
sadd, pisúdd	'to block'	*sadd*
laff, pilúff	'to wrap'	*laff*
xazz, pixúzz	'to shake'	*hazz*
rašš, pirúšš	'to sprinkle'	*rašš*
pall, pipúll	'to moisten'	*ball*
šamm, pišúmm	'to smell'	*šamm*
madd, pimúdd	'to stretch'	*madd*

Occurrence of *i*-stems seems to be only vestigially attested, with apparently only one case of genuine retention of historical /*i*/:

			OA
(28)	*KA*		
	šadd, pišidd	'to tighten'	*šadd* (*i*)
	fatt, pifitt	'to be slight in quantity'	*fatt* (*u*)

The KA shift /*u*/ > /*i*/ in the second example has yielded a minimal contrast with the KA neologism /*fatt, pifútt*/ 'to strip fruit off tree', possibly a corruption of Ar. *faraṭ* (*u*), (same meaning). The KA *CaCC* verb class also includes the restructured items /*samm, pisúmm*/ 'to fast' and /*farr, pifúrr*/ 'to boil over' < OA *ṣa:m, yaṣu:m* and *fa:r, yafu:r* respectively. The morphophonemic restructuring here was possibly triggered off by historical loss of vowel length in KA; the tendency to extrapolate underlying *V̆CC #* from surface *V̆C #* being also a well-known phonological trait of many contemporary vernaculars (cf. Singer 1981, 319); note for instance, Palestinian Arabic /*šakk*/ < Eng. *cheque*, Maltese /*klabb*/ < Eng. *club*, etc. Historical contamination between hollow verbs and the *CaCC* class has also been noted in other Arabic dialects: cf. Colin (1920, 55), Levi-Provençal (1922, 26), etc. A final observation on this KA verb class concerns the morphophonemic behaviour of the Imperative forms, entailing lowering of the stem vowel in doubly closed syllables:

(29)	m.s.	*šomm*	'smell!'
	f.s.	*šummi*	
	pl.	*šummu*	
	m.s.	*šedd*	'tighten!'
	f.s.	*šiddi*	
	pl.	*šiddu*	

2.2.1.3 *Reflexes of initially weak verbs*

As in many other Arabic dialects, the class of weak verbs with initial /*y*/ is restricted to the reflex of OA *yabis* 'to dry (intr.)', yielding KA /*yipes*, (*p*)*kyipes*/. The inflection of this verb shows no special features beyond retention of the unstressed open syllable in the Perfect, counteracting loss of C_1 position:

s. 1	*yepís-t*	pl.	*yepis-na*
2 m.	*yepís-t*		*yepis-tu*
f.	*yepis-ti*		
3 m.	*yipes*		*yips-u*
f.	*yips-et*		

KA verbs deriving from OA roots with initial /*w*/ generally merge the semivowel and the preformative vowel thus: */*iw*/ > /*u*/, in the Imperfect:

(30)	*vižˤe, pkyúžaˤa*	'to ache'
	vakˤa, pkyukaˤa	'to fall'
	ufá, pkyufi	'to pay'

The monophthongization of secondary */iw/* is plausibly ascribed to the coarticulatory incompatibility of lip-rounding and spreading. A few KA verbs in this class, however, have reinstated the consonantal reflex of */w/* via back-formation from the Perfect, and show a stable */v/*:

(31) *viltet, pittivlet* 'to give birth'
virem, (p)kyivram 'to swell'

As in certain other Eastern dialects (e.g. Bišmizzīn: Jiha 1964, 137; Kfar ʿAbīda: Feghali 1919, 144; etc.), a few verbs with inital */w/* are prone to permanent morphophonemic restructuring on the pattern of medially weak roots:

(32)	*KA*		*OA*
	saʕa, pisaʕa	'to contain'	(*wsʕ*)
	zan, pizín	'to weigh'	(*wzn*)

For OA *waqaf, yaqif*, KA has the morphophonemically hybrid forms */ékef, pikáf/*; KA */ékef/* presupposes historical **eːqef* < **ʔiqif* < **wiqif*[2]. Outside the context of the third person (f. */ekfet*, pl. *ekfu/*), the initial syllable is deleted: */kaft/* 'I stood', */kaft(i)/* 'you stood m. (f.)', etc. Forward stress shift in the Imperfect stem, which also characterizes KA */(p)kyukáʕa/* 'he falls', is reminiscent of the secondary lengthening of stem-final syllables attested for certain items in this verb class in N. Lebanese: *byuːṣaːl* 'il arrive', *buːqaːf* 'je me tiens debout' (Feghali 1919, 144).

KA reflexes of OA verbs with initial *hamza* show restructuring of their Perfect forms on the pattern of medially weak roots:

(33)	*KA*		*OA*
	xet, (p)kyaxo	'to take'	*ʔaxad, yaʔxuḏ*
	kel, (p)kyakol	'to eat'	*ʔakal, yaʔkul*

Historical deletion of initial syllables in these verbs brings KA close to certain Syro-Lebanese and Egyptian vernaculars:

(34)		**KA**	**Cabali** (Lewin 1969, 29)	**Cairo** (Mitchell 1962, 97)
	s. 1	*xitt*	*xat*	*xadt*
	2 m.	*xitt*	*xat*	*xadt*
	f.	*xitti*	*xatti*	*xádti*
	3 m.	*xet*	*ʔaxad*	*xad*
	f.	*xitet*	*ʔaxdit*	*xadt*
	pl. 1	*xitna*	*xadni*	*xádna*
	2	*xittu*	*xattu*	*xádtu*
	3	*xitu*	*ʔaxdu*	*xádu*

The development of the KA forms */xet/* and */kel/*, presumably from etyma with long */eː/* incurred via secondary tensing of */i/* in **xid, *kil* (< **ʔixid* and **ʔikil* respectively) appears to represent an internal shift; morphophonemic

[2] Cf. the shift */y/* > */ʔ/* actualized in the Daragözü term *ʔəbəṣ* < *yabis* 'trocken werden' (Jastrow 1973, 45).

restructuring of the entire Perfect paradigm of these verbs as medially weak seems to be otherwise untypical of Eastern Arabic, but a striking hallmark of certain Western Maghrebine Arabic dialects, e.g. Morocco (Harrell 1963; 60, 211), Ḥassanīya (Cohen 1975, 103), Maltese, etc.

2.2.1.4 *Reflexes of medially weak verbs*

This is a well represented class in KA; as in other Arabic vernaculars, it comprises mostly reflexes of OA *Ca:C*, *yaCu:C* and *Ca:C*, *yaCi:C*, e.g.

(35)	*KA*		*OA*	
	kan, pikún	'to be'	*ka:n, yaku:n*	
	kam, pikúm	'to get up'	*qa:m, yaqu:m*	
	kal, pikúl	'to say'	*qa:l, yaqu:l*	
	sak, pisúk	'to plough'	*sa:q, yasu:q*	'to drive'
	ʕaš, piʕíš	'to live'	*ʕa:š, yaʕi:š*	
	ʕar, piʕír	'to envy'	*γa:r, *yaγi:r*	
	žap, pižíp	'to bring'	**ǧa:b, *yaǧi:b*	
	tap, pitíp	'to recover'	*ṭa:b, yaṭi:b*	
	nam, pinám	'to sleep'	*na:m, yana:m*	

Reflexes of high-vowel stems showing root final /ʕ/ generally display a lowered stem vowel:

(36)	*KA*		*OA*
	piđeʕe	'he gets lost'	*yaḍi:ʕ*
	pipeʕe	'he buys'	*yabi:ʕ*
	pižoʕo	'he is hungry'	*yaǧu:ʕ*

A striking albeit peripheral historical development in this class is the bifurcation of OA *ṣa:r* 'to become', yielding:

(37)	*KA*	
	sar, pisúr	'to become'
	sar, pisír	'to be acceptable'

Free variation of the forms *biṣi:r* and *biṣu:r* has been noted for a number of Arabic dialects spoken in the Syro-Lebanese area (cf. Lewin 1969, 140; Feghali 1928, 47); the functionalization of this phonological distinction appears to be internal to KA [3]. The derivational role of this morphological distinction between *i*- and *u*-stems in this dialect is otherwise restricted to the lexical pair:

(38)		
	tar, pitúr	'to turn (intr.)'
	tar, pitír	'to turn (tr.)'

2.2.1.5 *Reflexes of finally weak verbs*

The diachronic treatment of OA finally weak verbs in KA replicates general

[3] Cf. the similar functionalization of the OA variants *yaba:t* and *yabi:t* in the Ḥōrān dialects (Cantineau 1946, 239).

paradigmatic trends noted for sound roots, i.e. loss of the OA morphophonemic type *faʕul*, and mutual interference between the remaining two patterns, which in this dialect yield the phonemic shapes *CCa* and *CiCi* in the Perfect; the Imperfect bases show mostly stem-final /-*i*/:

(39)	*KA*		*OA*
	pna, (*p*)*kyipni*	'to build'	*bana:* (*i*)
	ska, (*p*)*kyiski*	'to water'	*saqa:* (*i*)
	rma, (*p*)*kyirmi*	'to throw away'	*rama:* (*i*)
	šva, (*p*)*kyišvi*	'to roast'	*šawa:* (*i*)
	rva, (*p*)*kyirvi*	'to show'	**rawa:* (*i*)[4]
	xka, (*p*)*kyaxki*	'to speak'	*ḥaka:* (*i*)
	xpa, (*p*)*kyixpi*	'to weep'	*baka:* (*i*)[4a]
	(*n*)*tsa*, (*p*)*kyinsi*	'to forget'	*nasiy* (*a*)
	ška, (*p*)*kyiški*	'to complain'	*šaka:* (*i*)
	žra, (*p*)*kyižra*	'to happen'	**ǧaṛa:* (*a*)
	žiri, (*p*)*kyižri*	'to run'	*ǧara:* (*i*)
	miši, (*p*)*kyimši*	'to walk'	*maša:* (*i*)
	ʕeli, (*p*)*kyaʕli*	'to boil'	*ɣala:* (*i*)
	xiri, (*p*)*kyaxri*	'to defecate'	*xariʔ* (*a*)
	piti, (*p*)*kyipti*	'to begin'	*badaʔ* (*a*)

As in other Arabic dialects, verbs deriving from roots with *hamza* as C_3 have also been subsumed into the class of finally weak verbs.

The statistically predominant KA pattern *CCa* continues mainly OA *faʕal*; KA *CiCi* occurs mostly in a restricted set of verbs deriving from secondary **fiʕil* (< *faʕil* and *faʕal*) and appears to be a distinctly recessive morphophonemic type in this dialect (certain KA speakers, for instance, hesitate between /*miši*/ and *mpša*/ 'to walk'; cf. the similar doubling noted in Christian Baghdadi, Blanc 1964: 102).

A noteworthy development in this verb class is the diachronic split of OA *ǧara:*, *yaǧri:* along the line of its two principal meanings (possibly via functionalization of a secondary emphatic */ṛ/); similar treatment of this verb occurs in other Arabic dialects:

(40) **Cairene**

gara, *yigra*	'to happen'
giri, *yigri*	'to run'

Maltese (own language)

ǧara (f. *ǧraat*, pl. *ǧraaw*), *yiǧri*	'to happen'
ǧera (f. *ǧriit*, pl. *ǧreew*), *yiǧri*	'to run'

Despite its display of distinct *a*- and *i*-stems in the Perfect forms of finally weak verbs, KA has in reality retained minimal formal differentiation between these

[4] Cf. *rawa*, *yərwi* / *rawwa*, *yrawwi* 'faire voire' (Aleppo, Barthélemy 302).

[4a] Metathesis between labials and historical velar or uvular segments is sporadically attested elsewhere: Bīr Zēt *bikba* < **bibka* < **bibqa* (Blau 1960, 121), non-standard Maltese *wiifʔa* 'standing f.' < *wa:qifa*, *yiʔpa* ' he remains' < **yibqa*, etc.

two verb types; analogical levelling has, for instance, led to the diffusion of stem-final /-*ay*-/ in the 1st and 2nd person of the Perfect to the entire class:

(41)	*KA*		*OA*
	pnayt	' built'	*banayt*
	rmayt	'I threw away'	*ramayt*
	(*n*)*tsayt*	'I forgot'	*nasiyt*
	tfayt	'I extinguished'	*ṭafiʔt*
	ptayt	'I began'	*badaʔt*

Another noteworthy form of paradigmatic levelling in this KA verb class is that affecting surface manifestations of root-final |*Y*| in the 3rd person f.s. and the 3rd person plural of the Perfect. Whereas many Eastern Arabic dialects tend to display surface /*y*/ exclusively in reflexes of **CiCiC* stems:

(42) **Damascus** (Cowell 1964: 68, 72-4)

3 m.s.	3 f.s.	3 pl.	
bəʔi	*bəʔyet*	*bəʔyu*	'to remain'
ʔara	*ʔaret*	*ʔaru*	'to read'

KA inserts underlying |*Y*| in 3rd person f.s. forms of all finally weak verbs, yielding surface /*y*/ for *CiCi* stems, alternating with /*i*/ in *CCa* stems:

(43)	*KA*	
	miši	'he walked'
	miškyet	'she walked'
	žiri	'he ran'
	žirkyet	'she ran'
	(*n*)*tsa*	'he forgot'
	(*n*)*tsiet*	'she forgot'
	pna	'he built'
	pniet	'she built'
	ška	'he complained'
	škiet	'she complained'

In 3rd person pl. forms, however, KA restricts surface manifestations of |*Y*| to *CiCi* stems:

(44)				
	mišku	'they walked'	<	**miškyu*
	piθku	'they began'	<	**piθkyu*
	žirku	'they ran'	<	**žirkyu*
	(*n*)*tsu*	'they forgot'		
	pnu	'they built'		
	sku	'they complained'		

While occlusivization of underlying /*y*/ to /*ky*/ after obstruents in KA reflects the agency of a phonological process carried over from CG (§1.2.4b), elision of the palatal glide in the plural forms was presumably triggered off by its functionally ambiguous role in the feminine forms of *CiCi* stems (e.g. KA /*miškyet*/), where the palatal glide simultaneously represents root-final |*Y*| as well as the expected

palatal release of /k/ before /e/. Be that as it may, elision of /y/ in these verbs can be said to have effectuated their partial restructuring on the pattern of sound roots.

It is intriguing to speculate on the nature and origin of the historical shift exemplified in the KA verbal pattern *CCa* < *CaCa:*. Its restriction to the category of finally weak verbs in KA suggests the influence of an internal development whereby the contracted form was extrapolated from the syllabic structure of the statistically predominant *CCáy-* sequence in the Perfect.

2.2.1.6 *Special verbs*

The KA class of finally weak verbs has integrated a few historically heterogeneous forms harking back chiefly to doubly weak verbs; notwithstanding a number of formal resemblances in their phonemic shapes in the Perfect, these KA forms warrant individual treatment.

(a) The forms displayed in the Perfect and Imperfect stems of KA /*ža, piži*/ 'to come' are largely predictable from the OA paradigm of *ǧa:ʔ, yaǧi:ʔ*:

		Perfect	Imperfect
s.	1 m	*žit*	*pží*
	2 m/f.	*žit(i)*	*pitží*
	3 m.	*ža*	*piží*
	f.	*žet*	*pitží*
pl.	1	*žina*	*manží*
	2	*žitu*	*pitžú*
	3	*žu*	*pižú*

The stress pattern of the KA Imperfect forms in this verbal paradigm is noteworthy by reason of the widespread backward shift of stress on to the preformative vowel in the majority of Eastern Arabic vernaculars, e.g.

(45) 'he comes'
yəǧi (Baghdad: Blanc 1964, 107)
byəži (Damascus: Cowell 1964, 54)
yíǧi (Aleppo: Barthélemy 1935, 132)
yəǧi (Mardin: Jastrow 1978, 262).

The archaic KA forms do nevertheless find parallels in certain N. Lebanese and Central Asian vernaculars: *bži:*, *bitži:*, etc. (Bišmizzīn: Jiha 1964, 143), *biži* (Kfar ʿAbīda: Feghali 1919, 160), *tiǧi:* (Fischer 1961, 258).

Two peculiarities in the Perfect inflection of KA *ža* deserve to be noted: (i) the untypical retention of stem-final KA /*-i*/ < */*i:*/ < OA *iʔ* in the 1st and 2nd person forms despite the otherwise systematic generalization of /*-ay-*/ to most if not all other finally weak verb stems (§ 2.2.1.5); (ii) the raised vowel in the 3rd person f.s. form. KA *žet* plausibly derives from **že:t*, where the long vowel is the outcome of secondary tensing of */*a*/ in a proto-form **ǧat* attested in this or closely cognate forms in certain Eastern Arabic vernaculars:

(46) Mitchell (1962, 97)
gat (Cairo)

Cantineau (1934, 171)
čat (Palmyra)

Jastrow (1978, 262-3)
ǧat (Daragözü)

Blanc (1964, 107)
ǧət (Christian and Jewish Baghdadi)

Similar lengthening of this vowel occurs in the Anatolian Siirt and Diyarbakır dialects (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*).

As in many other Arabic dialects, the Imperative paradigm for this KA verb is suppletive; the forms used are:

(47) *éla* m.s.
éli f.s.
élu pl.

whose linguistically hybrid composition (cf. Gk. *éla*, *eláte* 'come!' (s., pl.) has been commented upon in past work (Newton 1964, 47; Roth 1975, 67).

(b) KA /*ḍa*, *piḍí*/ 'to light' < OA *ḍaˑʔ*, *yaḍiːʔ* builds its Imperfect paradigm on the pattern of /*ža*/; the treatment of the Perfect stem, however, follows the *CCa* verb class, i.e. /*ḍayt*/, /*ḍiet*/, /*ḍu*/.

(c) The KA reflex of OA *raʔaː* 'to see' is a defective verb; it completely lacks Imperfect and Imperative forms, and has only retained 1st and 2nd person forms in the Perfect, i.e. /*rayt*/ 'I saw', /*ráyt*(*i*)/ 'you (m./f.) saw', /*ráyna*/ 'we saw' and /*ráytu*/ 'you (pl.) saw'. Many KA speakers, especially the young, replace this verb entirely by the more common term /*kíšˤe*, *pkyákšaˤa*/ 'to see' < *qšˤ*, reflexes of which are widely attested in Eastern Arabic (cf. Schmidt and Kahle 1930; Barthélemy, 659; Vocke and Waldner 1982, 338).

(d) KA /*ta*, (*p*)*kyati*/ 'to give. continues historical *ʔaˤṭaː*, **yaˤṭiː* (< *yuˤṭiː*); deletion of the initial syllable in the Perfect stem (*ʔaˤṭaː* > **ˤṭaː* > KA *ta*) finds parallels in other Arabic dialects, e.g. Daragözü (Jastrow 1973, 264) and Maltese. In KA, loss of word-initial /*ʔa*/ represents a highly regular trend attested in other word classes, e.g. /*ranep*/ 'rabbits' > OA *ʔaraːnib*.

(e) The inflectional behaviour of KA /*sáva*, *pisáy*/ 'to do' < **sawa*, **bisawi*, ultimately from the OA Form II verb *sawwaː*, *yusawwiː* is an areal trait of notable historical and comparative interest; though already given in Roth (1975, 68), the KA conjugation of this verb is worth reproducing in full:

	Perfect	Imperfect
s. 1	*saváyt*	*psay*
2 m./f.	*saváyt(i)*	*pitsáy*
3 m.	*sava*	*pisáy*
f.	*savet*	*pitsáy*
pl. 1	*savayna*	*mantsáy*
2	*savaytu*	*pitsáw*
3	*saw*	*pisáw*

	Imperative
m./f.s.	*say*
pl.	*saw*

Despite the regular reduction of intervocalic */ww/ sequences to /v/ in this dialect (cf. §1.3.11 above), morphophonemic restructuring of *sawwa:* in KA is very probably an inherited trait, dialectal cognates of this verb displaying degemination of this cluster, with or without morphophonemic elision, being a wellknown S.E. Anatolian trait; note, for instance, the long and short alternants for all the Imperfect and some of the Perfect forms in the Mardin district, i.e. *sawayt/sayt*, *sawayna/sayna*, *ysawi/ysay*, *nsawi/nsay*, etc. (Jastrow 1978, 265). The dialect of Daragözü on the other hand, has, like KA, retained only short forms in the Perfect (Jastrow 1973, 60). Comparable morphophonemic instability of C_2 *w* in doubly weak verb stems also shows up in the Bišmizzīn vernacular (e.g. *byiswa/byisu*, *btiswa/btisu*, etc.: Jiha 1964, 143) and in the Central Asian dialects (Fischer 1961, 257).

2.2.2 *The derived verb forms*

The KA verbal system has preserved reflexes of ten OA derivational classes: Forms II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X for triradical roots, and Forms I and II for quadriradicals.

The designation of KA verbal classes corresponding to these OA types as morphologically derived is, in some cases, valid solely from a diachronic standpoint, since, as will become evident in the following sections, most of the corresponding morphological classes in KA have lost their productivity.

A few general features pertaining to morphophonemic restructuring in KA derived verbal schemes should be noted: (i) phonological fusion of /a/ and /i/ yielding identical Perfect and Imperfect bases for reflexes of Forms II, III, and X in triradical verbs, and for reflexes of Forms I and II in quadriradicals:

(48)	*KA*		*OA*
	lappes, *pi-lappes*	'to clothe'	*labbas*, *yulabbis*
	saʕet, *pi-saʕet*	'to help'	*sa:ʕad*, *yusa:ʕid*
	stanter, (*p*)*kyi-stanter*	'to wait'	*istanḍar*, *yastanḍir*

(ii) accretion of a secondary vowel after root-final /ʕ/, with concomitant loss of the preceding vowel:

(49)	*KA*		*OA*
	farrˤe	'he emptied'	*farray*
	nkatˤa	'it was cut'	*inqaṭaˤ*

(iii) restructuring of intransitive verb stems with final geminates as finally weak, entailing accretion of secondary word-final /-*a*/:

(50)		
	pall	'he moistened'
	mpalla	'it was moistened'
	žarr	'he transported'
	(*n*)*žarra*	'he withdrew'

As in other Arabic dialects showing analogous augmentation of verb stems with final geminates (cf. Fischer 1961, 248), the probable internal motivation for this restructuring process is that of counteracting prejunctural neutralization of consonant length. The KA restriction of this historical process to intransitive verb stems conceivably reflects the availability of word-final position in this verb class to pronominal suffixation, e.g. /*šadd-a*/ 'he tightened it (f.)'; the diffusion of morphophonemic |-*Y*| to such stems would have necessitated the selection of a phonologically marked form of pronominal suffixation, i.e. one requiring morphophonemic adjustments in the stem, i.e. stress shift (cf. KA /*nákka*/ 'he cleaned', /*nakkáx*/ 'he cleaned it (m.)'.

2.2.2.1 *Reflexes of Form II*

This is by far the most productive of all the KA verbal schemes; it yields *CáCCˤe*, *piCáCCˤe* for sound roots with final /ˤ/, and *CáCCeC*, *piCáCCeC* for other sound roots:

(51)	*KA*		*OA*
	fazzˤe, pifazzˤe	'to frighten'	*fazzaˤ, yufazziˤ*
	ražžˤe, piražžˤe	'to return (trans.)'	*rağğaˤ, yurağğiˤ*
	fatteš, pifatteš	'to search'	*fattaš, yufattiš*
	kallem, pikallem	'to answer'	*kallam, yukallim* 'to address'

Reflexes of OA medially weak roots undergo systematic deletion of */*yy*/ and degemination of */*ww*/:

(52)	*KA*		*OA*
	taen, pitaen	'to lend (money)'	(*dyn*)
	paen, pipaen	'to appear'	*bayyan, yubayyin*
	ravež, piravež	'to hurry'	*rawwağ, yurawwiğ* (Lane 1177)
	ˤaeš, piˤaeš	'to support'	*ˤayyaš, yuˤayyiš*
	ˤaeṭ, piˤaeṭ	'to shout'	*ˤayyaṭ, yuˤayyiṭ*
	xaveš, pixaveš	'to collect'	*ḥawwaš, yuḥawwiš*
	tavel, pitavel	'to remain long doing'	*ṭawwal, yuṭawwil*
	šavek, pišavek	'to prick'	*šawwak, yušawwik*
	žavez, pižavez	'to give in marriage'	*zawwağ, yuzawwiğ*

šaez, pišaez	'to fence in'	*sawwağ* ~ *sayyağ*[5], etc.

and finally weak roots show the expected KA scheme *CaCCa*, *piCaCCi*, e.g.

(53)

KA		*OA*
šatta, pišatti	'to rain'	*šatta:, yušatti:*
nakka, pinakki	'to clean'	*naqqa:, yunaqqi:*
vadda, pivaddi	'to send'	(*wdy*)
malla, pimalli	'to fill'	(*mlʔ*)

KA also exhibits residual traces of a restructuring process more commonly attested among Syro-Lebanese Arabic vernaculars, i.e. the transformation of historically Form II verbs into quadriliterals via substitution of the first segment in the geminate cluster by /*y*/:

(54)

KA		*OA*
faylet, pifaylet	'to loosen'	*fallat*

Reflexes of the secondary *fayˤal* pattern (< *faˤˤal*) show up in Aleppo Arabic (*ṭaylaˤ* 'faire sortir': Barthélemy 497) and Lebanese:

(55) Jiha (1964, 145-6)

ṭaylaˤ/ṭallaˤ	'heraufbringen'
layˤab/laˤˤab	'spielen lassen'
nayzal/nazzal	'herabkommen'

KA also has the form /*taylep*/ 'he prepared' < Syr. ܬܝܠܦ 'paravit' (Brockelmann 1928, 270) showing the shift of **yy* > *yl*.

2.2.2.1.1 Derivational and semantic traits pertaining to Form II verbs in KA also merit notice. Synchronic derivation from simplex verbs appears to be marginal outside the following pairs, where the Form II counterparts usually have a causative meaning:

(56)

KA		*OA*
sakker	'he intoxicated'	(*ʔaskar*)
siker	'he got drunk'	*sakir*
kallep	'he upset, overturned'	*qallab*
kilep	'it tilted (intr.)'	*qalab*
ḏarrˤet	'she suckled'	*raḍḍaˤat*
ḏirˤe	'he sucked'	*raḍiˤ*
fazzˤe	'he frightened'	*fazzaˤ*
fizˤe	'he feared'	*faziˤ*
kaθθer	'he augmented'	*kaθθar*
kiθer	'it increased'	*kaθur*

Complete semantic dissociation between historically simplex and derived cognates has occurred in:

[5] Cf. Aleppo *sayyağ*, *ysayyeğ* 'entourer de haies ...' (Barthélemy 370).

(57)	*KA*		*OA*
	kattˤe	'he squandered'	(*qṭˤ* 'to cut')
	kitˤe	'he cut'	
	kasser	'he tired (tr.)'	(*ksr* 'to break')
	kiser	'he broke'	

In the pair /*kadder*/ 'he estimated' and /*xiter*/ 'he was able', KA reflects the re-etymologization of the simplex form also attested in other Eastern Arabic vernaculars (cf. Syro-Palestinian *γadar* 'pouvoir': Denizeau 1960, 371).

In fact, the majority of Form II verbs in KA lack verbal cognates; as in Old Arabic (Fleisch 1976, 71) and in several contemporary Arabic vernaculars (cf. Feghali 1919, 166; Erwin 1963, 64; Jastrow 1978, 165; etc.), a high proportion of verbs in this class derive from nouns:

(58)	*KA*	
	maššet	'he combed'
	mušt	'comb'
	šammes	'he exposed to the sun'
	šims	'sun'
	sappel	'it put forth ear (cereal)'
	siple	'ear of corn'
	taxxen	'he smoked'
	tixxán	'smoke, tobacco'
	kapper	'he buried'
	kapr	'grave'
	žappen	'he made cheese'
	župn	'cheese'
	sakkef	'he made shoes'
	skefe	'shoe-making'

The numerical predominance of Form II in KA probably represents a compensatory systemic shift coinciding with loss of the OA Form IV class, with which it shared a notable functional overlap:

(59)	*KA*		*OA*
	farrex	'it sprouted'	*farrax*/*ʔafrax*
	farrˤe	'he emptied'	*farraγ*/*ʔafraγ*
	lappes	'he clothed'	*labbas*/*ʔalbas*
	nappex	'he aroused'	*nabbah*/*ʔanbah*
	nakka	'he cleaned'	*naqqa*/*ʔanqa:*
	lazzek	'he stuck (tr.)'	*lazzaq*/*ʔalzaq*

2.2.2.2 *Reflexes of Form III*

Historical loss of vocalic length has understandably obscured the structural distinctiveness of this small KA verbal class, particularly in the case of medially weak roots:

(60) *KA*

sael	'he asked'	<	**sayyil*	<	*sa:yal*
saer	'he tampered with'	<	**sayyir*	<	**sa:yar*[6]

whose inflectional behaviour is identical with that of Form II reflexes exemplified in (52) above. Given the highly systematic frontal shift of word-medial */*a:*/ in the environment of a high front vowel, the most striking morphophonemic feature of this class is undoubtedly the complete absence of the *imāla*-reflex in the Imperfect, possibly an entirely accidental fact ascribable to the retracted or emphatic quality of the historically adjacent consonants in the specific Form III verbs retained:

(61)

KA		*OA*
ʕakep, piʕakep	'to be active'	(*ʕqb*)?
saʕet, pisaʕet	'to help'	*sa:ʕad*
laʕep, pilaʕep	'to deceive'	*la:ʕab* 'to jest'
ḏarep, piḏarep	'to quarrel'	*ḍa:rab* 'to fight with'
kapel, pikapel	'to look after'	*qa:bal* 'to face'

The *imāla* shift does occur, significantly, in a small set of Form VI verbs (for discussion, see §1.4.4.2.2).

2.2.2.3 *KA verbs with prefixal* |*T*-|

The KA derivational prefix |*T*-|, having the allomorphic shapes /*θ*-/ before stops, and /*t*-/ elsewhere, appears with reflexes of Forms V and VI, and with certain quadriradical verbs (§2.2.2.8).

Form V verbs in KA constitute quite a large class, in which the grammatical function of |*T*-| is chiefly that of yielding reflexive or, occasionally, reciprocal counterparts of Form II transitive verbs:

(62)

KA		*OA*
maššet	'he combed'	*maššaṭ*
tmaššet	'he combed himself'	*tamaššaṭ*
ʕassel	'he washed (tr.)'	*γassal*
taʕassel	'he washed himself'	*taγassal*
xallek	'he shaved (tr.)'	(*ḥlq*)
txallek	'he shaved himself'	
nappex	'he aroused'	*nabbah*
tnappex	'he woke up'	*tanabbah*
latteš	'he soiled' (< *lṭš*, Denizeau 1960: 475)	
tlatteš	'it got soiled'	
kattep	'he startled'	*qaṭṭab* 'he frowned'
θkattep	'he was startled'	*taqaṭṭab*
šattem	'he insulted'	(*štm*)
tšattmu	'they insulted one another'	

[6] Cf. *sa:yər*, *ysa:yər* 'se rendre au désir de (*qqn*)' (Barthélemy 370).

In addition to its productive derivational role in these and several other pairs, KA |*T*-| also shows up as a lexicalized element in certain reflexes of historically Form V verbs for which KA lacks underived verbal counterparts:

	KA		*OA*
(63)	*tnaxxet*	'he sighed'	*tanahhad*
	θkarrep	'he received Communion'	*taqarrab*
	tfallek	'he was wounded in the head'	*tafallaq* 'to split'
	tnasset	'he eavesdropped'	*tanaṣṣat*
	txassen	'he became handsome'	*taḥassan*
	taʿaer	'he slimmed' (< *tγayyar* 'maigrir', Denizeau 1960: 379)	

though a synchronic derivational link can, in a few cases, be set up with nominal or adjectival cognates: /*kirpán*/ 'consecrated host', /*xusn*/ 'beauty', /*maʿaer*/ 'thin (m.)', etc.

KA reflexes of Form VI are few in number, the only forms encountered being:

	KA		*OA*
(64)	*tmesek*	'he got caught'	*tama:sak* 'he held together'
	θperek	'he kissed (holy image)'	*taba:rak* 'he was blessed'

Roth (1975, 79 f.) considers the possibility of setting up a further subclass of KA verbs with |*T*-|, deriving from triradical Form I verbs:

(65)	*KA*	
	tvilet	'he was born'
	viltet	'she gave birth'
	txitep	'he got engaged'
	xitep	'he got engaged to'
	txirep	'it disintegrated'
	xirep	'he destroyed'
	tšarat	'it was ripped'
	šarat	'he ripped'

At first glance, this KA verb class is of special historical and comparative interest inasmuch as prefixation of |*T*-| to Form I verbs (unknown in Old Arabic) is a characteristic of certain forms of Middle Arabic (Blau 1961, 166) and a number of contemporary Arabic vernaculars spoken in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco (Brockelmann 1908, 529). On closer inspection, however, the independent and secondary origin of KA /*t*/ in these verbs becomes evident; thus, all KA verbs in this class show a dental nasal segment /*n*/ continuing the reflexive marker |*N*-| in the inflection of the Imperfect:

(66)	(*p*)*kyínivlet*	'he is born'
	(*p*)*kyínixtep*	'he gets engaged' (< *xṭb*)

In keeping with the phonotactic rule of postnasal epenthesis outlined in § 1.2.5, a transitional dental stop occurs wherever the nasal is immediately followed by a continuant segment (see examples (35) in the same section). As already indicated in Roth (1975, 80), these KA verb forms with initial /*t*/ should be

analyzed as a subgroup of the Form VII class; deletion of the dental nasal /*n*/ in the Perfect represents the normal KA treatment of postjunctural nasals before homorganic stops (§ 1.2.5). Thus, KA /*tvilet*/, /*txitep*/, /*txirep*/, etc. derive morphophonemically in the following fashion:

(67) |*nvilet*| → |*ntvilet*| → /*tvilet*/
|*nxirep*| → |*ntxirep*| → /*txirep*/
|*nxitep*| → |*ntxitep*| → /*txitep*/

Phonemic $n + C$ sequences are retained without epenthesis in surface forms wherever the phonetic nature of C_1 lends itself to mutual articulatory adjustments conducive to smooth transition:

(68) [*ŋgíser*] 'it got broken' ← /*nkiser*/
[*ndáxak*] 'he was duped' ← /*ntaxak*/

2.2.2.4 *KA verbs with prefixal* |*N*-|

As in other Arabic vernaculars, the chief grammatical function of the verbal prefix |*N*-| (→ /*m*-/ before labials) is to yield passive or medio-passive counterparts of transitive verbs:

(69) *KA*

kiser	'he broke'
nkiser, (*p*)*kyínikser*	'to be broken'
kitel	'he killed'
nkitel, (*p*)*kyínixtel*	'to get killed'
šarat	'he ripped'
ntšarat, (*p*)*kyintšarat*	'to get ripped'
katˤa	'he cut'
nkatˤa, (*p*)*kyinkatˤa*	'to be cut'
pall	'he moistened'
mpalla, (*p*)*kyimpáll*	'to get wet'
paˤa	'he sold'
mpaˤa, (*p*)*kyimpaˤa*	'to be sold'
žavez	'he gave in marriage'
(*n*)*tžavez*, (*p*)*kyintžavez*	'to get married'
taen	'he lent'
ntaen, (*p*)*kyintaen*	'to borrow'
faylet	'he loosened'
mfaylet, (*p*)*kyimfaylet*	'to get loose'

Form VII verbs in KA lack a distinctive vocalic scheme in the 3rd person masculine singular, and generally retain the vocalic pattern of the original verb stem, though the *a-a* scheme is liable to morphophonemic change in this class:

(70) *ntáxak* 'he was duped'
ntexíxt 'I was duped'

2.2.2.5 *Reflexes of Form VIII*

In contrast with the majority of Arabic vernaculars spoken in Greater Syria, which appear to retain a sizeable stock of Form VIII verbs (Cantineau 1946, 264), KA displays, like individual Syrian dialects (Palmyra: Cantineau 1934, 153; Aleppo: Sabuni 1980, 104) and many S.E. Anatolian Arabic vernaculars (Jastrow 1978, 190) mostly lexicalized reflexes of the verbal infix /*t*/ after C_1.

