

A SYNTACTIC STUDY OF THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER
IN THE ARABIC DIALECT OF MANZALA (EGYPT)

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with "The Category of Number" as it functions in my own speech as a typical speaker of 'Manzala' dialect. 'Number' is considered as a property of the two-phrase 'typifiable' clause structure in subject-predicate relationship. The study concentrates on the concordial relationship between these two phrases and in most examples each consists, in general, of one word.

The thesis is divided into two parts: Part One includes, besides the introduction, six chapters.

Chapter One recapitulates the earlier treatments of Number in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic; Chapter Two begins with showing how this category can be set up on 'formal' criteria and ends with presenting the sets of two-phrase typifiable clause structures; Chapter Three deals with some considerations of the 'Control' in the choice of number concord; Chapter Four with the implications of 'Definiteness' for number; Chapter Five with 'Basic Nominal Phrase Structures', and Chapter Six with 'Extended Nominal Phrase Structures'.

Part Two includes an introductory section and five chapters, 7 to 11.

Chapters Seven to Nine deal with sets of two-phrase typifiable clause structures requiring three terms, two terms and one term in the category of number respectively. Chapter Ten deals with 'Noun Forms and Classes' as, in general, nouns are

involved - actually or potentially - in the concordial process of number. Chapter Eleven deals with the concordial relationship of clauses involving Construct 'Quantifier + Noun' because of the difficulty in ascertaining in certain examples which of these two elements controls the number concord.

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For three years I was fortunate enough to have been supervised by Professor J. Carnochan who was always available, willing to discuss, criticize and guide with all patience and enthusiasm. There is much, indeed, in this thesis that I first learned from him. In fact, from him one can learn more than linguistics. Above all one sees those rare qualities which, when they more rarely combine, produce a true scholar. I hope I have made proper use of his valuable comments; where I have not, and for all errors and imperfections remaining, I am wholly responsible.

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A.H. ElKhoreiby

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to present a descriptive study of the category of number on 'formal' criteria. It is based largely on my own speech which is characteristic of the town of Manzala where I was born, raised and educated till the age of 18, and to which I have made visits regularly ever since.

Manzala, whose population according to the latest census is about 400,000, is one of the largest towns of 'Dakahliyya Governorate' and is 72 kilometres from its capital Mansura and about 200 North-east of Cairo.

In this study the analysis of 'Number' departs in some important respects from the way in which this category has been treated by most linguists, traditional and modern. My analysis is carried out within a grammatical framework taking the syntactic relations between words or word groups in the sentences as the overriding factor and regarding paradigmatic variations in word forms as well as semantic considerations subsidiary. This is quite a different thing from relying on one (or both) of the latter factors to establish and define word-classes and categories; an approach followed by most linguists.

Source of material:

In addition to my speech, I also considered a large number of examples spoken by 20 informants. Certain other sources were also consulted namely, a number of collections of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic stories and some recordings of television plays.

With the help of my twenty informants the material was checked for Classical and Literary admixture and all that was felt showing this admixture was excluded. The informants concerned were carefully chosen as speakers of purely Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), and they came from the localities marked on the attached map. In most cases my speech agrees with that of my informants. However, when differences occur, these are pointed out.

Transcription:

The transcription used is intended to give the examples a readable form; hence, it is a reading transcription. For example;

i) If a vowel is pronounced short, it is written short even where the written form shows prolongation, e.g.

ki'ta:b	'book'	Pronounced long
ki'tabna	'our book'	Pronounced short but still written with the same prolongation.

ii) 'Anaptyctic' vowels which prevent three successive consonants coming at word boundary are marked with a breve sign, e.g.

'bint	+	'Hilwa	→	'bintĭ, 'Hilwa	'A pretty girl'
'suft	+	'ha	→	suf'tăha	'I saw her/it'
ka'tabt	+	'hum	→	katab'tūhum	'I wrote them'

The transcription comprises the following symbols. The phonetic value of each symbol, as given below, is to be considered as a rough guide.

Vowels:

- i A short front unrounded vowel ranging between close and half open.
- u A short back rounded vowel ranging between close and half open.
- a A short open front vowel.
- e A short half-open front vowel.
- o A short ^{half-}open back rounded vowel.

- i: A long close unrounded front vowel.
- u: A long close rounded back vowel.
- a: A long open front vowel.
- e: A half-close front unrounded long vowel.
- o: A half-close back rounded long vowel.

Consonants:

The following description applies to the symbols when representing sounds in initial position though in other positions they may have different values.

- b A voiced bilabial plosive.
- f A voiceless labio-dental fricative.
- m A voiced bilabial nasal.
- s z Voiceless and voiced denti-alveolar fricatives.
- t d Voiceless and voiced denti-alveolar plosives.
- l A voiced apical lateral.
- n A voiced denti-alveolar nasal.

- r A voiced apical trill.
- ʃ A voiceless alveo-palatal fricative.
- k g Voiceless and voiced velar plosives.
- x ʒ Voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives.
- H ʕ Voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives.
- ʔ A glottal stop (without voice)
- h A voiced laryngeal fricative.
- w A labio-velar semi-vowel.
- y A palatal semi-vowel.

Note: A long consonant is represented by doubling the letter, e.g. 'fahhim' 'He made somebody understand'

Emphasis:

The domain of emphasis is the whole word. This means that it affects the pronunciation of all consonants and vowels in the word. A dot under one (or more where relevant) of the consonants indicates that the whole word is emphatic, e.g.

' <u>abb</u>	'Father'	' <u>mayya</u>	'Water'
' <u>maʃr</u>	'Egypt'	' <u>za:bit</u>	'Officer'
' <u>faɖɖa</u>	'Silver'	' <u>landan</u>	'London'
' <u>na:r</u>	'Fire'	' <u>ra:gil</u>	'Man'

Stress:

Though word stress is generally predictable in ECA, it is marked in the transcription for every word before the prominent syllable to facilitate reading, e.g.

<u>'bint</u>	'girl'	<u>mad'rasa</u>	'school'
<u>kita'be:n</u>	'two books'	<u>mudarri'si:n</u>	'teachers'

Other Conventions:

In the transcription, lexical items are underlined, e.g. 'walad 'Boy'. (Underlining is also used to draw attention to particular items). The Form(s) of a lexical item is (are) given between slant lines, e.g.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/'walad/	/wala'de:n/	/'iw'la:d/

But examples are written without slants, e.g.

'walad 'nagaH	'A boy succeeded'
---------------	-------------------

Translation:

In general, English translations are chosen to show correspondence with the Arabic items of the example. But where the Arabic usage is idiomatic, both a 'literal' translation and a 'normal' equivalent in English are given, e.g.

'huwwa H'ma:r	(Lit. he is a donkey) meaning 'He is stupid'
---------------	--

Abbreviations:

ECA	=	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
(f)	=	Feminine
(m)	=	Masculine
S.	=	Singular
D.	=	Dual
Pl.	=	Plural
Nl.P	=	Nominal phrase

DP	=	Deictic phrase
NP	=	Noun phrase
VP	=	Verb phrase
AP	=	Adjectival phrase
Dem.P	=	Demonstrative phrase
PP	=	Personal pronoun
N(I)	=	Noun Class I (having One Form)
N(II)	=	Noun Class II (having Two Forms)
N(III)	=	Noun Class III (having Three Forms)
N(IV)	=	Noun Class IV (having Four Forms)
H	=	"Human"
<u>H</u>	=	"Non-human"
Def.	=	Definite
Indef.	=	Indefinite
cf	=	Compare
vs	=	Versus
e.g.	=	Example(s)
/	=	Or
→	=	The resulting Form is
*	=	Does not occur

Forms of the noun are indicated by the numbers '1 to 6'.

The Forms of the variable cardinal numerals '3 to 10' are indicated by first and second forms.

Forms of members of other word classes are indicated by x, y and z

Z(Y) = Form Z or Form Y as alternatives.

Z(X) = Form Z or Form X as alternatives.

CHAPTER ONE

EARLIER TREATMENTS OF THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER

The category of number, though a very widespread one among languages, is in no way universal.

'The most common manifestation of the category of number is the distinction between singular and plural (cf. boy: boys, etc.), which is found in many languages all over the world. This distinction clearly rests upon the recognition of persons, animals and objects which can be enumerated (as 'one' or 'more than one') and referred to, individually or collectively by means of nouns'.⁽¹⁾

In Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), however, it is also necessary in dealing with the category of number, to set up a third term, namely, 'Dual'.

In choosing as my title 'A Syntactic Study of the Category of Number in the Arabic Dialect of Manzala (Egypt)', I was influenced by two considerations; one is that there is not necessarily one unique solution to a language problem; and the other is that any solution lies in the invention of the linguist rather than in the language material itself. In addition, I follow Professor J.R. Firth⁽²⁾ who always advocates insistence on 'formal' criteria in establishing grammatical categories. My reference to Firth can be illustrated by the following quotation.

(1) John Lyons, 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.281

(2) J.R. Firth, 'General Linguistics and Descriptive Grammar', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1951

'As a general principle and as far as possible, the meaning of linguistic forms at the grammatical and lexical levels should be determined by reference to the system of the language and identified by linguistic context. In the description of the grammatical system the basic principle is to avoid the introduction of "a priori" classification and to recognize only those linguistic distinctions which are formally expressed. Those distinctions should always be founded on formal, not notional criteria. The definitions and the terminology should be decided in accordance with the system of the language under examination.'

It has been usual to talk of "Number" in ECA, but nowhere in any work, to my knowledge, has this category been seriously investigated on justifiable formal criteria. It would appear that it is accepted on notional grounds. As an illustration most linguists⁽³⁾ who dealt with number in ECA attempted to set up its three terms 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' mainly on the evidence of morphology (i.e. suffixes and syllabic shape). However, in all cases they established the terms 'Dual' and 'Plural' by comparison with the 'Singular' which was stated as such from the beginning without stating exactly what morphological features characterize it. The procedure then, was to take a given form, say, ki'ta:b 'a book' and then state that since its syllabic shape is ci'ca:c, its dual is cica'ce:n, hence kita'be:n, 'two books', and its plural is 'cucuc, hence 'kutub 'books'. In such a case the three syllabic shapes cica:c, cicace:n and cucuc were taken to be representative of the three terms Singular, Dual and Plural nouns⁽⁴⁾ respectively. However, there are phonological structures with some examples singular and some

(3) See for example: (i) H.M. Aboul-Fetouh, 'A Morphological Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic', The Hague: Mouton, 1969, and (ii) S.M. Gamal Eldin, 'Morphophonemics of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic', The Hague: Mouton 1966.

(4) The labels singular, dual and plural nouns are used in this chapter in accordance with their traditional usage. However, these will be labelled later on as noun Form 1,2,3, etc. of a lexical item, keeping the terms 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural' as a property of the clause structure as a whole.

plural. For instance,

i) The syllabic shape cica:c which fits their singular noun ki'ta:b 'a book' fits their plural noun gi'ma:l 'camels' whose singular is 'gamal 'a camel'.

ii) The syllabic shape co:c fits their S. noun 'to:b 'a garment' whose plural is 'it'wa:b 'garments' as well as the traditional plural noun 'xo:x 'peaches' whose singular is 'xo:xa 'a peach'.

iii) The syllabic shape cici:c fits their S. noun zi'mi:l 'a colleague' whose plural is 'zumala or za'ma:yil 'colleagues' and their plural noun Hi'mi:r 'donkeys' whose singular is Hu'ma:r 'a donkey'.

iv) The syllabic shape cacaca fits their S. noun 'Haraka 'a movement' whose plural is Hara'ka:t 'movements' as well as their plural 'kataba 'clerks' whose singular is 'ka:tib.'a clerk'.

v) The syllabic shape cacca:ca fits their S. noun fāt'ta:Ha 'a can-opener' whose plural is fatta'Ha:t, and their plural noun sam'ma:ka 'fishmongers' whose singular is sam'ma:k 'a fish monger'.

vi) The syllabic shape cuccācicca fits their S. noun sukka'riyy 'a sugar basin' whose plural is sukkariy'ya:t, and their plural noun busta'giyya 'postmen' whose singular is bus'tagi 'a postman'.

What these examples show is that, except in some cases, no given morphological form has an exclusive relationship to

singularity or plurality. The procedure then, as they had it, is that both the dual and the plural nouns are derived from the singular on morphological evidence, but the singular is not defined in a formal way. These three terms are accepted presumably on notional grounds implying 'semantically-based' (i.e. the singular expresses 'oneness', the dual expresses 'twoness' and the plural expresses 'more-than-twoness'). Hence the basis of the analysis is 'notional' not 'formal'.

It is true that:

- i) meaning is clearly involved at all times in the close study of language forms, and one, two and more than two are reasonably clear concepts to which Arabic correlates what are traditionally referred to as singular, dual and plural nouns fairly closely;
- ii) the functional and formal suffix /-e:n/ generally serves as a dual marker when appended to traditional singular nouns;
- iii) a fairly large number of nouns have three forms within the category of number.

However, this is not always the case since:

- i) not every noun, traditionally considered as 'singular' expresses 'oneness'. It may leave it open as in:

' <u>il</u> 'in'sa:n	'8a:'il	'Man is wise'
' <u>g</u> u g lī	' <u>i</u> :d	'Handmade'

neither does what is traditionally termed 'dual' always express 'twoness'. It may be used to mean 'a few, an indefinite

quantity', usually small as is the case with the underlined forms in the following examples:

'ana '8awzak fikilmi'te:n

'I want to have a word with you.' (Lit. I want you in two words)

H.a:gi 'ba8di'd'i'te:n

'I will be back in a couple of minutes.' (Lit. I will come after two minutes).

'im:gi katwi'te:n tila'i:h

'It is not far from here.' (Lit. Walk two steps you find it).

Conversely, what is traditionally termed 'plural' may be used to mean 'two' if the number is beside the point or to be taken for granted as in:

'il'baltu 'dayya' min '8andi lik'ta:f

'The coat is tight across the shoulders.'

'do:l 'kutubi 'ana - not: *'do:l kita'be:ni 'ana

'These are my (two) books.'

In such cases, as well as in repeated references to the same two items, what they call the dual noun ceases to be used and in situations in which it would have been used the corresponding plural noun comes to be used instead. This frequently occurs in episodes as in:

'marra 'wa:Hid 'gira 'wara kal'be:n ...

'Once upon a time a person ran after two dogs ... '

And we can go on referring to the same two animals as plural as

in:

'a:mit ikki'la:b 8ad'da:h

'Then the dogs bit him.'

Therefore, though grammatical theory and grammatical practice should not ignore meaning, the semantic aspect of grammar can only be fruitful if undertaken after, and on the basis of, a comprehensive and meticulous formal analysis.

ii) The following three lexical items "8e:n 'eye', 'i:d 'hand', and 'rigl 'leg' have in general two forms within the category of number. These are:

/'8e:n/ → /8i'ne:n/ ⁽⁵⁾ 'eye/s'; /'i:d/ → /'i'de:n/ 'hand/s' and /'rigl/ → /rig'le:n/ 'leg/s'

The form ending in /-e:n/ has been treated as a "dual" or "pseudo-dual" noun by other linguists.⁽⁶⁾ In fact they behave syntactically like the traditional plural nouns in having alternative adjectival or verbal forms following them.