Form VIII verbs in KA lack a characteristic semantic function; whereas a few are reflexive or medio-passive in meaning:

(71)	Form VIII		Form I
	šteʕel, (*p*)*kyišteʕel*	'to busy oneself'	(*šoʕol* 'work')
	xtarak, (*p*)*kyaxtrak*	'to be burned'	*xarak* 'he burned'
	xtanak, (*p*)*kyaxtnak*	'to drown'	*xanak* 'he choked'

others retain only a vague link with their simplex or derived cognates:

(72)	Form VIII		Cognates
	stava, (*p*)*kyistvi*	'to ripen (fruit)'	*sava* 'to make'
	ltaka, (*p*)*kyilteka*	'to meet'	*laka* 'he found'
	ftaen, (*p*)*kyiftaen*	'to imagine'	*paen* 'he appeared'

Some high frequency items in this KA form class cannot be regarded in any real sense as anything other than active:

(73)	*KA*	
	xtar, (*p*)*kyaxtér*	'to choose'
	ʕatézz, (*p*)*kyaʕtézz*	'to need'
	štak, (*p*)*kyíštak*	'to yearn for'
	štra, (*p*)*kyištri*	'to buy'

A striking phonological trait characterizing certain medially and finally weak verbs in this class is the unexpected fronted reflex of the stem-vowel /*e*/ < */*a*/ and */*a:*/ (KA /(*p*)*kyilteka*/, /(*p*)*kyaxtér*/, etc.), whose historical development is difficult to reconstruct on the basis of the limited examples to hand. Phonological changes affecting individual words in this class also merit notice, e.g. restructuring of OA *ʔiʕtaraf*, *yaʕtarif* 'to confess' as a quadriliteral: KA *ʕatref*, *piʕatref* (same meaning); and the peculiar treatment of OA *imtalaʔ*, *yamtaliʔ* 'to be filled', yielding the formally hybrid KA verb /*ntala*, (*p*)*kyíntal*, pl. (*p*)*kyintállu*/. Restructuring of this verb, particularly, its remodelling on the Form VII pattern is well attested in other Arabic dialects: Aleppo *tala* 'to fill' (Sabuni 1980: 99, fn. 2), Mardin *tala*, *yətli* 'füllen' (Jastrow 1978, 190), etc.

2.2.2.6 *Reflexes of Form IX*

KA reflexes of Form IX for inchoatives referring to colours and defects are very few in number; all the KA terms encountered relate to colour, and derive synchronically from adjectival cognates:

(74)	Verb		Colour term
	xmarra, (*p*)*kyaxmarra*	'to blush'	*axmar* 'red (m.)'

sfarra, (*p*)*kyisfarra*	'to turn yellow'	*isfar* 'yellow (m.)'
sfadda, (*p*)*kyisfadda*	'to turn dark'	*isfet* 'black (m.)'
pkyad̶d̶a, (*p*)*kyipkyad̶d̶a*	'to turn white'	*apkyad̶* white (m.)'

The most striking development here is the overt formal marking of the Perfect and Imperfect stems as finally weak via accretion of secondary /-*a*/.

2.2.2.7 *Reflexes of Form X*

Lexical loss has reduced KA reflexes of this morphological class to a mere residue, in which the occurrence of KA /*st*-/ < OA *ist*- does not correlate with a stable semantic function:

(75)	*natar*, (*p*)*kyintor*	'to watch over'
	stanter, (*p*)*kyistanter*	'to await'
	ufá, (*p*)*kyúfi*	'to pay'
	stawfa, (*p*)*kyistawfa*	'to be paid'

Outside these and a few other words, KA /*st*-/ has undergone complete lexicalization, as in the following verbs, whose roots do not recur elsewhere in KA verbal or nominal classes:

(76)	*KA*	
	strax, (*p*)*kyistrix*	'to rest'
	staxa, (*p*)*kyistxi*	'to be ashamed'
	staʕappa, (*p*)*kyistaʕappi*	'to embarrass' (< OA *ʕyb*?)

In a few words, /*st*-/ has contracted to /*s*-/, probably in keeping with a restriction on postjunctural triadic obstruent clusters, which are altogether rare in this dialect: KA /*sxaqqa*/ 'he hid himself' (cf. KA /*xappa*/ 'he hid tr.'), /*slakka*/ 'he seized' (cf. Aleppo *slaqqa*, Barthélemy 763; S.E. Anatolian *stalqa*, *yəstalqi* 'auffangen', Jastrow 1978; 195).

2.2.2.8 *Reflexes of quadriradical verbs*

KA has retained only a very small set of quadriradical verbs, mostly of nonclassical origin:

(77)	*KA*			
	xarkeš	'he moved (tr.)'	<	*ḥarkaš* [7]
	šarkel	'he entangled'	<	**šarkal* [8]
	šaxnek	'it brayed'	<	*šahnaq* [9]
	laʕves	'he chewed'	<	**laʕwas* [10]

Reflexive or passive forms in this verb class can take either |*T*-| or |*N*-|, the selection being lexically determined:

[7] Cf. *ḥarkaš*, *yḥarkeš* 'creuser' (Barthélemy 153).
[8] Cf. *šarkəl* 'embrouiller' (Barthélemy 389).
[9] Cf. *šahnaq* 'braire' (Barthélemy 414).
[10] Cf. *laʕwes* 'mâcher' (Denizeau 1960, 476).

(78) *txarkeš* 'he moved (intr.)'
tšarkel 'it got entangled'
ntaylep 'it was prepared'

Some KA quadriradicals appear only in their derived form:

(79) *tmarmˤe* 'it (animal) rolled in the dust'
(n)tzaxlek 'he slipped'

2.2.3 *Verb modifiers*

The form and function of KA verb modifiers have been sketched in Roth (1975, 97 f.); the following remarks deal specifically with historical and comparative aspects of this morpheme class and its morphophonemic ramifications.

2.2.3.1 *KA /p(i)-/*

The KA Imperfect modifier /*p*(*i*)-/ continues the non-contingency marker /*b*(*i*)-/ encountered in most sedentary and nomadic varieties of Eastern Arabic (cf. Cantineau 1934, 134). Its principal function in KA is to signal progressive and habitual aspect: /*p-ištri*/ 'I buy, am buying'. The absence of an overt morphosemantic contrast between these two uses of the Imperfect sets this dialect apart from many Eastern Arabic vernaculars, which tend to display an obligatory proclitic in the progressive (cf. Damascus: Cowell 1964, 320).

KA /*p*(*i*)-/ retains its vowel before *CC* clusters, but contracts to /*p*-/ before vowels and single consonants, realized /*f*/ before underlying stops:

(80) *pi-ttištri* 'you (m./f.) buy, are buying'
pi-žṛi 'I run, am running'
p-akol 'I eat, am eating'
f-taxxen 'I smoke, am smoking'

In the first person plural, KA /*p*(*i*)-/ has the allomorphic variant /*man*-/, reduced to /*ma*-/ before underlying dyadic clusters:

(81) *man-nakol* 'we eat, are eating' ← |*mannakul*|
man-naxrop 'we leave, are leaving' ← |*mannaxrup*|
ma-ntúk 'we taste, are tasting' ← |*manntúk*|
ma-llaki 'we find' ← |*mannlaki*|

As has already been indicated, underlying KA |*py*-| yields the epenthesized cluster /*pky*-/, which is usually reduced to /*ky*-/:

/*kyakol*/ 'he eats, is eating' ← /*pkyakol*/ ← |*pyakul*|

2.2.3.2 *KA /tta-/ and /ta-/*

The KA verbal system indicates the Future and the Subjunctive by means of the proclitics /*tta*-/ and /*ta*-/ respectively, both of which probably derive from OA *ḥatta:*. These are attached directly to the Imperfect base without /*p*(*i*)-/ thus:

(82) *KA*

pi-šrap	'I drink, am drinking'
tta-šrap	'I shall drink'
pri ta-šrap	'I want to drink'
pi-rkos	'I dance, am dancing'
tta-rkos	'I shall dance'
pri ta-rkos	'I want to dance'

When followed by the 3rd person masculine and plural marker |*Y*-|, they have alternants with a raised vowel, i.e. /*tte-*/ and /*te-*/; the palatal glide itself is generally either completely elided or fused with the preformative vowel in this context:

(83) *KA*

tte-axo	'he will take'	←	|*tta-yaxut*|
pšan te-isrok	'so that he might steal'	←	|*ta-yisruk*|

The development of verbal proclitics from OA *ḥatta:* is a trait that KA shares with many Middle Eastern vernaculars; thus, the use of dialectal *ḥatta* itself or of its contracted form *ta* in the role of a subordinating conjunction is very common throughout most of the Syro-Palestinian dialect area and in certain Mesopotamian vernaculars (Cowell 1964, 358; Blanc 1964, 117). The use of *ta* as a Future marker is, on the other hand, a hallmark of Anatolian *qəltu* Arabic:

(84) Mardin (Jastrow 1978, 302)

tatəǧi	du (m) wirst kommen
tađbáḥu	ich werde ihn schlachten

The morphophonemic fronting and raising of KA /*a*/ before the 3rd person marker /*y*/ also finds a close parallel here (*op. cit.*, 103). The morpholexical split

ḥatta:
↙ ↘
tta *ta*

functionalizing retention vs. degemination of historical */*tt*/ appears, however, to be a KA innovation.

2.2.3.3 *KA* /*a-*/

The grammatical properties of this KA proclitic have been outlined in Roth (1975, 109*f.*); it occurs with the following forms of the Imperfect paradigm divested of the non-contingency marker; the resulting verb form functions principally as an Optative or a polite Imperative:

(85)

2 m.s.	*a-ttaxtop*	'write!'
f.s.	*a-ttáxtupi*	'write!'
pl.	*a-ttáxtupu*	'write!'
1 pl.	*a-nnaxtop*	'let us write!'

The historical origin of KA /*a-*/ is rather obscure; no cognate free particle or proclitic with a comparable function has been noted in the other Arabic vernaculars.

2.2.3.4 *KA /kan-/ and /kanta-/*

(a) KA implements certain aspectual, modal, and temporal functions in its verbal system by means of clitics deriving from the Perfect paradigm of OA *ka:n* 'to be'. The following forms have been noted:

3 m.s./pl.	*kan-*	<	*ka:n*
f.s.	*kan(t)-*	<	*ka:nat*
2 m.s., f.s., pl., 1 s.	*kun(t)-*	<	*kunt*
pl.	*kwa-*	<	*kunna:*

These are attached to a following Imperfect or Perfect stem, and, in the case of stative verbs and verbs of motion, to corresponding active participles:

(86) *kanišatti* 'it used to rain'
kanyistantru 'they were waiting'
kantilˤe 'he had gone out'
kantži 'she used to come'
kant-žeyye 'she was coming'

Final /*-t*/ in /*kun(t)-*/ and /*kan(t)-*/ is systematically retained before vowels and most consonants, but is elided before /*t*/:

(87) *kuntisrok* 'I used to steal'
kant-žét 'she had come'
kantižri 'she used to run' ← |*kant-tižri*|
kuntlaˤat 'I had gone out' ← |*kunt-tlaˤt*|

A noteworthy historical trend relating to the treatment of proclitic *kan* in this dialect is the overt marking of certain stative verbs via replacement of their Perfect stems by '*kan* + Imperfect' forms:

(88) *kanyíninkez*, (*p*)*kyíninkez* 'to suffer sharp pain'
kanyiržef, (*p*)*kyiržef* 'to tremble'
kanyikzakzek, (*p*)*kyikzakzek* [11] 'to be ticklish'

(b) The KA proclitic /*kanta-*/ < **ka:nta:* < **ka:n ḥatta:* generally occurs with verbs in the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences; it is affixed directly to the Imperfect and has the allomorphic shape /*kanta*/ in the 3rd person singular and plural, alternating with /*kunta-*/ throughout the rest of the paradigm; the final vowel /*a*/ undergoes fronting before underlying |*Y*-|:

[11] < **kanyitzakzek*, (*p*)*kyitzakzek*; cf. *zakzak* 'chatouiller' (Barthélemy 316).

(89) *kanteźi* 'he would have come' ← |*kanta-yiźi*|
kanteakol 'he would have eaten' ← |*kanta-yakul*|

The retention of a reflex of **ka:nta:* with closely comparable morphophonemic behaviour is attested in certain S.E. Anatolian Arabic vernaculars (Jastrow 1978, 305).

2.2.4 *Participles*

KA tends to retain active participles mainly for statives and verbs of motion; these belong almost exclusively to Form I. In contrast with the majority of Arabic vernaculars, KA displays no trace of the formal distinction between participial and nominal reflexes of OA *fa:ʕil*, the latter being very rare in this dialect.

Passive participles for sound Form I verbs hark back mainly to OA *mafʕu:l*:

(90)

KA		*OA*
maksúr	'broken (m.)'	*maksu:r*
maxtúl	'killed (m.)'	*maqtu:l*
masrúk	'stolen (m.)'	*masru:q*
maplúl	'moistened (m.)'	*mablu:l*

Of all the derived classes, only Form II verbs appear to yield participles freely in KA; these have the morphophonemic forms *mCáCCeC* (m.s.), *mCáCCe* (f.s.), and *mCaCCín* (pl.); they tend to be mostly, though not exclusively, passive in meaning:

(91) *KA*

mpkannes	'swept (m.)'
mpxalles	'liberated (m.)'
maʕarrep	'separated (m.)'
mpkattep	'startled (m.)'

The historical neutralization of the active: passive distinction was a direct result of the paradigmatic fusion of short /*i*/ and /*a*/ discussed in § 1.4.1 above.

Participial forms deriving from other verb classes appear to be rare; the following have been noted:

(92) Form VII

minsi	'forgotten (m.)'
mintfi	'extinguished (m.)'
mimpaʕa	'sold (c.)'

Form VIII

mextri	'rotten (m.)'
mištri	'bought (m.)'
mistvi	'ripe (m.)'

Quadriradicals

mšarkel	'knotted (m.)'
mxarkeš	'moved (m.)'
mfaylet	'loosened (m.)'

By far the most striking trait of KA passive participles is their treatment of the OA feminine ending /-*a*/, which yields KA /-*e*/ or /-*a*/ in accordance with a vowel harmony rule referring to the advancement feature of the actual or historical vowel before C_3; thus, stems with /*u*/ usually show allomorphic /-*a*/, whereas stems with underlying |*i*| have /-*e*/:

(93)	*KA*		
	maʕzuma	'invited (f.)'	
	mastuta	'blocked (f.)'	
	maptula	'changed (f.)'	
	mxallse	'liberated (f.)'	← |*mxállise*|
	mšárikle	'knotted (f.)'	← |*mšárkile*|
	mxárikše	'moved (f.)'	← |*mxárkiše*|

2.2.5 *Verbal nouns*

KA disposes of *maṣdar* forms for a fairly large number of verbs, particularly in the Form II class.

Sound Form I roots tend to yield mostly KA *CaCC* and, occasionally, *CiCC* and *CuCC*; the quality of the stem vowel appears to be lexically rather than phonetically determined:

(94)	*KA*		*OA*
	park	'lightning'	*barq*
	kasr	'breaking'	*kasr*
	pals	'pressure'	*balṣ*
	mašt	'combing'	*mašṭ*
	xark	'burning'	*ḥarq*
	tilp	'begging'	*ṭalb*
	širp	'drinking'	*šurb*
	sukr	'drunkenness'	*sukr*

Roots with final /ʕ/ are phonologically noteworthy in that they all display the pharyngeal fricative prejuncturally, i.e. without the secondary word-final syllabic that is otherwise the norm in all the other KA word classes:

(95)	*KA*		*OA*
	katʕ	'cutting'	*qaṭʕ*
	zarʕ	'sowing'	*zarʕ*
	ɗarʕ	'sucking'	*raḍ(a)ʕ*
	satʕ	'touching'	——

The special phonological behaviour of /ʕ/ in verbal nouns is presumably related to the morphological role of word-final /-*a*/ and /-*e*/ in this grammatical class, i.e. the derivation of unit nouns: /*xarka*/ 'burn', /*satʕa*/ 'touch', etc.

Other nominal patterns also occur with specific KA roots:

(96)	*KA*		*OA*
	xtil	'murder'	(*qtl*)
	xtepe	'writing'	*kita:bah*

xsat	'harvesting'	*ḥiṣa:d*

Medially weak roots generally yield KA *CawC* or *CayC*:

(97)

KA		*OA*
sawk	'ploughing'	*sawq* 'driving'
nawm	'sleeping'	*nawm*
šayl	'removal'	(*šwl*)

though root-final /ʕ/ in this class triggers off monophthongization of historical diphthongs and a harmonizing prejunctural vowel:

(98)

KA		*OA*
žoʕo	'hunger'	*ǧawʕ*
peʕe	'sale'	*bayʕ*

Finally weak roots usually have *maṣdar* forms on the KA pattern *CCe* and, occasionally, *CiCe*, e.g.

(99)

KA		*OA*
rme	'throwing away'	(*rmy*)
xke	'talking'	(*ḥky*)
ske	'watering'	(*sqy*)
ške	'complaining'	(*šky*)
tre	'winnowing'	(*ḏry*)
xre	'defecating'	(*xrʔ*)
pne	'building'	(*bny*)
pike	'weeping'	(*bky*)

The morphophonemic restructuring affecting the historically weak consonant in the Perfect paradigm of the verbs /*miši*/ 'he walked' and /*žiri*/ 'he ran' also extends to their respective verbal nouns:

(100)

KA				*OA*
mašk	'walking'	<	**mašky*	*mašy*
žark	'running'	<	**žarky*	*ǧary*

As in many other Arabic dialects, the inventory of morphological patterns available for derived verbal nouns in KA has been greatly reduced. Thus, most KA verbal nouns for derived triliteral verbs and for quadriliterals have the shape *tCúCCoC* or *tCúCoC* from OA *tafaʕʕul* and *tafa:ʕul* respectively; the latter occurs mostly with medially weak roots:

(101)

Verbal noun		Verb
θkunnos	'sweeping'	*kannes*
tnussof	'sifting (of chaff)'	*nassef*
tʕuppo	'filling'	*ʕappa*
tsuffo	'cleansing'	*saffa*
txuvoš	'collecting'	*xaveš*
tsuyož	'fencing in'	*šaez*

tsuyol	'asking'	*sael*
tluʕvos	'chewing'	*laʕves*
txurkoš	'movement'	*xarkeš*
tšurkol	'binding of animal's legs'	*šarkel.*

III
THE NOMINAL SYSTEM

3.0 PRELIMINARIES

The nominal system of KA displays, like its verbal system though on an even larger scale, the formal effects of a far-reaching restructuring process conducive to overall systemic simplification, and entailing:

(i) Streamlining of its native derivational and inflectional apparatus via phonologically determined merger of certain morphophonemic classes, replacement of a number of internal plural schemes by suffixed plural markers, etc. Some indication of the extent of systemic reduction actualized in this way can be obtained by noting that whereas many Eastern Arabic dialects retain as many as 25 to 30-odd internal plural schemes (cf. Cowell 1964, 219 f.; Feghali 1919, 212 f.; Tomiche 1964, 177), KA disposes of only five.

(ii) Large-scale loss of native lexicon especially in areas susceptible to the impact of linguistic acculturation. The formal effects of lexical loss in KA are particularly evident in the purely vestigial retention or complete absence of reflexes for several OA derivational schemes, e.g. the virtually unrepresented *fa:ʕil* and *faʕʕa:l* patterns for agent nouns, and the depleted state of patterns with the prefix /*m-*/ for nouns of place and instrument.

An important outcome of these evolutionary trends has been a drastic curtailment of derivational productivity within KA nominal morphology, and a commensurate enhancement of the status of words rather than roots or patterns as lexical primes.

Given the extensive reduction of Arabic-based lexicon in KA, the paucity of morphologically integrated non-native nominal lexemes in this dialect presents a striking contrast with the situation obtaining, for instance, in Maltese, where historical depletion of certain nominal schemes has been made good via numerous fully 'Semiticized' loans from Italian, e.g. the plural scheme *CoCoC* < OA *fuʕul*:

(1)	**Maltese**		**Italian**
	folol (s. *folla*)	'crowds'	*folla*
	somom (s. *somma*)	'sums'	*somma*

KA's preference for outright transfers from CG, usually with minimal formal adaptation of loaned material, is probably itself highly symptomatic of the structural redundancy characterizing nominal schemes in this dialect.

3.1 NOMINAL DERIVATION

The following two sections survey the form and function of the salient morphological patterns retained in the KA nominal system. Attention is here drawn to the paradigmatic impact of phonological restructuring on the canonic shapes of the OA patterns represented. Three systematic shifts leading to internal split and/or fusion of the affected patterns deserve to be noted in particular:

(i) deletion of short vowels in unstressed open syllables, and of word-initial unstressed **/ʔa-/*;

(ii) loss of the vocalic length opposition;

(iii) umlaut of OA */a:/* in the environment of a historically adjacent syllable vowelled with **/i/* or **/i:/*.

The cumulative formal impact of these diachronic processes can be exemplified in the following paradigmatic shifts among others:

(a) OA *faˤal* *fa:ˤil* *ʔafa:ˤil*

KA *CáCeC* *CéCeC*

e.g.

(2)

KA		*OA*
taken	'beard'	*ɗaqan* 'chin'
šater	'smart (m.s.)'	*ša:ṭir*
ranep	'rabbits'	*ʔara:nib*
xerep	'leaving (m.s.)'	*ha:rib* 'escaping'

(b) OA *ʔáfˤa:l* *faˤa:l* *fiˤa:l* *faˤa:yil*

KA *CCaC* *CCeC*

e.g.

(3)

KA		*OA*
xpaz	'loaves'	*ʔaxba:z*
zman	'time'	*zama:n*
xtat	'cats'	*qiṭa:ṭ*
klep	'dogs'	*kila:b*
knes	'churches'	*kana:yis*

(c) OA *faˤa:lil*

CCéCeC *CCáCeC*

e.g.

(4)	*KA*		*OA*
	tvežen	'pans'	*ṭawa:ğin*
	mnaxel	'sieves'	*mana:xil*

The principal effect of these diachronic shifts has been extensive standardization of canonic shapes throughout the nominal system, and a notable blurring of the formal discreteness pertaining to the historical noun schemes affected. By way of characterizing the diachronic morphophonemics of the KA nominal system, the traditional classification of noun forms according to canonic shape will be retained here.

3.1.1 *KA reflexes of OA CVCC and CVCVC patterns*

KA nominals harking back to the OA sound patterns *faʕl*, *fiʕl*, and *fuʕl* show the expected historical redistribution and morphophonemic diversification concomitant with the restructuring and expansion of the OA short vowel system as indicated in §1.4.1:

(5)	*CiCC*:	*pint*	'girl'
		kilp	'dog'
		tist	'pot'
	CeCC:	*sexr*	'son-in-law'
	CaCC:	*šaxr*	'month'
		vart	'flowers'
		katt	'cat'
	CoCC:	*xops*	'bread'
		xorž	'saddle-bag'
		sotx	'roof'
	CuCC:	*župn*	'cheese'
		sunt	'plough'
		sudr	'chest'

Complete diachronic loss of word-initial OA /ʔ/ as well as sporadic deletion of */w/ in this position has brought about the proliferation of biliteral forms such as

(6)	*KA*	
	exl	'parents'
	art	'land'
	oxt	'time'
	užž	'face'

Most of the KA nouns in this class tend to be formally differentiated from triradical reflexes of OA *CVCC* by displaying morphophonemically uninflected consonant positions, e.g. /*artát*/ 'lands', etc. (cf. OA **ʔara:ḍi:*, etc.).

Medially weak roots with KA /*w*/ or /*y*/ as C_2 are mostly retained without change; systematic loss of vowel length and occasional fading out of the historical off-glide in reflexes of OA /*aw*/ has not necessarily altered the underlying triliterality of the affected KA lexicon:

(7)	*KA*		*OA*
	ʕit, ʕayát	'feast(s)'	*ʕi:d, ʔaʕya:d*
	rux, rvax	'soul(s)'	*ru:ḥ, ʔarwa:ḥ*
	xuθ, axveθ	'mad (pl., m.s.)'	**xu:θ, *ʔaxwaθ*[1]
	lox, lvax	'board(s)'	*lawḥ, ʔalwa:ḥ*

Weak *CVCC* nominals tend to undergo phonological restructuring in various ways:

(8)	*KA*		*OA*
	xawm	'father-in-law'	*ḥamuw-*
	ɗawm[2]	'light'	*ḍawʔ*
	xilv	'sweet (m.s.)'	*ḥulw*

Reflexes of OA *CVCVC* nominals have been redistributed among the three KA patterns *CiCeC*, *CaCeC*, and *CaCaC*, in which the present vowelling reflects the historical vowel shifts outlined in §1.4.1:

(9)	*KA*		*OA*
	lipen	'yoghourt'	*laban*
	sipel	'stubble'	*sabal*
	ʕasel	'honey'	*ʕasal*
	xašep	'wood'	*xašab*
	takar	'male' < **dakaṛ*	*ɗakar*
	kamar	'moon' < **qamaṛ*	*qamar*

In view of the general KA trend to retain word-final dyadic clusters (cf. examples 136 in Ch. I), the development of secondary KA *CV́CVC* forms < OA *CVCC* via epenthetic insertion is understandably rare; the few cases attested all show KA /ʕ/ as C_2:

(10)	*KA*		*OA*
	šoʕol	'work'	*šuγl*
	šaʕar	'hair'	*šaʕr*
	kaʕak	'cake'	*kaʕk*

Unit nouns derived from historically collective *CVCVC* forms delete the second stem vowel in keeping with the tendency towards elimination of unstressed open syllables:

(11)	*KA*		
	pasle	'onion'	← |*pasal* + *e*|

[1] Cf. Aleppo *ʔaxwat*, f. *xawta* ~ *xo:ta*, pl. *xu:t* 'idiot' (Barthélemy 221).

[2] Cf. the analogous restructuring of this and a few other medially and finally weak roots in certain Arabic dialects:

Maltese
dawl 'light' < *ḍaww* < *ḍawʔ*
Kəndērīb (Jastrow 1978, 84)
ǧawl 'Luft' < *ǧaww*

xašpe	'beam'	←	/*xašep + e*/
pakra	'cow'	←	/*pakar + a*/

The treatment of secondary syllabics after medial /ʕ/, on the other hand, appears to be stylistically determined, e.g. /*káʕake* ~ *kaʕke*/ 'round cake', /*páʕale* ~ *paʕle*/ 'mule', etc.

3.2 KA REFLEXES OF OA DERIVED NOMINAL SCHEMES

3.2.1 *Triradical nouns*

(a) OA *fa:ʕil* yields KA *CaCeC* and *CeCeC* under the respective phonological conditions already outlined in § 1.4.4.2 above:

(12)

KA		*OA*
šater	'smart (m.s.)'	*ša:ṭir*
ʕakel	'wise (m.s.)'	*ʕa:qil*
nešef	'dry (m.s.)'	*na:šif*
nezel	'descending (m.s.)'	*na:zil*

KA reflexes of medially weak roots regularly contract to *CeC* (e.g. /*nem*/ 'sleeping (m.s.)' < *na:yim*), but show optional retention of the historical glide before a syllable boundary thus: KA /*re(y)xe*/ 'going (f.s.)', /*re(y)xín*/ (pl.). OA *fa:ʕil* yields mostly participles and adjectives in KA; nouns on this pattern are extremely rare (e.g. /*xameḏ*/ 'lemon juice' < *ḥa:miḏ* 'sour'); consequently, no trace has been retained of the formal apparatus distinguishing historical participles from homophonous nouns, e.g. sound vs. broken plural inflection, as in Palestinian Arabic *sakni:n* 'dwelling (pl.)': *sukka:n* 'inhabitants', etc.

(b) KA reflexes of OA *faʕi:l* (with and without feminine ending) include mostly singular forms of certain high frequency nouns and adjectives:

(13)

KA		*OA*
txin	'flour'	*ṭaḥi:n*
smit	'semolina'	*sami:ḏ*
xtiš	'horse' (cf. *kdš*, Dozy II, 449)	
ʕaris	'bridegroom'	*ʕari:s*
ʕažín	'dough'	*ʕaǧi:n*
knise	'church'	*kani:sah*
l-imtine	'Nicosia'	*al-madi:nah* 'the city'
ʕašie	'yesterday evening'	*ʕašiyyah* 'evening'
θkil	'heavy (m.s.)'	*θaqi:l*
xpir	'big (m.s.)'	*kabi:r*
žtit	'new (m.s.)'	*ǧadi:d*
smin	'fat (m.s.)'	*sami:n*

This KA scheme has also integrated the neologism /*xmin*/ (pl. /*xman*/) 'short' < **xmil* < Gk. *xamilós* 'low'. Aside from KA /*xmir*/ 'donkeys', plural

nouns on this pattern are, as in other Arabic dialects, very rare. A more noteworthy residual trait here is the occasional retention of *CCiC* gerunds, e.g. KA /*xtil*/ 'killing', which suggest an areal link with certain S.E. Anatolian, Lebanese and Syrian dialects (Jastrow 1973a, 53; El-Hajjé 1954, 54; Cowell 1964, 292).

(c) KA *C(a)CáC*

KA nouns on this pattern derive mostly from OA *faˤa:l*, *ʔafˤa:l* and *fuˤa:l*:

(14)	*KA*		*OA*
	zman	'time'	*zama:n*
	rmat	'ashes'	*rama:d*
	slam	'welcome!'	*sala:m*
	špap	'youths'	*šaba:b*
	snan	'teeth'	*ʔasna:n*
	pzaz	'breasts'	*ʔabza:z*
	θkyan	'clay'	*ʔaṭya:n*
	ˤayát	'feasts' < **ˤya:d*	*ʔaˤya:d*
	trap	'earth'	*tura:b*

and only occasionally from *fiˤa:l*:

(15)	*KA*		*OA*
	xmar	'donkey'	*ḥima:r*
	xtat	'cats'	*qiṭa:ṭ*
	ptar	'seed'	*biđa:r*
	knan	'chicken coops'	*qina:n*

the more common KA reflex for this *imāla*-prone scheme being *CCeC* (see examples (154) in Ch. I). KA *CCaC* corresponding to OA *fiˤa:l* is mostly restricted to the category of plural adjectives, where the complete absence of the *imāla* reflex should probably be ascribed to its putative historical development from an independent **fuˤa:l* pattern (ex. (156) in Ch. I).

(d) The KA pattern *CCuC*, with and without the feminine ending, commonly occurs as an internal plural, usually for concrete nouns with the canonic form *CVCC*:

(16)	*KA*		*OA*
	trup	'roads'	*duru:b*
	tsut	'pots'	*dusu:t*
	pkyut	'houses'	*buyu:t*
	xmule	'loads'	(*ḥml*) [3]

The small set of singular *CCuCa/e* noun forms derive from OA *fuˤu:la*, and consist mainly of abstract nouns having corresponding resultative verbs:

[3] Certain KA nouns that select this plural scheme take an additional plural suffix *-át* (cf. §3.3.1.1).

(17) *KA*

prute	'coldness'	(*piret* 'it got cold')
sxune	'warmth, fever'	(*saxan* 'it warmed up')
xmuđa	'acidity'	(*ximeđ* 'it went sour')

The dialect also has the term /*štume*/ 'insult' (cf. /*tšattmu*/ 'they insulted one another') and the unusual back-formation /*kšure*/ 'peel', unit noun of /*kšur*/ 'peels' < OA *qušu:r*.

(e) The OA plural patterns **faʕa:li:* and *faʕa:la:* appear to be only vestigially represented in KA, the main reflexes encountered being:

(18) *KA*

		Ar.
xkali	'fields'	(*ḥql*)
faʕi	'snakes'	**ʔafa:ʕi:*
tisveʕi	'hours'	*t* + **swa:ʕi:* [4]
xpala	'pregnant (pl.)'	*ḥaba:la:*

The KA reflex of OA *ʔawa:ʕi:* 'receptacles' has been reinterpreted as a singular, i.e. /*veʕi*/ 'bowl', pl. /*veʕie*/.

(f) KA *CaCuC*(*a*/*e*) continues historical *fa:ʕu:l*(*a*) and *faʕu:l*, though retention of the open syllable in reflexes of the latter scheme is invariably contingent on the adjacency of a back consonant segment:

(19) *KA*

		Ar.
taxune	'mill'	*ṭa:ḥu:nah*
xakura	'field adjoining house'	*ḥa:ku:rah*
šapura	'slice of bread'	**ša:bu:ra* [5]
žaruše	'hand mill'	*ǧa:ru:š* + *ah* [6]
paxúr	'incense'	*baxu:r*
ʕarús	'bride'	*ʕaru:s*
ʕamút	'support for vine'	*ʕamu:d* 'pillar'

The fact that certain KA reflexes of both patterns are liable to secondary gemination of C_2, yielding double arrest of the historically open syllable:

(20) *KA*

xaddúm	'worker'	<	*xadu:m*
sammúk	'broomstick'	<	*sa:mu:k* [7]
xazzúk	'stave, post'	<	*xa:zu:q*
nažžúr	'door bolt'	<	*na:ǧu:r* [8]

[4] Cf. Lebanese *swa:ʕe*, pl. of *sa:ʕa* 'heure' (Feghali 1938, 778).

[5] Formally comparable derivates of *šbr* occur in the dictionaries, but apparently only in unrelated meanings: *ša:bu:ra* 'tempe, joue,' (Fagnan 1923, 85), *šabbu:ra* 'brouillard' (Denizeau 1960, 226), etc.

[6] Cf. Aleppo *ǧa:ru:š* 'moulin de menage' (Barthélemy 108).

[7] 'Baton fourchu soutenant la corde sur laquelle on etend le linge' (Barthélemy 359).

[8] 'Barre de bois; verrou' (Barthélemy 815).

would seem to imply that prior to systemic loss of the vocalic length contrast, pretonic vowel length was subject to automatic neutralization. Though occasional morphologization of the secondary geminate (cf. KA /*smemík*/ 'broomsticks') suggests that consonantal lengthening here is unlikely to be of recent origin, the diffusional impact of CG is to be suspected vis-à-vis the lengthening of intervocalic /*z*/ and /*ž*/ (cf. §1.2.2).

KA reflexes of primary *faˤˤu:l* are rare and include /*xarrúp*/ 'carobs' and /*šammút*/ 'spindle' < *xarru:b* and *šammu:ṭ*[9] respectively. For interference between the historical patterns *fa:ˤu:l*, *faˤu:l* and/or *faˤˤu:l* in other Eastern Arabic dialects, see Cantineau (1934, 182; 1946, 314) and Feghali (1919, 256).

(g) The OA nominal patterns *faˤˤa:l* and *fuˤˤa:l* have been phonologically merged in KA, yielding mainly *CiCCáC*; words with a labial segment as C_2 tend to show an original or secondary pretonic /*u*/:

(21)

KA		
šixxát	'beggar'	< *šaḥḥa:ḏ*
šixxát[10]	'stye'	< *šaḥḥa:ḏ*
fiddán	'yoke of oxen'	< *fadda:n*
riddán	'spinning-wheel'	< **radda:n* (Dozy I, 522)
middáte	'rolling-pin'	< (*mdd*)
milláxa	(KA name for city of Larnaca)	< *malla:ḥah* 'salt marsh'
kiddáxa	'flint'	< *qadda:ḥah*
šummás	'sexton'	< *šamma:s*
tuffáx	'apples'	< *tuffa:ḥ*
rummán	'pomegranates'	< *rumma:n*
kiddás	'Mass'	< *qudda:s*
tixxán	'tobacco'	< *duxa:n*/*duxxa:n*
zinnár tel ˤatra	'rainbow'	< *zunna:r* 'belt'
rižžál[11]	(part of plough)	< *riǧǧa:l* 'man'

KA has, unlike the majority of contemporary Arabic dialects, retained singularly few reflexes of the OA *faˤˤa:l* pattern for nouns denoting profession or habitual occupation, which KA speakers usually render by means of 'codeswitched' CG terms.

(h) KA has fused the OA patterns *faˤla:n*, *fiˤla:n*, and *fuˤla:n*, the most common reflex for all three being KA *CiCCán*:

(22)

KA		*OA*
insán	'man'	*ʔinsa:n*

[9] 'Fusée de fil tordu' (Barthélemy 408).

[10] These homophones are differentiated in their plural forms: /*šixxetín*/ 'beggars', /*šixxatát*/ 'styes'.

[11] Cf. *rəǧǧa:l* 'Mann' (S.E. Anatolia: Vocke & Waldner 1982, 175). In KA this term refers exclusively to the hindmost upright portion of the plough, and is patently a loan translation of the CG equivalent *áθropos* < Gk. ἄνθρωπος 'man'. For details concerning the nomenclature of the Cypriot plough, see Panaretos (1977, 101).

sikrán	'drunk (m.s.)'	*sakra:n*
kirpán	'Holy Communion'	*qurba:n*

though historical or secondary pretonic /*u*/ occasionally shows up in contact with labial or emphatic consonants:

(23)	*KA*			*OA*
	slupén	'crosses'		*ṣulba:n*
	tuppán	'flies'		*ḍibba:n*
	turfén	'ends'	< **ṭurfa:n*	(*ṭrf*)

A few medially weak reflexes of OA *fiʕla:n*, on the other hand, have been subsumed under a secondary pattern *CeCán* < *Ci:Ca:n*, **CayCa:n*, e.g.

(24)	*KA*			*OA*
	xetán	'pieces of thread'		*xi:ṭa:n*
	xetán	'walls'		*ḥi:ṭa:n*
	xeván	'animal'	< *ḥaywa:n*	*ḥayawa:n*
	šetán	'devil'		*šayṭa:n*
	ḍeʕán	'lost (m.s.)'	< **ḍayʕa:n*	(*ḍyʕ*)

The morphophonemic fusion entailed in these KA forms is presumably an inherited trait since mutual interference between *Ci:Ca:n* and **CayCa:n* appears to be fairly common in certain other Arabic vernaculars:

(25) **Aleppo** (Barthélemy)

ri:ḥa:n	'basilic'	p. 304
ḍi:ʕa:n	'perte de qqe'	p. 466

Daragözü (Vocke & Waldner 1982, 132)

ḥi:wa:n	'Tier'

Kaʕbīye (*ibid.*, 129)

ḥayṭa:n	(*pl. of ḥayṭ* 'Wand')

Baghdad M (Altoma 1969, 21)

ri:ḥa:n	'myrtle'
ḥe:wa:n/ḥi:wa:n	'animal'

Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 84)

ḥi:wa:n	'animal'
ši:ṭa:n	'Satan'

As for the morphosemantic types represented in the KA *CiCCán* scheme, the principal one is the adjectival class referring to physical states or inherent qualities; most of the KA forms attested can be synchronically derived from cognate verbs:

(26)				
	sikrán	'drunk' (m.s.)'	(*siker*	'he got drunk')
	kislán	'lazy (m.s.)'	(*kisel*	'he got lazy')
	ʕirkán	'perspiring (m.s.)'	(*ʕirek*	'he perspired')
	šipʕán	'sated (m.s.)'	(*šipʕe*	'he was sated')

KA *CiCCán*, having a lexically conditioned allomorphic variant with *-én*, also occurs as a plural scheme for a small set of nouns:

(27)	Plural		Singular
	nesfán	'women'	*mara*
	xetán	'walls'	*xet*
	turfén	'edges'	*taraf*

(h) KA reflexes of the nominal class displaying the derivational prefix /*m-*/ consist largely of *nomina instrumenti* usually harking back to OA *mifˤal(a)*, *mifˤa:l* and a few other patterns:

(28)	*KA*		*OA*
	minžel	'scythe'	*minǧal*
	marten	'spindle'	*mirdan*
	mitre	'winnow'	**miđra:*
	milixve	'sheet'	*milḥafah*
	minkse	'broom'	*miknasah*
	málaka	'spoon'	*milˤaqah*
	muxxol	'sieve'	*munxul*
	mizzán	'scales'	*mi:za:n*
	miftáx	'key'	*mifta:ḥ*
	maxpát	'clothes beater'	**mixba:ṭ* [12]
	maxúr	'nose'	**manxu:r* [13]
	maxtúp	'letter'	*maktu:b*

The phonological treatment of these OA patterns in KA yields mostly the expected reflexes; note, however, the unusual resolution of the medial cluster via metathesis in KA /*minkse*/([*ŋks*]), and the unexpected low stressed vowel in /*málaka*/ (probably from the metathesized form **maˤlaqa*, cf. Lewin 1969, 10; Bauer 1957, 195). Deletion of the nasal segment before a homorganic stop in KA /*maxúr*/ 'nose' < **maŋxu:r* finds parallels elsewhere; cf. Daθīna *mu:xa:r* 'Nasenloch', and *mu:qa:r* 'Schnabel' (Landberg 1920, 2772).

Weak roots with initial **w* show monophthongization of the historical diphthong **aw* (possibly under the influence of the bilabial nasal):

(29)	*KA*			
	moraš	'threshing sled'	<	*mawraǧ*
	moxte	'old-fashioned stove'	<	*mawqid + a* [14]
	mód̄aˤa	'place'	<	*mawḍiˤ*

The morphophonemic treatment of the underlying *mC* sequence in reflexes of *mafa:ˤil* and *mafa:ˤi:l* can be inferred from the following examples:

(30)	Plural	
	mvareš	'threshing sleds'

[12] Cf. Aleppo *məxba:ṭ* 'battoir des blanchisseurs' (Barthélemy 192).
[13] Cf. Lebanese *manxu:r* 'nez' (Feghali 1938, 832).
[14] For etymology see fn 1, Ch. I.

mfetíx	'keys'				
mnaxel	'sieves'				
mnežel	'scythes'				
plaˤek	'spoons'	←	*|mplaˤek|*		
plexef	'sheets'	←	*|mplexef|*		
pkenes	'brooms'	←	*|mpkenes|*		
psarín	'entrails'	<	**mpsarín*	<	*maṣa:ri:n*

Surface /*m*/ is retained before the homorganic radicals /*f*/, /*v*/, and the alveolar nasal /*n*/, but triggers off anaptyctic /*p*/ in contact with other resonants and fricatives; the ensuing postjunctural *CCC* surface clusters are eased via automatic deletion of the initial bilabial nasal. Reflexes lacking a singular equivalent, e.g. /*psarín*/ 'entrails' lexicalize the epenthetic stop.

3.2.2 *Quadriradical nouns*

As in many other Arabic dialects, OA *fiˤli:l* and *fuˤlu:l* are paralleled by reflexes of 'unharmonized' vowel patterns with a low vowel in the initial syllable. In KA, these patterns have integrated many terms of Syriac origin and a few loans from Greek:

(31)

KA		**Dialects**	**OA**
xanzír	'pig'	*xanzi:r*	*xinzi:r*
zampile	'basket'	*zambi:l*	*zinbi:l/zanbi:l*
šaˤ(a)nine	'olive branch'	(cf. *šˤnn*; Frayha 1947)	
xawtík [15]	'Greek (m.s.)'	———	———
santúk	'coffin'	*ṣandu:q*	*ṣundu:q* 'chest'
saˤ(a)lúk	'poor (m.s.)'	*ṣaˤlu:k*	*ṣuˤlu:k*
kaylún [16]	'large reed basket'	———	———
saykún	'brushwood'	*sayku:n* [17]	———
zaˤrúr	'medlar'	*zaˤru:r*	———
zakrúr	'throat'	*zakru:r* [18]	———
patrúr	'mushrooms' (< Syr. *pṭr*)		(*fṭr*)
paθpún	'river' < **patmún* < Gk. *potamón*		
tšarduna	'rat'	< CG *čardúna*	
kar(a)ˤula	'frog'	< CG *karaúla*	

Other OA quadriradical patterns appear to be only vestigially represented:

(32)

KA		*OA*
arnep	'rabbit'	*ʔarnab*
žavlak	'large sack'	*ǧawlaq*
ˤaskar	'crowd'	*ˤaskar* 'army'

[15] Pl. *xvetík*; the etymology of this term is unclear.
[16] Possibly < OA *kayl* 'measure' + Aramaic *-u:n*.
[17] Cf. Lebanese *sayku:ne* 'branche morte' (Feghali 1918, 25-26).
[18] Cf. Aleppo *zakru:r* 'pomme d'Adam' (Barthélemy 316).

záˀ(a)tar	'wild thyme'	*s/ṣaˀtar*
pirˀáš	'mosquitoes'	*barγaš*
ˀarpel	'sieve'	*γirba:l*

The historical reassignment of stress in the last two items may be due to generalization of the accentual pattern exemplified in KA /*záˀ(a)tar*/ 'wild thyme' and its unit noun /*zaˀtára*/, where accretion of the feminine ending triggers off stem final stress.

3.3 NOMINAL INFLECTION

KA substantives are overtly marked for the categories of gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular, plural, collective, and dual); many KA nouns also have diminutive forms. Adjectives are inflected for gender and number; a few dispose of elative forms.

3.3.1 *Number*

As will become evident from the following account, KA has extensively restructured its nominal inflectional system; this has involved, among other things, a notable reduction in its stock of internal plurals, and substitution of these lost internal schemes by external plurals.

The structural simplification of the KA inflectional system appears to be an ongoing process; thus certain internal plurals, especially for items of 'learned vocabulary', tend to be known exclusively by elderly speakers:

(33)	Plural		Singular
	skafe	'bishops'	*iskof*
	ˀazulát	'threads'	*ˀaẓl*
	ˀaváf	'looms'	*ˀufa*

Younger speakers are inclined to suffix the plural morpheme /*-át*/ in most of these cases or, alternatively, to replace these defective lexical items by CG equivalents in both singular and plural forms. The process of relexification whereby defective KA nouns undergo replacement by inflectionally whole counterparts from CG or other sources can be exemplified by the following doublets:

(34)	*užž* (no pl.) / *fantús*, pl. *-át*	'face'
	kóˀote (no pl.) / *tsaéra*, pl. *-es*	'chair'

Many kinship terms, e.g. /*ˀamm*/ 'paternal uncle', /*xal*/ 'maternal uncle', /*kinne*/ 'sister-in-law', etc. lack plural forms altogether.

3.3.1.1 *External plurals*

By far the most common pluralization device in KA is suffixation. KA *-ín* (< OA *-i:n*) occurs as the sole plural marker in participles, as well as in certain adjectives:

(35) *KA*

meši, meškyín	'walking (m.s., pl.)'
rex, rexín	'going (m.s., pl.)'
ʕaeš, ʕayšín	'living (m.s., pl.)'
širex, šerxín	'greedy (m.s., pl.)'
suxn, suxnín	'warm (m.s., pl.)'
xvaef, xvayfín	'light (m.s., pl.)'

It is also to be encountered, though in an extremely restricted fashion, with certain substantives, e.g. rare KA reflexes of OA *faʕʕa:l* (cf. /*šixxát*/, /*šixxetín*/ 'beggar(s)') and randomly in individual items, e.g. /*šetán*/, /*šetanín*/ 'devil(s)'.

In contrast with the rather restricted distribution of KA *-ín*, suffixation of KA /*-át*/ deriving from the OA feminine plural ending *-a:t* constitutes a highly productive morphological process extending to most KA substantives showing the feminine ending *-e* (or *-a*) in the singular form:

(36) *KA*

korne, kornát	'corner(s)'
layle, laylát	'night(s)'
pape, papát	'door(s)'
taka, takát	'window(s)'
šamʕa, šamʕát	'candle(s)'
pakra, pakrát	'cow(s)'

but also to a large number of other nouns, irrespective of overt or notional gender:

(37)

ʕarís, ʕarisát	'groom(s)'
ʕarús, ʕarusát	'bride(s)'
patn, patnát	'belly, bellies'
xar, xarát	'day(s)'
xank, xankát	'mouth(s)'
moxx, moxxát	'head(s)'
tapx, tapxát	'dish(es)'
xadd, xaddát	'Sunday(s)'

The morphologically unmarked status of the KA plural ending *-át* continues a situation common to both literary Arabic and the majority of contemporary Arabic vernaculars, in which, integrated loanwords, for instance, tend to develop plural forms with *-a:t* irrespective of intrinsic gender specification, e.g. Modern Written Arabic *ginra:la:t* 'generals' (Wehr 1979, 167).

Finally, the plural marker /*-át*/ in KA is also commonly attested with certain historically plural nouns built on the OA pattern *fuʕu:l*:

(38)

KA		*OA*
pturát	'seeds'	*buḳu:r*
ʕazulát	'threads'	*γuzu:l*
xumát	'kinds of meat'	*luḥu:m*
sxurát	'sons-in-law'	(*ʔaṣha:r*)
xpurát	'graves'	*qubu:r*

The accretion of the historically feminine plural suffix to internal plurals of this morphological class finds a parallel in other contemporary Arabic dialects (e.g. Marçais 1956, 368); it is plausibly ascribable to the co-existence of the homophonous singular pattern *fuʕu:l*, which may have tended to obscure or neutralize the overt plural marking of these nouns:

(39)	**Maltese**		**OA**
	šuud, pl. *šiida*	'witness'	*ša:hid*, pl. *šuhu:d*
	dnuub, pl. *dnubiit*	'sin'	*ɗanb*, pl. *ɗunu:b*

3.3.1.2 *Internal plurals*

In contrast with the relatively large inventories of internal plural patterns characterizing the majority of Eastern Arabic vernaculars, KA possesses only five truly productive plural schemes: *CCaC*, *CCuC*, *CCeC*, *CCeCeC* (or *CCaCeC*), and *CCeCíC* (or *CCaCíC*), most of which have variants with a pretonic open syllable for roots displaying /ʕ/ as C_1 or C_2. There are also a few additional but less frequent patterns, e.g. KA *CuCCén* and *CCaCa*, e.g.

(40)	Plural		Singular
	knan	'hencoops'	*konn*
	xtaf	'shoulders'	*kitf*
	snan	'teeth'	*sinn*
	sman	'fat (pl.)'	*smin*
	snut	'ploughs'	*sunt*
	rpuš	'shovels'	*rafš*
	tsut	'large pots'	*tist*
	ksus	'priests'	*kassís*
	ʕayún	'eyes'	*ʕayn*
	xvež	'bed-clothes'	———
	ržel	'men'	*insán*
	kvek	'balls of cotton'	*kuke*
	xser	'mats'	*xasire*
	naʕér	'pitcher'	*naʕara*
	mnežel	'scythes'	*minžel*
	tvežen	'frying pans'	*tayžen*
	speʕep	'fingers'	*ispeʕ*
	mnaxel	'sieves'	*muxxol*
	skafe	'bishops'	*iskof*
	tvexín	'mills'	*taxune*
	kvelín	'large reed baskets'	*kaylún*
	xtetís	'saints'	*kaddís*
	psarín	'entrails'	———
	ʕarapíl	'sieves'	*ʕarpel*

Integration of foreign loans into these plural schemes appears to be minimal; the following terms have been noted:

Plural		Singular		
xman	'short'	*xmin*	< **xmil*	< Gk. *xamilós*
kmemín	'charcoal furnaces'	*kammín*	<	CG *kammíni*
ftamín	'rivers'	*paθpún*	<	Gk. *potamón* (*acc.*)
kšenír	'pick-axes'	*kišnár*	<	Gk. *ksinári*

3.3.1.3 *The dual*

The historical and comparative investigation of the Arabic dual category in Blanc (1970) delineated a number of important formal differences distinguishing the structural function of the OA dual marker *-ayn* from the treatment accorded to its reflexes throughout the Arabic dialect area, where it has systematically lost its OA role of signalling grammatical concord.

In common with other Arabic dialects, KA displays reflexes of the OA dual morpheme exclusively with nouns. As has already been noted in Jastrow (1977, 279), KA also exemplifies in a highly explicit and regular fashion another formal feature characterizing the uses of the dual morpheme in vernacular Arabic, i.e. the systematic distinction, first recognized in Blanc (*op. cit.*), between the pseudo-dual and the real dual; in KA, the former occurs exclusively with a few terms denoting paired body parts, and is invariably realized as /*-én*/:

(41)

Pseudo-dual		Singular
ɗanén	'ears'	*iɗn*
ʕanén	'eyes'	*ʕayn*
žren	'legs'	*ižr*
ten	'hands'	*it*

As can be inferred from the examples, it serves to indicate plurality rather than 'two-ness'.

The real dual, on the other hand, has a somewhat wider lexical distribution, but is also restricted to a closed list of words, chiefly time expressions. It is realized /*-áyn*/ and retains the distinctly dual meaning:

(42)

Dual		Singular
saʕtáyn	'two hours'	*sáʕa*
yomáyn [19]	'two days'	———
žumʕatáyn	'two weeks'	*žúmʕa*
šaxráyn	'two months'	*šaxr*
sintáyn	'two years'	*síne*
trukáyn	'twice'	*trik* [20]

Whereas the final nasal in the pseudo-dual form is regularly elided when a pronominal suffix is added, e.g. /*ʕanéx*/ 'his eyes', /*ɗanexa*/ 'her ears', etc. the dual suffix in KA is always a closing morpheme.

[19] KA /*yomáyn*/ does not, strictly speaking, possess a cognate singular form, since KA /*yawm*/ < **yyawm* < **l-yawm* means 'today'; the usual KA term for 'day' is /*xar*/ < *naha:r*.

[20] < OA *ṭrq*; cf. Anatolian *ṭari:q* 'Weg, Straße ... Mal' (Vocke & Waldner 1982, 41).

It should be clear from the preceding observations that the dual suffix in KA is not a very productive morphological device, both of its manifestations being distributionally restricted to certain high frequency nouns; the notion of duality in KA is generally rendered by means of the expression /*xnayn* ~ *θnayn*/[21] 'two' < OA *iθnayn*:

(43) *xnáyn várak* 'two books'
xnáyn ipkyút 'two houses'

Though restrictions limiting, in varying degrees, the distribution of the dual morpheme appear to be widespread among the Arabic vernaculars, the purely vestigial character of the dual inflection in KA presents a striking contrast with the situation obtaining in the majority of Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian vernaculars, where this morphosyntactic device is still highly productive[22].

3.3.1.4 *The collective*

KA appears to have only retained a small set of nouns continuing OA collective forms:

(44)	Collective		Unit noun
	pasal	'onions'	*pasle*
	pakar	'cows'	*pakra*
	varak	'books'	*varke*
	xaraz	'beads'	*xarze*
	žež(ž)	'hens'	*žež(ž)e*

The formal contrast between collective and plural is attested for certain nouns, but appears to be unstable for others, especially among younger speakers:

(45) *xtír pásal* 'a lot of onions'
sitt pasalát 'six onions'
áška klám 'how many words ...?'
tlax klám ~ *kilmát* 'three words'

3.3.2 *The feminine ending (ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa)*

The surface forms and allomorphic distribution pertaining to KA reflexes of the OA feminine ending (*ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*) have already been indicated in §1.4.4.4a above. The historical treatment of the sandhi allomorph /*-t-*/ < **-at-* in KA exemplifies an extreme stage in an evolutionary process already attested in many Arabic vernaculars, and involving the fading out of certain morphosyntactic environments in which /*-t-*/ occurred (cf. Marçais 1956, 449). In KA this has entailed loss of the construct state (§3.5), as well as strong restrictions on the use of pronominal suffixation with nouns, and on inflection for the dual.

[21] Retention of the interdental spirant in this word is characteristic of older KA speakers.

[22] Cf. Blanc (1970: 44, note 2).

KA reflexes of intermorphemic /-t-/ occur typically with a small set of kinship terms:

(46) *mara* 'woman, wife'
mprati[23] 'my wife'
kinne 'daughter-in-law'
kinti 'my daughter-in-law'

in expressions of time inflected for the dual, and in numerals (§ 3.4). Residual reflexes of /-t-/ in historical constructs show lexicalization of this element via component merger, e.g. KA /*matxál*/ 'maternal uncle's wife' < **mart xa:l-*. The eclipse of *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*'s historical function in sandhi is particularly evident in certain KA kinship terms which commonly retain prejunctural /*t*/ when divested of pronominal suffixes:

(47) *l-xalt* 'the aunt'
l-ixmát 'the mother-in-law'

Prejunctural /*t*/ has also been extended to CG loans integrated into the KA kinship paradigm:

(48)	*KA*		*CG*
	pappút	'grandfather'	*pappú*
	mammút	'paternal grandmother'	*mammú*
	stetét	'maternal grandmother'	*steté*
	nunnút	'godmother'	*nunnú*
	tatát	'godfather'	*tatá*

Finally, the distribution and gender marking role of the KA feminine ending is occasionally at variance with OA norms; note, for instance, the KA innovative form /*pape*/ 'door' (pl. /*papát*/) which probably reflects the gender specification of Gk. *porta*[24], as well as the semantic neutralization of the feminine ending in KA *páʕale* 'mule' < *baɣla* (cf. Siirt *baɣle* 'Maultier': Vocke & Waldner 1982, 43).

Interference from CG in the matter of gender classification is, in fact, more extensive than meets the eye, since a fair amount of covert gender marking in KA is only observable in contexts requiring grammatical concord:

(49) *KA*
l-páxr e meʕíke. (cf. CG *θálassa* (f.) 'sea')
'the sea is deep'

3.3.3 *The elative*

Only a few KA adjectives undergo inflection for the elative on the OA *ʔafʕal* pattern:

[23] < **mra:ti:* < *ʔimraʔati:*; the retention of a reflex of OA *ʔimraʔah* 'woman, wife' in the context of pronominal suffixes has also been noted in other Arabic vernaculars, e.g. Jewish Baghdadi *maɣa* 'woman', *mɣa:ti* 'my wife' (Blanc 1964, 72).

[24] Note the identical process in the Maltese cognate of this word; the feminine ending has, in this case, undergone functionalization: /*biib*/ 'door', /*biiba*/ 'small door (of cupboard, etc.)'.

(50) *KA*

zeˤír, azˤar	'small(er)'
ˤatík, aˤtak	'old(er)'
xpir, axpar	'big(ger)'
θkil, aθkal	'heavy, heavier'
rxis, arxas	'cheap(er)'
smin, asmen	'fat(ter)'

The majority of adjectives in this dialect lack morphophonemically generated elative forms; this device having been replaced by a periphrastic equivalent requiring the preposed modifier /*áwfa*/ 'more':

(51) *KA*

áwfa xílv	'sweeter (m.s.)'
áwfa šéx	'older (m.s.)'

Analogous fading out of this OA morphological inflection in favour of an analytic substitute is in varying degrees also attested in other Arabic vernaculars (Brockelmann 1913, 211).

The few attested KA reflexes of OA terms denoting colours and infirmities yield the expected forms:

(52)

m.	f.	pl.		*OA*
apkyaḍ	*peḍa*	*piḍ*	'white'	*ʔabyaḍ, bayḍa:ʔ bi:ḍ*
isfet	*sawta*	*sut*	'black'	*ʔaswad, sawda:ʔ su:d*
axmar	*xamra*	*xumr*	'red'	*ʔaḥmar, ḥamra:ʔ ḥumr*
axveθ	*xawθa*	*xuθ*	'mad'	**ʔaxwaθ, *xawθa:ʔ *xu:θ*
áˤavež	*ˤawža*	*ˤuž*	'crooked'	*ʔaˤwaǧ, ˤawǧa:ʔ ˤu:ǧ*
áˤavar	*ˤawra*	*ˤur*	'blind'	*ʔaˤwar, ˤawra:ʔ ˤu:r*

The KA adjectives:

(53)

atraš	'deaf'	<	*ʔaṭraš*
afkax	'lame'		(cf. *fkḥ*, Barthélemy, 618)

lack special feminine and plural counterparts.

3.3.4 *The diminutive*

Many nouns and certain adjectives in KA have diminutive forms; the relevant morphological markers have, however, been borrowed from CG; KA reflexes of Arabic diminutives appear to be extremely rare and tend not to retain their original diminutive meanings:

(54) *KA*

žraype	'kind of leather bag'	<	**ǧurayba*
xvaef	'light (m.s.)'	<	**xfayyif*

Masculine KA nominals take the CG diminutive suffix *-úi*, pl. *úkkya* (< Gk. -ούδι, -ούδια); feminine nominals take CG *-úa*, pl. *-úes* (< Gk. -ούδα, -οῦδες). Both sets of suffixes are attached directly to the final consonant of the singular stem, all final vowels, if any, being automatically elided:

(55)

Uninflected KA form		Diminutive Sing.	Diminutive Plur.
payt	'house'	*paytui*	*paytukkya*
kilp	'dog'	*kilpui*	*kilpukkya*
forn	'oven'	*fornui*	*fornukkya*
katt	'cat'	*kattui*	*kattukkya*
zaʕir	'small (m.s.)'	*zaʕirui*	*zaʕirukkya*
ʕorne	'trough'	*ʕornua*	*ʕornues*
žežže	'hen'	*žežžua*	*žežžues*
málaka	'table spoon'	*malakua*	*malakues*
mišle	'ladle'	*mišlua*	*mišlues*

In a few cases, however, the plural form of the CG diminutive suffix is attached to the KA plural stem:

(56)

Singular		Diminutive	Plural	Diminutive
pint	'girl'	*pintua*	*pnat*	*pnatukkya*
vilt	'child'	*viltui*	*ulát*	*latukkya*
šipp	'youth'	*šippui*	*špap*	*špapukkya*.

3.4 THE NUMERALS

KA has retained Arabic numerical expressions almost exclusively for the cardinal paradigm from 'one' to 'nine'; many KA speakers know and occasionally use /*ʕašra*/ 'ten', and a few elderly informants appear to have isolated terms for larger numbers, e.g. /*ʕešrín*/ 'twenty', /*tretín*/ 'thirty', and /*mie*/ 'hundred'; the rest of the OA numeral paradigm has been completely replaced by CG terminology [25]. The following remarks concern historical aspects relating to these residual Arabic terms in this dialect.

(a) Whereas reflexes of the OA terms for 'one' and 'two' among the Eastern Arabic dialects are both inflected for gender, KA has retained the gender distinction only in reflexes of the former, i.e.

(57)

KA	
exen (m.), *exte* (f.)	'one'
xnáyn (c.)	'two'

[25] Many KA speakers show familiarity with an innovative set of numerical terms extending indefinitely from 11 upwards. These have been extrapolated from the available short KA paradigm, but are calqued on Greek numerals:

KA		Greek
éxen ʕášara	'eleven'	*éndeka*
xnáyn ʕášara, etc.	'twelve'	*dódeka*, etc.

They appear to form part of a very restricted cryptic argot resorted to by KA speakers, especially housewives, discussing prices in the presence of Greek-speaking vendors. The coining of new Arabic numerical expressions from 11 onwards has also been reported for Uzbekistan Arabic (Fischer 1961, 247).

Parallel loss of the historically feminine form of the number 'two' is also exemplified in certain Maghrebine vernaculars, e.g. Moroccan (Sobleman & Harrell 1963, 213), Libyan Arabic (Cesaro 1939, 153), and Maltese. Its absence in KA is conceivably ascribable to interference from the Greek numerical system, in which gender distinctions are restricted to the number 'one' (Tzermias 1969, 97).

Of notable comparative interest in KA are the forms /*exen*/ and /*exte*/; these have the allomorphic variants /*-vexen*/ and /*-vexte*/ respectively, occurring exclusively in close juncture with a set of proclitics displaying stem-final vowels:

(58) *KA*
káθe-véxen 'everyone' < Gk. καθε + Ar. *wa:ḥid*
ši-véxen/véxte 'someone (m., f.)'

The phonosyntactic juncture intervening after /*v*/ together with the medial *imāla* reflex in these numerals strongly suggests mutual interference between historically long and short forms: i.e. **wa:ḥid/ʔaḥad* and their corresponding feminine equivalents. Mutual contamination between these OA numerical forms has been postulated for Baghdadi Arabic (Blanc 1964, 45) and for the Arabic dialects of Uzbekistan (Fischer 1961, 245).

(b) The remaining KA numerals yield the following list when occurring in isolation:

(59)	*KA*		*OA*
	tlaxe[26]	'three'	*θala:θah*
	árpaˤa	'four'	*ʔarbaˤah*
	xamse	'five'	*xamsah*
	sitte	'six'	*sittah*
	sápaˤa	'seven'	*sabˤah*
	xmenye	'eight'	*θama:niyah*
	tisˤa	'nine'	*tisˤah*
	ˤašra	'ten'	*ˤašarah*

In the context of a following quantified noun, the equivalents for 'three' and 'five' have shorter forms without the feminine ending:

(60) *KA*
tlax métra 'three metres'

[26] The KA treatment of the secondary cluster **θl* in this word is highly noteworthy on account of the irregular occlusivization of the voiceless interdental spirant before /*l*/. Special treatment of this particular sequence also characterizes certain *qəltu* vernaculars that generally retain continuant reflexes for OA /*θ*/. Two main tendencies are to be noted: (a) retention of */*l*/ with concomitant occlusivization of /*θ*/, as in KA: Baghdadi *M tla:θa, tla:θi:n, J tla:θi, tliθi:n* 'three, thirty', as against *M θa:leθ, J θi:leθ* 'third' (Blanc 1964: 90, 93); and (b) preservation of a continuant reflex of /*θ*/ with deletion of the lateral segment: Kəndērīb, Rīš, Arbəl *θa:θe* 'drei', *θe:θi:n* 'dreißig', Āzəx *sa:se*, Siirt *fa:fe*, etc. (Jastrow 1981, 56 and passim), Mossul *θa:θi* (Jastrow 1979, 48), etc.

tlax ummát	'three mothers'
xáms isnín	'five years'
xáms okát	'five okes'

The other numerals, however, remain unchanged:

(61) *KA*

árpaˤa klép	'four dogs'
xménye várak	'eight books'
tísˤa pkyút	'nine houses'

The KA numerical alternants exemplified in (59-60) constitute residual traces of a form of morphosyntactic alternation exhibited in a more integral fashion in most other Arabic dialects, where the entire set of numerals from 'three' to 'ten' displays long forms in isolation, alternating with shorter counterparts in numerical constructs (Bloch 1971, 53):

(62) Jerusalem (Informant)

xamse	'five'
xams ᵉbyu:t	'five houses'
sitte	'six'
sitt siˤa:t	'six hours'
sabˤa	'seven'
sabeˤ ṭolla:b	'seven students'

Another striking historical feature of KA numerical expressions is the tendency for certain plural nouns to show initial /*t*/ or a reflex thereof in this context; the most common instances of this phenomenon occur in plural forms of KA /*saˤa*/ 'hour', /*yawm*/ 'day', /*žumˤa*/ 'week', /*šaxr*/ 'month' and /*ˤarif*/ 'loaf':

(63)

xamps-tisveˤi	'five hours'
xamps-tižmaˤa	'five weeks'
tlax-tišxúr	'three months'
tlax-táˤirfe	'three loaves'

The historical process whereby the OA allomorph /*t*/ (*ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*) in the numerical paradigm of certain Eastern Arabic vernaculars underwent de-morphologization concomitant with etymological reassignment to the following noun in a small set of high frequency numerical constructs has already been commented upon in previous work (cf. Blanc 1964: 91, as well as the sources listed there in note 110); its principal structural effect in many of these dialects was clearly that of reducing the extent of allomorphic alternation within the numerical paradigm. It should also be noted that whereas the lexicalization of historical /*t*/ in some of these dialects (e.g. Jewish and Christian Baghdadi: Blanc *loc. cit.*) is restricted to the morphosyntactic environment of numerical constructs, the reassigment of /*t*/ to the following noun in KA is permanent; thus, the KA nouns listed in (63) above do not have independent plural forms.

(c) KA numerals 'two' to 'ten' commonly occur in constructs consisting of 'numeral + pronominal suffix'; as in other Arabic dialects, the feminine ending is

interposed between the numeral and its suffix. Stress always falls on the first syllable of the construct thus:

(64) *xnaytna* 'the two of us'
tláxiton 'the three of them'
síttiθkon 'the six of you'

(d) Approximate quantities smaller than 'ten' are expressed via juxtaposition of two consecutive numerals and their annexion into a single phonological word. The first numeral invariably shows deletion of the feminine ending; the second is realized in its construct form if available:

(65) *tlaxárpaʕa θkyém* 'three or four days'
xampsítt mítra 'five or six metres'

(e) The OA ordinal paradigm has been completely supplanted by CG terminology; residual reflexes of OA ordinals occur exclusively in a few time adverbials:

(66) *avel* 'the year before last' < *ʔawwal*
implavel 'last year' < **ʕa:m l-ʔawwal*[27]
θénixxar 'the following day' < **θa:ni: nha:r*

3.5 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

As can be inferred from § 3.3.2 and from the preceding section, the function of the Semitic morphosyntactic device known as 'construct state' has been virtually lost in the synchronic grammar of KA. The few attested KA reflexes of historical 'noun + noun' annexions, aside from numerical constructs, invariably show complete merger of the lexical components via deletion of the intervening word boundary, and other phonological adjustments:

[27] Cf. OA *ʕa:mu l-ʔawwali* (Wright II, 232D; *Lisān* XI, 717b), Middle Arabic *ʕa:m al-ʔawwal* (Blau 1966-67, Fasc. II, Syntax I, 359, 383), and the dialectal cognates recorded for Damascus (Grotzfeld 1965, 93), Lebanon (Feghali 1928, 468), Palestine (Bauer 1913, 106), Daragözü (Jastrow 1973, 42), etc. It is worth noting that the KA lexical opposition *implável*: *ável* exhibits reflexes of historically fuller forms exemplified in many Eastern dialects:

S.E. Anatolia (personal communication from Prof. Otto Jastrow)
awwal ʕamnawal 'the year before last'
ʕamnawal 'last year'

Aleppo (Barthélemy, 563)
awwal ʕamnawwal 'l'avant dernière année'
ʕamnawwal 'l'année dernière'

Cairo (Mitchell 1962, 211)
ʔáwwil ʕá:min áwwil 'the year before last'
ʕá:min áwwil 'last year'.