Examples:

8i'ne:n	'was8a	(was'8i:n)	'Wide eyes'
'i'de:n	sugay'yara	(sugayya'ri:n)	'Small hands'
rig'le:n	ta'wi:la	(tu'wa:l)	'Long legs'

Contrast:

sa'wa;ri8	'was8a	(was'8i:n)	'Wide streets'
'sunat	sugay'yara	(sugayya'ri:n)	'Small bags'
ba'na:t	ta'wi:la	(tuwa:l)	'Tall girls'

(5) The form /8u'yu:n/ 'eyes' may be used as another variant by educated people.

(6) See respectively:
T.F. Mitchell, 'Colloquial Arabic, The Living Language of Egypt', The English Universities Press Ltd., 1962, p.42
H. Blanc, 'Dual and Pseudo-dual in the Arabic Dialects', Language, 46, 1970, pp. 42-55

Moreover, the dual form (i.e. Form 2) of other nouns may be followed by /bi'tu:8/ 'belonging to', plus a possessive ending or a noun in 'bi'ta:8 phrases' as in

'ikkita'be:n bi'tu:8i ... 'My two books ...'

'ilfusta'ne:n bi'tu:8 is'sitt .. 'The lady's two dresses..'

But the forms /8i'ne:n, 'i'de:n and rig'le:n/ do not enter into such phrases, e.g.

8i'ne:n in'na:s ... 'The people's eyes....'

not

*'il8i'ne:n bi'tu:8 in'na:s ...

rig'le:n is'sitt... 'The lady's (two) legs....'

not

*'irrig'le:n bi'tu:8 is'sitt...

iii) Not all nouns in ECA have three forms within the category of number. For instance, many nouns such as 'masr 'Egypt', 'xo:f 'fear', 'sukkar 'sugar', 'a8'ya:n 'high-class people', 'fi'lu:s 'money', etc. have only one Form within the category of number. As will be shown later (see page 312) some of these one-Form nouns make singular concords, others make plural concords. Other nouns (see Noun Class IV, pp.359-72) such as 'xo:x 'peaches' have the following four Forms within the category of number: /'xo:x/ 'peaches' and /'xo:xa/ 'a peach', both of which make singular concord; /xox'te:n/ 'two peaches' which makes dual concord, and /...xo'xa:t/ making plural concord. These Forms will be termed 5, 1, 2 and 4 respectively.

The foregoing discussion shows that neither the mutual relationship of the syllabication of the forms relating to the different terms in the category of number, nor semantics can be exclusively resorted to in establishing the category of number on justifiable formal criteria. The procedure followed by the writer corresponds closely to that outlined by Professor Robins⁽⁷⁾ in the following statement:

'In the grammatical analysis of languages words are assigned to word classes on the formal basis of syntactic behaviour, supplemented and reinforced by differences of morphological paradigms, so that every word in a language is a member of a word class'.

I may also mention at this point that an alternative division of nouns into sub-classes was made by the late Dr. Abu Farag⁽⁸⁾. In his thesis he classified nouns into three main sub-classes, namely, 'noun of personal reference', 'noun of animate reference', and 'noun of inanimate reference'. It would have been possible to analyse the category of number also on the basis of an initial classification of the above kind. However, it is the view of the present writer that more economy of statement can be achieved by regarding the terms of the category of number as the primary criterion for the basic division of nouns into classes. The main drawback of Abu Farag's classification is that not one of his four criteria, for marking 'noun of personal reference' off from the other two sub-classes, can account for the facts completely. There follows a short comment on each of his four criteria. To quote:

(7) R.H. Robins, 'General Linguistics, An Introductory Survey', Longmans' Linguistics Library, 1964, p.227.

(8) M.A. Abu Farag, 'A Grammatical Study of the Arabic Dialect of Tahway (Egypt)', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1960.

1) 'First, within the framework noun-variable adjective compare:

'il8i'ya:l ku'ba:r	'The boys are big'
'itta'lamza sḡayya'ri:n	'The students are young'
'ilmudarri'si:n tu'wa:l	'The teachers are tall'

with

'iddi'yu:k ku'ba:r (ki'bi:ra)	'The cocks are big'
'ilmawa'zi:n sḡayya'ri:n (sḡay'yara)	'The scales are small'
'il'8usyī t'wa:l (ta'wi:la)	'The sticks are long'

The fact that two adjectival forms are freely variant in association with the plural noun of the second group of examples but not in the first group serves as a criterion for recognizing a category of noun of personal reference to which the noun in the first group belongs.'

In this he is in agreement with Professor Mitchell.⁽⁹⁾ However, for reasons that will become clear presently, this criterion is not always applicable.⁽¹⁰⁾ For instance, the second example in the first group permits the variant. Hence, 'itta'lamza sḡayya'ri:n (sḡay'yara), (see below, pp 220-4, 264-7 and 281).

It may be argued that Abu Farag has presented the facts correctly for his own dialect. However, even if this is so, his classification of 'noun of personal reference' on the basis of the agreement of the adjective for examples such as number 2

(9) T.F. Mitchell, See above, p.17, n.6

(10) Hilary Wise in her unpublished Ph.D. thesis (pp.242-4) notes that under certain conditions the adjective with plural "human" nouns may also vary. Professor Mitchell also in his recent article, 'Aspects of Concord revisited, with special reference to Sindhi and Cairene Arabic', Archivum Linguisticum, Vol. IV (New Series), 1973, pp. 36-7, repeats this fact.

(i.e. 'itta'lamza s_gayya'ri:n) is not acceptable since he himself gives examples of a similar concord pattern involving nouns other than those of personal reference. As an illustration of this compare his first two examples in the first group with the following examples given in his thesis on pages 207-8:

'ilba'a'ra:t ku'ba:r	'The cows are big'
'ilHuma'ra:t ku'ba:r	'The donkeys are big'
'ilmis _g mi _g a:t su _g ayya'ri:n	'The apricots are small'

2) 'Colligations with another sub-class of adjectives, namely, adjective of origin, provides another criterion for establishing the noun of personal reference as a different sub-class from other nouns.

Compare

'ilmu'darris 'amri'ka:ni	'The teacher is an American'
'ilmudar'risa 'amrika'niyya	'The woman teacher is an American'
'ilmudarri'si:n 'amri'ka:n	'The teachers are American'

with

'il''alam 'amri'ka:ni	'The pen is American'
'is' _g 'santa 'amri'ka:ni	'The suitcase is American'
'is' _g 'sunat 'amri'ka:ni	'The suitcases are American'

The occurrence of an adjective of variable form and an adjective of constant form in the first and second sets of examples respectively marks off the noun in each of them as different from the other and adds to the definition of noun of personal reference.'

Although in this connection he agrees with most linguists, (11)

(11) See for instance: W. Lehn and P. Abboud, 'Beginning Cairo Arabic', Austin, The University of Texas, 1965, p.255

this criterion also is not exclusively applicable as there are some inanimate nouns whose Form 1 (f) associates only with the adjectival form ending in /-iyya/; others may take the two forms ending in /-iyya/ and in /-i/ as alternatives.

Examples:

a) Without alternatives

'gam8a 8ara'biyya	'An Arab league'
'akla maṣ'riyya	'An Egyptian meal'
'luḡa daw'liyya	'An international language'
'issa'fa:ra kkiwa'tiyya	'The Kuwait Embassy'
'issi'ya:sa l'urdu'niyya	'The Jordanian diplomacy'
man'ti'a yahu'diyya	'A Jewish zone'
di'8a:ya sahyu'niyya	'A Zionist propaganda'
'ilHa'da:ra lmaṣ'riyya	'The Egyptian civilization'
ta'ri:'a libna'niyya	'A Lebanese way'
8u'zu:ma dumya'tiyya	'A Damietta invitation'
mu'amra ngili'ziyya	'An English conspiracy'
'bi8sa 8ira'iyya	'An Iraqi mission'
'il'i'za:8a lli'biyya	'The Libyan broadcast'

b) With alternatives

'il'ṣa'8a:di 'amri'kiyya ('amri'ka:ni)	
'This is an American rumour'	
'innuk'ta:di Su'riyya ('su:ri)	
'This is a Syrian joke'	
'ilmadra'sa:di ngili'ziyya (ngi'li:zi)	
'This is an English school'	
'ikkini'sa:di ta'lya'niyya (ta'ly'a:ni)	
'This is an Italian church'	
'issa'8a:di swas'riyya (s'wasri)	
'This is a Swiss watch'	

3) 'A third criterion for the establishment of noun of personal reference lies in the grammatical number of the noun following bi'ta:8. When bi'ta:8 is preceded by a noun of personal reference, the following noun can only be of plural or collective form. With other sub-classes of noun, the noun following bi'ta:8 can be masculine, feminine and plural.'

Compare

'ir'ra:gil bi'ta:8 il''ulal (is'samak)

'The man who sells jars (fish)'

with

'is'safa b'ta:8 is'samak (is'samaka, issama'ka:t)

'The bones of the fish'

'ilHu'ma:r bi'ta:8 ir'ra:gil (il'mara, irrig'ga:la)

'The donkey of the man (woman, men)'

Setting aside the apparent contradiction between the first and second examples where he considers 'is'samak in the first example as being collective and in the second as a masculine noun, this criterion too is not completely acceptable since many examples can be found of the following type:

'ir'ra:gil bi'ta:8 il'utu'bi:s

'The bus conductor'

'ir'ra:gil bi'ta:8 ilma'Hall

'The man who works at (the owner of) the shop'

where neither of the two underlined items is plural or collective according to his definition of these 'labels'.

4) Compare also

mi'Hammad uxtu t8at'talit 'Mohammed's sister has been delayed'
with

mi'Hammad /ug'litu t8at'talit 'Mohammed's job has been delayed'
which is freely variant with

mi'Hammad it8at'talit /ug'litu

'The successive order of elements in the first example, where the second noun is a noun of personal reference, is fixed, while there are two possible successive orders for the second example where the comparable noun is not a noun of personal reference.'

The above criterion too is not acceptable as we can say:

mi'Hammad uxtu t'xatafit

which is freely variant with

mi'Hammad it'xatafit uxtu 'Mohammed's sister has been kidnapped'

It may be that the examples given and the restrictions noted by Abu Farag are representative of the Colloquial speech of Tahway. However, since they seem to be so much at variance with many other dialects of lower Egypt⁽¹²⁾, it would have been useful if he had mentioned which of his statements referred to features peculiar to his dialect. Further, out of my twenty informants three who came from Abu Farag's Governorate (i.e. Minufiyya) positively rejected all the four criteria.

(12) See the attached map showing the eight different localities from which speakers were consulted for the purpose of this thesis.

Professor Lyons⁽¹³⁾ said, 'The analysis of the Category of number in particular languages may be a very complex matter'. This may be so as regards ECA.

In addition, Aboul-Fetouh⁽¹⁴⁾ stated at the end of his thesis that 'A classification of nouns on the ground of agreement with adjective and verb would not yield any valid results'.

Underlying either of these, in addition to my rejection of 'notional' assumptions, is the prior question whether it is possible to set up the category of number in ECA on 'formal' criteria at all.

(13) See above, p.12, 'n.l. (p.283)

(14) H.M. Aboul-Fetouh, 'The Plural Morpheme of Egyptian Arabic Nouns', M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1959, (pp.57-8).

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING UP THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER ON FORMAL CRITERIA

In spite of what has been said above, I find that there are indeed many grammatical structures consisting of two phrases between which a relationship of number concord obtains. For these clauses a single term within the category of number can be established as a property of the clause structure as a whole.⁽¹⁾ Such clause structures will be referred to as 'typifiable'.

However, there are other two-phrase clauses between which no concordial relationship of number obtains. These are called 'non-typifiable clauses'. Examples of different (but not exhaustive) non-typifiable Nominal Clause Structures are given below. In some the Form of the item involved in the first phrase varies while that in the second remains constant; in others it is the reverse. For easy reference, the variable nominal phrase will be limited to a noun phrase involving just a three-Form noun.

Examples where the first phrase varies:

A. Nominal phrase⁽²⁾ Nominal phrase⁽³⁾

'i/ǝ'ǝanta	'gild	'The bag is of leather'
'i/ǝ'anti'te:n	'gild	'The two bags are of leather'

(1) I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor J. Carnochan, for this basic idea. For further examples of the method of relating the whole structure to certain terms in grammatical categories, see his articles: (a) 'The Category of Number in Igbo Grammar', African Language Studies, III, 1962, and (b) 'Categories of the Verbal Piece in Bachama' African Language Studies, XI, 1970.

See next page for footnotes (2) and (3)

'iʒ'ʒunat 'gild 'The bags are of leather'

'il'bint akbar 'The girl is older'

'ilbin'te:n akbar 'The two girls are older''

'ilba'na:t akbar 'The girls are older'

'il'binti n'si:ba (4) (Lit. The girl is a calamity)
meaning 'She is very bad'

'ilbin'te:n ni'si:ba 'The two girls are a calamity'

'ilba'na:t ni'si:ba 'The girls are a calamity'

B. Nl.P Prepositional phrase (5)

'ikki'ta:b fid'durg 'The book is in the drawer'

'ikkita'be:n fid'durg 'The two books are in the drawer'

'ik'kutub fid'durg 'The books are in the drawer'

(2) From now on a nominal phrase will be abbreviated to (Nl.P) standing for a phrase containing at least one nominal referable as a whole to a single term in the category of number. Nominals are a class of elements containing the following word classes: Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Numeral, Demonstrative, Deictic and Quantifier. For the description of the different kinds of nominal phrase structures, see Chapters Five and Six.

(3) In such clauses the nominal element in the second phrase may be: a noun of material such as 'gild 'leather'; an invariable adjective such as 'ta:za 'fresh'; a variable adjective in its comparative form such as /'akbar/ 'bigger/older' from ki'bi:r 'big/old'; as well as some nouns which do not form a homogenous class. The latter include some one-Form nouns such as 'raHma 'mercy', etc., and some with three-Form nouns such as ni'si:ba 'calamity', etc.

(4) In most of the dialects in ECA three consonants do not occur in sequence. Hence in examples such as 'il'bint + ni'si:ba an 'anaptyctic' vowel is heard between the /- nt/ of the first noun and the / nʒ-/ of the second. In the second and third examples a vowel separates the / n-ʒ-/ of the second noun.

(5) These consist of a preposition followed by at least one noun or a pronominal suffix. The following eleven prepositions occur in my idiolect: 'min 'from', 'fi 'in', '8ala 'on', 'ma8a 'with', 'bi 'with', '8and 'with; near', 'li 'to', 'u'sa:d 'facing', 'abl 'before', 'ba8d 'after' and 'gamb 'beside'. In addition I am including phrases introduced by any of the following six items: 'guwwa 'inside', 'barra 'outside', 'fo: 'above; on', 'taHt 'below; under', 'udda:m 'in front of' and 'wara 'behind', e.g.