(67) *KA*

matxál	'(maternal) uncle's wife'	<	**mart xa:l*
muvárt	'rose water'	<	**ma: ward*
softʕašie	'afternoon'	<	**ṣawbat ʕašiyya*
yamuxmís	'on Thursday'	<	**yawm l-xmi:s*
nússuxar	'midday'	<	**nuṣṣ l-nha:r*
tvaxxar	'all day'	<	**ṭwa:l n-nha:r*[28]

Though comparable fusion of historical nominal compounds is occasionally also attested in other Arabic dialects:

(68) Damascus (Cowell 1964: 456, 458)

l-bani ʔa:dam	'the human being'
l-ṃayy ward	'the rose water'
ʔu:ḍet no:mna	'our bedroom'

KA has, by means of its extreme component merger, virtually re-etymologized reflexes of historical constructs.

The synchronic grammar of KA disposes of three types of possessive constructions, exemplified in the following expressions:

(69)

(a) *úmm-i*	'my mother'
(b) *l-xét tel-páyt*	'the wall of the house'
(c) *mprát-u l-ʕámm-i*	'my (paternal) uncle's wife'

Constituent structure (a), in which the head noun is modified by a pronominal suffix, has been retained in KA exclusively with nouns belonging to the lexical class of inalienables (cf. 4.1.1.3.1 below). Similarly, type (c), showing redundant anticipatory pronominalization of the modifying noun, and insertion of the dative marker /*l*/ appears, as in other Arabic dialects that have it (Blanc 1964, 131), to be mostly if not exclusively restricted to kinship terms.

The unmarked possessive construction in KA displays the constituent structure

HEAD NOUN + GENITIVE PARTICLE + MODIFIER

in which the modifier position can be filled by a separate noun or a bound pronominal suffix attached to the genitive particle. Constructions of this type utilize one of the possessive particles

(70)

tel(-)	(m. (or c.))
šayt-	(f.)
šat-	(pl.)

the choice depending on the grammatical gender and number of the head noun:

(71)

p-páyt tél-i	'my house'
x-xákle šáyt-u	'his field'
l-pkyút šát-na	'our houses'
l-xkáli šáθ-kon	'your (pl.) fields' (← |*šatkon*|)

[28] Cf. Aleppo *ṭwa:l əlle:l* 'toute la nuit' (Barthélemy, 494).

The full inflection of these KA bound forms is as follows:

s. 1	*tel-i*	*šayt-i*	*šat-i*
2 m.	*tel-ak*	*šayt-ak*	*šat-ak*
f.	*tel-ik*	*šayt-ik*	*šat-ik*
3 m.	*tel-u*	*šayt-u*	*šat-u*
f.	*tel-a*	*šayt-a*	*šat-a*
pl. 1	*ten-na*	*šaít-na*	*šat-na*
2	*tel-kon*	*šaíθ-kon*	*šaθ-kon*
3	*tel-on*	*šayt-on*	*šat-on*

KA /*tel*/ also functions as a free form when directly followed by a nominal modifier, but is then unmarked for gender and number:

(72) *k-kílp tel yórko* 'George's dog'
v-várka tel pintúa 'the little girl's book'
l-ipkyút tel yapáti 'my father's houses'

3.5.1 The tendency to impose semantic or stylistic restrictions on the use of the 'construct state' is in varying degrees reflected in many sedentary Arabic dialects, both in the East (Erwin 1963, 368; Sabuni 1980, 184; etc.) and in the Maghreb (Marçais 1956, 410; Grand'Henry 1972, 121). This diachronic development is related to a general evolutionary drift away from the synthetic implementation of the genitive, and its partial or large scale replacement by the use of analytic constructions (cf. Harning 1980, 162f.). The structural redundancy occasioned by the co-existence of these alternative genitive constructions has in some dialects been counteracted by their semantic functionalization:

(73) **Maltese** (own language)
daar-i 'my home'
d-daar tiyay 'my house' (< **mta:ʕi:*)

The construct state is, nonetheless, still very productive in the Lebanese and Syro-Palestinian dialect areas (Harning, *op. cit.*, 49). Loss of the construct state on a scale comparable to that actualized in KA occurs in other peripheral dialects, e.g. Daragözü Arabic (Jastrow 1973, 94) and Maltese.

The areal links pertaining to the phonological shapes of the KA genitive exponents are also worth noting. KA /*tel*/ invites comparison with Anatolian /*ɗi:l*/ and /*ɗe:l*/ (Jastrow 1978, 125) and Palestinian /*de:l*/, f. /*de:lt-*/ (Barthélemy, 261); cognates of KA /*šayt-*, *šat-*/, on the other hand, show up exclusively in the Syro-Palestinian area:

(74) **Damascus** (Cowell 1964, 490)
ši:t (s.) < **šiyyit* < **šayyet* < **šayʔat-*
šya:t (pl.)
Jerusalem (ibid.; Piamenta 1981, 211)
šayyu:t ~ *šu:t* (pl.)

(75) **Aleppo** (Barthélemy, 419)
šayt ~ *še:t* (s.) < **šayyet* < **šayʔat-*
šayya:t (pl.)

Given the cognate nature of the KA feminine and plural forms, it is reasonable to surmise that integration of the suppletive form /*tel*/ into this paradigm is a secondary development internal to KA, introducing the gender opposition in the singular. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that Arabic dialects using a reflex of **šayʔat-* appear not to have this distinction.

IV

THE CLOSED LIST CLASSES

4.0 PRELIMINARIES

The present chapter deals with historical and comparative aspects of a set of inflected forms (personal pronouns, demonstratives, etc.) and of certain uninflected words whose systematic investigation properly belongs to the study of KA syntax and lexicon, i.e. interrogatives, relative and indefinite pronouns, the article, etc. Though tangential to KA morphology, a synoptic overview of the phonemic shapes and morphosyntactic properties pertaining to the latter is, nonetheless, of notable historical and areal interest.

4.1 INFLECTED FORMS

4.1.1 *Personal pronouns*

KA personal pronouns are inflected for the same grammatical categories as KA verbs (i.e. person, gender and number), and display the usual bi-allomorphic alternation corresponding to the syntactic distinction between subject and object pronouns. Third person pronouns, both singular and plural, have a further allomorphic shape in this dialect when used as copulas.

4.1.1.1 *Subject pronouns*

These comprise the following free forms:

Singular		Plural	
1. *ana*	'I'	*naxni*	'we'
2. *int* (m.)	'you'	*intu*	'you'
inti (f.)			
3. *uo* (m.)	'he'	*innen*	'they'
ie (f.)	'she'		

Many KA speakers tend to replace /*innen*/ by the demonstrative /*alli*/, probably under the influence of Cypriot Greek, in which the term *túti* can do service for both [1].

[1] E.g. *túti epían ésso.* 'they went home'
túti pínnun kafé. 'these (m.) are drinking coffee'

A few features relating to the phonemic shapes of KA isolated pronouns call for special comment. The high *imāla* reflex in KA *naxni* < **naḥna:* is unexpected when it is recalled that the most common fronted reflex of */*a:*/ in word-medial and prejunctural positions is /*e*/ in this dialect; word-final KA /*-i*/ < OA /*-a:*/ is otherwise restricted to:

(1)	*KA*		*OA*
	árpeˤi	'Wednesday'	*ʔarbiˤa:ʔ*
	alli	'these'	*ha:ʔula:ʔ*

where it is also difficult to account for.

The gender opposition *int:inti* in the second person singular, showing a morphologically unmarked masculine form, is paralleled throughout the S.E. Anatolian dialect area (Jastrow 1978, 129), and in certain Syro-Lebanese vernaculars: Cabali (Lewin 1969, 18), Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 268), etc. Loss of the initial OA laryngeal fricative in the third person pronouns, and rounding of */*a:*/ in /*uo*/ have already been commented upon in Ch. I. Concerning the accretion of prejunctural /*n*/ in KA /*innen*/, see § 1.3.7 above.

4.1.1.2 *Copula reflexes of OA pronouns*

The most striking historical development relating to the KA treatment of the pronominal paradigm is the evolution of copulas deriving from the subject pronouns listed in the preceding section. As in other Arabic dialects that utilize copulas, the selection of pronouns for the implementation of this morphosyntactic function in KA reflects this class's aforementioned verb-like amenability to person, number and gender marking.

The first and second person copulas display phonemic shapes identical with those of the corresponding pronouns; third person forms consist of phonologically reduced counterparts:

s. 1	*ana*	'am'				
2	*int* (m.)	'are (s.)'				
	inti (f.)					
3	*o* (m.)	'is'	<	**-wa:*	<	**huwwa:*
	e (f.)		<	**-ya:*	<	**hiyya:*
pl. 1	*naxni*	'are (pl.)'				
2	*intu*					
3	*enne*				<	**hunna:*

KA copulas occur mostly as obligatory syntactically free forms, but also as enclitics to certain interrogatives, the negative particle, etc. They agree in gender and number with the stated or implied subject of the proposition, and are usually unstressed:

(2)	*áɬa o xáyti.*	'this is my brother'
	l-iknise e maftúxa.	'the church is open'
	p-pkyára enne maˤák.	'the wells are deep'
	mén-enne?	'who are they?'

áyš-o	'what is it (m.)?'
náxni naxni mpsallín	'we are educated'

The occurrence of copulas based on independent forms of the personal pronouns in KA is a significant historical trait paralleled in most of the *qəltu* dialect area, particularly throughout S.E. Anatolia, where, however, the postposed variety has the widest geographical distribution:

(3) Kəndērīb (Jastrow 1978, 131)
halwalad maliːḥ-we Dieser Junge ist gut.

The interposed copula also occurs in this region, but appears to be restricted to the dialects spoken in the Siirt district:

(4) Siirt (town): Jastrow (1978, 132)
aːvi lbənt iːye maliːḥe Dieses Mädchen ist gut.

Most other dialects of Eastern Arabic lack overt copulas in affirmative nominal sentences, but generally dispose of a special copula in negative sentences: *maːl-* (Damascene), *mann-* (Lebanese), *ma-* + pronoun + *š* (Palestinian), etc.; Cowell (1964, 388).

4.1.1.3 *Object pronouns*

These comprise the following bound forms:

	1		2			3		
	s.	pl.	m.	f.	pl.	m.	f.	pl.
After consonant stems	*-i*		*-ak*	*-ik*		*-u*	*-a*	*-on*
After stems ending in /ʕ/ and /a/							*-xa*	*-xon*
After stems ending in high vowels							*-a*	*-on*
After all stems		*-na*			*-kon*			
After all vowel stems			*-k*	*-ki*		*-x*		

The first person singular suffix /*-i*/ has the usual allomorph /*-ni*/ after verbs and in annexation to /*li-*/ 'to' (§4.1.4). A novel trait in KA's use of /*-ni*/ is its collocational extension of this allomorph to indirect object position in verb phrases, usually yielding surface /*-nni*/ ← |*L-ni*|:

(5) *KA*

pisáy	'he makes'		
pisainni	'he makes for me'	←	|*pisaílni*|
kyíšilxu	'they throw'		
kyišilxúnni	'they throw at me'	←	|*pkyišilxúlni*|

The various allomorphic shapes of the KA object pronouns are exemplified in the following paradigms:

(6)	*payt-i*	'my house'
	payt-ak	'your (m.s.) house'
	payt-ik	'your (f.s.) house'
	payt-u	'his house'
	payt-a	'her house'
	payt-na	'our house'
	payθ-kon	'your (pl.) house'
	payt-on	'their house'
	piritu-ni	'they want me'
	piritú-k	'they want you (m.s.)'
	piritu-ki	'they want you (f.s.)'
	piritú-x	'they want him'
	piritu-a	'they want her'
	piritu-na	'they want us'
	piritu-kon	'they want you (pl.)'
	piritu-on	'they want them'
	žipna-xa	'we brought her'
	žipna-xon	'we brought them'
	žifti-a	'you (f.) brought it (f.)'
	paxtax-xa	'I cut it (f.)' ← |*paktaʕ-xa*|
	pizrax-xon	'I sow them' ← |*pizraʕ-xon*|

4.1.1.3.1 *Restrictions on the distribution of KA pronominal suffixes*

Suffixation of enclitic pronouns in KA occurs principally in verbal constructs with a direct or indirect object, and with certain prepositions: /*mixl*/ 'like', /*taxt*/ 'under', /*xok*/ 'on', /*xalf*/ 'behind', /*kintám*/ 'in front of', /*maʕ-*/ 'with', /(*m*)*pšan*/ 'for', etc. Use of pronominal suffixes in genitive constructions (/*it-i*/ 'my hand', /*umm-u*/ 'his mother', etc.) is exclusively restricted to a closed list of terms referring to inalienables (body parts, degrees of kinship, etc.). Closely comparable pragmatic constraints on pronominal suffixation exist in a number of other Arabic dialects (e.g. Maltese), as well as in certain Semitic languages, e.g. some forms of Old Aramaic (Whitehead 1978, fn. 2)[2].

The unproductive morphological role of pronominal suffixation in the KA nominal category is also reflected in the tendency for certain nouns denoting degrees of kinship to retain the /*t*/ reflex of *taːʔ marbuːṭa* when divested of the pronominal suffix: KA /*xalt*/ 'maternal aunt', /*yapát*/ 'father', etc., though some

[2] I am indebted to M. Singer (Jerusalem) for drawing my attention to this parallel. Concerning the grammatical behaviour of inalienables in other languages, see Fillmore (1968, 63).

speakers are reluctant to cite these and other kinship terms without the pronominal suffix (cf. fn. 3 below).

4.1.1.3.2 *Morphophonemics of KA object pronouns*

In marked contrast with its regular tendency to dissolve most morphophonemic *CCC* clusters arising in verbal inflection, KA appears to tolerate intermorphemic consonant clusters occurring in the admittedly small group of nouns than can undergo pronominal suffixation: /*ismna*/ 'our name', /*exlna*/ 'our parents', etc. The few exceptions noted involve nouns displaying the feminine ending: /*raxpe*/ 'neck', /*ráxifti* ~ *raxpíti*/ 'my neck', /*šaxve*/ 'hair of head', /*šaxvíti*/ 'my hair', etc.

The phonological behaviour of KA verb stems in the context of pronominal suffixes also merits notice in this respect. Attention is here drawn to the nondifferential treatment of the third person masculine singular object pronoun /*-u*/, and the homophonous third person plural marker, when these are affixed to the majority of verb stems:

(7)	*kyákisru*	'they break / he breaks it (m.)'	←	|*pyáksir-u*|
	kyáʕizmu	'they invite / he invites him'	←	|*pyáʕzim-u*|
	kyílipsu	'they wear / he wears it (m.)'	←	|*pyílpis-u*|
	kisru	'they broke / he broke it (m.)'	←	|*kisir-u*|
	ʕizmu	'they invited / he invited him'	←	|*ʕizim-u*|
	lipsu	'they wore / he wore it (m.)'	←	|*lipis-u*|

Verb stems with root-final /ʕ/ behave differently in this regard. Suffixation of the object pronoun /*-u*/ here entails retention of the historical syllable structure with concomitant shift of stress on to the stem vowel thus:

(8)	*kyízraʕu*	'they sow'
	kyizráʕu	'he sows it (m.)'
	kyísmaʕu	'they hear'
	kyismáʕu	'he hears him'
	kyáxtaʕu	'they cut'
	kyaxtáʕu	'he cuts it (m.)'

Some KA speakers extend this special treatment optionally to verb forms without root-final /ʕ/, yielding pairs of free variants exclusively for the forms displaying the object pronoun:

(9)	*kyáʕizmu*	~	*kyaʕzimu*	'he invites him'
	kyíširpu	~	*kyišrápu*	'he drinks it (m.)'
	kyítilpu	~	*kyitlúpu*	'he requests him'

The morphophonemic treatment of pronominal **h* in KA reflexes of **-ha:* and **-hun* after stem vowels and vocalic affixes follows a pattern already familiar from a number of other Arabic dialects, e.g. Christian Baghdadi (Blanc 1964, 65), Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 270), Tripoli (Lebanon; El-Hajjé 1954, 36), etc., i.e. retention of KA /*x*/ < */*h*/ after the low vowel /*a*/, and deletion of this segment after the high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/:

(10)	*xalláxa*	'he let her'	<	**xalla:ha:*
	xállia	'let her! (imp. s.)'	<	**xalli:ha:*
	xállua	'let her! (imp. pl.)'	<	**xallu:ha:*

KA /x/ < pronominal **h* is, however, regularly preserved in the inflection of the morphemes /*li-*/ 'to' and /*ʕalé-*/ 'on' (§§4.1.4 and 4.1.5).

Finally, as in many other Arabic dialects, root-final /ʕ/ regularly assimilates to the reflex of pronominal **h*: KA /*xx*/ < **ḥḥ* < **ʕh* (cf. Bergsträsser 1915, map 5).

4.1.2 *The indirect object and possessive marker |L| in KA*

This has two morphosyntactic roles corresponding to the formal distinction between its proclitic and enclitic functions respectively. Proclitic |*L*| occurs exclusively in noun phrases, e.g. in certain possessive constructions (§3.5). Enclitic |*L*| occurs in grammatically complex phonological strings having a verb as their nucleus: /*kítipillu*/ 'he wrote to him', /*pižipilkon*/ 'he brings to you (pl.)', etc.

4.1.3 *The direct object marker in KA*

Like a number of other Arabic vernaculars, e.g. Baghdadi Arabic (Blanc 1964, 128), Maltese (Borg 1981, 35-62), etc. KA also disposes of a proclitic particle /*l*/, whose function is to formally mark definite direct objects. The clearest occurrences of this particular usage show up in noun phrases without the definite article:

(11)	*piváddi l-éxlu.*	'he sends his parents'
	kífta rkáʕat l-óxtak u	'why did you hit your sister
	má-rkaʕatíllu l-insán ta	but not the man who assaulted
	ʕátt ʕaléxa?	her?'

4.1.4 *The KA particle /li-/ 'to'*

KA /*li-*/ functions as a bound morpheme requiring a pronominal suffix; the resulting sequence does service for the otherwise nonexistent verb 'to have':

lini	'I have'	*lixa*	'she has'
lik	'you (m.) have'	*lina*	'we have'
liki	'you (f.) have'	*likon*	'you (pl.) have'
lu	'he has'	*lixon*	'they have'

In the Past and Future tenses, KA /*li-*/ and its pronominal suffix are morphosyntactically merged with the verb /*kan*/ 'to be', yielding the following paradigms:

Past		Future	
kallíni	'I had'	*pikullíni*	'I shall have'
kallík	'you (m.) had, etc.'	*pikullík*	'you (m.) will have, etc.'
kallíki		*pikullíki*	

kallú	*pikúllu*
kallíxa	*pikullíxa*
kallína	*pikullína*
kallíkon	*pikullíkon*
kallíxon	*pikullíxon*

4.1.5 *Reflexes of inflected prepositions*

(a) OA *fi:*

The prepositional functions of KA /*fi*/ 'in' are mostly restricted to expressions specifying time and static location; the notion of 'movement into' is ordinarily conveyed by the KA preposition /*xost*/ < **fosṭ* < **fi wasṭ*. KA reflexes of OA *fi:* also occur in the quasi-verb '/*fi*/ + pron. suffix' meaning 'to be able to' (paralleled in certain Syro-Lebanese vernaculars: Cowell 1964, 415; El-Hajjé 1954, 173), and in a set of copulas introducing existential sentences. KA verbal /*fi*/ is inflected as follows:

s. 1	*fini*	'I am able to'
2 m.	*fik*	'you (m.) are able to'
f.	*fiki*	'you (f.) are able to, etc.'
3 m.	*fix*	
f.	*fia*	
pl. 1	*fina*	
2	*fikon*	
3	*fixon*	

KA reflexes of existential **fi:* show up in the morpholexically merged forms

(12)	*fia*	'there is/are'	<	**fi:ha:*
	máfkya	'there is/are not'	<	**ma: fi:ha:*
	kaffia	'there was/were'	<	**ka:n fi:ha:*
	mákaffia	'there was/were not'	<	**ma: ka:n fi:ha:*

where the feminine gender and singular number marking of historical **ha:* has been completely neutralized. Closely comparable treatment of copula reflexes of **fi:* occurs in parts of S.E. Anatolia:

(13) Daragözü (Jastrow 1973, 52)

kᵃfi: ~ *kᵃfi:u*	'es gab'
mᵃkfi	'es gab nicht'

(b) OA *ʕala:*

KA has exclusively retained the bound allomorph of OA *ʕala:*, which is inflected as follows:

s. 1	*ʕaléy*	'on me'
2 m.	*ʕalék*	'on you (m.), etc.'
f.	*ʕaléki*	
3 m.	*ʕaléx*	
f.	*ʕalexa*	

pl. 1	*ʿalena*	
2	*ʿalekon*	
3	*ʿalexon*	

(c) KA /*min*/ 'from'

This occurs both free and bound; its inflection shows the usual gemination of /*n*/ before vowels, and the less common (though here purely optional) contrast between the 3rd person feminine singular and the 1st person plural forms:

s. 1	*minni*	'from me, etc.'
2 m.	*minnak*	
f.	*minnik*	
3 m.	*minnu*	
f.	*minna*	
pl. 1	*minna* ~ *mininna*	
2	*minkon*	
3	*minnon*	

4.1.6 *KA* |*ya*| < *OA ʔiyya:-*

KA verb phrases governing both direct and indirect object pronouns have uniquely the constituent structure:

Verb + *L* + ind. obj. pron. + |*ya*| + dir. obj. pron.

realized phonetically without internal open juncture, and displaying one main stress:

(14) *KA*

žiftilyáxa	'I/you (m.) brought it (c.) to him'	← |*žipt + L + yaxa*|
ziftillyaxa	'you (f.) brought it (c.) to him'	← |*žipti + L + yaxa*|
žápinyáxa	'he brought it (c.) to me'	← |*žap + L + ni + yaxa*|
žapúllyaxa	'they brought it (c.) to him'	← |*žapu + L + yaxa*|
štráytilyáxa	'I bought it for him'	← |*štrayt + L + ni + yaxa*|
štrannyáxa	'he bought it (c.) for me'	← |*štra + L + ni + yaxa*|
plakíllikyáxa	'I find it (c.) for you (f.)'	← |*plaki + L + ik + yaxa*|
plakílkonyáxa	'I find it (c.) for you (pl.)'	← |*plaki + L + kon + yaxa*|
pilakínnyaxa	'he finds it (c.) for me'	← |*pilaki + L + ni + yaxa*|

The infixal character of KA |*ya*|, and the concomitant close phrasing typifying verbal forms with two object pronouns in this dialect, constitute distinctive comparative traits when it is recalled that the majority of Eastern vernaculars retaining a reflex of OA *ʔiyya:-* in this syntactic context generally utilize it as a disjunctive pronoun stem, and generally show two independent stress groups:

(15) Damascus (Cowell 1964, 545)
ʿaṭa:ni ya:ha kəlla 'he gave it all to me'

Palestinian Arabic (Elihai 1973, 255)
farja:ni iyya:ha 'il me l'a montrée'

Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 290)
baˤat-le ya:ha 'il me l'a envoyée'

Dēr izZōr (Jastrow 1978, 298)
inṭe:tu:k-i:ya:ha 'ich gab dir (m) sie (sg f)

A number of striking characteristics pertaining to these KA morphosyntactic structures deserve to be noted:

a) the restriction whereby exclusively 3rd person object pronouns are available for affixation to |*ya*|, i.e. /*-xa*/ ('him', 'her', and 'it'), and /*-xon*/ 'they';

b) the implementation of the 3rd person singular gender distinction in the indirect object position, entailing surface deletion of the pronominal suffixes /*-u*/ and /*-a*/ with shift of the gender marking role on to the ensuing consonant clusters, i.e. /*ly*/ (m.) vs. /*ll*/ (f.):

(16) *KA*

xet	'he took'		
xítillu	'he took him (ind. obj.)'	←	|*xet-L-u*|
xítilla	'he took her (ind. obj.)'	←	|*xet-L-a*|
xitilyáxa	'he took him/her/it to him'	←	|*xet-L-u-yaxa*|
xitilláxa	'he took him/her/it to her'	←	|*xet-L-a-yaxa*|

c) loss of the gender distinction in indirect object position, where KA /*-xa*/ regularly does service for 'he', 'she', and 'it'.

The historical treatment of OA *ʔiyya:-* actualized in KA invites comparison with the closely similar evolution of this particle in contemporary Baghdadi Arabic; the following parallels should be noted:
i) the infixal reflex of *ʔiyya:-*: Baghdadi *M ja:belhiya:ha* 'he brought it (f.) to him/her', *J jabelya:k* 'he brought him, her, or them to you (m.s.) (Blanc 1964, 67);
ii) the exclusive use of the 3rd person pronoun suffix in direct object position also typical of Muslim Baghdadi (Altoma 1969, 49).

4.1.6.1 KA /*ya*/ is also commonly affixed to the paradigm of '*li-* + pronominal suffix' (§4.1.3); here too the neutralization of the gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person of the subject pronoun is the norm:

(17)

lin(í)yáxa	'I have it (c.)'	*lináxa*	'we have it (c.)'
likyáxa	'you (m. and f.) have it (c.)'	*likonyáxa*	'you (pl.) have it (c.)'
lixyáxa	'he/she has it (c.)'	*lixonyáxa*	'they have it (c.)'

4.2 KA DEICTICS

4.2.1 *Demonstratives*

KA disposes of two main sets of demonstratives fully inflected for gender and number; they are used for indicating near and distant referents respectively:

KA						*OA*
m.s.	*aɗa*	'this'				*ha:ɗa:*
f.s.	*aɗi*					*ha:ɗi:*
pl.	*alli*[3]	'these'	<	**awli:*	< **hawla:*	*ha:ʔula:ʔ*
m.s.	*aɗak*	'that'				*ha:ɗa:k*
f.s.	*aɗik*					*ha:ɗi:k*
pl.	*allik*	'those'			< **hawli:k*	

As in other Arabic dialects, these terms can function both as determiners and pronouns.

In view of the general KA trend to stress historically word-final *V̄C* sequences (§ 1.5), the accentual pattern characterizing the second set of demonstratives is puzzling; it presumably represents the outcome of an internal shift standardizing stress patterns throughout the entire demonstrative paradigm.

Highly noteworthy, from the comparative standpoint, is the occurrence of the shorter allomorphic variants:

(18) m.s. *ak* } 'that'
f.s. *ayk* }

cognate with the singular forms of the second set (a short plural form appears not to exist). Their principal function is to implement anaphoric reference (e.g. in a narrative), or to express metaphorical distance, as when reference is made to an entity that is physically absent or temporally remote. Note, for instance, the contrast:

(19) *áɗak l-insán* 'that man (over there)'
ák l-insán 'the aforementioned man'

For certain KA speakers, however, the contrast seems to be a weak one; thus, many examples occur in the recorded texts of anaphoric reference conveyed by the fuller forms, though use of /*ak*/ and /*ayk*/ for unmarked deixis has not been noted.

4.2.2 *Presentatives*

Like many other Arabic dialects, KA has independently evolved a set of presentative particles displaying formal marking for gender and number, and focusing on a following noun:

KA					
avá	(m.s.)	<	**hawn-wa*	<	**hawn huwwa:*
anyá	(f.s.)	<	**hawn-ya*	<	**hawn hiyya:*
anná	(pl.)	<	**hawn-na*	<	**hawn hunna:*

[3] Note also the tendency for certain Maltese kinship terms to require mandatory pronominal enclitics: *bint-* 'daughter of' (the term for 'girl' is *tifla* < Ar. *ṭifla* 'little girl'), *hu-* 'brother of' < Ar. *ʔaxu:-*, etc.; for data outside the Arabic dialect area, see Emeneau (1950, 205).

e.g.

(20) *avá l-ixlíp* 'here is the milk'
anyá pínti žét 'here comes my daughter'

The historicity of the proposed starred forms is borne out by the occurrence of closely cognate deictic expressions in many Anatolian vernaculars:

(21) Daragözü (Jastrow 1973, 40)
əmmi o:ni-a 'meine Mutter ist hier'

Arbəl (Jastrow 1978, 138)
hawn-we 'er ist hier'

Retention of the low vowel /*a*/ in the KA reflexes of the pronominal enclitics, in contrast with its rounding and fronting in the respective full pronouns and copulas, is plausibly attributable to the concomitance of stress in the enclitic forms.

4.2.3 *Demonstrative adverbs*

(a) The KA reflex of OA *ha:kađa:* 'thus' is /*akke*/ < **hakke* < **ha:kda:*. Assimilation of the historical interdental in the secondary cluster **kđ* finds close parallels in certain Mesopotamian vernaculars and Maltese: *əkki* (Christian Baghdadi: Blanc 1964, 139), *ha:gge* (Kōsa; S.E. Anatolia: Jastrow 1978, 111), *ekk*(*a*) (Maltese: own language).

(b) The KA equivalents for 'here' and 'there' are /*awna*/ and /*awnke*/ respectively; both terms have widely attested cognates within Eastern Arabic, especially among the *qəltu* vernaculars (Jastrow 1978, 113). The KA terms often occur with a proclitic reflex of /*min*/ 'from' in the directional deictics /*mnawna*/ 'this way', and /*mnawnke*/ 'that way', calqued on CG *pupođá* and *pupočí* respectively. For further instances of lexical innovation involving these KA terms, the following section should be consulted.

4.2.4 *New locational deictics*

The most striking development within the KA deictic system is undoubtedly the evolution of an elaborate set of locational adverbs deriving via component merger from historically bimorphemic forms, the models for which are in part present in CG. Four parallel three-term sets occur in KA, here designated *A*, *A′*, *B*, and *B′* respectively:

		A		
KA:	*anaxók*	'up here'	*CG*:	*đa páno*
	anatáxt	'down here'		*đa káto*
	anaxóst	'in here'		*đa mésa*
		A′ (no CG counterpart)		
	awnaxók	'up here'		———

awnatáxt	'down here'	———
awnaxóst	'in here'	———
	B	
axxók	'up there'	*či páno*
antáxt	'down there'	*či káto*
axxóst	'in there'	*či mésa*
	B′ (no CG counterpart)	
awnkaxók	'up there'	———
awnkatáxt	'down there'	———
awnkaxóst	'in there'	———

Whereas the overt formal differences between sets *A*, *B*, and their respective 'prime' counterparts should be evident from the paradigms cited above, the exact nature of the semantic opposition implemented by these paired sets has yet to be fully elaborated. As far as could be determined in this study, *A* and *B* appear to refer to specific locations within the speaker's range of vision, while *A′* and *B′* refer to indefinitely specified locations, as in the following contrast:

(22) *anaxók* 'up here (where I'm standing, sitting, etc.)'
awnaxók 'up here somewhere'

The KA paradigm of locational deictics also disposes of the terms

(23) *anaxullá* 'over here'
axxullá 'over there'
áwnarex 'a little nearer'
áwnkrex 'a little further'

For etymological data relative to the deictic forms cited in this section, the reader is referred to Borg (forthcoming).

4.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The most common indefinite pronouns in KA are:

ši-véxen (m.), *ši-véxte* (f.)	'someone, no one'
kaθe-véxen (m.), *kaθe-véxte* (f.)	'everyone'
axar (m.), *oxre* (f.), *oxar* (pl.)	'other'
šikitš	'something, nothing'
xáitš ~ *xákitš*	'a little'

Many KA speakers freely augment this word class with loans from Greek, the most frequently encountered terms being the invariable form *káti* 'something',

and the inflected expression *kámposos* 'some, a number of', which in KA retains its Greek gender, case and number markers.

4.4 THE RELATIVE PARTICLE

The KA relative particle has the invariable shape /*ta*/; it performs the functions both of a pronominal and an adverbial relative, closely reflecting, in this respect, the syntactic distribution of CG /*pu*/:

(24) KA: *áđa o l-páyt ta rítt táštri.*
CG: *túton en to spíti pú-θela na-γoráso.*
'this is the house (that) I wanted to buy'

KA: *áđa o l-móđaʕa ta ʕaríft l-impráti.*
CG: *tútos en o tópos pu γnórisa tiy-yinéka mu.*
'this is the place where I met my wife'

KA: *éxen o l-itrópo ta pkyáxter tesúr.*
CG: *énas mónon trópos ipárxi pu mporí na yíni.*
'there is only one way to do it'

The historical origin of this KA function word is obscure since no phonologically and functionally comparable cognate has been noted in the Arabic dialects. The matter is further complicated by the existence of the homophonous KA particle /*ta*/ displaying many of the grammatical functions proper to Syro-Lebanese /*ta*/ < OA *ḥatta:* (cf. Feghali 1928, 416-424; Barthélemy 1935, 78), chiefly that of a subordinating conjunction.

In contrast with relative pronouns in many Arabic dialects, the KA relative particle /*ta*/ is not deleted after grammatically indefinite antecedents:

(25) *fía éxen ísm ta má-paxter tafíku.*
'there's a certain name (that) I cannot remember'

4.5 THE ARTICLE

Phonosyntactic assimilation of the KA definite article /*l-*/ to most word-initial consonants, usually without preceding auxiliary syllabics, tends to render the correct perception of syntactic determination by nonnative listeners somewhat difficult, particularly for sentence-initial occurrences of the assimilated definite article. A survey of the morphosyntactic behaviour of KA /*l-*/ in other contexts, however, reveals a marked tendency towards restructuring of the OA determination system aligning it with CG usage, both with respect to word-order and concord:

(26) OA: *ʔal-baytu l-kabi:r*
KA: *p-páyt l-ixpír* ~ *l-ixpír páyt*
CG: *to myálo spíti*
'the big house'

The extent to which this trend has replaced the OA determination system in KA has yet to be investigated. Nondetermined nominals in KA generally lack overt marking for this feature; an indetermination marker /*exen*, f. *exte*/ can occur in specific contexts, e.g. in the stock phrase

(27) *éxen seférˇ* 'once upon a time'

and in certain syntactic positions, e.g. after reflexes of existential **fi:* (§4.1.5), where it should probably be translated by 'a certain':

(28) *kaffía éxte mára* 'there was a certain woman ...'

Here again, the extent to which use of the KA 'indefinite article' is mandatory, as well as its historical development (i.e. potential influence from CG vs. independent evolution) have yet to be examined. (For indetermination markers in other Arabic dialects, see Blanc 1964, 119).

4.6 INTERROGATIVES

(a) KA /*men*/ 'who', ultimately from OA *man*, is most plausibly derived from an intermediate form with long */*e:*/ as in Aleppine *me:n*, secondary tensing of the vowel in dialectal reflexes of OA *man* and a few other OA monosyllabic words of the form *CV̆C* being a fairly common vernacular trait:

(29) Aleppo (Sabuni 1980, 76)
me:n 'wer'

Dēr izZōr (Jastrow 1978, 115)
me:n 'wer'

Hīt and ʿĀna (Blanc 1964, 138)
ma:n 'who'

Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919, 271)
ma:n 'qui'

Cairo (Mitchell 1962, 120)
mi:n 'who'
ka:m 'how much'

Jewish Baghdadi (Blanc 1964, 137)
ke:m 'how much'

} < OA *kam*

(b) The KA term for 'what' has two phonosyntactically conditioned variants: the strong form /*ayš*/ alternating with the weak proclitic variant /*aš*/:

(30) *KA*
áyš-o 'what is it?'
aš-óxt úo 'what time is it?'
áš-tantsáy 'what are we to do?'

The former is invariably stressed; the latter occurs in pretonic or weakly stressed positions. Note, however, KA /*áššik*/ < **ayš šakl* and KA /*aška*/ 'how

much' < *ayš qadr discussed below. (For parallel alternation between full and reduced variants harking back to OA *ʔayyu šayʔin* in other Arabic dialects, see Jastrow 1978, 117, Barthélemy 1935, 22; etc.)

(c) KA /*áyna*/ 'which' is, like its identical Anatolian cognate *ayna* (Jastrow 1978, 117) uninflected for gender and number:

(31) *áyna páyt štríet?* 'which house did she buy?'
áyna várka pitrí? 'which book do you (m.) want?'
áyna ḏkyáʕa mísku t-túrk? 'which villages did the Turks capture?'

The ultimate source for this KA term and its dialectal Arabic cognates is Syriac *ayna:* 'which', that is continued in the Neo-Aramaic Ṭūrōyo interrogative *ayna* 'welcher' (Jastrow 1967, 42).

(d) The usual KA equivalent for the interrogative 'how' is /*áššik(l)*/ < *ayš šakl (cf. Baskinta *ki:f šikil* 'how'; Abu Haidar 1979, 116); fading out of the historical offglide in a doubly arrested syllable also occurs in the already cited term /*áška*/ 'how much' < *ayš qadr.

Closely comparable reflexes of historically bi-morphemic interrogatives meaning 'how' displaying preposed *ayš are very common throughout the *qəltu* dialect area and elsewhere: Jewish Baghdadi *ašlo:n* (Blanc 1964, 137), Mardin *ašwan* (Jastrow 1978, 119), etc. < *ayš lawn.

It should, however, be noted that KA /*áššik*/ probably belongs to a later lexical stratum in this dialect; thus, many speakers still use a reflex of *ki:f* in the greeting

(32) *kíf ínt(i, -u)?* 'how are you?'

KA /*kif*/ now occurs mostly as a conjunction introducing a noun clause:

(33) *pikulúllu k-kassís* 'they tell the priest that
kif teáʕimtu. they are going to christen'

This functional shift in the historical role of *kif* is most plausibly ascribable to interference from Greek, which displays the homophonous pair πῶς 'how' and πώς 'that (conj.)'.

(e) KA /*ayn*/ 'where < OA *ʔayna* 'where' alternates with the weak variant /*an*/ under conditions parallel to those already outlined for the alternants /*ayš*/ and /*aš*/ above:

(34) *KA·*
áyn innen? 'where are they?'
náxni án-tarrúx? 'where are we to go?'

KA also has the invariable form /*mnayn*/ 'wherefrom'.

[4] The reconstruction **awli:* is based on the contemporary S.E. Anatolian Arabic form *awli* (Tuzlagözü) cited in Jastrow (1978, 105); the nonclassical term **hawla:* is recorded as a *laḥn* in the medieval orthoepic literature (Rebhan 1981, 104).

(f) KA /kífta/ 'why' ultimately derives, like Lebanese *kefta* 'pourquoi' (Feghali 1928, 229), from the historically compound sequence **ki:f ḥatta:* attested in Cabali:

(35) Lewin (1969, 22)
ki:f ḥatta ʔaxaḏ? 'how (why) did he take?'

Contracted reflexes of OA *ḥatta:* in question words meaning 'why' are fairly common in the Eastern dialect area:

(36) Cabali (Lewin 1969, 22)
la:šta 'why'

Anatolia (Jastrow 1978, 22)
tayš (Tuzlagözü)
tay (Daragözü) } < **ḥatta: ayš*
atáy (Šīgo)

(g) KA /áška/ 'how much' < **ayš qadr* has many cognates throughout the Mesopotamian and Syrian dialect areas: S.E. Anatolian *ašqa*, *ašqad*, *ašqade*, *ašqadd*, etc. (Vocke and Waldner 1982, 328), Cabali *šqad* (Lewin 1969, 22), Jewish Baghdadi *ašqa* (Blanc 1964, 116), etc.

(h) KA /miten/ 'when' < OA *mata:* shows the normal shift of stressed **a* to KA /i/, and the final *imāla* of */a:/; the accretion of final /n/ has been discussed in §1.3.7. The KA display of an etymologically mono-morphemic reflex of OA *mata:* is fairly striking in view of the more widespread geographical distribution, among the Eastern vernaculars, of historically merged cognates harking back to **ayy mata:*, e.g.

(37) Mardin: *aymate* (Jastrow 1978, 121)
Mossul: *e:mati* (Blanc 1964, 138)
Baghdad *J*: *emta* (Blanc, *loc. cit.*)
Damascus: *ʔe:mta* (Stowasser and Ani 1964, 262)
Cabali: *ʔaymat*/*ʔi:mat* (Lewin 1969, 22)
Cairo: *ʔimta* (Mitchell 1962, 115)

4.7 NEGATIVE MARKERS

Verbal negation of both Perfect and Imperfect in KA is implemented by means of the preposed negative morpheme /ma/, which regularly carries sentential stress:

(38) *má-kiššeni.* 'he did not see me'
má-pirí terúx. 'he does not want to go'

Negation of the Imperfect stem is often achieved by preposing /ma/ directly to the verb form divested of the non-contingency marker /p(i)-/; this has been noted exclusively for the 2nd person singular and 3rd person feminine singular forms. The resulting sequences invariably show an intervening /y/, whose function and origin remain unclear:

(39) *má-yttaxki.* 'she does not speak'

Negation of verb-less sentences entails contraction of /*ma*/ and stress shift on to the copula:

(40) *m-é káyse.* 'she is not nice'
m-ó áwnke. 'he is not there'
m-énne žeín. 'they are not coming'

Negative commands, wishes, and subordinate clauses require the morpheme /*la*/, which is likewise stressed:

(41) *lá-truxu.* 'don't go (pl.)!'
lá-tiθkállmi. 'don't answer (f.)!'
ta lá-težra fix ši. '...so that nothing untoward should happen to him'
xállux ttakúllu ána áda š-šóʕol ta lá-ysur óxre trík. 'let me tell him myself that this affair should not happen again'

KA /*la*/ is also used to negate nominal and adverbial phrases:

(42) *šráft xlíp lá mpít.* 'I drank milk not wine'
pri tákšaʕa l-óxtak lá x-xaítak. 'I want to see you sister not your brother'
élu yamuxnáyn lá yamutláxe. 'come (pl.) on Monday not on Tuesday!'

The negative correlatives /*me ... me ...*/ in KA have been borrowed from Cypriot Greek:

(43) KA: *má-pišrap me píra me mpít.*
CG: *ém-pinno me píran me krasín.*
'I drink neither beer nor wine'

V
CONCLUSION

5.0 EVOLUTIONARY TRENDS

It should be fairly evident from the foregoing historical and comparative investigation that the Arabic dialect spoken by the Cypriot Maronites of Kormakiti presents one of the most evolved linguistic profiles yet described within the Arabic dialect area.

Its deviant evolutionary character, when viewed against the background of the present-day sedentary Arabic vernaculars, can, to a large extent, be linked to a set of sociohistorical factors already familiar from a number of other Arabic colloquials spoken outside the geographical confines of the Arab countries, such as Maltese, the Arabic dialects of Central Asia and Central Africa, and certain S.E. Anatolian vernaculars, i.e.

(i) more or less complete cultural isolation from the Arabic-speaking world resulting in severance from direct contact with Classical and vernacular Arabic;

(ii) a past or present history of multilingualism that has rendered these dialects virtually unintelligible to native Arabic speakers.

The structural effects on KA of isolation from the mainstream of vernacular Arabic take the form of two antithetical evolutionary trends that may well be generally characteristic of all peripheral Arabic dialects (cf. Jastrow 1977, 258), entailing: (i) a propensity towards linguistic conservatism implemented via retention of certain archaic structural features, and (ii) proneness to more intensive internal evolution, often in directions already latent in more centrally located vernaculars.

The oldest layer within the linguistic stratification of KA is composed of pre-Arabic elements realistically ascribable to substratal influence from Syriac; these comprise a set of phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical traits:

(a) fusion of OA /ʕ/ and /ɣ/, paralleled by that of OA /ḥ/ and /x/ (§ 1.3.9);

(b) the phonological restriction on gemination of /ʕ/ (§ 1.2.2);

(c) use of an anticipatory pronominal suffix before the Dative marker |L| (§ 3.5);

(d) formal marking of the definite direct object by means of preposed /l-/ (§ 4.1.3);

(e) the development of copulas deriving from independent forms of pronouns (§ 4.1.1.2);

(f) certain lexical items referring to the Christian religion, traditional village industries, housekeeping, etc.

In the absence of explicit historical evidence indicative of an actual language shift from Syriac to Arabic in the Kormakiti community's past, it cannot be

determined whether the assimilation of Syriac elements was internal to the history of KA, or whether these were already present in the earliest form of this dialect. The agency of Aramaic substrata has been postulated for various Arabic dialects spoken by sedentaries in the Middle East (Garbell 1958 *passim*; Diem 1978, 41 f.); whereas the KA substratal traits (c), (d), (e), and (f) are shared with other dialects of Eastern Arabic, the paradigmatic merger of historical pharyngeal and velar fricatives in KA appears to be unique in this region, and extremely rare in the Arabic dialect area. Traces of diachronic interaction between /ʕ/ and /γ/ among the present-day Eastern Arabic dialects appear to be otherwise restricted to a few individual words: e.g. the change OA *ʕmq* > *γmq* reported in many Syro-Palestinian vernaculars (cf. Bauer 1957, 301; Feghali 1919, 95; Stowasser and Ani 1964, 62).

Conservatism in the Arabic component of KA is best reflected in a number of striking lexical archaisms: KA /*ʕayár*/ 'clouds' < OA *γiya:r* 'rain', /*ist*/ 'genitals' < OA *ʔist*, the variants /**ra* ~ *kíšʕe*/ 'to see', etc.[1].

5.0.1 Disregarding, for the moment, the structural innovations in KA induced by interaction with CG, the aforementioned centrifugal trend towards progressive internal evolution is well exemplified in KA morphology and morphosyntax, which exhibit the effects of a radical streamlining process entailing:
(i) far-reaching demorphologization of derivational processes, e.g. fading out or complete loss of productivity in certain verbal schemes (§ 2.0), simplification of the inflectional and derivational apparatus within the nominal system (Ch. III *passim*), morphophonemic restructuring conducive to paradigmatic invariance (KA /*pna*/ 'he built', /(*n*)*tsa*/ 'he forgot' < OA *bana:*, *nasiya* (§ 2.2.1.5); KA /*xmárra*/ 'he blushed', /*sfárra*/ 'he went pale' < OA *ḥmarr*, *ṣfarr* (§ 2.2.2), etc.;
(ii) recycling with concomitant refunctionalization of certain lineally inherited elements: the treatment of *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa* in kinship terms (§ 3.3.2) and numerals (§ 3.4); the morpholexical split of OA *ḥatta:* yielding the KA Future and Subjunctive verbal proclitics /*tta-*/ and /*ta-*/ respectively;
(iii) analytic implementation of certain grammatical functions which in centrally located Arabic dialects are synthetically realized, e.g. the dual (§ 3.3.1.3), and the elative (§ 3.3.3).

[1] Ferguson (1959, § 6.2) correctly underscored the archaic nature of underived dialectal reflexes of OA *raʔa:* 'to see' but somewhat overstated their rarity, since integral or defective paradigms of this verbal lexeme are still to be encountered, particularly, in the Maghreb, e.g. in Maltese, parts of Tunisia (Stumme 1896, 20; Talmoudi 1979, 90), etc. As Ferguson indicated, the most common dialectal lexeme for 'to see' is *ša:f*, *yšu:f*, though reflexes of derived forms of *raʔa:* are not uncommon.

The greater rarity of underived reflexes of OA *rʔy* in the East may well reflect the fact that the lexical shift in question appears to have entailed an intermediate stage for many dialects in this region, i.e. *rʔy* > *qšʕ* > *šwf*. The merely partial retention of the *ra*-paradigm in KA (§ 2.2.1.6c) and its virtual replacement by *kišʕe*, (*p*)*kyákšaʕa* represents, in effect, the first stage of this lexical shift (for details, see Borg forthcoming).

It is noteworthy, in this respect, that KA has in a few instances continued and accelerated evolutionary trends already at work in other Arabic dialects. Thus, whereas the majority of contemporary Arabic vernaculars have evolved analytic genitive particles used concurrently with, though often in functional opposition to the construct state (cf. Harning 1980, *passim*), KA has completely faded out the construct state as a grammatical device, and uses mostly genitive particles in possessive constructions (§§ 3.5 and 4.1.1.3.1).

The effects of linguistic creativity within KA are particularly evident in the lexical domain, where, as in certain other Arabic dialects, component merger has yielded several new nominal and adverbial forms: KA /ʕatéšye/ 'tomorrow evening' < *γada: ʕašiyya, /θénixxar/ 'next day' < *θa:ni: naha:r, /muvárt/ 'rose water' < *ma: ward, /matxál/ 'maternal uncle's wife' < *mart xa:l-, etc.

5.0.2 In addition to the internally generated structural modifications just indicated, the agency of foreign language contact as a catalyst of change in KA, particularly in the realm of phonology, is evident from the data adduced in Ch. I. Paradigmatic shifts in the KA sound system directly ascribable to interference from CG include: loss of emphasis (§ 1.3.6), and of the distinctive role of voicing in stops (§ 1.2.1); a striking innovation here — from the viewpoint of Arabic phonology — is the replacement of the historical voicing contrast in geminated dental stops by the tense: lax opposition, corresponding in KA structure to aspirated vs. nonaspirated release (§ 1.3.4). In the vowel system, loss of phonemic length occasioned extensive fusion of long vowels with short counterparts, while *Umlaut* of OA /a:/ > /e:/ > /e/ and partial merger of OA /u/, /aw/ and /a:/ into KA /o/ (§ 1.4.6) yielded a secondary mid vowel series. The outcome for KA monophthongs is a five term system parallel to that of CG.

The cumulative impact of internally and externally induced paradigmatic restructuring within the KA sound system has occasioned a drastic reduction of the phonemic inventory, which comprises only twenty-six segments (CG has twenty-five; Newton 1972a, 22) as against the thirty-six segments of Old Arabic, and the thirty-five-odd segments characterizing the sound systems of many urban vernaculars of Greater Syria, e.g. Damascus (Cowell 1964, 117f.); Hama (Lewin 1966, *17*), Tripoli (El-Hajjé 1954, 20f.); Bišmizzīn (Jiha 1964, 117f.), etc. As in other Arabic dialects, there has nonetheless been an appreciable enhancement of inner symmetry within the obstruent system relative to the situation obtaining in Old Arabic.

Syntagmatic interference from CG phonology is mainly reflected in the acquisition of a set of phonotactic conditions requiring: automatic stop voicing in resonant environments (§ 1.2.1), occlusivization of /y/ after obstruents (§ 1.2.4b), and manner dissimilation in dyadic obstruent clusters (§ 1.2.3). Given the morphophonemic mobility of KA radicals concomitant with certain inflectional processes peculiar to Arabic grammar, the extension of these CG constraints to KA surface structure has introduced a degree and type of phonological complexity in the KA consonant system unknown in other Arabic vernaculars described so far. Notwithstanding the phonological regularity of these historical changes, and the transparency of the synchronic phonological

rules involved, these processes no doubt constitute an important factor contributing to KA's unintelligibility to native speakers of Arabic. By the same token, they probably also represent a significant formal correlate of its speakers' linguistic and cultural distance from the Arabic-speaking world.

The partial homogeneity in surface content of KA and CG utterances ensuing from shared phonological traits, together with other diffusionally induced structural parallels in the realm of syntax and phraseology (not examined in this study), can be said to have yielded a typological *rapprochement* of KA to the Greek language area, though such traits as e.g. postnasal voicing and the lack of functional length in vowels show up elsewhere in the Balkan *Sprachbund* (cf. Schaller 1975: 125, 131).

In contrast with the KA sound system's receptivity to influence from CG, KA morphology has understandably resisted significant intrusion of foreign elements, given its patent lack of formal congruity with the inflectional and derivational patterns of Greek. The principal diffusionally incurred changes in this domain are confined to integration of CG diminutive suffixes (§3.3.4) and to the linguistically hybrid Imperative paradigm of the verb 'to go' (§2.2.1.6). The replacement of the OA elative inflection by a periphrastic syntactic counterpart (§3.3.3) is probably also plausibly ascribable to CG influence, though comparable developments are not unknown in other nonclassical varieties of Arabic (Blau 1966, 234).

The paucity of CG nominal stems fully integrated into the KA stock of nominal patterns presents a very obvious contrast with the situation obtaining, for instance, in Maltese, where large-scale assimilation of Romance stems has culminated in extensive refurbishing of vestigially represented morphological schemes (cf. Borg 1978, Ch. VI *passim*).

The general picture emerging from the foregoing remarks tallies well with traditionally held views concerning the relative impermeability to foreign elements characterizing morphological systems (Meillet 1921, 82; Sapir 1921, 206). The absence of a significant degree of morphological syncretism in KA would seem to support the view that far from being a 'mixed language' (*pace* Newton 1964), KA has, despite its structural overlaps with CG, largely remained a separate if receding linguistic system.

Finally, the negative impact of CG on KA morphology should not be overlooked. The drastic curtailment of inherited derivational processes in KA, as evinced, for instance, in its far-reaching demorphologization of verbal and nominal schemes productively retained in other Eastern Arabic vernaculars, is presumably a by-product of extensive lexical loss incurred via functionalized Arabic/Greek bilingualism, culminating in the current subordinate sociolinguistic role of KA among its speakers. Given the present recessive (if not terminal) posture of KA vis-à-vis CG, it is here suggested that the virtual nonexistence in contemporary KA of productive strategies of lexical enrichment apart from codeswitching probably constitutes the most striking formal indicator of this dialect's functional marginality.

5.1 KA AND THE ARABIC DIALECTS

The significance of diachronic research on KA to the historical investigation of vernacular Arabic can perhaps be summed up in Mary Haas' dictum to the effect that 'the discovery of a new daughter language signals the need to reexamine all previous work in the light of the new evidence' (Haas 1969, 47). The rest of this chapter will accordingly be devoted to an outline of the salient dialectal traits in KA discussed in this work, with a view to throwing into greater relief the areal and genetic links of KA already adumbrated at various points in the foregoing chapters, and underscoring their implications for the evolution of Eastern Arabic.

5.1.1 *KA and the dialects of Greater Syria*

The most numerous and systematic formal affinities of KA within the Arabic dialect area are indisputably with the sedentary vernaculars spoken in the region adjoining the North Eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean and parts of the adjacent hinterland.

The patently eastern character pertaining to KA is borne out by its display of a number of highly distinctive structural traits (or reflexes thereof) commonly associated with the sedentary colloquials of Greater Syria:

(a) the /*b*(*i*)-/ prefix as a noncontingency marker in the inflection of the Imperfect (§ 2.2.3.1);

(b) the tense/lax alternation affecting the Imperative stem vowel in Form I verbs (§ 2.2.1.1.1);

(c) retention of reflexes of *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa* in numerical constructs (§ 3.4);

(d) reflexes of the pronominal forms **hunna:*, **-kun*, and **-hun* (§§ 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.3);

(e) a possessive particle harking back to OA **šayʔat-* (§ 3.5).

The usual isoglosses correlating with the urban/rural split within this area do not, however, yield a sharp classification in the case of KA, since it combines large-scale retention of interdentals and the voiceless nonglottal reflex of *qa:f* typical of many rural Syro-Palestinian dialects, with the mostly urban deaffrication of *ǧi:m* (Bergsträsser 1915: Map 2; Cantineau 1960: 44, 59; 68-69).

Alongside these 'general Syrian' traits, KA also possesses a set of special eastern features bringing it close to the Lebanese *Centre-Nord* (CN) vernaculars (Fleisch 1959):

(a) avoidance of two historically short vowels in consecutive open syllables (KA /*pásle*/ 'onion' < *baṣala*; /*kísret*/ 'she broke' < *kasarat*);

(b) elision of the first stem vowel in the 1st and 2nd person of the Perfect paradigm (KA /*xtuft*/ 'I/you wrote' < *katabt*, § 2.1.3);

(c) deletion of the initial syllable in the Perfect paradigm of the verbs 'to have' and 'to eat' (KA /*xitt*/ 'I took', /*kilt*/ 'I ate', § 2.2.1.3);

(d) the 'non-differential' typology of its treatment of OA short vowels (KA /(*p*)*kyírpot*/, pl. /(*p*)*kyíriftu*/ 'to tie'; /(*p*)*kyíšrap*/, pl. /(*p*)*kyíširpu*/ 'to drink', § 2.1.3);

(e) the generalization of one stem type to most finally weak verbs in the Perfect (KA /(*n*)*tsay-t*/ 'I forgot' /*mšay-t*/ 'I walked', §2.2.1.5);
(f) the phonemic shape and stress pattern of the verb 'to come' (KA /*ža*, *piži*/, §2.2.1.6);
(g) the use of the noncontingency marker /*ma-*/ in allomorphic alternation with /*p*(*i*)-/, §2.2.3.1);

The extent to which these shared dialectal features imply a special historical relationship with the Lebanese vernaculars can only be surmised at this point since:
(i) several of the aforementioned CN traits also show up outside Lebanon, e.g. (a), (b), (c), (f), and (g) in Cabali (Lewin 1969, 37);
(ii) KA also displays a considerable number of dialectal traits completely foreign to the present-day Lebanese vernaculars, but highly typical of the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects.

The predominantly CN affinities of KA within Lebanese may ultimately also bear some relation to independent nonregional factors such as the Maronite communal affiliation of the majority of Arabic speakers in this part of Lebanon (Fleisch 1959, 389).

5.2 KA AND THE *QƏLTU* ARABIC VERNACULARS

A highly pervasive dialectal trait distinguishing KA from the majority of Arabic dialects spoken in Greater Syria is undoubtedly the vocalically conditioned *imāla* of OA medial /*aː*/, whose areal significance in relation to KA is deserving of special emphasis, if only because an *imāla*-shift of a different type also occurs within Eastern Arabic and beyond, e.g. in certain Lebanese and Syrian dialects showing a general fronting of medial */*aː*/ in nonemphatic and/or nonback consonantal environments, i.e. Beirut, Kfar Ṣghab, Zaḥle, Palmyra, Qarītēn, Suxne, etc. (Levin 1971 *passim*).

The crucial nature of the distinction between these two separate vowel shifts, both to our understanding of the *imāla* itself and to the elucidation of the history of Eastern Arabic constitutes one of the most fruitful insights emerging from Levin's aforementioned study.

By way of underscoring the diachronic significance of the *qəltu imāla*, especially its tie-up with literary forms of Old Arabic, suffice it here to cite briefly Blanc's account of the *imāla*-shift as reported for certain forms of medieval Iraqi Arabic:

> 'From abundant passages in the Arabic grammatical literature it emerges quite clearly that OA /*ā*/ (or, more accurately, what traditional spelling represents by *fatḥa* plus *ʔalif* or plus *ʔalif maqṣūra*) was rendered in Iraq, especially in Baghdad, with an "inclination" (*ʔimāla*) towards /*ī*/ ... Moreover, *ʔimāla* was both a hallmark of Baghdadi speech and therefore a desideratum in vernacular poetry, *and* prescribed, by some authorities at least, for correct diction and Qurʔān reading; the two usages did not, however, entirely overlap, and it will be seen that it is on the whole the

> colloquial rather than the prescribed *ʔimāla* which has come down to us in the *qəltu*-dialects and the related N. Syrian varieties.' (Blanc 1964: 48)

The principal kind of *ʔimāla* identified in the sources, i.e. Sībawayhi (d. 793) and Zamaxšarī (d. 1144), is an *Umlaut* of OA /*a:*/ occurring in nouns in the proximity of a *kasra*:

> 'the stock examples are words like *lisān* 'tongue', *rijāl* 'man', cf. *C*/*lsēn*/, /*ġjēl*/, *J*/*lsīn*/, /*ġjīl*/ ...' (*loc. cit.*)

Medieval Iraqi knew other forms of *imāla*; of particular relevance here is the *imāla* of the feminine ending, which in later times

> 'was actually prescribed by some authorities; some forbade *ʔimāla* after back consonants and emphatics, paralleling the usage of C, Mosul, Anatolia and many Syrian dialects; while others accepted it after such consonants as well, paralleling the treatment in J (where frontness or backness of consonants is irrelevant for feminine ending *ʔimāla*), or the M treatment of all final /*a*/'s except after pharyngeals.' (*op. cit.* 49-50)

The nature and distribution of the *imāla* reflexes in contemporary Jewish and Christian Baghdadi as well as in the closely related vernaculars of Mosul and S.E. Anatolia yielded Blanc a highly significant piece of historical evidence (among others) substantiating his innovative insight that these dialects, designated by him after their most characteristic shibboleth (the *-u* ending in the first person of the Perfect verbal paradigm) as '*qəltu* dialects' (cf. Blanc 1964, 5-6), continue the medieval vernaculars spoken by the populations of the old sedentary centres of Abbasid Iraq.

Subsequent extensive fieldwork in S.E. Anatolia, i.e. Sasse 1971, and particularly Jastrow 1973, 1978, and 1981, not only fully confirmed the typological validity of the areal notion '*qəltu* dialect' for this region, but also brought to light the considerable range of linguistic diversity compatible with this designation, thereby creating a comprehensive comparative framework for further inquiry into the internal evolution of these dialects themselves, and for the elaboration of their historical links with areally adjacent non-*qəltu* congeners.

Of special relevance to the latter endeavour is the dialectal continuum, also recognized in Blanc (1964, 6), extending between the *qəltu* vernaculars and a North Syrian dialect type exemplified in Aleppo Arabic, which, though lacking several important *qəltu* traits, closely replicates the *qəltu* conditionings of *imāla*. The following examples from Aleppine, Anatolian Arabic, and KA will suffice to illustrate the closely similar character pertaining to the medial *imāla* in all three areas:

Aleppo	**S.E. Anatolia**	**KA**	**OA**	
be:red	*be:rəd*	*peret*	*ba:rid*	'cool'
ne:šef	*ne:šəf*	*nešef*	*na:šif*	'dry'
kle:b	*kle:b*	*klep*	*kila:b*	'dogs'
fre:š	*fre:š*	*freš*	*fira:š*	'bedding'
ne:s	*ne:s*	*nes*	*na:s*	'people'

ǧe:ǧ	*ǧe:ǧ*	*žež(ž)*	*dağa:ǧ*	'hens'
foʔa:ni	*fo:qa:ni*	*xokaṇi*	*fawqa:ni:*	'upper'
na:m	*na:m*	*nam*	*na:m*	'he slept'
ka:n	*ka:n*	*kan*	*ka:n*	'he was'
kba:r	*kba:r*	*xpar*	*kiba:r*	'big (pl.)'
ǧda:d	*ǧda:d*	*žtat*	*ǧida:d*	'new (pl.)' [2]

It is highly interesting to note that the most recent linguistic probes carried out in the Syrian dialect area have brought to light not only additional (though apparently receding) traces of the vocalically conditioned *imāla* in the Hama dialect (Lewin 1966, *27* f.) and in Cabali (Lewin 1969, 13), but also large-scale retention of the *qəltu-imāla* along with other quintessential *qəltu* traits in the vernacular of Dēr izZōr (Jastrow 1980, 202; 1981, 419 f.). In other words, whereas it is clear from the available sources that what might be broadly referred to as the *qētel* dialect type (characterized by the *Umlaut* variety of the *imāla*) extends well beyond the western banks of the Upper Euphrates, the present location of this intriguing isogloss on the Syrian dialect map, as well as the geographical distribution of possibly other concomitant *qəltu* traits have yet to be determined.

Seen in this context, the 'General Syrian'-Lebanese-S.E. Anatolian affinities of KA as delineated in the preceding sections assume a special significance with regard to this dialectal periphery, since its display of a striking number of *qəltu* traits over and above the *imāla*-shift not only renders KA in many respects a closer congener of the *qəltu* group than the Aleppo vernacular, but also raises the interesting possibility that, owing to its special character as a linguistic island of Eastern Arabic subsisting since the Middle Ages in a non-Arabic geolinguistic context, KA represents, in effect, a now superstratally modified variety of a dialectal prototype antedating the present areal configuration obtaining among Arabic-speaking sedentaries in this region.

That the multiple areal affiliations of KA within Eastern Arabic are unlikely to be the outcome of recent interdialectal contacts with the sedentary vernaculars of Greater Syria can perhaps be most reasonably inferred from the distributional behaviour of the KA medial *imāla* itself. Had the intermediate areal profile of KA been acquired via recent dialectal admixture, the outcome could logically have been expected to impinge on the transparency of the diachronic rule raising */a:/* in the adjacency of a high front vowel, either by introducing the raised vowel in environments where it was not to be expected (i.e. through proliferation of the consonantally conditioned *imāla*, along with other Lebanese features in KA indicated in § 5.1.1 above), or by reinstating the low vowel where it had undergone fronting (i.e. through contact with an *imāla*-free vernacular). But as already pointed out (§ 1.4.4.2.2), the principal exceptions to the medial *imāla* rule in KA are also typical of the *qētel* group as a whole.

[2] The Aleppine and Anatolian examples are from the dictionaries by Barthélemy and Vocke & Waldner respectively.

5.2.1 As should be evident from the comparative data adduced throughout this work, the most salient structural affinities of KA within the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialect group as a whole are with the S.E. Anatolian branch (cf. Jastrow 1978, 1 and 26 f.), though not entirely confined thereto. The following shared traits should be noted in particular:

(1) use of copulas derived via contraction of independent pronouns (§ 4.1.1.2);

(2) reflexes of 2nd and 3rd person plural pronominal suffixes with final /n/ (KA /-kon/, § 4.1.1.3);

(3) a reflex of *ḥatta:* as a verbal modifier signalling the Future Tense; the dialectal parallel here extends to the morphophonemic fronting of */a:/ before the 3rd person marker |Y| (§ 2.2.3.2);

(4) morpholexically merged reflexes of OA *ka:n* and **ka:nta:* in historically compound verb forms (§ 2.2.3.4);

(5) a genitive exponent deriving from **ɗayl* (?) (§ 3.5);

(6) phonologically contracted reflexes of OA *sawwa:*, **bisawwi:* (§ 2.2.1.6e);

(7) component merger of **ma:* + **fi:* + 3rd person singular pronoun suffix (§ 4.1.5);

(8) contracted reflexes of OA *ha:ɗa:k* and *ha:ɗi:k* (§ 4.2.1);

(9) elision of the voiceless laryngeal fricative in independent pronouns and deictics (Ch. IV *passim*).

The KA inventory of S.E. Anatolian traits could be further extended were one to include incidental features peculiar to the treatment of individual lexical items (such as loss of initial /l/ in reflexes of OA *liḥa:f* and *lisa:n*; § 1.3.7), and a number of lexical parallels, whose systematic investigation lies outside the scope of this work:

KA		**Anatolia** (Vocke & Waldner 1982)	
šaxve	'hair of head'	*šaḥfe*	'Haupthaar'
terraše	'brushwood'	*ṭərra:š*	'Buschwerk'
kaspe	'liver'	*qaṣabe*	'Leber'

5.2.2 Two main historical traits link KA specifically with Baghdadi Arabic. By far the more striking of the two by reason of its rarity and systemic complexity is the infixal treatment of the OA morpheme *ʔiyya:-* also noted for Jewish (and Muslim) Baghdadi. As already indicated in § 4.1.6 above, KA also reflects some of the concomitant constraints on gender marking in the suffixed pronouns. The close correspondence here would appear to render the possibility of independent parallel development distinctly remote.

The second feature is the clear trace of mutual interference between long and short forms of the number 'one', which finds a parallel in Jewish and Christian Baghdadi (§ 3.4).

Finally, a few traits occur in both Anatolian and Tigris varieties of *qəltu* Arabic, through probably not in all:

(a) the tendency to stress the negative particles /ma/ and /la/ (§ 4.7);

(b) reflexes of **rawa:*, *yirwi:* 'to show': KA /rva, (p)kyírvi/, Jewish Baghdadi *γawa*, *yəγwi* (Blanc 1964, 151), and Siirt *ṛawa*, *yəṛwi* (Jastrow 1978, 163).

5.2.5 Leaving aside modifications to its structure ascribable to contact with Greek, KA also displays a set of important differences setting it apart from the majority of *qəltu* vernaculars. The most significant are:

(a) zero reflex for the verbal suffix *-*u:* indicating the first person singular of the Perfect paradigm (§2.1.2);

(b) zero reflex for the verbal suffix /-*n*/ in the 2nd person feminine singular and in the 2nd and 3rd person plural of the Imperfect; though the occurrence of the final nasal in this grammatical context is not confined to the *qəltu* dialects, it is encountered in most of them (Blanc 1964, 6);

(c) the KA verbal modifier /*p*(*i*)-/ < Ar. /*b*(*i*)-/ (§2.2.3.1);

(d) use of the genitive particle /*šat*/ < Syro-Palestinian **šayya:t* (§3.5);

(e) treatment of OA short vowels in closed stressed syllables; whereas most *qəltu* vernaculars display the historical fusion of OA /*i*/ and /*u*/ into /*ə*/ (Blanc 1964, 37; Jastrow 1978, 55), KA tends to merge OA /*i*/ and /*a*/, but to retain the reflexes of OA/*u*/ distinct (§1.4.1).

All things considered, whereas the global effect of these dialectal differences is to place KA outside the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialect group, its numerous and important affinities with the S.E. Anatolian Arabic vernaculars nonetheless render it the closest congener to this areal type outside Mesopotamia yet described; it merits on that account a special place in discussions relating to the historical links between the *qəltu* group and the other Eastern Arabic sedentary vernaculars.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Preliminaries

A few short folk-texts in Kormakiti Arabic have already been published in Borg 1984. The following section comprises transcriptions and translations of recorded impromptu speech elicited from seven KA informants ranging between the ages of 19 and 68, including four male and three female speakers; their essential biographical particulars are appended to their respective contributions.

The recordings were made on a portable cassette recorder, usually in the speaker's home, where it proved, in most cases, possible to ensure very good recording conditions, i.e. almost complete freedom from background noise, technical hitches, etc. A few recordings were made under studio conditions.

The texts have been subjected to very slight editing: chiefly, removal of repetitions and false starts. Unclarities contingent on rapid delivery or mechanical factors were systematically resolved in further interviews with the speaker himself or other informants.

The phonological representation adopted for these texts approximates that used in the descriptive chapters of this work, but is somewhat closer to phonetic norms with respect to surface features whose distribution is in part lexically or stylistically determined, e.g. auxiliary vowels and consonants: /*l-ʕít* ~ *le-ʕít*/ 'the feast'; /*mantží*/ 'we come' ← |*manží*|, but /*manzín*/ 'we weigh', not /*mantzín*/, etc. Stress marks indicate sentential rather than lexical stress, though, as is to be expected, the two often coincide. No distinction between primary and secondary stress in long phonological words has been retained in the transcription; the latter is, at all events, nondistinctive in KA.