'iʒ'ʒanta 'taHt iddu'la:b . 'The suitcase is under the wardrobe'

C. Nl.P Adverbial phrase (6)

'il'walad	'guwwa	'The boy is inside'
'ilwala'de:n	'guwwa	'The two boys are inside'
'il'aw'la:d	'guwwa	'The boys are inside'

Examples where the second phrase varies:

A. Nl.P Nl.P

'in'naxl i	'no:8 'wa:Hid	'Palm trees are of one kind'
'in'naxl i	no'8e:n	'Palm trees are of two kinds.'
'in'naxl i	'an'wa:8	'Palm trees are of(many)kinds'

B. Prepositional phrase Nl.P

'8andi	'nusxa	'I have a copy'
'8andi	nusxi'te:n	'I have two copies'
'8andi	'nusax ki'ti:r	'I have many copies'

C. Adverbial phrase Nl.P

'barra	'ra:gil	'There is a man outside'
'barra	'rag'le:n	'There are two men outside'
'barra	rig'ga:la k'ti:r	'There are many men outside'

Other two-phrase clauses which are considered as non-typifiable include:

1. 'sufti 'walad 'I saw a boy'
2. 'sufti wala'de:n 'I saw two boys'
3. 'suft iw'la:d ki'ti:r 'I saw many boys'
4. 'da8li k'ta:b 'I lost a book'
5. 'da8li kta'be:n 'I lost two books'
6. 'da8li 'kutub ki'ti:r 'I lost many books'

(6) Within the Nominal Clause only certain adverbs may occur. The following nine have been found in my data: 'guwwa 'inside'; 'barra 'outside'; 'fo: 'upstairs'; 'taht 'downstairs'; 'ud'da:m 'in front of'; 'wara 'behind'; 'hina 'here'; hi'na:k 'there', and 'lissa 'not yet'. As mentioned above the first six may also occur in prepositional phrases.

It would seem that there is no number concord to be established between the verb and its object (as in the above three examples) and not always between a verb and its subject (as is the case in examples '4-6'). In many cases, however, no concord can be seen to operate between the verb and the subject or between the traditional 'subject' and 'predicate' of non-verbal sentences. It is on this number concord that this thesis is focused.

Let us now look at examples consisting of two verbal clauses.

In the following three examples the subject is the same for both clauses and therefore there is number (and gender where relevant) concord between them.

1. ya 'tuskut ya t'rawwaH
'Either you (m.s.) keep quiet or go home'
2. ya tus'kuti ya traw'waHi
'Either you (f.s.) keep quiet or go home'
3. ya tus'kutu yatraw'waHu
'Either you (Pl.) keep quiet or go home'

In the next two examples '4-5' the same number term is established for the two verbal clauses.

4. 'iza '8ali 'nagaH Hayin'basat
'If Ali succeeds he will be pleased'
5. 'iza '8ali 'nagaH 'a'bu:h Hayin'basat
'If Ali succeeds his father will be pleased'

In example 4 the subject is the same in both clauses and there is concord between them. In example 5 the number term is the same for both clauses but the subject is different and there is no concord. This can be clearly shown by the following example where the two subjects are different and the number term is different too, e.g.

6. 'iza '8ali 'nagaH Hayin'basatu
'If Ali succeeds they will be pleased'

With ya... ya... clauses, however, there are examples which are in contrast to the first three given above, e.g.

7. ya 'tuskut yan'rawwaH
'Either you (m.s.) keep quiet or we will go home'

8. ya 'tuskut ya'rawwaH
'Either you (m.s.) keep quiet or I'll go home'

9. ya 'tuskut ya yraw'waHu
'Either you (m.s.) keep quiet or they will go home'

Here again the subject of the second clause is not the same as in the first one and number has to be established for each clause separately. Even though the number term may happen to be the same for both clauses as is the case with example 5, there is no grammatical relationship of number between them and such clauses as a whole are 'non-typifiable'.⁽⁷⁾

(7) This also applies to one-phrase pieces, e.g. 'How is your son today?'

ku'wayyis: 'fine'

This thesis will deal mainly with two-phrase 'typifiable' clauses and will deal no further with such examples as those given above on pp. 26-30.

One way of presenting this would be to consider the clauses according to their general grammatical structures dealing individually with number as it applies to each. For example, all clauses which are verbal and consist of a nominal phrase and a verbal phrase would be treated in the same section showing similarities and differences with regard to number. This would have the tendency of making the grammatical structure the basis and the treatment of number as comment on this. Since, however, this thesis is principally concerned with the category of number, an alternative presentation has been preferred. This brings together all the clause structures which require the same number of terms in the category of number. This category is thus made 'basic' to the thesis and its relation to the various structures remains central. According to this presentation sets of some two-phrase typifiable clause structures require all three terms in the category of number; other sets require two terms and others again only one. A brief introduction to this is given in the rest of this chapter presented in seven cases. The first two require three terms, the next two require two terms and the last three only one term.

CASE 1

To begin with I will consider selected typifiable verbal clauses of the structure Nominal phrase - Verbal phrase where:

(i) The Nominal phrase will involve a lexical item such as 'walad 'boy', 'bint 'girl', ki'ta:b 'book', etc., each of which has three Forms. These lexical items are referred to as three-Form nouns summarized as N(III).⁽⁸⁾ In the illustrative examples the Nominal phrase will be used without any extension.

(ii) The Verbal phrase will involve a one-word verb in the perfective tense.

In general, a Verbal phrase may include more than one verb (with or without modals) all of which are referable to the same terms in the categories of number, gender and person. As an illustration clause structures of four sorts will be given representing:

1. Those with one verb only.
2. Those with two verbs in which the first is in the 'perfective' tense, the second in the 'imperfective'.
3. Those with two verbs both of which are in the 'perfective' tense and linked to each other by wi 'and'.
4. Those with a modal + one verb in the 'imperfective' tense. The modal '8a:wiz 'want to' is chosen as an example.

Under each sort four examples will be given. Example a) is a 'Singular masculine' clause structure; Example b) is a 'Singular feminine' clause structure; Example c) is a 'Dual' clause structure; Example d) is a 'Plural' clause structure.

(8) It will be the procedure from now on to mark the noun class in bracketed Roman numerals. For noun Forms and classes see Chapter Ten.

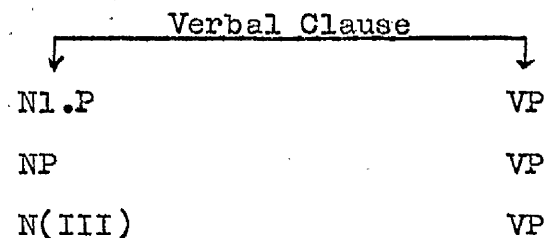
Examples:

- 1 { a) 'il'walad 'xarag 'The boy went out'
 b) 'il'binti 'xaragit 'The girl went out'
 c) 'ilwala'de:n 'xaragu 'The two boys went out'
 d) 'ilba'na:t 'xaragu ('xaragit) 'The girls went out'
- 2 { a) 'il'walad 'xarag 'yil8ab 'The boy went out to play'
 b) 'il'binti 'xaragit 'til8ab 'The girl went out to play'
 c) 'ilwala'de:n 'xaragu yil'8abu 'The two boys went out to play'
 d) 'ilba'na:t 'xaragu ('xaragit) yil'8abu ('til8ab)
 'The girls went out to play'
- 3 { a) 'il'walad 'xarag wi'rigi8 'The boy went out and came back'
 b) 'il'binti 'xaragit wi'rig8it 'The girl went out and came back'
 c) 'ilwala'de:n 'xaragu w'rig8u 'The two boys went out and came back'
 d) 'ilba'na:t 'xaragu ('xaragit) w'rig8u (wi'rig8it)
 'The girls went out and came back'
- 4 { a) 'il'walad '8a:wiz 'yuxrug 'The boy wants to go out'
 b) 'il'binti '8awza 'tuxrug 'The girl wants to go out'
 c) 'ilwala'de:n 8aw'zi:n yux'rug 'The two boys want to go out'
 d) 'ilba'na:t 8aw'zi:n ('8awza) yux'rug ('tuxrug)
 'The girls want to go out'

As can be seen, whatever the internal structure of the verbal phrase each set requires the three terms 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' in the category of number. Henceforth, therefore, to keep the presentation at its simplest, examples with just

one verb in the perfect tense (unless otherwise stated) will be given. In addition, the nominal phrases are all restricted to examples of the simple basic structure called Nominal Phrase I (i.e. N1.PI). For further details, see Chapters Five and Six.

Now the restrictions involved with respect to the Verbal Clauses under consideration are shown in the following formula:



In order to deal with all the examples coming within this restricted Clause structure, it is necessary to distinguish all three terms in the category of number, namely, 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural'. The following three Sets illustrate the case:

Set I : Singular structures

(m)	'il'walad 'xarag	'The boy went out'
(f)	'il'binti 'xaragit	'The girl went out'

Set II: Dual structures

	'ilwala'de:n 'xaragu	'The two boys went out'
	'ilbin'te:n 'xaragu	'The two girls went out'

Set III : Plural structures

	'il'aw'la:d	'xaragu]	
or	'il'aw'la:d	'xaragit]	'The boys went out'
	'ilba'na:t	'xaragu]	
or	'ilba'na:t	'xaragit]	'The girls went out'

In the above three Sets, various Forms of the nouns and the verb involved can be seen and it is on the basis of these that the assignment of the Clause structure as a whole to a particular term in the category of number is made.

Each of the three lexical items involved in the above examples has three Forms. However, the relevance of these Forms to the category of number differs in accordance with the word-class to which the lexical item involved belongs. In the present analysis and contrary to the traditional approach, the noun Forms will be numbered '1 to 5',⁽⁹⁾ whereas Forms of verbs, adjectives,⁽¹⁰⁾ deictics,⁽¹¹⁾ demonstratives,⁽¹²⁾ Personal pronouns,⁽¹³⁾ etc. will be labelled x, y and z.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the following section the Forms of the three lexical items used in the above examples are shown followed by an

(9) Though the nouns used here have three Forms only, a total of five Forms is required elsewhere in the thesis. For noun Forms, see below, pp 304-8.

(10) For adjective Forms, see below, pp. 168-9.

(11) For deictic Forms, see below, p. 210

(12) For demonstrative Forms, see below, p. 215

(13) For Personal pronoun Forms, see below, pp. 238-9

(14) The reason for labelling the Forms of the noun differently from those of the other word classes is that the 'control' of number concord in typifiable Clauses is, in general, a noun. For this, see Chapter Three.

explanation of the criteria according to which a Verbal Clause of the above structure (i.e. N(III) - VP) is assigned to a certain term in the category of number.

NOUN

Lexical item	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3 (15)
' <u>walad</u> (m) 'Boy'	/'walad/ or /'il'walad/	/wala'de:n/ or /'ilwala'de:n/	/'iw'la:d/ or /'il'aw'la:d/
' <u>bint</u> (f) 'Girl'	/'bint/ or /'il'bint/	/bin'te:n/ or /'ilbin'te:n/	/ba'na:t/ or /'ilba'na:t/

VERB

Lexical item	Form x	Form y	Form z
' <u>xarag</u> 'Went out'	/'xarag/	/'xaragit/	/'xaragu/

The criteria for 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' Verbal Clauses of the structure N(III) - VP are as follows:

	Noun Form	Verb Form
S.	1 (m)	x
	1 (f)	y

(15) Whether the noun Form is definite or indefinite is of no relevance to the category of number. However, in most idiolects (including my own) noun Form 3 occurring in basic nominal phrase structure 1 is regularly definite.

The difference involves an additional grammatical category, namely, 'Gender' with its two terms: (i) Masculine (ii) Feminine.

	Noun Form	Verb Form
D.	2	z

It is to be noted that Form 2 of the noun always ends in /-e:n/ and that the Verb Form here is always z without variation. These two simultaneous factors characterize a 'Dual' Verbal Clause structure.

	Noun Form	Verb Form
Pl.	3	z or y

It is to be noted here that, in general, the verb occurs either in Form z or Form y.

As stated on p.31 this is just a brief and general introduction. These clause structures and the others which also require all three terms in the category of number, namely:

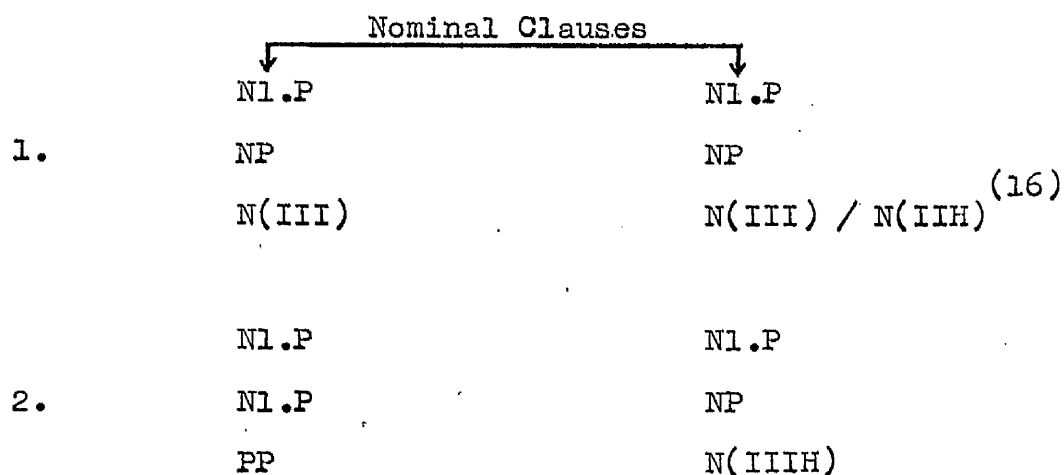
2. N(III) - Deictic phrase (DP)
3. N(III) - Adjectival phrase (AP)
4. Demonstrative phrase (Dem.P) - N(III)

will all be termed Three-term clauses 'A' and dealt with in detail later together with the exceptions (See below, pp. 201-27).

CASE 2

This case contains only two Nominal Clauses of restricted structures. In one of them the first Nl.P is always a three-Form noun and the second Nl.P is either a three-Form noun or a two-Form 'human' noun. In the other the first Nl.P is always a personal pronoun (i.e. PP) and the second a three-Form 'human' noun.

The restrictions involved can be graphically represented as follows:



To deal with all the examples coming within the above restricted typifiable Nominal Clauses, it is also necessary to distinguish all three terms in the category of number but on different criteria from the Verbal Clauses mentioned above in Case I. The following two Sets of examples where both phrases involve a three-Form 'human' noun, i.e. N(IIIH) - N(IIIH) are cases in point.

(16) H stands for a 'human' noun in contrast with H which stands for a 'non-human' noun.

Set I

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 'ir'ra:gil 'abb | 'The man is a father' |
| 2. | 'irrag'le:n 'abba'ha:t | 'The two men are fathers' |
| 3. | irrig'ga:la 'abba'ha:t | 'The men are fathers' |

Set II

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 'il'abbī 'ra:gil | 'The father is a man' |
| 2. | 'il'ab'be:n rig'ga:la | 'The two fathers are men' |
| 3. | 'il'abba'ha:t rig'ga:la | 'The fathers are men' |

With regard to the above two Sets of examples two analyses are possible. One analysis is to consider the first example of each Set as a 'Singular' clause structure in the sense that there is singular concord between the two phrases;⁽¹⁷⁾ the second of each Set as 'Dual' having simultaneously noun Form 2 in the first phrase and noun Form 3 in the second phrase; the third example of each Set as 'Plural' with noun Form 3 for both phrases.

It is to be noted here that although 'ra:gil 'Man' and 'abb 'Father' are three-Form nouns, it is Form 3 (not Form 2) which occurs in the second phrase in a 'Dual' clause structure; see example 2 in both Sets above.