The translations provided stay as close to the Arabic text as is compatible with normal English usage. Words in parentheses usually represent expansions or explanations not found in the original.

The notes to the texts focus chiefly on the identification and elucidation of non-Arabic terms; for etymological information relating to Arabic terms in KA, I refer the reader to my forthcoming *Cypriot Arabic Glossary*.

I

Informant: Antónis Skúllos
Age: 19
Occupation: University student

Lenten customs and Holy Week celebrations

1. *mim-márfaʕa*[1] *w-áwnke, n-nés kyíptu u pisúmmu*[2] *saránta*[3] *θkyém.*
2. *xost álli s-saránta θkyém, má-kyaklu me*[4]*láxm, me xlíp teiširpu, me péd teáklu, me šíkitš*[5] *ta píži mil-láxm.*
3. *pále*[6] *xost álli s-saránta θkyém, n-nés pirúxu kull láyle sála u psállun*[7] *téšpoxto l-móryo*[8].
4. *éxte kiryakí*[9] *prin*[10] *l-ixxádd tel-ʕít l-ixpír, lína l-eʕít teš-šaʕníne.*
5. *l-ixxár teš-šaʕníne, mannáxtaʕa zaytúne u mannaxúta l-ikníse, u xost k-kiddás pittitsálla.*
6. *pisallílla k-kassís, pirúššilla móe mpsallíe u mantžípa žáva.*
7. *maxxassíka lináxa mpxáske.*
8. *manníšʕel žámpr xost kapnistíri*[11].
9. *maxxótt slípna u maxxótt š-šaʕníne xok ž-žámpr.*
10. *mimpúkra u fil-láyl, mampáxxer rappi u l-ipkyút.*
11. *t-teleftéa*[12] *žúmʕa tel-ʕít, marrúx kull láyle u lína stásis*[13].
12. *xmís, lína m-mistikó dípno*[14], *u k-kassís kyaʕássel l-ižrén tel-maθités*[15].
13. *θénixxar*[16], *ž-žúmʕa l-ixpíre, ta pimút l-impsíx, lína l-epitáfyo*[17], *u min-nús-suxar u áwnke, n-nés pirúxu pipúsu l-impsíx u pkyáxtu fkyóra*[18].
14. *fil-láyl, fia knise pále u mannímpsek l-epitáfyo, mantír xost d-déʕa u n-nés máxxon šamʕát kyišʕelu.*
15. *ta manníržaʕa, manʕánti xost l-ikníse u mankápper l-impsíx.*
16. *θénixxar nússuxar, l-impsíx pikúm u tváxxar*[19] *pitókku k-kampánes*[20].
17. *ádak l-ixxár, n-nés ted-déʕa pisáw l-iflaʕún*[21] *u k-kumúyya*[22] *šáton ta o l-éθimo*[23] *ta pisáw kull síne.*
18. *fil-láyl, lína kamíla*[24], *u l-latúdkya kyínklu tvállayl xátap pšan tattišʕel.*
19. *nússulayl lína knise u n-nés pirúxu, u ádik l-láyle pikúm l-impsíx.*
20. *x-xádd, mannáxter mannákol láxm pkyón*[25], *u kyítipxu kúllu láxm, u mannákser péd, u pisáw kúllon xristós anésti*[26].

I

1. From Shrovetide on, people begin a forty-day fast.
2. During those forty days, they eat no meat, drink no milk, nor do they eat eggs or anything that derives from meat.
3. Then, throughout those forty days, people attend a church service every evening and chant *téšpoxto l-móryo*.
4. On the Sunday preceding Easter Sunday, we celebrate (lit. we have) the Feast of the Palms.

5. On Palm Sunday, we cut an olive branch and take it to church; during Mass it is blessed.
6. The priest prays over it, sprinkles it with holy water, and we take it home.
7. We put it away and keep it.
8. We light embers in a burner.
9. We make the sign of the cross and lay the olive branch on the embers.
10. In the morning and at night, we offer incense to God and we incense the house.
11. During the last week of the feast, we go (to church) every evening and make the Way of the Cross.
12. On Thursday, we celebrate the Last Supper, and the priest washes the disciples' feet.
13. The following day, Good Friday, on which the Messiah died (lit. dies), we have the Good Friday procession, and from midday on, the people go and kiss the Messiah ('s statue) and take flowers (with them).
14. In the evening, there is another church service; we carry the bier in procession round the village, and the people hold lighted candles.
15. When we return, we enter the church and lay the Messiah to rest (lit. bury the Messiah).
16. At noon on the following day, the Messiah rises, and throughout the day, the (church) bells are rung.
17. That day, the people of the village make their cheese cakes and sesame buns as they are accustomed to do every year.
18. At night, we build (lit. have) a bonfire and, during the night, the children bring (lit. carry) firewood to keep it alight.
19. At midnight, we have a church service and people go (to it); that night, the Messiah rises (from the dead).
20. From Sunday onwards we are allowed to eat meat, and people cook chiefly meat; we break eggs, and everybody exchanges the greeting (lit. makes) 'Christ is risen!'.

Informant: Eléni Skúllu
Age: 40
Occupation: Housewife

II

áššik mannáʕmet morós [1]

1. *ámma* [2] *exte mára pittívlet morós, ístera* [3] *mix-xménye kyém, kyintáylpu pšan teaʕimtúx.*
2. *pilakúllu m-morós nunnút* [4] *u tatát* [5] *u pikulúllon ístera mix-xménye kyém* [6], *ttannáʕmet. an* [7] *o pxál* [8], *kyaʕimtúx áwfa téxte* [9], *u an máfkya kassís, kyáxter teáʕimtu mén ma kán.*

3. *pikulúllu k-kassís kif*[10] *teáʕimtu pšan teáʕref u tetáylep m-móe u ll-óxar šáya ta kyaʕtézz*[11].
4. *pitrúx m-mammú*[12] *pitʕássel m-morós, pitxóttu xost l-ʕornúa, u n-nunnút pitsúpp móe pšan teʕásslu m-morós, pšan tekullíxa táʕap. n-nunnút pitsúpp móe xok m-morós teʕasslúx.*
5. *m-mammú pitʕásslu m-morós u pittáylpu, pitmássxu, pitxóttillu rixxán*[13] *u pitfássku ma rókʕa tvíle pikulúlla faskie*[14].
6. *m-mammú pšan tattáti m-morós fit-tén ten-nunnút u tet-tatát, kyíslax teufúa táʕapa ta ʕásslet m-morós. kyatúa áška ma pirítu flús u exte sapún u sarvétta*[15].
7. *ámma pittistáwfa m-mammú, tláxiton m-mammú, n-nunnút, t-tatát u m-morós máxxon, pirúxu l-ikníse.*
8. *k-kassís kyistantíron fil-pápe tel-ikníse. o lépes l-iθkyép tel-ʕaméte u máʕu u l-islíp. ámma kyílixku, k-kassís pirúššillon móe mpsallie.*
9. *pitókku u k-kampána ɬyóti*[16] *ttesúr exen morós maroníti.*
10. *pixótton xost l-ikníse k-kassís, kyaxúton xok l-ayía trápeza*[17] *u pisálli l-islavát ta pkyáʕref úo.*
11. *pisáel n-nunnút u t-tatát aš ísm tteátu m-morós. l-ipróto*[18] *m-morós kyatíx l-ísm tel-yapát tel-yapátu; an íe pintúa, kyatía l-ism tel-úmmu.*
12. *ístera pkyaxúton žump il-kolimvíθra*[19] *u tteʕásslu m-morós.*
13. *pišillu θkyépu u piʕassílillu móxxu. líxon étimo*[20] *u-véxen tavlí*[21] *u piɬú xók xámpse i*[22] *sítte šamʕát.*
14. *n-nunnút u t-tatát, máxxon m-morós u k-kassís pitíru tlax-yirús*[23] *yíro*[24] *š-šamʕát.*
15. *entometaksí*[25] *k-kampánes pitókku epiɬí*[26] *m-morós neʕímet u sár maroníti.*
16. *ámma kyitfáɬɬu mil-itláx-yirús, pirúxu ma k-kassís xok l-ayía trápeza u ipoγráfun*[27] *n-nunnút u t-tatát ísmon pšan tekullíxon u-v-ínnen x-xárka tem-morós ost*[28] *sítt-isnín ta lá-težra fix ši. pkyúfu k-kassís áška ma pirítu u pirúxu žáva.*
17. *máxxon pirúxu u m-mammú u k-kassís. úmmu m-morós pittistantíron fil-pápe u máxxa kapnistíri ma ž-žámpr u š-šaʕníne.*
18. *mólis*[29] *kyílixku, piθpáxxer šupéna*[30] *u piθpúson xok súɬron u pitxótton žáva. žáva, fía snie*[31] *mtáylpe.*
19. *pkyáklu u pkyíširpu ma k-kassís u ma m-mammú pšal-fárxa ta sár m-morós maroníti, w-ístera pkyáxirpu.*
20. *úmmu m-morós ost e ʕáyše, šupéna pánta*[32] *pitxúppon u ɬyóti ʕimtúlla m-morós saytízitus*[33].

II

How we christen a baby

1. Eight days after a woman bears a child, preparations are made for its christening.

2. They (the baby's parents) find the baby a godfather and a godmother, and they tell them: 'In a week's time we are going to hold the christening.' If it (the baby) is sick, it is baptized as soon as possible, and, if there is no priest at hand, anyone can baptize it.
3. They inform the priest that they are going to hold the christening, so that he will know and will prepare the water and other things he needs.
4. The midwife goes to wash the baby; she places it in the tub, and the godmother pours water for the baby's bath so as to be involved. The godmother pours water over the baby so that they can bathe it.
5. The midwife bathes the baby and prepares it: she dries it, freshens it with myrtle essence and swaddles it in a long piece of cloth called *faskie*.
6. In order to place the baby into the godparents' arms, the midwife has to be paid for the service of having bathed the baby. They give her as much money as they want, a bar of soap, and a towel.
7. When the midwife is paid, the three of them: the midwife, the godmother and the godfather together with the baby, go to church.
8. The priest waits for them at the church door wearing baptismal vestments and holding a cross. When they arrive, the priest sprinkles them with holy water.
9. They also ring the (church) bell because a baby is going to become a Maronite.
10. The priest admits them into the church, leads them up to the altar and recites his prayers.
11. He asks the godmother and godfather what name they are going to give the baby. He names the first male child after its paternal grandfather; if it is a girl, he gives her her paternal grandmother's name.
12. Then he leads them up to the font and they baptize the baby.
13. He undresses it and bathes its head. They also have a table ready with five or six candles burning on it.
14. The godmother, the godfather together with the baby and the priest walk three times around the candles.
15. Meanwhile, the (church) bells ring because the baby has been christened and has become a Maronite.
16. When they complete the three rounds, they accompany the priest to the altar, and the godmother and godfather sign their names so that they too share responsibility for the baby's well-being during its first six years, that no mishap should befall it. They pay the priest as much money as they want, and proceed (to the parents') home.
17. The midwife and the priest also accompany them. The baby's mother awaits them at the door holding a small burner containing embers and palm leaves.
18. When they arrive, she incenses the godparents, kisses them on the breast, and invites them in. Inside, the table is set.
19. They eat and drink together with the priest and midwife, rejoicing that the baby has become a Maronite, and afterwards they leave.
20. For as long as she lives, the baby's mother always cherishes and respects her (child's) godparents because they christened her baby.

III

áššik[1] *mantžávez*

1. *exen šipp ámma pixúpp il-éxte pínt, piváddi l-éxlu u t-tatátu žump il-éxla u kyitilpúa.*
2. *an p-pínt u l-éxl piritúx, tóte*[2] *š-šípp kyítlop príka*[3] *mix*[4] *páyt xkáli u flús.*
3. *an má-lixon aš ma kyítlop, tóte l-iproksenyá*[5] *kyintxírpu.*
4. *an pixúppa ma kálpu, pkyaxúta ma áš ma kyatúa éxla.*
5. *pixóttu aška zmán kyaʕatézzu pšan tentžáwzu, u xost áɬa l-izmán, pitáylpu l-páyt u š-šáya tel-ʕarús, w-istera pitáylpu l-ixár tel-ʕórs.*
6. *l-ixár tel-ʕórs, pirúxu l-ipnatúɬkya pitáylpu l-ʕarús, piʕannúlla u pilappsúlla l-piɬ šáta.*
7. *l-išpáp pirúxu ʕint il-ʕarís, pixallkúx, pilappsúllu θkyépu l-kaysín.*
8. *pkyaxtúx p-páyt tel-ʕarús, kyimsíka u pirúxu l-ikníse.*
9. *ta kyíriʕʕu mil-ikníse, pirúxu žáva ʕínton u tšernún*[6] *il-ʕáskar*[7] *pastítša*[8].
10. *xnáyn fil-láyl, l-aʕarús u l-aʕarís pisáw snie ʕínton.*
11. *kyíriksu, u éxlon, xváton u m-maʕzumín kúllon piʕalkúllon flús ma ipár kaθe*[9]*-véxen áška ma piri.*
12. *pisáw káʕak u pkyaxtúon p-páyt tel-ʕarús.*
13. *k-káʕak pitsaíon nunnútu l-ʕarís, u ákke*[10] *kyintámma l-ʕórs.*
14. *piʕíšu ínnen káes u náxni áxsen.*
15. *an pínt u šípp kyitxáppu, u éxlon má-piritu tentžáwzu, tóte š-šipp kyisrok*[11] *il-pínt u pirúxu kyintžáwzu váxton.*

III

How we give our children in marriage

1. When a youth falls in love with a girl, he sends his parents and his godfather to her parents, and they ask for her hand.
2. If the girl and her parents want him, then the youth requests a dowry, such as a house, land, and money.
3. If they do not have what he asks for, the match is broken off.
4. If he loves her deeply, he takes her with whatever her parents give her.
5. They determine how much time they need to get married and, during this time, they prepare the house and the bride's trousseau (lit. things), and they then fix the date of the wedding.
6. On the wedding day, young girls go and help the bride to get ready; they sing to her and array her in her white dress.
7. The young men go to the groom ('s house); they shave him and help him into his fine clothes.
8. They accompany him to the bride's house; he takes her and they go to church.

9. When they (the couple) return from the church, they go to their house and offer the people sweetmeats.
10. On Monday night, the bride and bridegroom give a party at their home.
11. They dance, and their parents, brothers and sisters attach money to their (the couple's) clothes with pins; everyone (gives) as much as he wants.
12. They make cakes and take them to the bride's home.
13. The cakes are made by the groom's godmother; and so the wedding ends.
14. They live happily and we happier (than they)[12].
15. If a girl and youth fall in love but are prevented by their parents from marrying, the youth elopes with (lit. steals) the girl and they marry on their own.

IV

áššik mantsáy trúntž ylikó[1]

1. *mannímpsek trúntž. tekúnu xúmpr. maxxúffon exte-éxte xok l-impxákke mpšan teítlaʕa m-mórr ta líxa mixxók.*
2. *ístera mantšókkon ma s-sikkíne árpaʕa kommákkya*[2] *u mantšíl l-ikšúre mixxok l-itrúntže.*
3. *mannímpsek il-ikšúr, mallúffon u mantšúllon xok xetán pšan tekáfu maflufin*[3].
4. *maxxótton kyimpállu xménye θkyém. kúyyom manníptel m-móe mpšan teáxrop l-izzumí*[4] *m-mórr.*
5. *ístera mil-xménye θkyém, manʕúddon aška kommákkya ínnen. káθe saránta kommákkya, maxxótt extókka*[5] *záxari*[6] *xost xasíe ma l-itrúntž.*
6. *manníšvi próta l-ikšúr kyáʕalu fitte. ístera maxxótt l-izzáxari ù pkyáʕalu exen-móɬaʕa ospu*[7] *tešídd fitte l-izzumí.*
7. *ámma teíprot, maxxóttu xost v-véʕi. ámma težínna ši ʕarip, mannatix teákol.*

IV

How we make candied citron

1. We take citrons. They should (lit. let them) be red. We rub them one by one on a grater so as to remove the bitterness from the peel.
2. We then slice them up into four pieces with a knife and remove the peel from the (pieces of) citron.
3. We take the peels, we roll them up and pass threads through them so that they stay curled up.
4. We let them soak in water for eight days. We change the water every day so that the bitter juice runs out.
5. After eight days, we count the pieces, and for every forty pieces we put one oke of sugar into a large pot together with the citron (peels).
6. We first cook the peels by boiling them a little. We then add the sugar and let them boil together until the liquid thickens a little.

7. When it cools down, we put it into a jar. When a visitor comes, we give him some to eat.

V

Informant: Katína Katšolúdi
Age: 55
Occupation: Housewife

1. *x-xarrúp pikámmel zmánon l-áwsto.*
2. *kyípsu káes, kyisfáddu káes.*
3. *mannímpsek ʕósk u marrúx l-ixkáli ta fia xarrupát pšan taffútt xarrúp, óxar ma l-ixmír, óxar ma l-itráxtor.*
4. *l-latúdkya*[2] *l-izʕár kyítilʕu xok xarrúpe u pifúttu ma ʕássa zʕíre.*
5. *š-šúxa pifúttu mintáxt xarrúpe ma tvíle ʕássa, u n-nesfán pixáwšu mixxullá, pixottúon xost f-fárto*[3] *u pifarrʕúon xost ž-žválek u kinklúon.*
6. *pižipúon fi módaʕa ta manzínon.*
7. *pizinúon u kyistáwfu.*

V

How we strip off carobs

1. Carobs ripen in August.
2. They become quite dry and dark in colour.
3. We take up sticks and go to the fields where carob-trees grow, in order to strip off the carobs; some (of us) on donkeys, others on tractors.
4. The young children climb a carob-tree and strip them off by means of a short stick.
5. The older people strip them off from underneath with the help of a long stick, and the women pick them up, put them into a basket, empty them into large sacks, and carry them away.
6. They bring them to one place so that we can weigh them.
7. They weigh them and receive their wages.

Informant: Xannú Skúllu
Age: 60's
Occupation: Housewife

VI

áššik mantšil ʕásel ísfet[1]

1. *mannákʕo mantókk il-xarrúp ma xážra u maxxótton kyimpállu xost il-móe.*

2. *mantšílon ístera mixxost id-díst u maxxótton xost kaylún*[2] *u mannaˤattíon teˤássu.*
3. *mannímpsek áɫak š-šurpét u maxxóttu xost id-díst; maxxóttu xok móxte*[3] *u manníšˤél l-okít.*
4. *maxxallíx kyáˤali ost tešídd, áɫak š-šurpét, maxxótt mišlúa*[4] *u mankáymu xók; an má-mankáymu xók, pifúrr*[5].
5. *ámma teírpot kómpo*[6], *mankúl xážtu, kámmel, u mannázzlu, maxxallíx kyíprot u mantsúppu xost iv-véˤi*[7].
6. *an marrí tantsáy kullurúɫkya*[8], *mannímpsek ˤažín u mallúffon. maxxótt ˤásel kyáˤali u mannírmi k-kullurúɫkya xóst teístvu.*
7. *an marrí tantsáy šamˤamús, mannímpsek mnáɫak il-ˤásel, maxxótt l-itxín kyiθkálla ma z-záyt; maxxallíx ost texmárra u mannázzel x-xasíe mixxok l-okít u mantsúpp il-ˤásel.*
8. *maxxárkeš l-itxín ma l-ˤásel; ámma teírpot, mantsaíx kwárka*[9], *u ák ta pirí, kyímpsek ik-kwári télu.*

VI

How we extract carob syrup

1. We sit and pound carob beans with a stone, and let them soak in water.
2. We then take them out of the cauldron, put them inside a reed basket, and let them drip.
3. We take that carob syrup and pour it into the cauldron; we place it over a stove and we light the fire.
4. We let that carob syrup boil until it thickens, and stir it with a ladle. If we don't stir it, it boils over.
5. When it becomes concentrated, we say: 'Enough, it is ready!' We take it off the fire, let it cool down, and pour it into a large container.
6. If we wish to make doughnuts, we take some dough, and roll it into balls (lit. roll them). We bring some syrup to the boil, and we drop the doughnuts into it in order to cook them.
7. If we wish to make *šamˤamús*, we take some of that syrup, fry flour in oil until it turns brown, and (then) take the pot off the fire, and pour the syrup (into it).
8. We stir the flour together with the syrup. When it thickens, we roll it into balls, and whoever wants to, helps himself to his ball (of *šamˤamús*).

VII

áššik mantsáy xallúme[1]

1. *marrúx il-mántra*[2], *mannáxlop kwélles*[3] *u mannímpsek l-ixlíp.*
2. *mantžípu žáva, mantsaffíx u mantsúppu xost id-díst. d-díst lináxa*[4] *kéˤe xok m-móxte.*

3. *manníšʕel l-okít pšan teísxon l-ixlíp. ámma teísxon fitte, maxxárkeš xóst mížipne*[5] *u maxxallíx ši nuss sáʕa teímpsek.*
4. *ístera mannáxtaʕu, mannípilsu u mantšílu ma v-véʕi u mantsúppu xok ir-rókʕa. ir-rókʕa lináxa xok tiroskámni*[7]*. tiroskámni o éxen lóx tvíl.*
5. *manníplos ir-rókʕa ma plakát*[8] *xpár, pkyákʕo u pkyížri m-másl mn-exte n-néxa tel-lóx xost síkla*[9]*.*
6. *m-móe ta piθkáf xost id-dist, mannišʕililla l-okít pále u mantšíl l-ipláta*[10]*.*
7. *mantšíla l-ipláta ma m-míšle, maxxótta xost ir-rókʕa u-v-áđi u manniplúsa ma ll-ipláka.*
8. *ístera mannaxtáxxa ma s-sikkíne kommákkya u maxxótta tattípes fiš-šímps pšan tannakúla š-šitvie.*
9. *ístera, mannáxtaʕa x-xallúme kommákkya, maxxótton xost im-másl u manniššel l-okít.*
10. *k-kommákkya enne nayyín u θkál u kyákʕatu táxt. ámma teístvu, kyítʕelu*[11] *mixxók.*
11. *ámma teítʕelu mixxók, mantšílon u mammúddon xok it-tiroskámni u mammallíxon.*
12. *ámma teípirtu, điplónnumenta*[12]*. ístera mantíron mill-óxre néxa kyípirtu u maxxótton xost iv-véʕi.*
13. *m-másl maxxóttillu mílx u mantsúppu xost iv-véʕi ta lú x-xallúm. mantsúpp ost teʕattíon.*

VII

How we make xallúmi cheese

1. We go to the sheepfold, we milk (the) sheep and bring (some) milk.
2. We bring it home, strain it and pour it into a pot over a stove.
3. We light the fire so as to heat the milk. When it has warmed up a little, we stir it with a rennet[6] and let it coagulate for about half an hour.
4. We then cut it up, compress it and scoop it out of the pot with a bowl on to a piece of cloth stretched over a *tiroskámni*, which is a long board.
5. We compress the cloth (covering) under large stone slabs, (and) the whey seeps through it and drains along one side of the board into a pail.
6. Once more we heat the liquid that is left over in the pot, and extract the *pláta* cheese.
7. We take the *pláta* cheese out with a skimming ladle; this too we envelop in a piece of cloth, and them compress it under a stone slab.
8. We then slice it up with a knife, and put it out in the sun to dry, so that we can eat it in the winter.
9. Then we cut up the *xallúmi* cheese into pieces; we drop them into the whey and light the fire.
10. The pieces (of *xallúmi*) are raw and heavy; they sink to the bottom. When they are done, they rise to the surface.

11. When they rise, we pull them out, lay them on the *tiroskámni*, and season them with salt.
12. When they cool down, we fold them. Afterwards, we turn them over so as to let the other side cool down, and we place them inside a bowl.
13. We add salt to the whey and pour it into the bowl containing the pieces of *xallúmi* cheese. We keep pouring until they are submerged.

VIII

áššik mantsáy lípen

1. *ámma tarí tasáy lípen, prux píštri áška ma xlíp prí, extókka i oxtáyn*[1]*. pimpsíku, pží žáva u psaffix ma kuyyastíri*[2]*.*
2. *pxóttu xost x-xasíe u fkáʕatu xok im-móxte. pisxúnu ost tekúm l-ixlíp.*
3. *ámma teírfaʕa xók, siméni*[3] *oti sáxan káes. pnázzlu u psúppu xost iv-véʕi attaráwpu u pxallix teíprot.*
4. *má-pxallix teíprot ixtír. poʕótt ɬúfri xost l-ixlíp u ámma pikáem ɬúfri l-isxúne, kyíslax taráwpu.*
5. *pxótt ir-ráwpe xost if-fentžáni*[4] *u paxría ma fitte xlíp. ámma ɬiyalísi*[5]*, psúppu xost l-ixlíp s-sóxn u pxarkíšu.*
6. *psúdd iv-véʕi ma l-ixlíp u paʕattix ma éxte patanía*[6] *pšan tekáf sóxn u tešídd. paʕattix u pxóttu éxen móʕa pšan ta lá-teíprot téxte, pšan na píksi*[7]*.*
7. *maxxallix maʕátti íkositéssera*[8] *tisvéʕi. θénixar pšílu u fkápel an épiksen*[9]*.*
8. *amm-én*[10] *épiksen káes, pisxon m-móe u fkáʕet v-véʕi ma l-lípen xost móe sóxne pšan tešídd.*

VIII

How we make yoghourt

1. When I want to make yoghourt, I go and buy as much milk as I need, an oke or two. I take it home and pass it through a strainer.
2. I pour it into a large pot; I put it on the stove and heat it until the milk begins to rise.
3. When it rises, that means that the milk is sufficiently warm. I take it off the fire and pour it into a bowl in order to curdle it, and I let it cool down.
4. I do not let it get too cool; I dip my fingertip into the milk, and if it can stand the heat, I have to curdle the milk.
5. I pour the yoghourt into a cup and dissolve it in a small quantity of milk; when it dissolves, I pour it into the hot milk and stir it.
6. I place a lid over the bowl containing the milk and cover it with a blanket so that it stays warm and thickens. I cover it and put it in a place where it will not cool too suddenly, so that it thickens.

7. We leave it covered for twenty-four hours. The following day, I take it and see if it has thickened.
8. If it has not thickened properly, I heat some water and place the bowl containing the yoghourt inside it so that it thickens.

IX

áššik mantsáy xóps

1. *l-izmán ta pittítlaˀa l-ixmíre, mannixxol l-itxín xost l-oˀórne áška mannaˀatéz, áška ma xóps marrí antsáy.*
2. *maxxótt l-ixmíre, mannáˀižnu l-xóps, l-ixmíre u l-itxín mannáˀižnu, manˀattíx ost teítlaˀa.*
3. *ámma teítlaˀa, mannáxtaˀa táˀirfe zˀir-zˀír, ókka kaθe ˀaríf.*
4. *manníšel f-fórn teáxmi, maxxóttillu saykún*[1] *u záˀatar.*
5. *ámma kyáxmi f-fórn káes, mannítfoš ž-žámpr l-exte néxa xost l-avátži*[2] *u manmássex f-fórn ma tšappút*[3] *marpút xok exte ˀássa tvíle pikulúlla sírti*[4].
6. *maxxótt il-xóps ˀaríf-ˀaríf xost il-fórn ma r-ráps. kyixmárra, kyírfaˀa, pisáy ši sáˀa sáˀa-w-núss xost il-fórn.*
7. *ámma pižórr, mantšílu u manˀattíx u mannákol. ˀaríft aš ʃkúl?*

IX

How we make bread

1. As soon as the leaven rises, we sift as much flour as we need into a mixing bowl, (the quantity depending on) how much bread we wish to make.
2. We add the leaven (and) knead the dough. We knead the leaven together with the flour, (and) we cover it until it rises.
3. When it rises, we cut it up into fairly small loaves, each weighing one oke.
4. We light the oven so that it warms up; we stoke it up with brushwood and wild thyme.
5. When the oven is warm, we push the embers to one side into the *avátži*, and wipe the oven with a rag attached to a long stick called *sírti*.
6. We place the bread, loaf by loaf, into the oven on a baker's peel. The bread turns brown and rises after about an hour or an hour and a half in the oven.
7. When it solidifies, we take it out, cover it up and then we eat it. Did you understand what I am saying?

X

Informant: Anastasia Pétru
Age: 50's
Occupation: Housewife

áššik mantsáy kíšk [1]

1. *manʕássel l-imʕáll, maxxóttu xost d-dist ma m-móe u manníšʕel l-okít. ámma teistvi, mantšílu, maxxallíx kyiprot u mantšámpsu xok mílixve i patanía tlax-kyém. ámma teípes maxxáwšu, mannáxtu t-taxúne, mannítixnu u mantsaix smít. mantžípu žáva u malláxxpu.*
2. *ístera maxxótt l-ixlíp xost piθarúi* [2]*. mannírpot xost exte rókʕa péđa xaitš mílx u mannirmía xost p-piθarúi ta lína l-ixlíp. exex-xár* [3] *maxxótt ixlíp u-vexex-xár má-maxxótt ost tešídd u teáxmađ pšik il-lípen.*
3. *ístera maxxótt l-ismít kyimpálla xost d-dist. ámma teívram mantšílu xost k-kóššino* [4] *pšan tatʕássi m-móe.*
4. *mantsáy xmíre, maxxallíta ma ll-ismít m-maplúl u mannimʕákon ost teiftax u tesúr pšik x-xalvá* [5]*. maxxótton xok exel-lóx u manʕattíon ma kámposa* [6] *θkyép pšan teáxmađu. θénixar pále mannimʕáka u pále manʕattía. š-šóʕol áđa mantsaix tlax-trúk.*
5. *ámma ta ttáxmađ k-kíšk káes, mantšíla xok s-sótx u mannaxtáxxa zʕar-zʕár kommáđkya mpšan tattípes káes. fil-ixménye kyém mannazzíla u maxxassíka fi exen sakkúlli* [7]*.*
6. *k-kíšk mannakúla š-šitvíe ta o párt. pittíniθpex váxta u pittíniθpex ma l-láxm. ámma marrí antsáy súppa* [8] *kíšk váxta, maxxótta xok l-okít u pittístvi.*
7. *ístera an pitrí mílx ya* [9] *xámeđ, maxxóttilla u mannakúla. an marrí antsaía ma l-láxm, maxxótt láxm xost xasíe ma móe u mannáʕli l-láxm. mantšílu u mannírmi k-kíšk xost l-izzumí.*

X

How we make kišk

1. We rinse wheat, put it into a pot with some water, and light the fire. When it is done, we take it off the fire, let it cool down and expose it to the sun on a sheet or blanket for three days. When it dries, we gather it, take it to the mill and grind it into semolina. We then take it home and clean it.
2. Afterwards, we pour milk into a jar, tie up some salt inside a white piece of cloth, and drop it into the jar containing the milk. We keep on adding milk on alternate days until it thickens and turns sour like yoghourt.
3. Afterwards, we let the semolina soak in a pot. When it swells, we pour it in to a sieve so as to let the water drain.
4. We prepare leaven, mix it together with the moistened semolina, and grind them until they crumble like *xalvá*. We place the mixture on a board, cover it with cloth and let it turn sour. The following day, we grind it again and cover it up. We perform this operation three times.
5. When the *kišk* has turned sufficiently sour, we take it out on the terrace and cut it up into very small pieces, so that it dries up nicely. After a week, we take it down and gather it into a bag.
6. We eat *kišk* in the winter when the weather is cold; it can be prepared either by itself or together with meat. If we wish to make plain *kišk* soup, we place it over the fire and let it cook.

7. Afterwards, if it requires salt or lemon juice, we season it and eat it. If we wish to prepare it with meat, we place meat in a pot of water, and boil it. We take it off (the fire) and drop the *kišk* into the gravy.