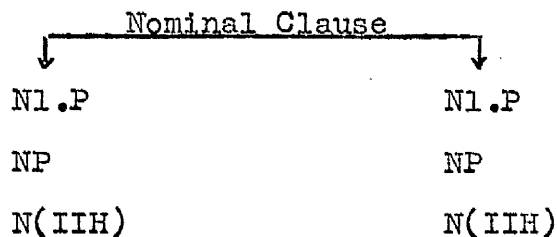
The second analysis would consider the first example in each Set as a 'Singular' structure too, and examples 2 and 3 as 'Non-singular' in view of the fact that the second phrase

(17) See below, p. 203.

is identical in both examples. The choice is fairly evenly balanced, and either analysis is legitimate. The first analysis is the one adopted here to avoid introducing a new term in the category of number namely, 'Non-singular' and to keep the presentation parallel with that of the Verbal Clause structure mentioned in Case 1 even though the criteria are slightly different in the two cases. This is perhaps hardly surprising seeing that in one case the clauses are Verbal and in the other case they are Nominal. The two Nominal Clauses constituting Case 2 will be termed Three-term clauses 'B' and dealt with in detail later (See below, pp. 228-40).

CASE 3

Case three deals with sets of clause structures which require only two terms in the category of number, namely, 'Singular' and 'Plural'. In this thesis twelve different internal clause structures are recognized; seven being Verbal and five Nominal. These are dealt with in detail below under the heading 'Two-term clauses' A ' (See below pp. 241-71) Here the illustrations are limited to one restricted structure, namely, a Nominal Clause involving a two-Form 'human' noun in both phrases. This can be summarized as follows:



The following two Sets of examples are illustration.

<u>Set I</u>	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	1 (m)	1 (m)	
S.(m)	'ilwa'zi:r	'saHbi	'The minister(m) is my friend
	3	3	
Pl.	'il'wuzara	s'Ha:bi	'The ministers are my friends
<u>Set II</u>	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	1 (f)	1 (f)	
S.(f)	saH'biti	wa'zi:ra	'My friend(f) is a minister
	3	3	
Pl.	'is'Ha:bi	'wuzara	'My friends are ministers'

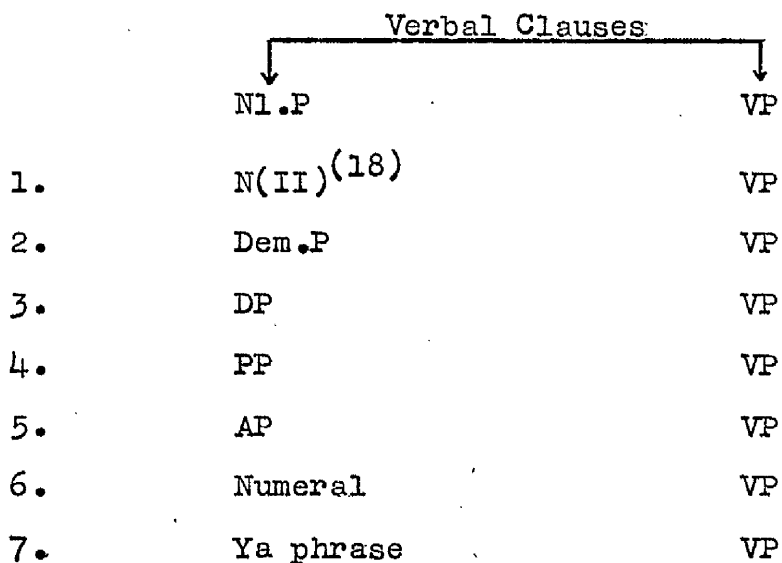
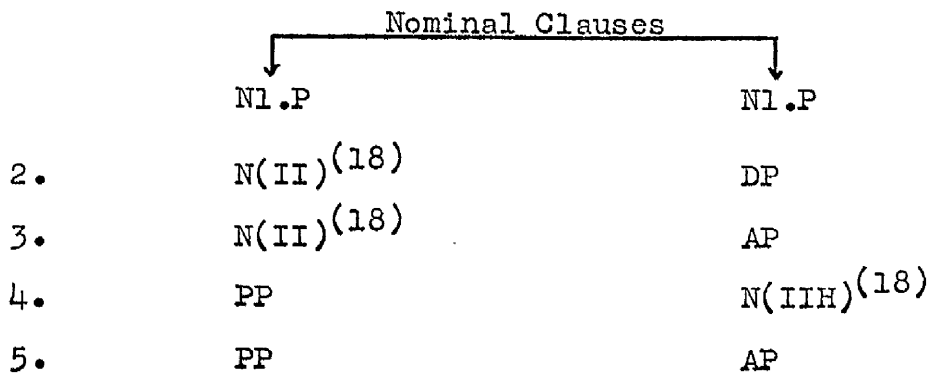
The first example in each Set is a 'Singular' structure in the sense that there is singular number concord between the two phrases of the clause. Incidentally, there is also gender concord between the two phrases in the singular examples.

The second example in each Set is a 'Plural' structure having noun Form 3 for both phrases, thus keeping the presentation parallel with the analysis adopted for Three-term clauses 'B' mentioned above.

Note that the noun in the second phrase is almost always a three-Form 'human' noun. However, I have found eight 'non-human' items belonging to Class III (i.e. having 3 Forms) which may enter into this structure. When they do so, they are used with special reference to human beings. These are given on p. 109. When they are used in the present structure, they occur only in Forms 1 and 3, not 2. e.g.

Noun Form	Noun Form
1 (m)	1 (m)
'saHbak	Hu'ma:r
S. (Lit. Your friend (m) is a donkey) meaning 'He is stupid'	
1 (f)	1 (f)
saH'bitak	H ^u ma:ra
(Lit. Your friend (f) is a donkey) meaning 'She is stupid'	
Noun Form	Noun Form
Pl. 3	3
'is'Ha:bak	Hi'mi:r
(Lit. Your friends are donkeys) meaning 'They are stupid'	

The other eleven clauses coming within Case 3 are as follows:



(18) Note that in these structures the Nl.P is limited to a noun phrase where the noun is an example of the Class given between brackets.

CASE 4

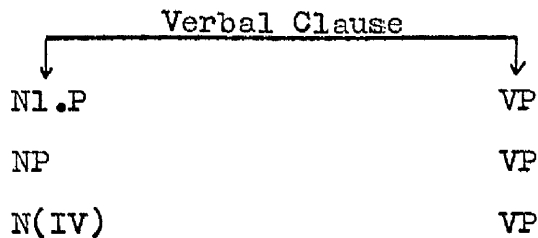
Case four also concerns structures requiring two terms in the category of number. But here the terms are 'Singular' and 'Dual' (not 'Singular' and 'Plural' as in Case 3).

Case four is required to deal with examples where the initial nominal phrase involves a four-Form noun, i.e. N(IV). These have Forms 1, 2, 4 and 5 but no Form 3. For example, the two lexical items bat'ti:x 'Water-melons' and 'ringa 'Herrings' show the following Forms:

	<u>bat'ti:x</u>	<u>'ringa</u>
Form 1	/bat'ti:xa/	/rin'ga:ya/
Form 2	/battix'te:n/	/ringi'te:n/
Form 4	/batti'xa:t/	/rin'ga:t/
Form 5	/bat'ti:x/	/'ringa/

Form 4 does not occur in Nominal Phrase 1 structures, but only in Nominal Phrase 5 and is therefore excluded from consideration here.

Case 4 concerns three different internal clause structures; one Verbal and two Nominal. These will be dealt with in detail later under the heading 'Two-term clauses' B' (See below pp.272-6). But here the illustrations are shown with Verbal examples.



Singular examples:

Noun Form	Verb Form	
1 (always (f))	y	
'ilbat'ti:xa	t'ba:8it	'The water-melon was sold'
'irrin'ga:ya	t'ba:8it	'The herring was sold'
5 (m)(19)	x	
'ilbat'ti:x	itba:8	'The water-melons were sold'
5 (f)	y	
'ir'ringa	t'ba:8it	'The herrings were sold'

The criteria for the above Singular structures are as follows:

Noun Form	Verb Form
1 (f)	y
5 (m)	x
5 (f)	y

Gender is of importance in all Singular structures, but perhaps requires special mention here. It is a peculiarity of all four-Form nouns that their Form 1 is always feminine even where the

(19) In my idiolect noun Form 5 is regularly definite when it occurs in Nl.PI, but Forms 1 and 2 may be definite or indefinite.

corresponding Form 5 is masculine as with /bat'ti:x/ here.

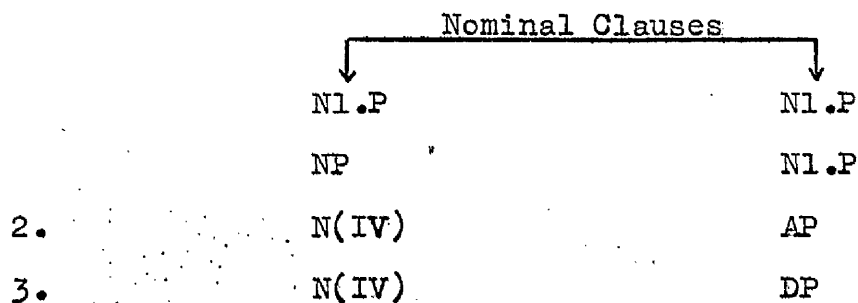
It may be noted here that where Form 5 is involved, the Arabic structures are 'Singular' even though the English translations involve plural words.

Dual examples:

Noun Form	Verb Form
2	z
'ilbattix'te:n	it'ba:8u
'The two water-melons were sold'	
'irringi'te:n	it'ba:8u
'The two herrings were sold'	

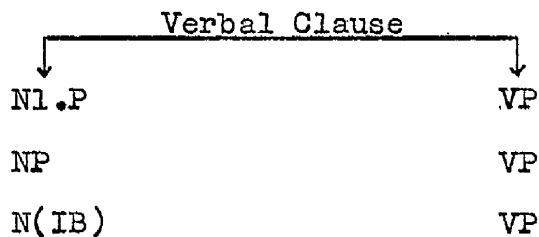
The two simultaneous factors characterizing a 'Dual' Verbal structure, namely, noun Form 2 and verb Form z are found in the above examples.

The other two structures coming within Case 4 are as follows:



CASE 5

This Case, as well as Case 6, deals with structures requiring only one term, namely, 'Plural', but on different criteria. In Case 5 three different clause structures are recognized; one Verbal and two Nominal. In the initial nominal phrase the nouns are limited to eight items constituting group 'IB'.⁽²⁰⁾ These will be dealt with in detail later under the heading 'One-term clauses 'A' (See below, pp 277-82). But here, as an illustration, one example of the Verbal Clause is given below:



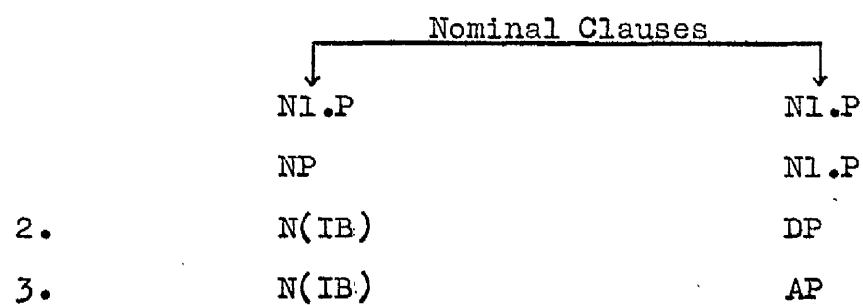
In general,⁽²¹⁾ the criterion for 'Plural' structures of the Verbal Clause under consideration is as follows:

	Noun Form	Verb Form
	3	z (y)
e.g.	'il'a8'ya:n	'wasalu ('wasalit)
	'The high class people arrived'	

(20) There are two groups of one-Form nouns (A + B). N(IB) items have only one Form within the category of number and it is called Form 3 since its syntactic function is Parallel to Form 3 of the majority of nouns belonging to other Noun Classes.

(21) But see below, n.2, p. 279.

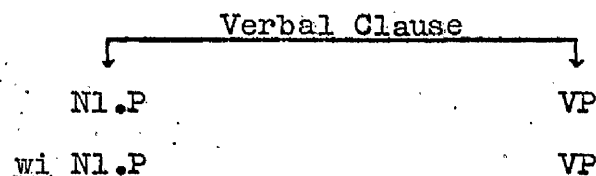
The other two clauses coming within Case 5 are Nominal and can be summarized as follows:



CASE 6

This also deals with one term 'Plural' clause structures but where the initial Nominal phrase is a wi Nl.P⁽²²⁾, irrespective of its internal structure. In Case 6 too, three different internal clause structures are recognized; one Verbal and two Nominal. These will be dealt with in detail later under the heading One-term clauses 'B' (See below pp.283-8)

Here are some examples illustrating different internal structures in the wi Nl.P of the Verbal Clause.



Examples:

Form of the items in the <u>wi</u> Nl.P		Verb Form
1 (f)	1 (m)	z
'il'binti	wil'walad	'nagaHu
'The girl and the boy succeeded'		
2	1 (m)	z
'ilbin'te:n	wil'walad	'nagaHu
'The two girls and the boy succeeded'		

(22) This is an example of a 'Complex' Nl.P involving a succession of at least two basic 'Simple' Nl.Ps linked to each other by wi 'And'. This type of Complex nominal phrase structure is called a wi Nl.P. For further details, see below, pp.145-7.

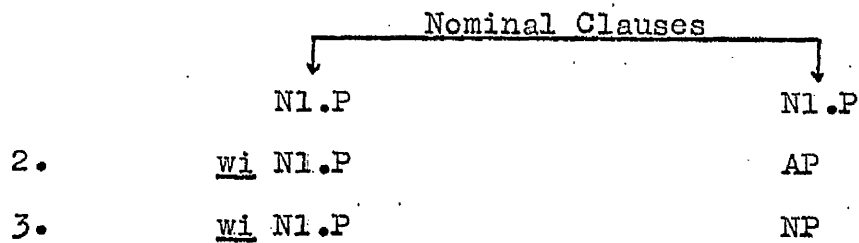
Form of the items in the wi Nl.P Verb Form

3	2	z	
'ilba'na:t	wi wala'de:n	'nagaHu	
'The girls and two boys succeeded'			
y (Adj.)	y (Adj.)	z	
'itṭa'wi:la	wi tti'xi:na	'nagaHu	
'The tall one and the fat one, both succeeded'			
x (Dem.)	l (m)	z	
'da	wa'xu:h	'nagaHu	
'That (person) and his brother succeeded'			
x (Pronoun)	l (f)	z	
m 'huwwa	'wuxtu	'nagaHu	
'He and his sister succeeded'			
l (m)	x (Pronoun)	l (f)	z
ya''ayman	inta	wi''na:s	ux'rugu
'You, Ayman and Inas, go out!'			
5 (m)	, 5 (f)	l (f)	4 z
'illa'mu:n	wil'manga	wiz'zibda	wit'talat tuffa'Hat it'ramu
'The lemons, the mangoes, the butter and the three apples were thrown away'			

All these wi Nl.Ps, regardless of their internal structures, concord with Form z. of the verb and the clause structures are considered 'Plural'. They differ from the majority of Plural

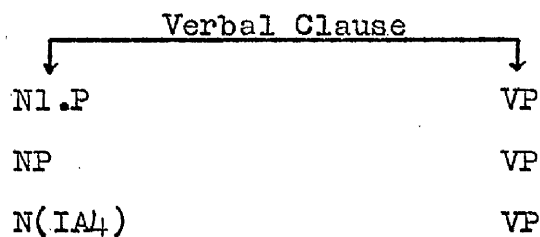
Verbal clause structures in that the verbal element here has no alternative form.

The other two clauses coming within Case 6 are Nominal and can be summarized as follows:



CASE 7

This deals with eight different internal clause structures all of which require in general the one term 'Singular' in the category of number; two are Verbal and six are Nominal. In all cases the initial Nl.P involves either a one-Form noun belonging⁹ to Noun Class I group A (all sub-groups), i.e. N(IA '1 to 4') OR one of the Ordinal numerals 'ta:lit to '8a:sir 'Third to tenth' in its definite form, i.e. /'it'ta:lit/'The third', etc. These will be dealt with in detail later under the heading One-term clauses 'C' (See below, pp. 289-302). But here, as an illustration, examples of just one Verbal clause structure are given.



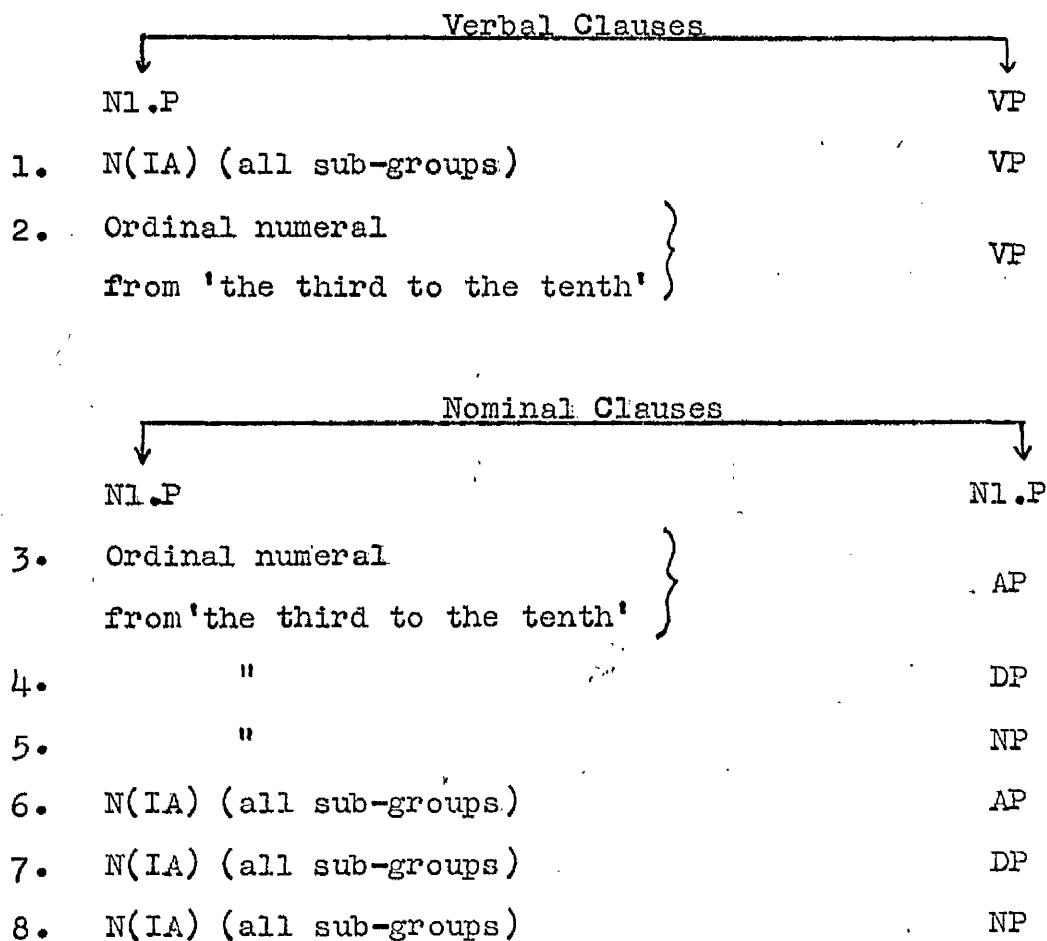
The criterion for Singular Verbal Clauses of the above structure is as follows:

Noun Form	Verb Form
1 (m)	x
1 (f)	y

Examples:

Noun Form	Verb Form	
1 (m)	x	
'is'sukkar	'za:d	'Sugar has gone up in price'
1 (f)	y	
'il'laHma	'za:dit	'Meat has gone up in price'

The eight clause structures coming within Case 7 are the following:



Note that the initial Nominal phrase in clause structures 1, 6, 7 and 8 is limited to a noun phrase where the noun involved belongs to Class I (group A), i.e. having only one Form within the category of number termed Form 1.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSIDERATIONS OF THE 'CONTROL' IN THE CHOICE OF NUMBER CONCORD

Up to now the classification of those clause structures which show mutual concord between their two phrases has in fact been made in accordance with this concord.⁽¹⁾ Some considerations will now be given to try to ascertain what controls the choice of number concord. This has proved to be a complicated matter and the treatment concerning certain clause structures has been included later as part of the detailed treatment of these structures in Chapters Five and Eleven. In this present Chapter, however, the topic will be introduced and looked at from just three restricted cases. These are:

a) Where just one of the two phrases is a noun, it is the Form of this noun which controls the number concord of the clause.

The following examples show all the formal patterns but do not show all the possible grammatical structures in the phrase which does not involve a noun.

(1) It is obvious, however, that concordial relations also obtain between these structures and other linguistic elements of the discourse and that the form of these clause structures will relate to non-linguistic factors in the situation.

Singular Clause Structures

	Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
1)	1 (m)	x [of deictic]
2)	5 (m)	x [of verb]
3)	x [of demonstrative]	1 (m)
4)	x [of adjective]	5 (m)
5)	1 (f)	y [of verb]
6)	5 (f)	y [of adjective]
7)	y [of adjective]	1 (f)
8)	y [of demonstrative]	5 (f)

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1) | 'ikki'ta:b | a'hoh |
| | 'Here is the book' | |
| 2) | 'il'xo:x | it'ba:8 |
| | 'The peaches were sold' | |
| 3) | 'da | 'walad |
| | 'This is a boy' | |
| 4) | 'laHmar | 'ward |
| | 'The red are roses' | |
| 5) | 'il'binti | 'nagaHit |
| | 'The girl succeeded' | |
| 6) | 'il'manga | 'galya |
| | 'The mangoes are expensive' | |
| 7) | 'ittat'wi:la | 'sitt |
| | 'The tall one is a lady' | |
| 8) | 'di | ba'ta:tis |
| | 'These are potatoes' | |

Dual Clause Structures

	Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
1)	2	z [of adjective]
2)	2	z [of verb]
3)	z [of pronoun]	2

Examples:

- 1) 'ilbattix'te:n kuwayyi'si:n
 'The two water-melons are nice'
- 2) 'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu
 'The two boys succeeded'
- 3) 'humma rag'le:n
 'They are two men'

Plural Clause Structures

	Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
1)	3	z (y) [of deictic]
2)	3	z [of adjective] ⁽²⁾
3)	3	y [of verb] ⁽³⁾
4)	z (y) [of demonstrative]	3
5)	z [of pronoun]	3
6)	y [of demonstrative] ⁽³⁾	3

(2) Depending on the type of noun and Form z of the adjective involved. For further details, see below, pp.221, 266 and 281.

(3) Only if the noun belongs to a particular group termed N(IIIHA). See below, pp. 212 and 227.

Examples:

- 1) 'ilba'na:t a'hum (a'heh)
'Here are the girls'
- 2) 'izzub'ba:t lu'ta:f
'The officers are nice'
- 3) 'il'ax'ba:r in'za:8it
'The news was broadcasted'
- 4) 'do:l ('di) 'sunat
'These are bags'
- 5) 'iHna ta'lamza
'We are students'
- 6) 'di mtiHa'na:t
'These are examination papers'

b) Where each phrase is a noun, it is the Form of the first which controls the number concord of the whole clause structure. The following examples are cases in point.

Singular Clause Structures

Noun Form in the first phrase Noun Form in the second phrase

1

1

Examples:

- 'il'abbī 'ra:gil
'The father is a man'
- 'is'sa:la 'o:da
'The hall is (counted as) a room'

In the above two examples, it happens that the two nouns in each example agree in gender. However, this is not necessarily the case. Contrast:

'il'ummi (f) 'ra:gil (m)

'The mother is (like) a man'

'is'sa:la (f) 'maktab (m)

'The hall is (used as) an office'

'8ali (m) 'mara (f)

(Lit. Ali is a woman) meaning 'Ali behaves like a woman'

ilmu'Ha:dir (m) 'sitt (f)

'The lecturer is a woman'

Dual Clause Structures

Noun Form in the first phrase Noun Form in the second phrase

2

3

Examples:

'irrag'le:n 'abba'ha:t

'The two men are fathers'

'il'ot'te:n ma'ka:tib

'The two rooms are (used as) offices'

In the above two examples it is the fact that the first noun occurs in Form 2 which governs the choice of Form 3 in the second noun although it is a three-Form noun

Plural Clause Structures

Noun Form in the first phrase	Noun Form in the second phrase
3	3

Examples:

'irrig'ga:la 'The men are fathers'	'abba'ha:t 'ilma'da:ris 'The schools are (used as) warehouses'
	ma'xa:zin

In the above examples it is also the fact that the first noun occurs in Form 3 which controls the selection of noun Form 3 in the second phrase.

c) If neither of the two phrases of the typifiable clause is a noun, the clause is either 'Singular' or 'Plural' (but never 'Dual'). Then the Forms of the two items involved in the two phrases are as follows:

x	x	(Singular masculine)
y	y	(Singular feminine)
z	z	(Plural)

and the choice is relatable to a 1, 2, 3 or 5 Form of a referable noun (previously mentioned) in the discourse.⁽⁴⁾

(4) This applies equally to one-phrase pieces, e.g. 'What happened to your brother?' 'nagaH 'He succeeded'.

The following examples are an illustration.

Singular Clause Structures

Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
1) x [of demonstrative]	x [of deictic]
2) x [of adjective]	x [of verb]
3) y [of pronoun]	y [of adjective]

Examples:

1)	'da	'a'hoh
	'Here is that one'	
2)	'iggi'di:d	'zahar
	'The new one appeared'	
3)	'hiyya	kway'yisa
	'She is good'	

In the above examples, although there is mutual concordial relationship between the two phrases, there must be always a 'control' from the appropriate Form of the noun in the preceding discourse (i.e. Form 1 or 5) with which the clause structure is associated.

Plural Clause Structures

Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
z	z

Examples:

1)	'humma [pronoun]	kwayyi'si:n [adjective]
	'They are good'	

- 2) iʒat'ri:n [adjective] 'nagaHu [verb]
 'The clever (ones) succeeded'

In the above examples Form z will be selected whether the noun in the preceding discourse is in Form 2 or Form 3; e.g.

'How did /'ilwala'de:n/ get on?' (Noun Form 2)

'How did /liw'la:d/ get on ?' (Noun Form 3)

 'humma 'nagaHu
 'They succeeded'

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPLICATIONS OF DEFINITENESS FOR NUMBER

The present thesis cannot totally ignore some study of the category of 'definiteness' as it has certain implications for number with regard to particular structures as well as for restrictions on the forms of examples in other structures.

These implications and restrictions are mentioned in the appropriate places.⁽¹⁾ A detailed study of definiteness could form a thesis on its own and it is not suitable here to treat it more than briefly. However, since my views on this topic differ considerably from those of previous writers, I will state the main points where I differ.

1. The category of definiteness is set up to deal in general with pairs of phrases; one containing the definite article and the other not. This is a more systemic approach than that of other writers.

2. In general,⁽²⁾ I consider definiteness as a property of the nominal phrase as a whole, where others mention it as a property of its constituent elements separately.

(1) For these implications, see, for instance, N1.P5, pp 119-20. 123-6 and 133.

(2) Nominal phrases expanded by relative or prepositional phrases are exceptional, see below pp (65-6)

Indefinite examples:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) | 'bint ... | 'A girl ...' |
| b) | ki'ta:b gi'di:d ... | 'A new book ...' |
| c) | ka'ra:si 'xaʃab ... | 'Wooden chairs ...' |
| d) | 'ba:b 'be:t ... | 'A house door ...' |
| e) | 'xamsa 'a8'ya:n ... | 'Five high class people ...' |
| f) | 'iw'la:d ki'ti:r ... | 'Many boys ...' |
| g) | til'mi:z wim'darris ... | 'A student and a male teacher...' |

Definite examples:

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------------|
| a) | 'il'bint ... | 'The girl ...' |
| b) | 'ikki'ta:b iggi'di:d... ⁽³⁾ | 'The new book ...' |
| c) | 'ikka'ra:si l'xaʃab ... | 'The wooden chairs ...' |
| d) | 'ba:b il'be:t ... | 'The door of the house ...' |
| e) | 'il'xamsa l'a8'ya:n ... | 'The five high class people...' |
| f) | liw'la:d ikki'ti:r ... | 'The many boys ...' |
| g) | 'ittil'mi:z wilmu'darris... | 'The student and the male teacher' |

3. Nominal phrases without a definite article and for which there are no parallels with the definite article are considered as outside the system of definiteness.

Examples:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| a) | 'aHmad | 'Ahmed succeeded' |
| b) | 'ibni | 'My son succeeded' |
| c) | mu'darris 'da | 'That(person's)teacher(m)succeeded' |
| d) | 'aHsan 'walad | 'The best boy succeeded' |
| e) | 'ta:lit 'wa:Hid | 'The third one succeeded' |
| f) | 'huwwa | 'He succeeded' |
| g) | 'da | 'That one (m) succeeded' |

It is to be mentioned here that some linguists⁽⁴⁾ consider proper nouns and noun + pronominal suffix as definite [see examples (a) and (b)]. Further, Arab grammarians consider examples 'c to g' as definite (presumably on semantic grounds). Gamal-Eldin considers examples 'f to g' as definite too.

4. Nominal phrases including the definite article and for which there are no parallels without are considered as definite and not outside the system.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|---|--------|----------------------------------|
| a) | 'aHmad il'masri | } | 'nagaH | 'Ahmed, the Egyptian, succeeded' |
| b) | 'ibni kki'bi:r | | | 'My eldest son succeeded' |
| c) | 'ilmu'darris 'da | | | 'That teacher (m) succeeded' |

The reader may wonder why the two nominal phrases mu'darris 'da ... 'That (person's) teacher (m) ...' and 'ilmu'darris 'da... 'That teacher (m)...' are not indefinite and definite counterparts. The reason for this is that the first nominal phrase is a construct

(3) Note that the pronunciation of the definite article involves a long consonant articulation where the next item begins with one of the following consonants: /t,d,s,z,n,r,ʕ,k and g/, e.g.

- | | | | |
|---------------|---|------------|------------------|
| 'il + 'taxta | → | 'it'taxta | 'The blackboard' |
| 'il + 'na:zir | → | 'in'na:zir | 'The headmaster' |
| 'il + 'ʕams | → | 'iʕ'ʕams | 'The sun' |

(4) See for instance:

- (i) H.M. Aboul-Fetouh, 'see above, p.13, n.3. (p.18)
- (ii) M.A. Abu Farag, 'see above, p.19, n.8. (pp.183-5)
- (iii) K.M. Bishr, 'A Grammatical Study of Lebanese Arabic', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1956 (p.218)
- (iv) S.M. Gamal-Eldin, 'A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic', The Hague: Mouton, 1967 (p.35)
- (v) H.M. Hanna, 'The Phrase Structure of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic', The Hague: Mouton, 1967 (p.13)
- (vi) T.F. Mitchell, 'see above, p.17, n.6. (pp. 47-8)
- (vii) W.Lehn and P. Abboud, 'see above, p.21, n.11. (p.39)

(i.e. N1.P4) where no concord of number, gender or person obtains between its constituent elements. One can also say mu'darris di ... 'That (person's) (f) male teacher ...' as well as mu'darris 'do:l ... 'Those (persons') male teacher ...' This is in contrast to the second nominal phrase which is in fact an N1.P2 (in this case Noun + Demonstrative in concordial relationship). One cannot say *'ilmu'darris 'di ... or *'ilmu'darris 'do:l ...