XI

Informant: Vasílis Frankésku
Age: 39
Occupation: Printer

l-istoría šaítna xost p-pólemo[1]

1. *exen mimpúkra xost l-yúli kunt ném. xassáyt éxen kanyitfúšni takúm. fkápel, kan yapáti.*
2. *fkúllu, áyšo yapó*[2]*? xállini tanám. áš piθkaímna mif-fis-sáxxar?*
3. *pikúnni yapáti, kóm olán*[3]*, káti*[4] *pisúr mimpárra. pákšaʕa ayróplana*[5]*, pákšaʕa, ákke mantétše*[6]*, l-ixxár mó-kaes.*
4. *fkúllu, áššik mó-kaes l-ixxár u pitʕákep? pánta int ákke*[7]*, fizʕán.*
5. *pikúnni, kóm olán, kom xók, káti pisúr, pákšaʕa ayróplana.*
6. *kúmt ákke neʕesán, kúnt ten-náwm. fkápel mit-táka u pákšaʕa ayróplana. panaía mu*[8]*, áš-pisur? mankúl.*
7. *fkúllu, yapó, anníftax r-ráđyo*[9] *annísmaʕa. mpori*[10] *tekul ší r-ráđyo. manníftax ir-ráđyo, mannísmaʕa oti*[11] *žu t-túrk teímisku k-kípru.*
8. *mísikna fázaʕa, áš kuntantsáy? kúnna xnáytna. fkúllu, smáʕa takúllak, annákšaʕa u annistánter xaitš. annílpes θkyépna u arrúx mnáwnke k-kassís u annákšaʕa aš tekúnna u-v-úo.*
9. *tláʕna párra mip-páyt. d-dínye kúlla kantížri oxar áwnke oxar áwna. óxar kanaʕáytu, miskon fázaʕa. má-kayyáʕirfu aš tesáw.*
10. *rúxna áwnke v-vikáryo*[12]*. mankúllu, patéra*[13]*, áš-pisur? žu t-túrk ré*[14]*, kánna, žu t-túrk. avá káfu anaxxullá u annákšaʕa aš tantsáy.*
11. *entometaksí, žu kampósi*[15] *axxóst v-vikáryo, đyóti*[16] *l-ikníse, kúnna, o áwfa asfálya*[17]*, máfkya fázaʕa xtír. koʕótna axxóst kampósi. kallína u r-ráđya maftuxín. kwannísmaʕa aš kanisúr, aš má-kanisúr.*
12. *ana smáʕat oti éprepen*[18] *tarúx stratyóti*[19]*. kanikúl r-ráđyo oti állik ta énne stratyótes teímisku v-várak šáton u terúxu áwnke ta prépi.*
13. *ruxt lakáyt yapáti ána u fkúllu, yapó, prepi tarúx ána. int kápel aš tatsáy. u xrúft mnaxxóst v-vikáryo u žit žáva támpsek v-várak šáti. psíxton v-várak u ržáʕat xálf.*
14. *kaffía exen sinkenís*[20] *tev-vikáryo ta kanterúx u-v áđak stratyóti. fkúllu, ré, Sáki! ttatrúx u-v int? áš tantsáy? ána ttarúx. pikúnni, lá, ána má-prux stratyóti.*
15. *ámma kal ákke, ržáʕat u-v ána xálf. ržáʕat xálf u káft axxóst. pikulúnni, kífta má-ytrux? fkúllon, má-prux. ya terúxu kúllon ya ši-véxen. áđak kífta ta lá terúx u-v ána tarúx?*
16. *télos pánton*[21]*, káfna axxóst u kwannistánter. kwannísmaʕa oti kanyímisku*

l-éxen mó~~d~~aʕa. eskeftúmasten[22] *~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa s-sinkenís šátna, xvátna — úmmi kant i~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa — u eskeftúmasten aš pisúru.*

17. *káfna éxte*[23] *yomáyn axxóst k-kassís. kwarrúx u kwannímpsek ší tannákol. kwalláki ši mpakkálliko*[24] *u kwanníštri ší pšan tannákol.*
18. *ámma kátʕu éxte yomáyn, fkúllu, yapó, smáʕa takúllak. talláki ši efkería*[25] *tarrúx ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa annákšaʕa aš pisáw ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa. kalán*[26] *olán, pikúnni, tarrúx ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa, ámma áššik? enne maftuxín l-itrúp? t-túrk proxorún*[27]*, kyímisku, pisáw. náxni án tarrúx?*
19. *psíkna tiléfono*[28] *l-astinomía*[29] *u kalítinna, má-mannáʕref, ámma an pitrítu atrúxu, rúxu. rúxna kúnna v-vikáryo. tána l-aftokínito*[30] *télu u eksekinísamen*[31].
20. *allá*[32] *pikúnni yapáti, ta lá-rrux mnáwna t-tárp k-káyse. fía óxre tárp, pikúnni, páʕref ána ta kúnt xorométri*[33] *u annimpsíka á~~d~~ik u tarrúx poíri*[34].
21. *psíkna ayk t-tárp u kúnna rexín u l-ayróplana mixxók kanyáʕaxpu, kanyíšilxu, kanirúxu, kanižú.*
22. *rúxna poíri mim-Mórf*[35]*, rúxna mis-Sirkanoxór*[36]*, rúxna l-iÐkyírʕo*[37] *u rúxna ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa. sáʕa ta xlákna xost ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa, kátʕa exen ayróplano mixxók minna u šálax exte-xnáyn pómpes*[38]*. pzáʕana.*
23. *pikúnni yapáti, áyn-moʕa*[39] *žína? fkúllu, žína ta žína, arrúx annákšaʕa aš pisúr. ʕantáyna xost ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa. ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa má-kaffía ši-véxen. kaffía isixía*[40] *mantétše an kaxxárpu kúllon.*
24. *rúxna xost axxullá p-páyt tel óxti Eléni. má-kaffía ši-véxen žáva. rúxna táxt lakáyna éxen pikullúllu Kekí. ré Kekí, fkúllu, áš-pisur olán? áyn-innen?*
25. *enne kúllon párra, pikúnni, xost l-ixkáli, mintáxt z-zaytunát u mintáxt x-xarrupát. kalúllon oti ttežú t-túrk antáxt v-Váta u fizʕu kúllon u xárpu.*
26. *ré, fkúllu, álok náxni žína mill-imtíne*[41]*. án-tarrúx olán? rúxu l-ixkáli lákuon, pikúnna. télos pánton, lakáyna áxar exen u pikúnna. Peppí u Eléni u ll-óxar šáθkon enne axxók l-Latší mintžáva.*
27. *rúxna šfé-šfe šfé-šfe u lakaynáxon mintáxt x-xarrupát. koʕótna. kalúnna, áš-pitsaw íntu?*[42] *l-imtíne áš-pisur? télos pánton, ekuventyásamen*[43].
28. *ístera, ta ʕáppeš xaítš, kwannísmaʕa ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa, aftokínita, kanyáxirpu tráxtor, kášes*[44]*, óxar ma ll-ixmír, óxar meškín.*
29. *áš-pisur? kúnna. rúxna saínna. kalúnna, l-láyle ttežú t-túrk antáxt v-Váta u attáxirpu kúiθkon*[45]
30. *ána kallíni exen aftokínito. áška kuntaxótt xóst? má-kwannáxter axxálli oxar xálf u oxar terúxu ma ll-aftokínito. ʕantáyna kúitna xóst. áška ma kanisáʕa ʕantáyna xóst tarrúx áxar-moʕa ta má-kaffía fázaʕa.*
31. *kwannákšaʕa an pirúxu l-áwfa, óxar l-iProfíti Ilías, monastíri maronítiko*[46]*, óxar kanirúxu sop v-vuná*[47]*, Kakopetriá.*
32. *náxni mpsíkna t-tárp. rúxna k-Karpáša. kaffía exte sinkénissa*[48] *šaítna kantáʕref y-yapáti. piθkúillu. éla*[49] *áwna ré Kátš taθkáfu anaxxullá l-avlí*[50] *ta pikáfu kúllon.*
33. *télos pánton, námna kúitna xullá, áš kuntantsáy?*[51] *axxullát*[52] *ayk ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa ta kánt kintámna kán p-pólemo.*
34. *šínna apófasi*[53] *anniržaʕa xálf ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa šaítna, aš ma pisúr tesúr.*
35. *télos pánton, eksekinísamen šfé-šfe šfé-šfe u žína ~~d~~-~~d~~éʕa. kál ir-rá~~d~~yo oti š-šaʕál*

kánu xaitš áxsen. yapó, fkúllu, náxni afú[54] *enne taypín, arrúx ankápel liš-šaʕál šátna ta mannáxtom.*

36. *psikna l-aftokínito u žína mid-dárp ta kwantži pánta*[55]*, u šfé-šfe šfé-šfe, žína l-imtíne. antakósamen*[56] *éxte yomáyn u kwannáxtom. istéra ómos sáret ɗéfteri izvolí*[57]*.*
37. *t-túrk eproxorísan*[58] *u mísku ɗ-déʕa šaítna. mísku áɗak ta mísku, áɗak ta máxxon álok. ána kaft váxti ma yapáti l-imtíne u-v úmmi éfket ɗ-déʕa.*
38. *áxar marázz*[59] *álok. áš-pisúr antáxt? líxon teáklu, má-lixon? tavvaddíllon ší? terux ší-véxen teaxútillon?*
39. *kátʕu ɗéka méres*[60]*, kátʕu ɗekapénte*[61]*. kápyos*[62] *miɗ-déʕa šaítna ekatáferenta*[63] *težíp m-morós šáytu mnáwna y-yatró*[64] *u kátʕa mnáwna.*
40. *xost p-pólemo, kan xtír ɗiskolo*[65] *teáxtaʕa ší-véxen mnáwna. žráyna kúitna lakaynáx u kaθe-véxen kanisáel pšan šátu. saínna u náxni pšan l-úmmi antáxt u pikúnna, e káyse. pitsáy u-v ie aš ma pisáw kúllon.*
41. *kál, t-túrk žu ɗ-déʕa šaítna, allá má-saw kakó*[66]*. xawšúon kúllon u saylúon an kallíxon ópla*[67]*, an kaffía ší stratyóti mpxáppi u xallúon.*
42. *sailnáx an kallíxon ší teáklu, teíširpu. ɗ-déʕa šaítna e plúsya*[68]*, líxa teáklu.*
43. *télos pánton, kátʕu pále exte žúmʕa žumʕatáyn. ekatáferen u-v úmmi kátesʕet u žet mnáwna u lakítna.*
44. *kallína óxt, kallína sxurát. kanu mnáwnke, áš tantsáy? kwarrúx tavvaddíllon ma ll-eriθró stavró*[69] *šáya, kwavvaddíllon u r-rášo*[70]*.*
45. *Véra kallíxa morós zaʕirúi ta víltet. kaniri xlíp. šfé-šfe šfé-šfe, š-šaʕál kánu xaitš áxsen. ekataférnanta*[71] *u állik mnáwnke, kanišílu áɗyes*[72] *mit-túrk epiɗí*[73] *kúnna maronítes kaθoliki*[74] *u kanixallúna arrúx u antží.*
46. *náxni, entometaksí, kwannáxtom, allá š-šaʕál pkyón vákʕu. má-kaffía xtír šaʕál, má-kaffía xtír ppará*[75]*. óxar kanyáxtmu nússuxar, óxar kanyáxtmu tlax-kyém iž-žúmʕa.*
47. *epernúsamen ómos*[76]*, áš-kuntantsáy? ána ta rúxt tašíl v-várak šáti, saylúni an epolémisa*[77]*. fkúllon, próti γrammí*[78] *kuntʕákep, fkúllon. télos pánton, áɗi kant l-istoría šaítna xost p-pólemo.*

XI

Our experiences in the war

1. One morning in July, I was sleeping. I felt someone shaking me in order to wake me up. I looked (up); it was my father.
2. I said to him: 'What is it, dad?' Let me (lit. us) sleep. Why are you waking me up so early (lit. at dawn)?'
3. My father said to me: 'Get up, lad! Something is going on outside; I see aeroplanes or something. Something is amiss (lit. the day is not nice).'
4. I said to him: 'How (do you mean) 'something is amiss'? And (why do) you fret? You are always like that, afraid.'
5. He said to me: 'Get up, lad, get up! Something is going on. I see aeroplanes.'
6. I got up feeling drowsy, I was (still) asleep. I looked out of the window and saw aeroplanes. 'Good heavens! What is going on?' we said.

7. I said to him: 'Dad, let us turn on the radio and listen; maybe they will say something on the radio.' We turned on the radio (and) heard that the Turks had come to take Cyprus.'
8. Fear seized us. What could we do? There were just the two of us. I said to him: 'Listen, I tell you, let us wait a little and see. Let us get dressed and go over to the priest's (house) to see what he has to tell us.'
9. We left the house; everybody was running about this way and that. Some people were shouting; fear seized them (and) they did not know what to do.
10. We went over to the Vicar's house (and) said to him: 'Father, what is happening?' 'The Turks have come, that's what,' he said. 'The Turks have come. Stay over here and let us see what is to be done.'
11. Meanwhile, a lot of people had come over to the Vicar's house because in the church, we said, there was more safety and not so much fear. Many of us stayed there. We had our radios on and we were listening to (accounts of) what was going on.
12. I heard that I was supposed to go into the army. The radio was saying that those who were soldiers were to take their papers and go wherever they were supposed to go.
13. I went and found my father and said to him: 'Dad, I must go; you look after yourself (lit. see what you are going to do).' And I left the Vicar's house and went home to take my papers. I took my papers and went back.
14. There was a relative of the Vicar's who was also going into the army. I said to him: 'Hi, Saki! Are you going too? What are we to do? I am going.' He said to me: 'No, I am not going into the army.'
15. When he had said so, I went back too. I returned and stayed in there (the Vicar's house); they kept telling me: 'Why aren't you going?' I said so them: 'I am not going; either everybody goes or nobody. Why should I go when that (fellow) is not going?'
16. Anyway, we stayed over there and waited. We heard that the Turks were taking some place or other. We thought of our village, our relatives, our brothers and sisters — my mother was in the village — and we wondered how they were getting on.
17. We stayed for one or two days at the priest's (house). We used to go and grab something to eat; we would find a grocery and buy food.
18. When a couple of days had passed, I said to him: 'Dad, listen, I tell you; let us seek an opportunity to go to the village so as to find out how they are doing there.' 'Good, lad!' he said to me. 'Let us go to the village, but how? Are the roads open? The Turks are advancing; where are we to go?'
19. We phoned the police and they said to us: 'We do not know (what to advise you), but if you want to go, go!' We went to tell the Vicar; he gave us his car and we set out.
20. But my father said to me: 'Let us not proceed along the good road; there is another road,' he said to me. 'I am familiar (with it) from the time that I was a land surveyor. Let's follow it and make a detour.'
21. We took that road and as we proceeded, the aeroplanes overhead were in action, dropping (bombs), coming and going.

22. We made a detour through Mórfu; we went via Siryanoxóri to Dhiórios, and reached the village. As soon as we got there, an aeroplane passed overhead and dropped a bomb or two; we were frightened.
23. My father said: 'What a place to have come to!' I said to him, 'Never mind the place. Let's go and see what's going on.' We arrived at the village; there was nobody there. It was quiet as if everybody had left.
24. We went over to my sister Eleni's house. There was nobody there. We went down and found a person called Kekí. 'Hi, Kekí!' I said, 'Where are they?'
25. 'They are all out in the fields,' he said to me, 'under the olive-trees and carob-trees. They were told that the Turks are on their way to Váta and they all got scared and left.
26. 'Look!' I said to him, 'we have just come from Nicosia; where should we go, lad?' 'Go and find them in the fields,' he said to us. Anyway, we met someone else and he said to us, 'Peppís, Eléni, and your other relatives are up there beyond Latší.'
27. We progressed slowly and found them under the carob-trees. We sat down. They said to us: 'How are you? What is going on in Nicosia?' Anyway, we chatted.
28. Later, a little after sundown, we kept hearing (noise coming from) the village; cars, tractors, and trailers were leaving. Some people rode on donkeys, others were walking.
29. 'What is going on?' we said. We went to inquire. They said to us: 'The Turks are coming down to Váta tonight, and all of you had better leave.'
30. I had a car. How many people could I pack into it? I just could not take a few people in the car and leave the others behind. We all got in. As many of us as the car could hold got inside in order to go to some other place where there was no fear.
31. We could see where most people were going; some to Profití Ilías, a Maronite monastery; others to the mountains, to Kakopetriá.
32. We followed the road and reached Karpáša. There was a relative of ours who knew my father. She said to him: 'Come along Katš, and stay over here in the courtyard together with the rest of them.'
33. Anyway, we all slept there; what could we do? In the village opposite to us, the war was on.
34. We took the decision to return to our village, come what may.
35. Anyway, we set out, and gradually reached the village. The radio announced that the situation was a little better. 'Dad,' I said, 'since we are well, let us see to our jobs.'
36. We took the car and followed the road we always took; we gradually reached Nicosia. We had resumed work for a couple of days; then, however, the second invasion occurred.
37. The Turks advanced and seized our village; they took what they took, what they now occupy. I stayed alone with my father in Nicosia, and my mother remained in the village.
38. Another problem now. What was going on down there? Did they or didn't they have enough to eat? Should we send them something? Should someone take them (supplies)?

39. Ten days passed, fifteen. Someone from our village managed to bring his baby over to a doctor on our side, and he passed this way.
40. During the war, it was very difficult for anyone to cross over to our side (lit. to pass from here). All of us ran to find him, and everybody began to inquire after his own. We too inquired after my mother down there, and he said to us: 'She is fine, like all the others.'
41. He said: 'The Turks came to our village, but they did no harm. They assembled everybody and asked them whether they had weapons and whether there were soldiers in hiding, and they let them go.'
42. We asked him if they had anything to eat and drink. Our village is well off; they had enough to eat.
43. Anyway, another week or two passed. My mother also managed to cross over and came to our side and found us.
44. We had a sister and brothers-in-law. They (too) were over there; what could we do? We used to send them parcels (lit. things) with the Red Cross; we also used to send them food rations.
45. Vera had given birth to a boy; he needed milk. Gradually, the situation improved a little. Those people too managed to cross over; they used to obtain permits from the Turks because we were Maronite Catholics, and they allowed us to come and go.
46. In the meantime, we had begun to work, but jobs had, in the interim, become scarce; there were not too many jobs and there was not too much money. Some people were working half a day, others were working three times a week.
47. Nevertheless we managed; what (else) could we have done? When I went to get my papers, they asked me where I had fought. I said to them: 'I was active on the front line.' Anyway, those were our experiences in the war.

XII

Informant: Yassís Kefála
Age: 61
Occupation: Farmer

istoríes ta kunt šípp

1. *exen sefér xost ~~d~~-déʕa šaitna kaffía exen ovréo*[1] *enikíasen*[2] *l-itšivlítši*[3] *l-áyo*[4].
2. *náxni kúnna pomišáryes*[5] *axxóst, yapáti Vánni u Antonátši. mátu kúllon álok.*
3. *ak l-óvreo kallú káti šínes*[6] *axxóst. kwannízraʕa, má-kanišátti, má-kaffía lipázmata*[7], *en eyorkúsamen*[8] *ixtír.*
4. *kaffía exen Neófito mill-ayríni ža pikúnni, ré kumpáre*[9], *annimpsíkillu ši šína t-tóxtor*[10] *tannákol?*
5. *annimpsíkillu, fkúllu ána. xtáʕna l-éxte néxa éxte šína, psiknáxa, rúxna sop ~~d~~-dásos*[11] *šfaynáxa u kinnáxa.*
6. *pikúllu l-ovréo y-yapáti, ré kumpáre Lyasí, ~~d~~áʕet exte šína, pikúllu.*
7. *pikúllu yapáti, ttekún alupó*[12]. *attilʕápu, pikúllu yapáti. an plakíx ttalʕápu.*
8. *yapáti ráx kéʕe fil-árnep*[13], *antís*[14] *teží árnep žá exen psófo*[15] *alupó. léʕepu*[16] *yapáti u mísku u xitilyáxa.*

9. *pikúllu: kírye*[17] *tóxtor, áđa pkyákol š-šínes. právo, pikúllu l-ovréo, áška pisáy f-fušéki*[18] *télak?*
10. *pikúllu yapáti. pisáy θnáyn selínya*[19]*. xo árpaʕa, pikúllu l-ovréo.*
11. *ístera mif-fitte xarát, ža pále Neófito pikúnni, ré kumpáre, annimpsíkillu óxre ši-véxte? annimpsíkillu, fkúllu. psiknállu óxre.*
12. *xitnáxa v-áyk taxt ~~đ-đ~~ásos, šfaynáxa u kinnáxa. fil-láyl l-ovréo piʕúddon. pikúllu y-yapáti. kírye Lyasí, ʕépe óxre šína pale. pikúllu yapáti, ttekún alupó pale. pikúllu, ya-lʕáptu*[20]*. fia xtír, pikúllu, íntže o manixá*[21] *ak il-éxen.*
13. *ístera mif-fitte xarát, žá pále ~~áđ~~ak il-xawtík Neófito pikúnni, annimpsíkillu óxre pale? fkúllu ána, annimpsíkillu.*
14. *psiknállu óxre. fil-láyl piʕúddon. kantʕíp óxre. pikúllu, ré kumpáre, pitʕíp óxre šína pale. l-ovréo ómos kišʕeni ll-ána ta kuntáxki ma Neófito.*
15. *ttekún alupó pale, pikúllu yapáti. ána painni, pikúllu l-ovréo, ttekún alupó ma θnáyn ižrén. ekatálavento*[22] *l-óvreo oti o náxni ta kwannakúlon š-šínes.*
16. *ma-ll-~~ić~~yo*[23] *l-intsán kaffía éxen ta kúnna pomišáryes. fil-láyl kwantží ~~đ-đ~~éʕa, l-itšivlítši kan tlax-míyyá*[24] *táxt mi~~đ-đ~~éʕa.*
17. *fkúllu, ré Peppí, tannimpsíkillu exte-θnáyn žéž l-~~áđ~~a l-ovréo? annimpsíkillu, pikúnni. káf anaxxullá attíntor, fkúllu, tarúx ána tampsikon. úo má-kanirúx.*
18. *rúxt ana u ʕantáyt xost k-kónn. ʕantáyt xóst ána u txáriksu ž-žéž.*
19. *mpsíxt xnáyn omos ána u xrúft. ntžarráyt taxt ~~đ-đ~~ásos. káft xaitš sáʕa axxullá ta kanistantírni ~~áđ~~ak.*
20. *paʕáytillu, ré Peppí, u xárap. fizʕe u xárap. psíxt t-tárp ána. ána ž-zéž xnúnkton u kuntžéy ~~đ-đ~~éʕa. lakáytu párra mill-itšivlítši u án-kunt ré kílp? fkúllu ána. ána mpsíxt iž-žéž állik, efterokopísan*[25] *axxóst u int xrúft.*
21. *ána smáʕaton efterokopísan axxóst, pzáʕat u xrúft. an kantilʕe párra, pikúnni, kanteakšáʕni u kanteilʕápni. fkúllu, pzáʕat ré šési*[26]*, xrúft?*
22. *télos pánton, žipnáxon ~~đ-đ~~éʕa. žipnáxon ~~đ-đ~~éʕa u eksifterísamentes*[27] *ž-žéž, xattaynáxon teáʕlu u rúxna k-kafené*[28]*.*
23. *ost tantží mi k-kafené tteístvu u ttanákol. kán xost š-šítvie, kaffía xtír xáva. koʕótna éxte saʕatáyn k-kafené.*
24. *fkúllu ána, ré kóm tarrúx. xalláyna l-okít kantíšʕel. ž-žéž kanu xók kanyáʕlu. óson tže*[29] *laffáyna k-kantúni*[30]*, ~~đ-đ~~áwm kani~~đi~~, l-iskák kan olófoto*[31]*. fkúllu, ré t-tárp olófoti antáxt.*
25. *áyšo a~~đ~~a š-šóʕol? xe l-páyt okít, fkúllu. pikúnni, skó olán, áššik?*
26. *ʕantáyt žáva ána, ruxt olóyša*[32] *xok x-xasíe u fkápel ž-žéž kanyáʕlu. ʕalák p-pápe ré, fkúllu ána. pirúx teáʕlak p-pápe. pikúnni, máfkya pápe. áššik máfkya pápe?*
27. *prúx fkápel. x-xáva šála p-pápe u xíta áwnke t-tárp. psiknáxa mnawnk-u-mnáwna, taylipnáxa p-pápe u xattaynáxa xók. psíkna ž-žéž u xtaʕnáxon. xattáyna snie u koʕótna tannákol. xítna u poséle*[33] *mpláne mpít. óson dže koʕótna tannákol, mannísmaʕa p-pápe pittókk.*
28. *méno ré? fia xázz*[34] *an ie astinomía, pikúnni. kóm, ftáx annákšaʕa men úo. kyíftax, pikápel. kan xaitu. kalispéra*[35]*, pikúnna. kalispéra, mankúllu, kʕó annákol.*
29. *kál, álli áyš-innen? mnán lakaytúon? atrúx atfátteš, fkúllu ána. avá lakáyt láxm. kól u skó. u kwannítxak.*

XII

Stories about my youth

1. In our village, there was once a Jew who rented the farm at Aghios.
2. My father, Vanni, Antonatši and myself — they are all dead now — were partners there.
3. That Jew kept a few geese; we used to sow seed but it didn't rain (and) there was no fertilizer. We did not produce very much.
4. There was a fellow from Aghía Iríni called Neófito; he came and said to me: 'Come on pal! Let's steal one of the doctor's geese and eat.'
5. 'Let's do that,' I said to him. We cornered a goose, caught it and headed for the wood. We roasted it and ate it.
6. The Jew said to my father: 'Lyasi, old chap! One of the geese has disappeared.'
7. My father said to him: 'It has to be a fox.' 'Shoot it!' (the doctor said.) 'If I find it, I'll shoot it,' my father said to him.
8. My father went to lie in wait for rabbits, but instead of a rabbit a damned fox showed up. My father shot it, picked it up and took it up to him.
9. He said to him: 'Doctor, sir! This is (the fox that is) devouring the geese.' 'Well done!' the Jew said to him, 'How much was your cartridge?'
10. 'Two shillings,' my father said. 'Here's four,' the Jew said to him.
11. After a few days, Neófito came again and said to me: 'Come on, pal! Let's steal another goose!' 'Let's do that,' I said to him. We stole another one from him.
12. This too we brought to the wood, roasted it and ate it. At night, the Jew counted the geese. He said to my father: 'Mr. Lyasi, there's another goose missing.' My father said to him: 'It must be a fox again.' 'But you shot it,' he said to him. 'There are lots of them around,' he said to him, 'not just that one.'
13. A few days later, that Greek fellow Neófito came again and said to me, 'Shall we steal another goose from him? I said to him: 'Let's do that.'
14. We took another one. At night, he counted them; another was gone. He said to my father: 'Hey old chap! Another goose has disappeared.' Now the Jew had seen me talking to Neófito.
15. 'It must be a fox again,' my father said to him. 'I think,' the Jew said to him, 'it must be a two-legged fox.' For the Jew had understood that it was we who were eating the geese.
16. There was another partner working with us for the same man. At night, we used to return to the village; the farm was three miles away.
17. I said to him: 'Hey, Peppis! Shall we steal a couple of chickens from the Jew?' 'Let us do that,' he said to me. 'You stay right here and keep watch,' I said to him: 'I will go and catch them.' He himself would not have gone.
18. I went and entered the hencoop; (as) I entered, the chickens started moving about.
19. Anyway, I grabbed two and got away. I withdrew to the wood below and stopped for a moment over where that fellow was waiting for me.

20. I called out to him: 'Hey, Peppis!' but he fled. He was scared and ran away. I walked on. I slaughtered (lit. strangled) the chickens and was returning to the village. I met him outside the farm and said to him: 'Where were you, son of a bitch?' I caught these chickens, they began to beat their wings inside the hencoop (lit. in there), and you ran away.'
21. 'I heard them beating their wings in there,' he said to me, 'I was afraid and I ran away. If he had come out, he would have seen and shot me.' I said to him: 'So you got scared and fled, you coward!'
22. Anyway, we brought the chickens to the village and plucked them. We put them (over a fire) to boil, and went to a café.
23. By the time we get back from the café, (we thought) they will get done and we shall eat. It was winter and a strong wind was blowing. We sat inside the café for about a couple of hours.
24. I said to him: 'Get up and let's go!' We had left the fire on and the chickens were boiling. As soon as we had turned the corner, (we saw) a light was burning. The alley was lit up. I said to him: 'Look, the street is all lit up down there.'
25. 'What's going on? The house has caught fire!' I said to him. He said to me: 'Keep quiet, lad! How (is it possible)?
26. I entered and went straight up to the pot; I saw that the chickens were boiling. 'Shut the door!' I said to him. He went to shut it and said to me: 'There is no door.' 'How do you mean 'there is no door'?' (I said.)
27. I went to look. The wind had blown the door (off its hinges) and had swept it away down the road. We picked it up from either end; we adjusted the door and put it back on. We took the chickens and carved them up. We laid the table and sat down to eat. We also took a flask of wine. As soon as we had sat down to eat, we heard a knock at the door.
28. 'Who is it? We're in luck if it is the police!' he said. 'Get up and open the door; let us see who it is.' He opened and looked. It was his brother. 'Good evening!' he said to us. 'Good evening!' we said to him. 'Sit and let's eat.'
29. He said: 'What are those? Where did you find them?' 'It is up to you to find out,' I said to him. 'There's meat in front of yoy. Eat and keep quiet!' And we laughed.

Informant: Mišéllis Terzí
Age: 68
Occupation: Retired farmer

XIII

istoría

1. *exen sefér*[1], *štráyna xákle u kallixa xžár ixtír xóst, u kallína xnáyn petrokópus*[2].

2. állik p-petrokópi, ntámmet l-ispiridkyá[3] ta kanyíšʕelu fáyyes[4] u vaddúni d-déʕa taži táxo spiridkyá.
3. žit id-déʕa ána, kunt kéteʕe mip-páyt tel éxte pintúa[5] piθkúinni, éla[6] žáva attákol, fia ʕínep attákol u pitrúx.
4. ʕantáyt žáva ána, kílt xaitš[7] ʕínep w-ístera ʕattáyt[8] ʕaléxa. mólis[9] ʕattáyt ʕaléxa, kišeʕítna éxte yitónissa. ráxet kálet x-xaíta u ža kátʕana xaíta axxóst.
5. sákker p-pápe u rax težíp l-astinomía. ána kuntrí táxrop, áš kuntasáy? xattáyt tsaéres[10] u tláʕat xók.
6. kaffía exte arséra[11] ta kánt sop mimpárra. tláʕat xók pšan tantárra[12] táxt.
7. w-anankástika[13] taxótt žréy pšan takáf stitó[14]. mólis ʕallíxt ižréy u ruxt tántzel, m-maskáles[15] šáti l-itrípa[16] má-kantsáxxon[17].
8. káft maʕállek xók pšik[18] l-apóxti[19]. ístera žú káti sinkenis šáta, mísku xžár tešilxúnni.
9. exen xaíti pikúnni, ntzél mnáwnke, teaxtlúk, u psíxt pale xok xášpe[20] u ukáʕat xost it-tipn.
10. ístera žét l-astinomía. miskúna, šalúna xnáytna u xetúna d-dikastíryo[21] na más dikásusin[22]. kunnállu[23] d-dikasti[24] l-istoría šaitna u kanyítxak u-v úo.
11. ístera, ta žá xaíta l-óxt, ta šalúna párra, rákʕalla éxen pátso[25] l-ie.
12. ta rúxna d-dikastíryo, kállu d-dikasti, kífta rkáʕat l-óxtak u má-rkaʕatíllu l-intsán ta ʕátt ʕaléxa?
13. pikúllu, rkáʕatilla yatí[26] ie ftéi[27].
14. ántže[28] kal ákke, d-dikasti, áte, kánni l-ána, aθoónnese[29], tláʕ párra, xróp.
15. lipón[30], l-óxt[31] ta kuntátlaʕa, ána ntarráyt ákke íšaxok[32] u rkáʕat ížri xullá mif-fárxa šáyti.
16. mólis rkáʕat ížri u ruxt tátlaʕa párra, exen tšaúši[33] mísikni u éla áwna ré átime[34], pikúnni, áš ntarráyt xost id-dikastíryo u rkáʕat ížrak? paíllak o xán?
17. lipón, mísikni tesaínni katiyoría[35]. ntárra d-dikyóro[36] téli Kliridi, mísku l-itšaúš áš savállak p-peláti[37] téli? pikúllu.
18. ntárra u rákʕa ížru xost id-dikastíryo. pikúllu, kírye[38], xidret ížru l-intsán u ntárra íšaxok u rákʕa ížru.
19. pikúnni, éla áwna, pikúnni, tasaíllu katiyoría l-ádla l-itsaúš u tasaíx tepéʕe šámiši[39].
20. ístera vákʕa fi žréy ádak l-itšaúš. kírye Mišélli, xárizmuto[40] u-ll-ána, pikúnni, u ttadéʕe šóʕoli u kseró-kseró[41].
21. afú[42] ll-ána d-dikastíryo xallísni ta saváyt árka kaká[43], kúltillu u-v-ána l-itšaúš áte anáθθema[44].
22. d-dikyóro epémenento[45] tesaíx šamišári[46], ána pale fkúllu áte xáristuto[47]. žá kanipúsni oti exárisatuto[48] l-ádak l-itšaúš.
23. mimpárra kanyistántru težawzúni. fkúllon, má-paxúta, afú kálu ákke psefkyá[49] u žiftúni d-dikastíryo, má-paxúta.
24. ístera, žína d-déʕa pale, pale epiménanto[50] tannintžávez. fkúllon, má-prita, u ruxt txetíft áxar-moʕa u ntžavízt.

XIII

A story

1. Once we bought a field and it was very rocky; we employed (lit. we had) two stonecutters.
2. While those stonecutters were igniting sticks of dynamite, the matches got used up, and I was sent to the village to go and fetch a box of matches.
3. I came to the village; I was passing by the house of a young girl (and) she said to me: 'Come in and eat. There are grapes for you to eat, and (then you can) go.'
4. I went in, ate some grapes and then went for her. Scarcely had I got hold of her than a woman neighbour saw us. She went and told her brother, and he came and caught us red-handed.
5. He locked the door and went to bring the police. I wanted to get away, what could I do? I piled up chairs and climbed on top.
6. There was an opening in the wall giving on to the street; I climbed up in order to jump down.
7. I had to put my legs through (first) so as to be in a standing position. Just as I had my legs dangling and was about to descend, the opening turned out to be too small for my shoulders (lit. underarms).
8. I remained hanging up there like a joint of dried meat. Then some of her relatives arrived; they grabbed stones to throw at me.
9. One of my brothers said to me: 'Get down from there (or) they will kill you,' and I clung back on to a beam and landed on the straw.
10. Then the police came; they arrested us, led us out and took us to court to try us. We told the judge our story and he too had a good laugh.
11. Then, when the girl's brother arrived, when they had led us out (of the courtroom), he gave her a slap.
12. When we went (back) into the coúrtroom, the judge said to him: 'Why did you hit your sister but not the man who assaulted her?'
13. He said to him: 'I hit her because she is the guilty one.'
14. As soon as he said this, the judge said to me: 'You are acquitted, (you can) go out, off with you!'
15. Well, when I was just about to leave, I leaped up this high and stamped my foot on the ground for joy.
16. Just as I stamped my foot and was about to go out, a sergeant arrested me and said: 'Come here, you impudent fellow! Why did you leap up in court and stamp your foot? Does this look to you like an inn?'
17. Well, he arrested me in order to charge me. My lawyer Kliríḋi intervened, caught the sergeant (by the arm) and said to him: 'What has my client done to you?'
18. 'He leaped up and stamped his foot in court.' He said to him: '(But) sir, the fellow's leg went numb, so he jumped up and stamped his foot.'
19. 'Look here,' he said to me, 'I will take this sergeant to court and reduce him to peddling sweetmeats.'

20. Then the sergeant fell at my feet. 'Mr. Mišélli, (please) let me off,' he said to me, 'otherwise I shall lose my job,' and he went on and on.
21. Since the court had released me despite the many bad things I had done, I said to the sergeant: 'To hell with it!'
22. The lawyer insisted that he would reduce him to being a vendor of sweetmeats. I said to him again: 'Never mind, let him off.' That sergeant came over to me and began to kiss me for having let him off.
23. Outside, they were waiting to marry me off. I said to them: 'I will not have her; since they have lied so, and you have taken me to court, I will not have her.'
24. We then returned to the village and they again insisted that we should marry. I said to them: 'I do not want her,' and I went and got engaged in another place and got married.