As mentioned above on page 62, n.2., nominal phrases which include an expansion involving a relative or a prepositional phrase (or both) have to be dealt with separately. This is because definiteness has to be considered more than once for such phrases as the following examples show.

1. 'walad ['ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a 'bint] ...
'A boy who was standing with a girl ...'
2. 'walad [ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a l'bint] ...
'A boy who was standing with the girl ...'
3. 'walad ['ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a 'binti] ...
'A boy who was standing with my daughter ...'
4. 'il'walad [illi 'ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a 'bint] ...
'The boy who was standing with a girl ...'
5. 'il'walad [illi 'ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a l'bint] ...
'The boy who was standing with the girl ...'
6. 'il'walad [illi 'ka:n 'wa:'if 'ma8a 'binti] ...
'The boy who was standing with my daughter ...'

The expansion is shown in square brackets and involves considera-

tion of definiteness within itself. In examples 1 and 4 'bint is indefinite; in 2 and 5 'il'bint is definite and in 3 and 6 'binti is outside the system of definiteness. Further, in the first three examples 'walad is indefinite but in the second three 'il'walad is definite. However, from my own point of view, I would consider the first three examples as indefinite and the second three as definite though items in the expansions require additional consideration.

CHAPTER FIVE

BASIC NOMINAL PHRASE STRUCTURES

As has been shown in Chapter Two, the seven cases set up to describe the concordial relationship of the two phrases within typifiable clauses involve different internal structures of the phrases concerned, particularly of the nominal ones.

The term 'structure' is used here in accordance with the following definition given by Professor Halliday.⁽¹⁾

'A structure is made up of "elements" which are graphically represented as being in linear progression; but the theoretical relation among them is one of "order". Order may, but does not necessarily, have as its realization "sequence", the formal relation carried by linear progression; sequence is at a lower degree of abstraction than order and is one possible formal exponent of it.'

In this Chapter the nominal phrase (i.e. Nl.P) is analysed in terms of the word classes of its constituent elements. In general, nominal phrases are of two types: 'Simple' and 'Complex'. The Simple Nl.Ps are classified in terms of six basic structures and the Complex are described in terms of combinations of these six. Examples of the six basic structures can be extended in ways which require the recognition of two different grammatical features one of which I call 'Modification'; the other 'Expansion'. Modification and expansion may be applied separately or simultaneously to Simple and Complex Nl.Ps. These will be dealt with in

(1) M.A.K. Halliday, 'Categories of the theory of grammar', WORD 17, December, 1961 (pp. 254-5)

Chapter Six. Here I will begin with the description of the Simple Nl.Ps.

Simple nominal phrases

The following six structures are considered as 'basic' and 'minimal':

1. Nominal;
2. Nominal + demonstrative (in concordial relationship);
3. Noun + noun of material (in no concordial relationship);
4. Construct (where there is no concord of any sort between its constituent elements);
5. Non-ordinal numeral + noun;
6. Nominal + ki'ti:r⁽²⁾ (in no concordial relationship)

As the implications of the category of definiteness for number have been dealt with in the previous Chapter, all the examples representing the six basic Nominal phrase structures will be selected without particular regard to this category.

Basic Structure 1, (Nominal):

In this structure the nominal may be a member of the following word classes:

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| a) Noun | b) Adjective ⁽³⁾ | c) Demonstrative |
| d) Personal pronoun | e) Classifier | f) Quantifier |
| g) Numeral | | |

(2) For the consideration of ki'ti:r 'A lot of; many' as an element of a basic nominal phrase structure, and not as a modifying element like all other members of the class of adjectives to which it belongs, see pp. 141-4.

(3) In basic Nl.Pl examples, all adjectives with the exception of ki'ti:r, occurring as the subject of a sentence associate with the definite article.

Examples:

a) ki'ta:b	}	'wa'a8	'A book fell down'
b) 'itṭa'wi:l			'The tall one (m) fell down'
c) 'da			'That one (m) fell down'
d) 'huwwa			'He fell down'
e) 'fasṣ			'A segment fell down'
f) 'il'kull			'All fell down'
g) 'wa:Hid			'One fell down'

All these word classes will be dealt with in some detail later on. However, a brief treatment of the last three will be given here as, generally speaking, I differ from most linguists in handling them.

Classifiers:

The following ten items which I call 'Classifiers' are shown in my data: '8u:d 'A stalk'; Hab'ba:ya 'A grain'; 'sa:bi8 'A finger'; 'urṣ 'A cake of'; 'arṇ 'A horn'; 'fasṣ 'A segment'; 'ra:s 'A head'; 'ku:z 'A cone'; 'lu'ma 'A portion of' and 'lo:H 'A slab'. These items could well be included under Noun as N1.PI. However, since they have to be treated separately on account of their restricted collocability with certain nouns as elements in N1.P4 (i.e. Construct), they are also treated separately here. For further details, see pp. 325-39.

Quantifiers:

Eight items are shown in my data which I am bringing here under the title of 'Quantifiers'. These are of two groups which

I will term: A. Numeral quantifiers and B. Non-numeral quantifiers.

Group A comprises four items all of which occur in basic Nl.Pl examples. These are 'go:z 'Two; a pair of'; 'to:ra 'Four'; '8add 'Five' and 'dasta 'A dozen'.

Group B comprises also four items. These are: 'mu8zam; ''aglab, both of which mean 'Most of'; si'wayya 'Some, a few of' and kull 'All; every ...'. The first two do not occur as examples of Nl.Pl; si'wayya does in which case it occurs in its indefinite form. kull also occurs in Nl.Pl examples, but in its definite form ; i.e. /'il'kull/. For further details, see Chapter Eleven.

Numerals:

It is common for previous writers on Arabic grammar to classify numerals into what they call:

- a) Cardinal numerals including 'wa:Hid 'One' to infinity.
- b) Ordinal numerals including ''awwal to '8a:sir 'First to tenth' plus ''a:xir 'Last'.

I agree with their classification of 'Ordinal' numerals. My classification of Cardinal numerals differs from theirs in that it includes only 'wa:Hid to '8a:sir 'One to ten'. Thus each cardinal numeral has a corresponding ordinal as follows:

Cardinal numerals		Ordinal numerals	
'wa:hid	'One'	'awwal	'First'
'it'ne:n	'Two'	'ta:ni	'Second;other'
ta'la:ta	'Three'	'ta:lit	'Third'
'ar'ba8a	'Four'	'ra:bi8	'Fourth'
'xamsa	'Five'	'xa:mis	'Fifth'
'sitta	'Six'	'sa:tit('sa:dis)	'Sixth'
'sab8a	'Seven'	'sa:bi8	'Seventh'
ta'manya	'Eight'	'ta:min	'Eighth'
'tis8a	'Nine'	'ta:si8	'Ninth'
'8a8ara	'Ten'	'8a:8ir	'Tenth'
*		'a:xir	'Last'

The numerals above Ten have no distinct cardinal and ordinal forms. Hence, they will merely be termed 'numerals'. But they can be shown to enter into distinct ordinal and cardinal pieces as for example:

'ikki'ta:b ilHi'da:8ar	'The eleventh book'
'ik'kutub ilHi'da:8ar	'The eleven books'

These are N1.P1 modified structures (See below, p. 184).

It is to be noted that numerals in general are not limited to occurrence in examples of basic nominal phrase structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1). They may occur:

- 1) As the first element in basic nominal phrase structure 2, see below, p.74 under (e)
- 2) With restrictions as the first or the second element (or both) of a Construct, see pp. 86-7 under 9-12.
- 3) Except for the ordinals as the first element of N1.P5 examples for which the structure is non-ordinal numeral + noun, see pp. 96-133.
- 4) As a modifying element, see pp. 173-87.

Basic structure 2, (Nominal + demonstrative in concordial relationship)

In this structure, as can be seen from the heading, there is always number and gender (where the latter is relevant) concord between its two constituent elements. Further, where the nominal falls within the system of definiteness, it occurs in its definite form, e.g.

'ikki'ta:b 'da...	'This book...'
'i z 'santa 'di...	'This bag...'
'ikkita'be:n 'do:l...	'These two books...'
'ik'kutub 'di('do:l)	'These books...'

This is in contrast with basic structure 4 (i.e. Construct) whose first element is an indefinite noun and the second element is a demonstrative. In such a structure no concordial relationship of any sort obtains between the two constituents of the construct, e.g.

ki'ta:b 'da...	'That person's (m) book...'
ki'ta:b 'di...	'That person's (f) book...'
ki'ta:b 'do:l...	'Those persons' book ...'
'kutub 'da...	'That person's (m) books..'
'kutub 'di...	'That person's (f) books..'
'kutub 'do:l...	'Those persons' books...'

In basic nominal phrase structure 2, the nominal may be a member of the following five word classes:

- a) Noun
- b) Adjective
- c) Classifier
- d) Quantifier⁽⁴⁾
- e) Numeral (i.e. Ordinal and non-ordinal)⁽⁵⁾

In other words, unlike Basic structure 1, it cannot be a demonstrative or a personal pronoun, see p. 69

Examples:

- a) 'il'walad da... 'This boy ...'
- b) 'itti'xi:na 'di... 'That fat one (f) ...'
- c) 'il'8u:d 'da ... 'That stalk ...'
- d) 'iggo'ze:n 'do:l... 'These two pairs ...'
- e) (i) Ordinal, e.g.
 'il'awwa'la:ni 'da... 'That first one (m) ...'
- (ii) Non-ordinal, e.g.
 'itta'la:ta 'do:l... 'Those three ...'
 'il'miyya 'do:l... 'Those hundred ...'

(4) Out of the eight quantifiers given on p.70, only five occur here. These are the four numeral quantifiers and the non-numeral quantifier si'wayya. The other three non-numeral quantifiers do not occur here.

(5) With the exception of the non-ordinal numeral 'wa:hid 'One'

Basic structure 3, (Noun + noun of material in no concordial relationship)

In this structure the first noun is mostly 'non-human', e.g.

'riglī 'xaṣab ...	'A wooden leg ...'
rig'le:n 'xaṣab ...	'Wooden legs...'
'ṣanta 'gild ...	'A leather bag ...'
ṣanti'te:n 'gild ...	'Two leather bags ...'
'iṣ'ṣunat ig'gild ...	'The leather bags ...'

However, there are a few idiomatic expressions in which the first noun may be 'human', e.g.

'ra:gil 'aṣṣ ...	'A man of straw ...'
'ra:gil Ha'di:d ...	(Lit. A man of iron) meaning 'A very strong man ...'
'bintī 'astik ...	(Lit. An elastic girl) meaning 'A coquette ...'

In addition, one might speak of 'malik ṣuka'la:ta 'A chocolate king'; 8a'ru:sa Ha'la:wa 'A sugar bride', etc. In general, this is a productive type, but within certain limitations.

With respect to Basic structure 3 I would like to mention that my analysis differs from that of certain linguists⁽⁶⁾ who consider such examples as 'Noun-adjective phrases', in which case they would be classed with N1.Pl modified examples. Their main criterion for this treatment is that, to quote Mitchell,

(6) See for example

(i) M.A. Abu Farag, see above, p.19 n.8. (p. 232)
(ii) S.M. Gamal-Eldin, see above, p.64, n.4. (p. 39)
(iii) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p.17, n.6 (p.49)
(iv) T.F. Mitchell, 'Syntagmatic Relations in Linguistic Analysis', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1958 (p.116).

'...both components of the noun-adjective phrase are prefixed with the definite article when the context is definite, e.g. 'iʃ/ʒanta g'gild 'The leather bag', etc.'

Although this criterion is true, I find that certain other syntactic characteristics which distinguish N1.P3 examples such as 'iʃ/ʒanta g'gild 'The leather bag' from N1.P1 modified structures (in this case Noun modified by an adjective) such as 'iʃ/ʒanta kki'bi:ra 'The big bag' are more important. These are the following:

- 1) Items like 'gild 'Leather' can never be followed by any intensifier such as 'awi, 'giddan 'Very' or ʒi'wayya 'A little bit',⁽⁷⁾ whereas adjectives such as ki'bi:r 'Big' can. Contrast the following two sets of examples where the first set consists of N1.P1 modified structures (in this case Noun modified by an adjective) and the second of N1.P3 structures (i.e. Noun + noun of material).

Set I:

Noun + adjective	Noun + adjective + intensifier
'ʒanta [k'bi:ra]	'ʒanta [k'bi:ra 'awi]
'A big bag'	'A very big bag'
'iʃ/ʒanta [kki'bi:ra]	'iʃ/ʒanta [kki'bi:ra 'awi]
'The big bag'	'The very big bag'

(7) Nouns of material can be followed by 'xa:liʃ which in most structures acts as an intensifier, e.g. 'sa:ʒa 'ʒalya 'xa:liʃ... 'A very expensive watch...'. However, in this type of structure (i.e. Noun + noun of material) the item 'xa:liʃ is considered as an adjective meaning 'Pure' and hence does not contradict the above statement, e.g. 'dahab 'xa:liʃ 'Pure gold', 'sa:ʒa 'dahab 'xa:liʃ 'A pure gold watch'.

'kursi ['a'di:m] 'An old chair'	'kursi ['a'di:m 'giddan] 'A very old chair'
'ik'kursi [l'a'di:m] 'The old chair'	'ik'kursi [l'a'di:m 'giddan] 'The very old chair'
'sa:8a [g'di:da] 'A new watch'	'sa:8a [g'di:da s'wayya] 'A fairly new watch'
'is'sa:8a [ggi'di:da] 'The new watch'	'is'sa:8a [ggi'di:da s'wayya] 'The fairly new watch'

Set II:

Noun + noun of material	Noun + noun of material + intensifier
'santa 'gild 'A leather bag'	*
'is'santa g'gild 'The leather bag'	*
'kursi 'xaṣab 'A wooden chair'	*
'ik'kursi l'xaṣab 'The wooden chair'	*
'sa:8a 'dahab 'A gold watch'	*
'is'sa:8a d'dahab 'The gold watch'	*

2) Items like 'gild, etc. have no comparative form nor can they be used with a following /'aktar/ to express comparison. The above characteristics distinguish them from adjectives like ki'bi:r 'Big' or 'ta:za 'Fresh', etc. which have the comparative forms /'akbar/ and /'ta:za 'aktar/ respectively.

Contrast the following two sets:

Set I, N1.P1 modified structures:

Noun + adjective	Noun + adjective in its comparative form
'santa [k'bi:ra] ' A big bag'	'santa ['akbar] 'A bigger bag'
ri'gi:f ['ta:za] ' A fresh loaf'	ri'gi:f ['ta:za 'aktar] 'A fresher loaf'

Set II, N1.P3 structures:

Noun + noun of material	Does not have a comparative form
'santa 'gild ' A leather bag'	*

3) Nominal phrases of the type 'is/santa g'gild (i.e. N1.P3) when modified by an adjective, the adjective follows the whole nominal phrase, e.g.

'is'ʕanta g'gild [il'a'di:ma]

'The old leather bag'

not

*'is'ʕanta [l'a'di:ma] g'gild

To quote Gamal-Eldin,⁽⁸⁾

'They occur in a fixed order (i.e. 'ig'gild il'a'di:ma); a reversal of order produces an unsatisfactory combination on the native ear'.

Whereas nominal phrases of the type 'is'ʕanta kki'bi:ra, i.e. N1.P1 (in this case noun modified by an adjective) can be modified by another adjective in which case the place of the two adjectives is optional, i.e. there is no fixed order for the two adjectives following the noun, e.g.

or	'is'ʕanta kki'bi:ra l'a'di:ma	}	'The old big bag'
	'is'ʕanta l'a'di:ma kki'bi:ra		

To sum up, nominal phrases consisting of noun + noun of material such as 'sa:8a 'dahab 'A gold watch'; '8umla 'faḍḍa 'Silver coins'; tara'be:za 'xaṣab 'A wooden table'; 'ʕanta 'gild 'A leather bag'; 'be:ʕa dan'tilla 'A lace veil'; ʕara'ba:t 'su:f 'Wool(len) socks'; 'alam 'Hibr 'A fountain pen'; 'ʕa:l Ha'ri:r 'A silk scarf', etc. which Mitchell⁽⁹⁾ lists as examples of noun-adjective phrases are treated in this thesis as N1.P3 structures (not as N1.P1 modified structures).

(8) S.M. Gamal-Eldin, see above, p. 64, n.4 (p.39)

(9) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p. 17, n.6 (p.44)

Basic structure 4, (Construct):

The term 'construct' as used here stands for certain nominal phrases where no concord of any sort obtains between their constituent elements. Since my usage of this term differs considerably from that of other writers, I will state the main points where I differ.

It is common for most writers on Arabic grammar to use the term construct to describe what they call:

- a) A sequence of two or more nouns.
- b) Noun + bound pronoun or pronominal suffix.

The expression of 'A sequence of two or more nouns' is a loose description lacking in precision of grammatical relationship. For instance, the following examples consists of two (or more) nouns:

- 1) '8ali m'darris 'Ali is a teacher'
- 2) 'fatma lmuda'rissa 'ar'mala 'Fatima, the woman teacher, is
a widow'
- 3) 'ikkumsa'riyya ssi'ta:t ni'si:ba 'The women conductors are
a calamity'
- 4) 'santa 'wara'... 'A paper bag ...'

None of these examples would be considered as containing a construct by any Arabist.

A construct, for me, is a nominal phrase. This excludes the noun sequences in the first three examples above. In the fourth example, 'šaṇṭa 'wara'... is a nominal phrase (i.e. N1.P3) but not a construct. The example 'šaṇṭit 'walad ... 'A boy's bag ...' is a construct. In general,⁽¹⁰⁾ any noun ending in /-a/ in isolation will end in /-(i)t/ when occurring as the first element of a construct, e.g.

'8umda + 'ilman'zala → '8umdit ilman'zala
'The mayor of Manzala'

rig'ga:la + '8umda → /rig'galt il'8umda
'The mayor's men'

This is a crucial criterion for constructs involving a noun ending in /-a/ in isolation as the first element.

With respect to constructs involving a noun as the first element which does not end with /-a/ in isolation, these are considered as parallel. For example, ki'ta:b 'walad ... 'A boy's book ...' is a construct as it is parallel to 'šaṇṭit 'walad ... 'A boy's bag ...', but examples of N1.P3 such as ki'ta:b 'wara' ... 'A paper-back book ...' is not a construct as it is parallel to 'šaṇṭa 'wara'... 'A paper bag ...' not *'šaṇṭit 'wara'.

A second (less crucial) criterion for a construct is that when it is referable to the term definite, the definite article almost always associates only with the last element, e.g.

(10) The sole exceptional item shown in my data is 'dawa 'Medicine', e.g. 'dawa l'bint ... 'The girl's medicine ...'

ki'ta:b il'walad...	'The boy's book...'
8ara'biyyit ra''i:s ilwi'za:ra...	'The Prime Minister's car...'
sag'ga:dit 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a...	'The carpet of the rector's office...'

Note that exceptions to this criterion are constructs in which the first element is:

- 1) Any of the ten classifiers given on page 69 , e.g.

Hab'ba:ya 'A grain'

- 2) Any of the four numeral quantifiers 'go:z 'A pair of, two', 'to:ra 'Four', '8add 'Five' and 'dasta 'A dozen'
- 3) The non-numeral quantifier si'wayya 'Some, a few'

In such constructs it is possible for both elements to be prefixed with the definite article.

Examples:

1)a- Hab'bayt ilfa'sulya...	}	'The bean ...'
b- 'ilHab'bayt ilfa'sulya...		
2)a- 'dastit ilma'8a:li'...	}	'The dozen spoons ...'
b- 'id'dastit ilma'8a:li'...		
3)a- si'wayyit il'xo:x...	}	'The few peaches ...'
b- 'i/si'wayyit il'xo:x...		

In this respect I differ from certain other linguists⁽¹¹⁾ who state that in definite constructs the article occurs only with the last noun.

(11) See next page.

In a construct various different combinations of two (or more) nominals are possible. I recognize the following nineteen combinations:

1. Noun + noun (Apart from N1.P3)
2. Noun + pronominal suffix
3. Noun + demonstrative (Apart from N1.P2)
4. Classifier + noun
5. Fraction word + noun
6. Fraction word + adjective
7. Fraction word + demonstrative
8. Comparative adjective + noun
9. Comparative adjective + non-ordinal numeral
10. Ordinal numeral + noun
11. Ordinal numeral + non-ordinal numeral
12. /'a'la:f/ or /mala'yi:n/ + noun
13. Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + pronominal suffix
14. Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + adjective
15. Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + demonstrative
16. Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + non-ordinal numeral⁽¹²⁾
17. Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + ordinal numeral⁽¹³⁾
18. Non-numeral quantifier + noun
19. Numeral quantifier + noun

(11) See for instance:

(i) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p.17, n.6 (p.49)
 (ii) W. Lehn and P. Abboud, see above, p.21, n.11 (p.38)

(12) With the exception of 'wa:hid 'One' unless the quantifiers is

(13) The only ordinals that occur here are 'awwa'la:ni 'ta:ni' kull. and 'ax'ra:ni in their definite forms.

It is to be remembered that no concord of any sort obtains between the constituents of the construct. Further, since the number of elements in a construct has no bearing on the category of number as can be seen from the following two examples

(i) 8ara'biyyit ilwa'zi:r in'sara'it

'The minister's car was stolen'

(ii) 8ara'biyyit ibn ilwa'zi:r in'sara'it

'The car of the minister's son was stolen'

all examples illustrating the **nineteen** combinations will be of the type involving two nominal elements (but see below, pp.90-1).

Examples:

1) Noun + noun (Apart from N1.P3):

- a) ki'ta:b il'walad 'da:8 'The boy's book was lost'
- b) ki'ta:b il'binti 'da:8 'The girl's book was lost'
- c) ki'ta:b ilba'na:t 'da:8 'The girls' book was lost'

2) Noun + pronominal suffix:

- a) ki'ta:bi 'da:8 'My book was lost'
- b) ki'tabha 'da:8 'Her book was lost'
- c) ki'tabna 'da:8 'Our book was lost'

3) Noun + demonstrative (Apart from N1.P2):

- a) ki'tabda 'da:8 'The book belonging to that person(m) was lost'
- b) ki'tabdi 'da:8 'The book belonging to that person(f) was lost'
- c) ki'ta:b 'do:l 'da:8 'The book belonging to those persons was lost'

4) Classifier + noun:

- a) Hab'ba:yit fa'sulya(f) 'wa'a8it 'A bean fell down'
 b) Hab'ba:yit '8inab(m) 'wa'a8it 'A grape fell down'

5) Fraction word + noun: 'Half (the contents) of the bag was stolen'

- a) 'nuss i8'santa(f) n'sara' 'Half (the contents) of the bag was stolen'
 b) 'nuss i8'sunat in'sara' 'Half (the contents) of the bags was stolen'

6) Fraction word + adjective:

'rub8 ilmasriy'yi:n 'nagaH 'A quarter of the Egyptians succeeded'

7) Fraction word + demonstrative:

'8u8ri 'do:l Hayit'8ayyin 'A tenth of these will be appointed

Note that for some speakers, but not for me, where the construct involves a fraction word as the first element, the concord of the whole clause is with the second element (not with the fraction word). Hence:

- 5)a. 'nuss i8'santa n'sara'it
 b. 'nuss i8'sunat in'sara'it (in'sara'u)

6)... 'rub8 ilmasriy'yi:n 'nagaHu

7) '8u8ri 'do:l Hayit8ay'yinu

For other speakers both usages are acceptable.

8) Comparative adjective⁽¹⁴⁾ + noun:

- a) 'aHsan ki'ta:b it'ba:8 'The best book was sold'
 b) 'aHsan kita'be:n it'ba:8u 'The best two books were sold'
 c) 'aHsan 'kutub it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u) 'The best books were sold'

The above three examples are, in my idiolect, outside the system of definiteness. Arabic translations of English sentences such as 'The best of the two books was sold' and 'The best one of the books was sold' would be 'aHsan ki'ta:b [filit'ne:n] it'ba:8 and 'aHsan ki'ta:b [fik'kutub] it'ba:8 respectively in which the construct is modified by a prepositional phrase. This rule also applies where the first element of the construct is an ordinal numeral (See the examples under 10 and 11).

9) Comparative adjective + non-ordinal numeral:

- a) 'azka 'waHda 'nagaHit 'The most intelligent one succeeded'
 b) 'azka t'ne:n 'nagaHu 'The most intelligent two succeeded'
 c) 'azka H'da:ʒar 'nagaHu 'The most intelligent eleven succeeded'

10) Ordinal numeral + noun:

- a) 'a:xir 'binti 'nagaHit 'The last girl succeeded'
 b) 'a:xir wala'de:n 'nagaHu 'The last two boys succeeded'
 c) 'a:xir ba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit) 'The last girls succeeded'

(14) Comparative adjectives have only one form which is almost always of the syllabic structure /'accac/, e.g. ti'i:l 'Heavy' → /'at'al/. However, in my idiolect, adjectives with the last two consonants identical always have the comparative form /'a'cacc/, e.g. xa'fi:f 'Light (in weight)' → /'a'xaff/; mu'himm 'Important' → /'a'hamm/. Those ending with /-w/ or /-i/ have the comparative form /'acca/, e.g. Hilw 'Sweet; pretty' → /'aHla/; ʒa:li 'Expensive' → /'aʒla/.

11) Ordinal numeral + non-ordinal numeral:

- a) 'awwal 'waHda 'nagaHit 'The first one(f) succeeded'
- b) 'awwal 'wa:Hid 'nagaH 'The first one(m) succeeded'
- c) 'awwal 'miyya 'nagaHu 'The first hundred succeeded'

Note that in no case is the ordinal numeral associated with the definite article. Further, although these ordinals have more than one form in general, only their x Form occurs in this structure. These x Forms are as follows:

/'awwal/ 'First'; /'ta:ni/ 'Second'; /'ta:lit/ 'Third'; /'ra:bi8/ 'Fourth'; /'xa:mis/ 'Fifth'; /'sa:dis ('sa:tit)/ 'Sixth'; /'sa:bi8/ 'Seventh'; /'ta:min/ 'Eighth'; /'ta:si8/ 'Ninth'; /'8a:ʒir/ 'Tenth' and /'a:xir/ 'Last'.

12) /'a'la:f/ or /mala'yi:n/ + noun:

- a) 'a'la:f ilma'da:ris it'banu (it'banit)
'Thousands of schools were built'
- b) mala'yi:n il8um'ma:l 'ad'rabu ('ad'rabit)
'Millions of workers went out on strike'

Note that in these two constructs, the second element (i.e. the noun) always occurs in Form 3 with the definite article.

13) Non-numeral quantifier (other than ʒi'wayya) + pronominal suffix:

- a) 'kullu t'rama 'It was all thrown away'
- b) kul'lāha t'ramit 'It(f) was all thrown away'
- c) kul'lūhūm it'ramu 'They were all thrown away'

- 14) Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + adjective: (15)

'mu8zam ilHil'wi:n 'nagaHu

'Most of the pretty ones succeeded'

- 15) Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + demonstrative: (16)

a) 'kullī 'da 'Haṣal 'All that happened'

b) 'kullī 'do:l 'nagaHu 'All those succeeded'

- 16) Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + non-ordinal numeral:

'aglab il'8asara 'nagaHu 'Most of the ten succeeded'

- 17) Non-numeral quantifier (other than si'wayya) + ordinal numeral

'kull ittan'yi:n 'nagaHu 'All the other ones succeeded'

- 18) Non-numeral quantifier + noun:

a) si'wayyit iw'la:d 'wa'a8u ('wa'a8it) 'Some boys fell down'

b) si'wayyit 'xo:x 'wa'a8u 'Some peaches fell down'

c) si'wayyit 'sukkar 'wa'a8u 'Some sugar fell down'

- 19) Numeral quantifier + noun:

a) 'go:z Ha'ma:m in'sara' 'A pair of pigeons were stolen'

b) 'go:z ga'wa:yi/ in'sara' (in'sara'u) 'A pair of bracelets were stolen'

(15) When si'wayya immediately precedes an adjective, the nominal phrase is an example of N1.P1 modified structure and not a construct. See below, pp. 158-9.

(16) When si'wayya precedes a demonstrative, the resulting nominal phrase is N1.P2 - see above, p. 74 under (d).

Note: For some speakers, but not for me, the following two combinations also occur as examples of constructs:

- a) Noun + ordinal numeral, e.g.

'santit it'talta 'da:8it

'The bag of the third one(f) was lost'

- b) Noun + non-ordinal numeral, e.g.

'santit itta'la:ta 'da:8it

'The bag belonging to the three was lost'

For me, examples parrallel to those above are as follows:

- a) 'it'talta santitha 'da:8it

'The third one(f), her bag was lost'

- b) 'itta'la:ta santithum 'da:8it

'The three, their bag was lost'

where the nominal phrase is a complex one of type 3 described on p. 145.

In two-phrase typifiable clauses where the first phrase is a construct, the concord obtaining between the two phrases is sometimes relatable to the first element of the construct as is the case with all examples given under the first seven combinations above, and sometimes to the second as is the case with all the examples given under the next ten combinations (i.e. '8 to 17'). However, in some constructs involving a

'Quantifier' as the first element and a 'Noun' as the second, it is difficult to ascertain which element controls the number concord. This is a complex matter requiring a separate descriptive treatment which will be found in Chapter Eleven.

Parallel to most constructs there is an alternative nominal phrase structure of the same meaning employing the item bi'ta:8 which is treated here as a noun. Moreover, as noun Form 2 rarely occurs as the first element of a construct, the structure with bi'ta:8 is more common, particularly when the construct consists of more than two nouns.

Contrast the following two sets of examples where Set I employs 'bi'ta:8 phrases' and Set II Constructs.

Set I

'il'ba:b bi'ta:8 il'be:t ...

'The door of the house ...'

'ilba'be:n bi'tu:8 il'be:t ...

'The two doors of the house ...'

lib'wa:b bi'ta:8it (bi'tu:8) il'be:t ...

'The doors of the house ...'

'issag'ga:da b'ta:8it 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a ...

'The carpet of the rector's office ...'

'issaggad'te:n bi'tu:8 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a ...

'The two carpets of the rector's office ...'

'issaga'gi:d bi'ta:8it (bi'tu:8) 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a...

'The carpets of the rector's office ...'

Set II

'ba:b il'be:t ...

'The door of the house ...'

ba'be:n il'be:t ... (17)

'The two doors of the house ...'

'ip'wa:b il'be:t ...