XIV

óxre istoría

1. *ána l-impráti kuntríta xamps-isnín prin tánixtep. kuntrúx ʕínta. fil-láyl ta kaniʕántu žáva tenámu, úmma kantíntžor l-pápe. má-kuntáxter taʕánti žáva taláki l-impráti tapúsa.*
2. *exte láyle ráxu áwnke l-ʕámma. m-miftáx sákkru u xattúx xost l-itripa axxullá žump l-pápe. ána ráyton ta xáttu m-miftáx axxullá.*
3. *ráxu innen, psíxt u-v ána ftáxt l-pápe. ʕantáyt žáva šílt iθkyépi, káft manixá*[1] *man-nixtikó*[2]*, u ʕantáyt xost k-kalaθúra*[3] *ost težú l-láyl.*
4. *ta žú mil-ʕámmon, umma u-v-ie ráxu teífitxu, mísku m-miftáx, laffúx, u l-pápe fátxet váxta.*
5. *piθkúlla úmma l-ayk p-pintúa, rá*[4] *kílpe, má-sakkirtía l-pápe, xallaytía maftúxa. avá má-laffayt m-miftáx u l-pápe fátxet.*
6. *lá maná*[5]*, sakkírta, piθkúl p-pintúa. anyá, má-laff m-miftáx u fátxet l-pápe. ámma sakkirta, piθkúlla. ntexíxt.*
7. *ána kunt žáva ʕínton, piʕántu žáva, tʕáššu u ʕántu námu. ta ʕántu námu, tfú l-lámpa. fi~~d~~ ~~d~~úlme má-kuntákšaʕa an námet ill-úmm u an námet p-pintúa. kaninámu xnáyton žúmp, áš kuntasáy? rúxt míxxók, kunkápel. kan ~~d~~úlme u má-kuntákšaʕa.*
8. *taʕótt xok ill-úmm ttatʕáet, aθkún p-pintúa má-yttaxki. ámma má-paʕaref áyn-ie p-pintúa. áš tasáy? takáf ost mimpúkra tákšaʕa aš tesúr. úmma kantkúm fis-sáxxar, kantsáy šaʕál.*
9. *ána ʕantáyt xost s-sóspito*[6]*, ʕantáyt xost k-kalaθúra u tʕattáyt mall-iθkyép tásxon. kuntíprot.*
10. *kámet úmma mimpúkra, sávet l-išʕál, ʕántet xost l-ašelonári*[7] *attímpsek xóps atšílu mimpárra, atxóttu xok t-tára*[8]*. ana ftainni oti tfá~~dd~~et. má-kantfá~~dd~~et páʕa u tláʕat.*

11. *žet úmma axxóst u kiššítni maθ-θáwp. ámma kiššítni maθ-θáwp, pitxótt exte paurká*[9], *kúmu xók. áyšo maná áyšo? kúmi xók u áɫak l-intsán ta pirítik o mpxáppi anaxxóst.*
12. *ana ntarráyt párra u xrúft. θénixar kálet l-ʕámma oti ákke u ákke. ʕámma kanirítni. ána kunt káes, kuntáxtom, kunt teš-šóʕol, kuntʕáeš mára. ža ʕámma u kanixottúni l-astinomía.*
13. *pikúllon ʕámma, lá, xállux takúllu ána óxre trik áɫa š-šóʕol ta lá-ysur. úmma ta kiššítni ll-ána, fizʕet u sávet exen šáxr má-kantʕanti xost s-sóspito. kantípzaʕa.*
14. *istera, fitte-fitte, esiníθisen*[10] *u istera ána ntžavízta.*

XIV

Another story

1. I courted my wife for five years before we got engaged. I used to visit her. At night, when they retired, her mother used to bolt the door. I could not go in to meet my wife and kiss her.
2. One evening, they went over to her uncle's. They locked up and placed the key inside a hole near the door. I noted that they had put the key there.
3. Then they went away and I proceeded to open the door. I pulled the key out (of the keyhole), put it back into its hole, opened the door, went inside, took off my clothes and remained with only my pyjamas on. I then got inside a clothes basket until they would return at nightfall.
4. When they returned from her uncle's, the mother and the girl were about to open the door. They took the key, gave it a turn, and the door opened of its own accord.
5. The mother said to the girl: 'You bitch! You did not lock the door; you left it open. Look, I didn't turn the key, and the door opened.'
6. 'No, mother. I did lock it,' said the girl. 'Look here! The key did not turn, and the door opened.' 'But I locked it,' she said, '(or) I thought I did (lit. I was deceived).'
7. I was inside in the house. They entered, had their supper and went to bed. When they went to bed, they put the light out. In the darkness, I could not see where the mother slept and where the girl. The two of them were sleeping side by side. What could I do? I bent over (them) and looked. It was dark and I could not see.
8. The mother would scream if I got close to her; but if it turned out to be the girl, she (the girl) would not utter a word. But I did not know where the girl was. What could I do? I decided to stay until morning to see what would happen. Her mother used to rise early to do her chores.
9. I entered the inside room, got into the clothes basket, and covered myself with clothes so as to keep warm. I was feeling cold.
10. Her mother got up in the morning (and) did her chores. She entered the pantry in order to take out some bread and put it into the hanging basket. I thought she had finished, but she hadn't yet finished when I came out.

11. Her mother came in there and saw me in my shirt. When she saw me in my shirt, she let out a scream. 'Wake up all of you!' (she shouted). 'What is it, mother? What is it?' 'Get up! Your boyfriend is hiding in here'.
12. I jumped out and got away. The following day, she told the uncle what had happened. The uncle, however, was well disposed towards me. I was a good man; I worked hard and could support a wife. Her uncle came, and they wanted to hand me over to the police.
13. But the uncle said to them, 'No, let *me* tell him that this affair must not happen again.' When her mother saw me, she got scared; and for a whole month, she did not enter the inside room. She was afraid to.
14. Then they gradually got used (to me), and I married her.

NOTES TO THE TEXTS

I

1 *márfaʕa* 'carnival, Shrovetide' < Ar. *marfaʕ*.

2 *pisúmmu* 'they fast' < Ar. **biṣu:mu*.

3 *saránta* 'forty' = Gk. σαράντα.

4 *me ... me* (CG) 'neither ... nor'; cf. *i lótta mu me-yénnise me-nna yennísi* 'my sow neither gave birth nor will it do so' (Newton 1972a, 157).

5 *šikitš* 'something, anything' < Ar. **ši: qaṭṭš*; cf. Uzbekistan Arabic *qaṭṭiš* 'nichts' (Fischer 1961, 258).

6 *pále* (CG) 'then'; cf. Gk. πάλι.

7 *psállun* 'they chant'; cf. Gk. ψάλλω 'I sing, chant'.

8 *téšpoxto l-móryo* 'Praise be to God!'; the opening words of a Syriac liturgical chant.

9 *kiryakí* 'Sunday' = Gk. Κυριακή.

10 *prin* 'before' = Gk. πρίν.

11 *kapnistíri* (CG) 'incense burner'.

12 *teleftéa* 'last'; f.s. nom. form of Gk τελευταῖος.

13 *stásis* 'Stations of the Cross' = Gk. στάσις.

14 *mistikó dípno*; cf. Gk. ὁ μυστικός δεῖπνος, lit. 'the secret supper' = 'the Lord's Supper'.

15 *maθités: dhimotikí* nominative and accusative plural of μαθητής 'pupil, disciple'.

16 *θénixxar* 'the next day' < Ar. **θa:ni: + nha:r*.

17 *epitáfyo*; cf. Gk. ἐπιτάφιος, which refers both to the Good Friday celebration commemorating the burial of Jesus, and to the bier on which the statue is carried in procession.

18 *fkyóra* (CG) 'flowers'.

19 *tváxxar* 'all the day' < **ṭwa:l in-nha:r* (cf. *ṭwa:l* 'durée', Barth., 494).

20 *kampánes* 'bells', pl. of Gk. καμπάνα.

21 *flaʕún* 'Easter cakes', < O.Fr. *flaon* (Wartburg 1969, 132) KA collective form of *flaʕúna* < CG *flaúna*.

22 *kumúyya* (CG) 'large bagels'.

23 *éθimo* 'custom' = Gk. ἔθιμο.

24 *kamíla* (KA) 'bonfire' (etymology uncertain).

25 *pkyon* (CG) 'from now on' < Gk. πλέον.

26 *xristós anésti* 'Christ is risen'; cf. Gk. Χριστός Ἀνέστη.

II

1 *morós* (KA) 'baby' < CG *moró*; the origin and function of /*s*/ here is unclear.

2 *ámma* (CG) < Gk. ἅμα 'as soon as, just as'.

3 *istera* 'later, afterwards' = Gk. ὕστερα.

4 *nunnút* 'godmother' < CG *nunnú* + *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa* (see § 3.3.2); cf. Gk. νουνός.

5 *tatát* 'godfather' < CG *tatá* + *ta:ʔ marbu:ṭa*.

[6] *xménye kyém* 'eight days' < **θma:nyat iyya:m*.

[7] *an* 'if' = Gk. ἄν.

[8] *pxál* 'sick', f. *-e*, pl. *-ín*, possibly derives from Ar. **bi ḥa:l*; cf. also KA */ftixel/* 'to fall ill'.

[9] *téxte* 'quickly' < **di: waqta*; note the comparable expressions *bi waqta* 'at once' (Spiro 1929, s.v. *wqt*), *mən waqta* 'aussitôt' (Barthélemy), etc.

[10] *kif* 'that (conj.)' < Ar. *ki:f* 'how'; the semantic shift reflected in the KA form is no doubt due to interference from the homophonous Greek terms πῶς 'how' and πώς 'that'.

[11] *kyaʕtézz* 'he needs' derives from the VIIIth Form of OA *ʕwz*; the gemination of /z/ in this item appears to be optional word-finally but is fairly stable intervocalically, e.g. *kyaʕtézzu* 'they need'; (concerning gemination of intervocalic KA /z/, see § 1.2.2).

[12] *mammú* (CG) 'midwife', cf. Gk. μαμμή.

[13] *rixxán* 'myrtle' < OA *rayḥa:n*. The KA term refers to a homemade freshener usually called *muvárt ter-rixxán*.

[14] *faskíe* 'swaddling band' < *faṣqiyya* 'bande' (Dozy II, 271); cf. also Maltese *fisʔiyya* (same meaning).

[15] *sarvétta* (CG) 'towel' = It. *sarvetta*.

[16] *dyóti* 'because' = Gk. διότι.

[17] *ayía trápeza* 'altar' = Gk. ἁγία τράπεζα.

[18] *próto* 'first', cf. Gk. πρῶτος.

[19] *kolimvíθra* 'baptismal font' = Gk. κολυμβήθρα.

[20] *étimo* 'ready', = Gk. ἕτοιμο.

[21] *tavlí* (CG) 'table'.

[22] *i* 'or' = Gk. ἤ.

[23] *yirús* = Gk. γύρους, acc. pl. of γύρος 'turn'.

[24] *yíro* 'around' = Gk. γύρω.

[25] *entometaksí* 'in the meantime' = Gk. ἐν τῷ μεταξύ.

[26] *epidí* 'because' = Gk. ἐπειδή.

[27] *ipoγráfun* 'they sign', cf. Gk. ὑπογράφω 'I sign'.

[28] *ost* 'until' = Gk. ὡς τ-.

[29] *mólis* 'as soon as' = Gk. μόλις.

[30] *šupéna*, lit. 'her godparents', i.e. her baby's godparents.

[31] *-snie* 'a large round straw mat on which pastry is placed before it is baked; cf. Ar. *ṣi:niyya* 'tray'. KA *sníe* can also, as in the present context, refer to a table laid out with sweetmeats.

[32] *pánta* 'always' = Gk. πάντα.

[33] *saytízitus* (CG) 'she respects them'; cf. CG *saytízo* 'I respect'.

III

[1] *áššik* 'how' < **ayš šikl*.

[2] *tóte* 'then' = Gk. τότε.

[3] *príka* 'dowry' = Gk. προῖκα.

[4] *mix* 'like' < **mixl* < *OA *miθl*; the /θ/ > /x/ shift is treated in § 1.3.3.

[5] *proksenyá* 'match' = Gk. προξενιά.

[6] *tšernún* (CG) 'they offer', cf. Gk. κερνῶ 'I offer'; the fronting of */k/ in CG is discussed in Newton (1972, 131 f.).

[7] *ʕáskar* 'group or crowd of people, e.g. guests at a party', cf. Ar. *ʕaskar* 'to assemble, to encamp'; note also Gk. ἀσκέρι, glossed in Dhimitrakos (1969, 241). 'πολυμελής ὁμάς ἡ οἰκογένεια' (large group of people or relatives).

[8] *pastítša* (CG) 'sweetmeats served at wedding'.
[9] *káθe* 'every' = Gk. κάθε.
[10] *ákke* 'thus' < **hakđa* < OA *ha:kađa:*.
[11] *kyísrok*, lit. 'he steals'; cf. the use of Gk. κλέβω 'I steal' in this meaning.
[12] This formula is very commonly used in Cypriot Greek story-telling (cf. Newton 1972a, *passim*).

IV

[1] *γlikó* 'candy' = Gk. γλυκό.
[2] *kommákkya* (CG) 'pieces' < *kommáθkya* < Gk. κομμάτια, s. κομμάτι. The diachronic treatment of 'consonant + yod' sequences in CG is discussed in Newton (1972a, 166).
[3] *maflufin* 'rolled up (pl.)', s. *maflúf* < Ar. *malfu:f*.
[4] *l-izzumí* 'the juice'; cf. Gk. ζουμί.
[5] *extókka* 'one oke' < /*éxte*/ (< Ar. *ʔiḥda:*) + CG *ókka* < Gk. ὀκᾶ.
[6] *záxari* 'sugar' = Gk. ζάχαρη.
[7] *óspu* 'until' = Gk. ὥσπου.

V

[1] *maffútt* 'we strip off'; the KA verb *fatt*, *pifutt* is a term referring specifically to the harvesting of carobs and olives in the manner described in this text. It may be a corruption of Ar. *faraṭ*, 'abattre (des noix, les fruits d'un arbre), Barthélemy 601.
[2] *latúđkya* 'children' < Ar. *ʔawla:d* + CG diminutive suffix *-úđkya* < Gk. -ούδια.
[3] *fárto* (CG) 'kind of basket'.

VI

[1] *ʕásel isfet* 'black honey' is the name given to carob syrup; bee honey is referred to as *ʕásel ápkyađ* 'white honey'.
[2] *kaylún* (pl. *kvelín*) 'reed basket'; for probable etymology, see Ch. III, note 16.
[3] *móxte* 'stove' < **mawqda* (cf. Aleppo *mawqde* 'fourneau', Barthélemy, 903).
[4] *mišlúa* 'small skimmer' < KA *míšle* + CG diminutive suffix *-úa* < Gk. οὐδα.
[5] *pifúrr* 'it boils over' < Ar. *bifu:r*; the historical gemination of the final consonant in this KA verb is treated in § 2.2.1.2.
[6] *kompo*, cf Gk. κόμπος 'knot'.
[7] *véʕi* 'vessel' < OA *ʔawa:ʕi:* 'vessels'; the KA sing. is *veʕíe*.
[8] *kullurúđkya* (CG) 'doughnuts'.
[9] *kwárka* (CG) 'balls', s. *kwári*.

VII

[1] *xallúme*, coll. *xallúm*; ultimately from Ar. *ḥa(:)lu:m* (Lane; Spiro 1895, etc.).
[2] *mántra* 'pen, fold' = Gk. μάντρα.

[3] *kwélles* (CG) 'sheep', (s.) *kwélla*.

[4] *lináxa* 'we have it' < **lina:* + *iyya:ha:*; §4.1.6.

[5] Cf. Aleppo *madjbane* 'caillette, présure' (Barthélemy, 103).

[6] *rennet* 'a mass of curdled milk found in the stomach of an unweaned calf or other animal, used for curdling milk in making cheese, etc.; also, a preparation of the inner membrane of the stomach used for this or other purposes', (Murray 1910, 448). The KA term refers uniquely to the latter. Cf. also Goitein (1967, 124).

[7] *tiroskámni* (CG) 'long wooden board on which cheese is pressed' < Gk. τυρός 'cheese' + σκαμνί 'stool, small bench'.

[8] *plakát* 'stone slabs' < Gk. πλάκα 'stone slab' + KA feminine plural ending *-át*.

[9] *síkla* (CG) 'pail'.

[10] *pláta* 'a kind of dry cheese made from the remains of *xallúmi*' < Ar. *bala:ṭa* (?) 'flagstone'. The CG term is *anarí*.

[11] *kyítʃelu* 'they rise' ← |*pkyítlʃu*|; regarding metathesis of KA /ʃ/, see §1.3.9.

[12] *ɗiplónnumenta* (CG) 'we fold them'; cf. Gk. τά διπλώνουμεν.

VIII

[1] *oxtáyn* 'two okes' ← |*okktáyn*|.

[2] *kuyyastíri* (CG) 'strainer'.

[3] *siméni* 'it means', cf. Gk. σημαίνω.

[4] *fentžáni* (CG) 'cup'.

[5] *ɗiyalísi* 'it dissolves', cf. Gk. διαλύω.

[6] *patanía* (CG) 'blanket', pl. *patanies*.

[7] *na píksi* 'so as to thicken'; cf. Gk. νά πήξει.

[8] *ikositéssera* 'twenty-four' = Gk. εἴκοσιτέσσερα.

[9] *an épiksen* 'if it has thickened'; cf. Gk. αν ἔπηξεν.

[10] *amm-én* 'if not' < CG *amma en* < Gk. ἅμα δέν.

IX

[1] *saykún* 'brushwood', cf. note 17, Ch. III.

[2] *avátži* (CG) 'a cavity on one side of the oven floor designed to contain the hot embers'.

[3] *tšappút* 'rag' < Tk. *çaput*.

[4] *sírti* (CG) 'long pole used for cleaning the oven'; cf. Gk. σύρτης 'door bolt'.

X

[1] *kíšk* 'dried dough made of cracked wheat and sour milk'.

[2] *piθarúi* (CG) 'small jar' < Gk. πιθαρούδι.

[3] *exex-xár* 'one day' < **exen xar* < **wa:ḥid naha:r*.

[4] *kóššino* (CG) 'sieve' < Gk. κόσκινο.

[5] *xalvá* 'halva'; cf. Gk. χαλβᾶς.

[6] *kámposa* 'many', neuter nominative plural form of Gk. κάμποσος.
[7] *sakkúlli* (CG) 'bag' = Gk. σακκούλι.
[8] *súppa* (CG) 'soup' < Gk. σοῦπα.
[9] *ya* (CG) 'or'; cf. *ya ta rúxa ya ta papúčča* 'either clothes or shoes' (Newton 1972a, 136). This particle also occurs in Anatolian Arabic (Jastrow 1981: 92, 1), Aleppine (Barthélemy, 914) and Lebanese (Abu Haidar 1979, 80).

XI

[1] *pólemo* 'war'; cf. Gk. πόλεμος.
[2] *yapó* 'father!'; cf. Aleppo *yábo* 'papa!' (Barthélemy, 914).
[3] *olán* < Tk. *oğlan* 'Junge' (Steuerwald 706).
[4] *káti* 'something' = Gk. κάτι.
[5] *ayróplana* (CG) 'aeroplanes'; cf. Gk. ἀεροπλάνον.
[6] *mantétše* (CG) 'you have the impression that' < *mantes če*.
[7] *ákke* 'thus' < **hakka* < **hakđa* < *ha:kađa:*, cf. Christian Baghdadi *həkki* Blanc (1964, 139), Anatolian *ha:gge* (Jastrow 1978, 111), Maltese *ekk(a)*, etc.
[8] *panaía ṁu* < Gk. Παναγία 'the Blessed Virgin', μου 'my'.
[9] *rađyo* (GK) 'radio', pl. *rađya*.
[10] *mporí* 'maybe' = Gk. μπορεῖ.
[11] *óti* 'that' = Gk. ὅτι.
[12] *vikáryo* 'the religious leader of the Cypriot Maronite community' < It. *vicario*.
[13] *patéra* 'father!'; cf. Gk. πατέρας.
[14] *ré* (CG); a familiar address term having the feminine counterpart *rá*.
[15] *kampósi* = Gk. κάμποσοι 'some, a number of'.
[16] *đyóti* = Gk. διότι 'because'.
[17] *asfálya* = Gk. ἀσφάλεια 'safety'.
[18] *éprepen*: Imperfect of *prépi* 'it behoves' = Gk. πρέπει.
[19] *stratyóti* 'soldier'; cf. Gk. στρατιώτης.
[20] *sinkenís* 'relative' = Gk. συγγενής.
[21] *télos pánton* 'anyway' = Gk. τέλος πάντων.
[22] *eskeftúmasten* 'we were thinking'; Imperfect of Gk. σκέφτομαι.
[23] *éxte* 'one (f.)'; the gender agreement here is with CG *méra* 'day (f.)' rather than with KA masculine form /*xár*/ 'day'.
[24] *mpakkálliko* (CG) 'grocery'; cf. Gk. μπακάλικο.
[25] *efkería* 'opportunity' = Gk. εὐκαιρία.
[26] *kalán* (CG) 'fine!'; cf. Gk. καλά.
[27] *proxorún* 'they advance'; cf. Gk. προχωρῶ.
[28] *tiléfono* 'telephone' = Gk. τηλέφωνο.
[29] *astinomía* 'police' = Gk. ἀστυνομία.
[30] *aftokínito* 'car' = Gk. αὐτοκίνητο.
[31] *eksekinísamen* 'we set out'; cf. Gk. ξεκινῶ.
[32] *allá* 'but' = Gk. ἀλλά.
[33] *xorométri* (CG) 'surveyor'.
[34] *poíri* (CG) 'around'.
[35] *Mórf* < Morphou (Cypriot place name). Regarding KA deletion of final high vowels in Greek loans, see § 1.4.3.
[36] *Sirkanoxór* < Siryanoxóri (Cypriot place name).

[37] *Đkyírʕo* < Dhiorios (Cypriot place name). Insertion of the pharyngeal spirant in integrated Greek loans is further exemplified in § 1.3.9.

[38] *pómpes* (CG) 'bombs'.

[39] *móʕa* 'place' < *móđaʕa* < *mawḍiʕ*.

[40] *isixía* 'peace' = Gk. ἡσυχία.

[41] *mtíne* < *madiːna* 'city'; in KA this term refers uniquely to Nicosia.

[42] *áš pitsáw*, lit. 'What are you doing?' renders Gk. τί κάνετε; 'How are you (pl.)?'.

[43] *ekuventyásamen* 'we chatted' = Gk. ἐκουβεντιάσαμεν.

[44] *kášes* (CG) 'trailers'.

[45] *kúiθkon* 'all of you' ← |*kúllitkon*|.

[46] *monastíri maronítiko* = Gk. μοναστήρι μαρωνίτικο.

[47] *vuná* 'mountains' = Gk. βουνά.

[48] *sinkénissa* 'female relative' = Gk. συγγένισσα.

[49] *éla* 'come!' = Gk. ἔλα; concerning the inflection of this verb in KA see § 2.2.1.6(a).

[50] *avlí* 'courtyard' = Gk. αὐλή.

[51] *aš kuntantsáy*? 'What were we to do?'; grammatically speaking, one should have expected *aš kunnantsáy?*.

[52] *axxullát* 'down there' is a rarely used context form of KA pausal *axxullá*.

[53] *apófasi* 'decision' = Gk. ἀπόφαση.

[54] *afú* 'since' = Gk. ἀφοῦ.

[55] *pánta* 'always' = Gk. πάντα.

[56] *antakósamen* (CG) 'we set out'.

[57] *đéfteri izvolí* 'the second invasion' = Gk. δεύτερη εἴσβολή.

[58] *eproxorísan* 'they advanced'; cf. Gk. προχωρῶ 'I advance'.

[59] *marázz* 'worry' < (CG) *marázzi* < Gk. μαράζι.

[60] *đéka méres* 'ten days' = Gk. δέκα μέρες.

[61] *đekapénte* 'fifteen' = Gk. δέκα πέντε.

[62] *kápyos* 'somebody' = Gk. κάποιος.

[63] *ekatáferenta* 'he managed it' < Gk. τά καταφέρνω 'I manage it'.

[64] *yatró* 'doctor'; cf. Gk. γιατρός.

[65] *điskolo* 'difficult'; cf. Gk. δύσκολος.

[66] *kakó* 'harm'; cf. Gk. κακός 'bad'.

[67] *ópla* 'firearms' = Gk. ὅπλα.

[68] *plúsya* 'rich (f.)' = Gk. πλούσια.

[69] *eriθró stavró* 'Red Cross'; cf. Gk. Ερυθρός Σταυρός.

[70] *rášo* (CG) 'food rations' < Eng. *ration*.

[71] *ekataférnanta* 'they managed it'; cf. note 63 above.

[72] *áđyes* 'permits', pl. of Gk. ἄδεια.

[73] *epiđí* 'because' = Gk. ἐπειδή.

[74] *maronítes kaθolikí* 'Catholic Maronites' = Gk. Μαρωνίτες Καθολικοί.

[75] *ppará* (CG) 'money' < Tk. *para*.

[76] *epernúsamen omos* 'we managed nevertheless' = Gk. ἐπερνούσαμεν ὅμως.

[77] *epolémisa* 'I fought'; cf. Gk. πολεμῶ 'I fight'.

[78] *próti γrammí* 'front line' = Gk. πρώτη γραμμή.

XII

[1] *ovréo* 'Jew'; cf. Gk. ὀβραίος.

[2] *enikíasen* 'he rented'; cf. Gk. ἐνοικιάζω 'I rent'.

[3] *tšivlítši* (CG) 'farm' < Gk. τσιφλίκι 'farm'.
[4] *áyo* (place name); cf. Gk. ἅγιος.
[5] *pomišáryes* (CG), pl. of *pomišáris* 'partner'.
[6] *šines* (CG), pl. of *šína* 'goose' < Gk. χήνα.
[7] *lipázmata*, pl. of *lípazma* 'manure' = Gk. λίπασμα.
[8] *en eyorkúsamen* (CG) 'we did not produce'.
[9] *kumpáre*, lit. 'best man', voc. of Gk. κουμπάρος.
[10] *tóxtor* (CG) < Eng. *doctor*.
[11] *ɗásos* 'woodland' = Gk. δάσος.
[12] *alupó* (CG) 'fox'; cf. Gk. ἀλεπού.
[13] *kéʂe fil-árnep:* this KA idiomatic usage is calqued on CG *ékatsen ston laó*.
[14] *antís* 'instead' = Gk. ἀντὶς.
[15] *psófo*, lit. 'death of animal'; cf. Gk. ψόφος.
[16] *léʂep*, *pkyílʂap* 'to shoot'.
[17] *kírye* 'sir!' = voc. of Gk. κύριος.
[18] *fušéki* (CG) 'cartridge' ~ Gk. φουσέκι.
[19] *selínya*, pl. of *selíni* 'shilling' < Gk. σελλίνι.
[20] *ya* (interjection), ~ Tk. *ya* (Steuerwald 1972, 995).
[21] *manixá* (CG) 'only'.
[22] *ekatálavento* (CG) 'he understood it'; cf. Gk. τό ἐκατάλαβεν.
[23] *íɗyo* 'same'; cf. Gk. ἴδιοως.
[24] *míyya* 'miles' = Gk. μίλλια.
[25] *efterokopísan* (CG) 'they beat their wings'.
[26] *šési* (CG) lit. 'one who is scared to the point of having a bowel movement, coward'; cf. Gk. χέστης.
[27] *eksifterísamentes* 'we plucked them'; cf. Gk. ξεφτερίζω 'I pluck'.
[28] *kafené* (CG) 'coffee house'.
[29] *óson tžé* (CG) 'as soon as'.
[30] *kantúni* (CG) 'corner'.
[31] *olôfoto* 'lit up'; cf. Gk. ὁλόφωτος.
[32] *olóyša* 'directly' < Gk. ὁλόισια.
[33] *poséle*, pl. *posíl* 'wine flask made from dried hollowed out gourd'. The etymology of this term is unclear; it is probably a cognate of Maltese [basiyli] in the expression *qargħa basili* 'bald or completely shaved head'.
[34] *xazz* 'luck' < CG *xazzi*.
[35] *kalispéra* 'good evening!' = Gk. καλησπέρα.

XIII

[1] *sefér* < Tk. *sefer* 'Mal' (Steurwald, 807), cf. CG *seféri*.
[2] *petrokópus* (CG), acc. pl. of *petrokópi* 'stonecutters'.
[3] *spiriɗkyá* (CG) 'box of matches', cf. Gk. σπίρτο 'match'.
[4] *fáyyes*, acc. pl. of CG *fáyya* (< It. *faglia* 'fault'), refers to holes in the ground into which sticks of dynamite are inserted before being ignited.
[5] *pintúa* 'young girl' < Ar. *bint* + CG diminutive suffix *-úa* < Gk. -ούδα.
[6] *éla* 'come!'.
[7] *xaítš* 'a little', a contracted form of *xakítš*, whose etymology is unclear, cf. KA *šíkitš* 'something, nothing.'
[8] *ʂattáyt*, lit. 'I jumped', cf. Ar. *γaṭṭ* 'to plunge'.
[9] *mólis* 'hardly, scarcely' < Gk. μόλις.
[10] *tsaéres* 'chairs', s. *tsaéra* < OF *chaire*.

[11] *arséra* (CG) 'opening in the wall for light and ventilation' < It. *arciere* (?) < Fr. *archer* (Hope 1971, 77).

[12] Cf. KA *ntárra* 'he jumped' harking back to Form VII of OA *ɗarra:*.

[13] *anankástika* 'I was obliged', cf. Gk. ἀναγκάζω 'I oblige'.

[14] *stitó* 'standing', cf. Gk. στητός.

[15] *maskáles* 'armpits', cf. Gk. μασχάλη ~ μασκάλη.

[16] *trípa* 'hole' < Gk. τρύπα.

[17] *má-kantsáxxon* 'it could not contain them' < Ar. **ma ka:nat tasaʕhun.*

[18] *pšik* 'like' < **b-šikl* < **bi šakl.*

[19] *apóxti* 'dried salted meat', cf. Gk. ἀπόχτιν glossed κρέας παστόν (dried meat) in Dhimitrakos (1969, 214).

[20] *xášpe* 'roof beam' < Ar. *xašaba* 'wood'.

[21] *ɗikastíryo* 'court', cf. Gk. δικαστήριον.

[22] *na mas ɗikásusin* 'in order to try us' = Gk. νά μᾶς δικάσουσιν.

[23] *kunnállu* 'we told him' < **qulna:lu.*

[24] *ɗikastí* 'judge', cf. Gk. δικαστής.

[25] *pátso* (CG) 'slap', cf. Gk. μπάτσος.

[26] *yatí* 'because' < Gk. γιατί 'why, because'.

[27] *ftéi* 'she is guilty', cf. Gk. φταίω.

[28] *ántže* (CG) 'though, even though'.

[29] *áte ... aθoónnese* 'come on! ... you are acquitted', cf. Gk. ἄντε 'come on!' and ἀθωῶ 'I acquit'.

[30] *lipón* 'well!' = Gk. λοιπόν.

[31] *óxt* 'time' < Ar. *waqt.*

[32] *išaxok* 'straight up' < Gk. ἴσια 'straight' + *xok* < Ar. *fawq* 'above'.

[33] *tšaúši* 'CG) 'sergeant' < Turk. *çavuş*; the shorter form *tšaúš* is, however, more commonly used in KA.

[34] *átime*, lit. 'dishonest', voc. of Gk. ἄτιμος.

[35] *katiγoría* Gk. κατηγορία 'accusation'.

[36] *ɗikyóro* (CG) 'lawyer' < Gk. δικηγόρος.

[37] *peláti* 'client', cf. Gk. πελάτης.

[38] *kírye* 'sir!', voc. of Gk. κύριος.

[39] *šámiši* (CG) 'kind of pastry'.

[40] *xárizmuto*, lit. 'grant it to me!', cf. Gk. χαρίζω 'I make a present'.

[41] *kseró kseró* 'and so on', cf. Gk. ξέρω 'I know'.

[42] *afú* 'since' < Gk. ἀφοῦ.

[43] *árka kaká* 'so many bad things'; KA *árka* derives from **halqadr* (cf. § 1.3.7); *kaká* is the neuter plural form of Gk. κακός.

[44] *anáθθema:* CG form of Gk. ἀνάθεμα 'curse'; secondary gemination of CG consonants is discussed in Newton 1968.

[45] *epémenento* 'he insisted on it', cf. Gk. ἐπιμένω 'I insist'.

[46] *šamišári* (CG) 'vendor of *šámiši*'.

[47] *xáristuto* 'grant it to him!' Cf. note 40 above.

[48] *exárisatuto* 'I granted it to him', cf. Gk. ἐχάρισα 'I granted'.

[49] *psefkyá* (CG) 'lie' < Gk. ψευτιά.

[50] *epiménanto* 'they insisted on it'.

XIV

[1] *manixá* (CG) 'only'.

[2] *nixtikó* (CG) 'night-shirt'.

[3] *kalaθúra* 'wicker basket'.
[4] *rá*: a familiar address form; the masculine counterpart is *ré*.
[5] *maná* 'mother!', address form of CG *mána* 'mother'; cf. Gk. μάννα.
[6] *sóspito* (CG) 'inside room'.
[7] *ašelonári* 'barn, store-room', cf. CG *ašeronári* 'barn'.
[8] *tára* 'large circular basket constructed from a wooden hoop with rope netting across it.' It is normally suspended from the kitchen ceiling, (cf. Ar. *ʔiṭa:r* 'hoop, ring, frame'). The CG equivalent is *tapačá*.
[9] *paurká* (CG) 'scream'.
[10] *esiniθisen* 'they became accustomed'; cf. Gk. συνηθίζω 'I get accustomed to'.

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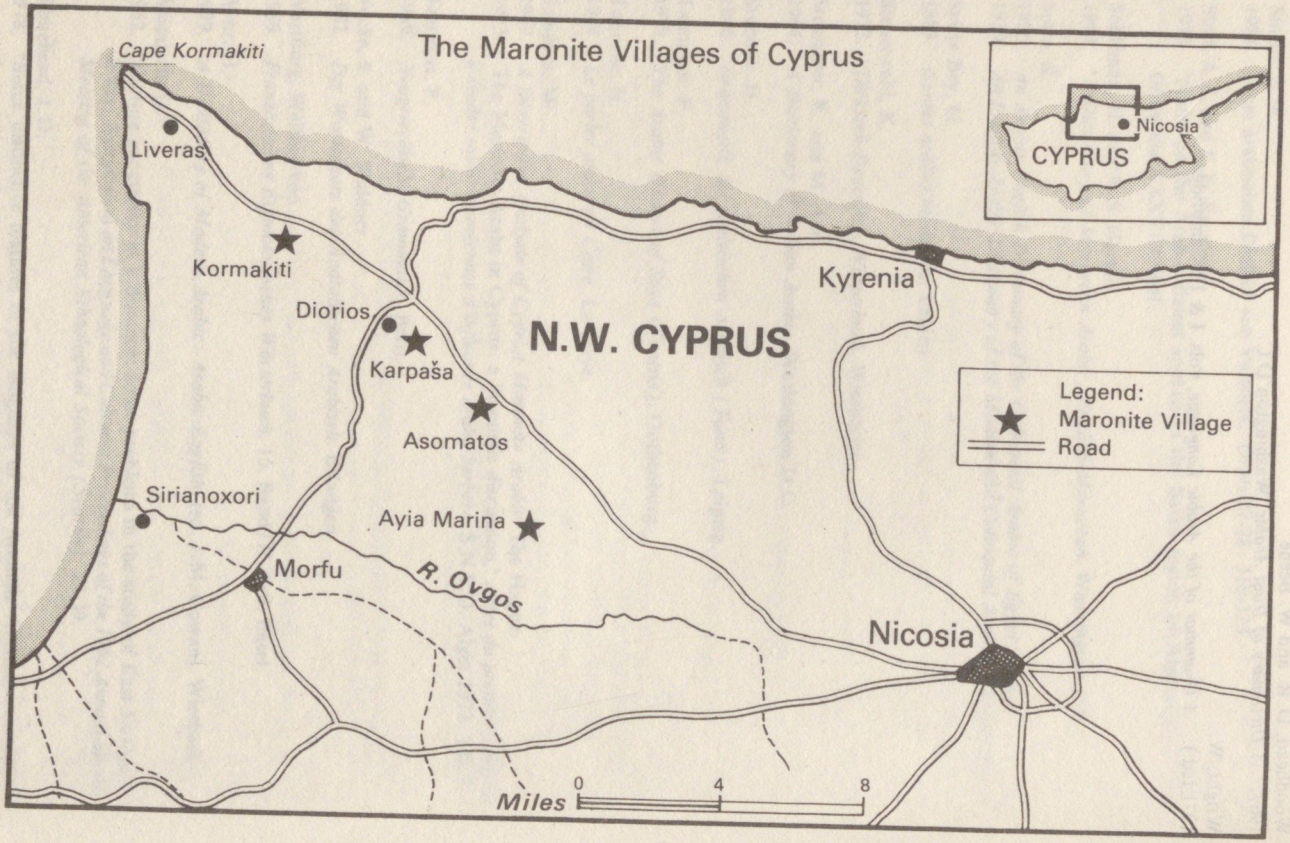

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ALEXANDER BORG

CYPRIOT ARABIC

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DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

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STUTTGART 1985