'The doors of the house ...'

sag'ga:dit 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a ...

'The carpet of the rector's office ...'

saggad'te:n 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a ... (17)

'The two carpets of the rector's office ...'

saga'gi:d 'maktab mu'di:r ig'gam8a ...

'The carpets of the rector's office ...'

Linguists differ as to the analysis of the function of the item bi'ta:8. Some linguists such as Mitchell⁽¹⁸⁾ and Wise⁽¹⁹⁾ treat

(17) Constructs involving a noun in Form 2 as the first element are rarely heard in most idiolects including my own, but would be accepted as grammatically correct.

(18) T.F. Mitchell, 'An introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic', London: Oxford University Press, 1956 (p.17)

(19) Hilary Wise, 'Syntax of the Verb Phrase of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic: A Transformational Study', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970 (pp. 219-20).

it as a particle grouped with the prepositional particles 'fi 'In', 'li 'To, for', 'min 'From', '8ala 'On', etc. Others such as Abu Farag⁽²⁰⁾ and Gamal-Eldin⁽²¹⁾ treat it as a noun. In the present analysis the second approach is adopted with the difference that bi'ta:8 and bi'ta:8a are treated as two different nouns, both of which meaning 'Thing'; the first being used with reference to masculine items and the second with reference to feminine ones. Both these items are three-Form nouns. Their Forms are as follows:

<u>Form 1</u>	<u>Form 2</u>	<u>Form 3</u>
/bi'ta:8/	/bita'8e:n/	/bi'tu:8/
/bi'ta:8a/	/bita'8te:n/	/bita'8a:t/

The treatment of bi'ta:8 and bi'ta:8a as nouns can be supported by their use in sentences such as those given below in which they have the same function as nouns.

Examples:

'il8a'mudda ta'wi:l 'This pole is long'	'ilbi'ta8da ta'wi:l 'This thing is long'
'il8amu'de:n 'do:l tu'wa:l 'These two poles are long'	'ilbita'8e:n 'do:l tu'wa:l 'These two things are long'
'il8im'da:n 'do:l tu'wa:l 'These poles are long'	'ilbi'tu:8 'do:l tu'wa:l 'These things are long'

(20) M.A. Abu Farag, see above, p. 19, n.8. (pp. 215-7)

(21) S.M. Gamal-Eldin, see above, p. 64, n.4 (pp. 48-50)

'il'bin'ti 'di la'ti:fa

'This girl is nice'

'ilbi'ta:8a 'di la'ti:fa

'This thing is nice'

'ilbin'te:n 'do:l lu'ta:f

'These two girls are nice'

'ilbita8'te:n 'do:l lu'ta:f

'These two things are nice'

'ilba'na:t 'do:l lu'ta:f

'These girls are nice'

'ilbita'8a:t 'do:l lu'ta:f

'These things are nice'

The sequences of a noun followed by a construct in which the first element is one of the nouns bi'ta:8 or bi'ta:8a will be referred to as 'bita:8 phrase'. The selection of Form 1, 2 or 3 of bi'ta:8/bi'ta:8a depends on the form of the preceding noun in all cases whereas the selection of the Form /bi'ta:8/ or /bi'ta:8a/ depends on the gender of the preceding noun only in 'Singular' clause structures. The following examples, where the three-Form nouns ki'ta:b(m) 'Book' and 'santa(f) 'Bag' are used illustrate the case.

Singular clause structures:

(m) 'ikki'ta:b bi'ta:8 il'walad 'da:8

'The boy's book was lost'

(f) 'i'santa b'ta8t il'walad 'da:8it

'The boy's bag was lost'

Dual clause structures:

'ikkita'be:n bi'tu:8 il'walad 'da:8u

'The boy's two books were lost'

'i'santi'te:n bi'tu:8 il'walad 'da:8u

'The boy's two bags were lost'

Plural clause structures:

'ik'kutub bi'ta8t (bi'tu:8) il'walad 'da:8it ('da:8u)

'The boy's books were lost'

'i/ḡunat bi'ta8t (bi'tu:8) il'walad 'da:8it ('da:8u)

'The boy's bags were lost'

It can be seen from the Singular structures given above that it is Form 1 of the masculine noun ki'ta:b which selects Form 1 of bi'ta:8 and it is Form 1 of the feminine noun ḡanta which governs the selection of Form 1 of bi'ta:8a. In Dual and Plural structures there is no gender. Thus in the Dual structures both /kita'be:n/ and /ḡanti'te:n/ are followed by Form 3 of bi'ta:8 (i.e. /bi'tu:8/). Further, in the Plural structures both /'kutub/ and /'ḡunat/ may be followed either by Form 1 of bi'ta:8a (in this case /bi'ta8t/) or Form 3 of bi'ta:8 (i.e. /bi'tu:8/).

In this connection, the concord behaviour of the nouns bi'ta:8 and bi'ta:8a is very similar to that of variable adjectives in that following Form 3 of a noun there are, in general, two possible alternative forms. Compare the following two examples:

Noun (Form 3) + Adjective:

'ik'kutub ti''i:la (tu''a:l) 'The books are heavy'

Noun (Form 3) + bi'ta:8a/bi'ta:8 + Noun:

'ik'kutub bi'ta8t (bi'tu:8) il'walad...

'The boy's books...'

This is in contrast to Complex nominal phrases such as noun + noun (in apposition) where Form 3 of the first noun is always followed by Form 3 of the second noun, e.g.

'in'na:s ilfalla'Hi:n

(Lit. the people, the farmers) meaning 'The uncivilized people...'

'il'wuzara rrig'ga:la ...

'The male ministers ...'

In fact the assignment of bi'ta:8 or bi'ta:8a to one of the word classes Noun, Adjective or Particle is rather difficult since they share certain characteristics with all three. However, it is the view of the present writer to treat them as nouns of a somewhat restricted distribution.

Basic structure 5, (Non-ordinal numeral + noun):(22)

The Arab grammarians spent a great deal of time and gave particular attention to the discussion of nominal phrases involving a non-ordinal numeral + noun after which they reached somewhat different analyses. It would not be profitable, I think, to follow their debate point by point since in many cases Classical Arabic, with which they dealt, differs from ECA, with which I am dealing, as regards the non-ordinals. Nevertheless, I would like to point out that my approach differs from theirs and from that of certain linguists⁽²³⁾ particularly with respect to gender since I do not set up the category of gender to deal with the different forms of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' as they did

Though non-ordinal numerals may occur as the sole element of N1.P1, e.g. 'it'ne:n 'Two', the main point of interest in considering them when they do occur in basic N1.P5 structure lies in the particular type of agreement obtaining between them and

(22) In general the noun follows the non-ordinal numeral in basic N1.P5 examples, e.g.

1. 'talat 'kutub ... 'Three books ...'
2. 'it'talat 'kutub ... 'The three books ...'

A semantically equivalent alternative phrase structure to the second example above also occurs in which the noun precedes, e.g.

3. 'ik'kutub itta'la:ta ... 'The three books ...'

However, in this thesis, example 3 is considered as an example of a modified N1.P1 structure and not of basic structure N1.P5. For further details, see below, pp. 150-88.

(23) See for instance:

T.F. Mitchell, see above, p. 17, n.6 (p.61)

the noun with which they colligate. This involves the selection of particular forms of the noun with particular numerals. The formal scatter of these non-ordinal numerals is also important and will be dealt with in the appropriate place.

Non-ordinal numerals involve either a one-word numeral or sequences of numerals. We will begin with examples involving a one-word non-ordinal numeral. Sequences will be discussed later (see below, pp. 127-33).

One-word non-ordinal numeral

On the whole, enumerations involving a one-word non-ordinal numeral + a noun require the classification of the former into two main classes with three sub-classes on the basis of the following three criteria:

- a) The term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable.
- b) The Form of the noun following the non-ordinal numeral.
- c) The type of noun with which the non-ordinal numeral colligates.

On the basis of the first criterion, non-ordinal numerals fall into two main classes as follows:

Class I containing only the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid 'One' which occurs exclusively in masculine Singular clause structures, e.g.

'wa:Hid 'sa:y(m) in'dala'

'One tea was spilt'

'wa:Hid ''ahwa(f) n'dala'

'One coffee was spilt'

Class II containing all other one-word non-ordinal numerals which occur exclusively in Plural structures, e.g.

1. 'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n it'ra''u
'Two teachers were promoted'
2. '8aʒar mudarri'si:n it'ra''u
'Ten teachers were promoted'
3. hi'da:ʒar mu'darris it'ra''u (t'ra''a)
'Eleven male teachers were promoted'
- 4) 'mi:t mudar'risa t'ra''u (t'ra''it)
'A hundred women teachers were promoted'

According to the second criterion (i.e. the Form of the noun following the non-ordinal numeral) Class II (i.e. all one-word non-ordinal numerals other than 'wa:Hid 'One') may be divided into two sub-classes as follows.

IIA involving the 'cardinal' numerals 'it'ne:n - '8aʒara 'Two to ten' which, in the majority of cases⁽²⁴⁾ precede noun Form 3, (see examples 1 and 2 above) and

IIB involving the 'mere' numerals (i.e. those above '10') which are followed by noun Form 1⁽²⁵⁾, (see examples 3 and 4 above).

(24) As will be shown later, where the noun involved is a 'IA2' or 'IA3' item it occurs in Form 1. If it is a 'IVA' or 'IVB' item, the noun will be in Form 4.

(25) See next page.

In accordance with the third criterion (i.e. the type of noun with which the non-ordinal numeral can colligate, IIA numerals are further subdivided into the following:

IIA(i) containing only the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n 'Two' which, in the majority of cases, precedes nouns referring to human beings that have no Form 2.

IIA(ii) containing the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' which precede the majority of nouns;(see the table below, p. 101).

To sum up, enumerations involving a one-word non-ordinal numeral + a noun require the classification of these numerals into the following classes and sub-classes:

I	The cardinal numeral <u>'wa:hid</u>	'One'
IIA(i)	The cardinal numeral <u>'it'ne:n</u>	'Two'
IIA(ii)	The cardinal numerals <u>ta'la:ta</u> - <u>'8asara</u>	'Three to ten'
IIB	The numerals <u>Hi'da:far</u> ...	'Eleven upwards...'

Each of these is discussed below, with reference to four factors:

- A. Its formal scatter.
- B. The place of the occurrence of the definite article in definite nominal phrases

(25) With the two Forms /'a'la:f/ 'Thousands' and /mala'yi:n/ 'Millions', the following noun occurs in Form 3 with the definite article, e.g.

'a'la:f ilma'da:ris ... 'Thousands of schools ...'

However, these phrases belong to basic N1.P4 (i.e. construct) and not to N1.P5 at all. (See above, p. 87 under 12).

C. The Form in which the colligated noun will occur. This is determined by (a) The class membership of the particular numeral. (b) The class membership of the noun involved. The interrelationship of these two factors is shown in the following table. The mark ✓ indicates that the colligation of the particular numeral and noun class does occur, while the mark * indicates the non-occurrence of this colligation. The table does not include the cardinal 'wa:Hid 'One' since its occurrence is not general for particular noun classes as is the case with the other non-ordinal numerals. 'wa:Hid occurs rather with particular items from class 'IA4' in particular situational contexts (i.e. in restaurants and buffets).

D. The term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable. I have chosen Verbal clauses to illustrate this.

It is to be noted that while geographical place names (which are in a sub-group of proper nouns 'IA2') can be preceded by any non-ordinal numeral from 2 upwards in such sentences as 'There are two Alexandrias in Egypt'. 'fi:h it'ne:n iskindi'riyya f'masr, they require some circumlocutions to occur in a subject nominal phrase in a Verbal clause structure, e.g.

bala'de:n is'mūhum iskindi'riyya s'taraku fid'dawra
(Lit. 'Two towns named Alexandria took part in the Games')

This is the nearest Arabic translation for 'Two Alexandrias took part in the Games'.

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF NON-ORDINAL NUMERALS CLASS II WITH NOUN CLASSES

Noun Class	Representative examples	Non-ordinal numerals Class II		
		A(i) '2'	A(ii) '3 to 10'	B 'Eleven upwards'
IA1		*	*	*
IA2	' <u>8ali</u> 'Ali'	✓	✓	✓
IA3	' <u>ki:lu</u> 'Kilo...'	✓	✓	✓
IA4	' <u>'ahwa</u> '(Cup of) Coffee'	✓	✓	✓
IB1		*	*	*
IB2	' <u>a8'va:n</u> 'High class people'	✓	✓	*
IIH1	<u>mu'darris</u> 'Male teacher'	✓	✓	✓
IIH2	' <u>malik</u> 'King'	✓	✓	✓
IIH3		*	*	*
IIH4	' <u>sa:kin</u> 'Tenant'	✓	✓	✓
IIH	' <u>'i:d</u> 'Hand'	*	✓	✓
IIIH	' <u>walad</u> 'Boy'	*	✓	✓
IIIH	<u>ki'ta:b</u> 'Book'	*	✓	✓
IVA	' <u>sagar</u> 'Trees'	*	✓	✓
IVB	' <u>'ars</u> 'Pinching'	*	✓	✓

Class I : The cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid 'One'

A. Its formal scatter:

Although this cardinal numeral has two forms namely, /'w:Hid/ and /'waHda/, only the first form occurs in N1.P5 examples regardless of the gender of the following noun, e.g.

'wa:Hid 'sa:y(m) ...

'One tea ...'

'wa:Hid 'manga(f) ...

'One mango (juice) ...'

B. As regards the place of the occurrence of the definite article in definite N1.Ps, it is prefixed to both elements of the nominal phrase, e.g.

'il'wa:Hid il'sa:y ...

'The one tea ...'

'il'wa:Hid il'manga ...

'The one mango (juice) ...'

C. The form of the noun following the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid is always Form 1 of particular items all of which belong to noun Class 'IA4'.

D. With respect to the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable, all examples involving the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid in N1.P5 are 'Singular'. Further, regardless of the gender of the noun involved these structures are always masculine. Therefore both the numeral and the verb occur in Form x, e.g.

	Numeral Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
1.	x	l(m)	x
	'wa:Hid	'ʒa:y	in'dala'

'One tea was spilt'

2.	x	l(f)	x
	'wa:Hid	'ahwa	n'dala'

'One coffee was spilt'

Notes:

a) As mentioned above the Form /'wa:Hid/ occurring in N1.P5 precedes only particular items from noun Class 'IA4'. This type of structure is generally used in particular situational contexts, i.e. restaurants and buffets. In fact, these items can be preceded by any non-ordinal numeral, but when the preceding numeral is above 'wa:Hid 'One', the clause structure is 'Plural', e.g.

'it'ne:n 'sa:y in'dala'u 'Two teas were spilt'

'8aʒara 'ʒa:y in'dala'u 'Ten teas were spilt'

As this is the case, these structures will not be mentioned further in connection with the other non-ordinal numerals, i.e. 'Two upwards'.

b) In examples such as:

'wa:Hid 'ta:ʒir 'sa'al 8a'le:k 'A certain merchant asked about you'

'waHda'sitti 'sa'alit 8a'le:k 'A certain lady asked about you'

the Nl.P is 1 and not 5 and the item 'wa:Hid 'A (certain) ...' is a modifying element with the two concordial forms /'wa:Hid/ and /'waHda/ and is not functioning here as a cardinal numeral. For further details, see below, p. 188.

Class II : The non-ordinal numerals 'two upwards'

IIA(1) : 'it'ne:n 'Two'

A. This cardinal numeral is invariable in form.

B. In definite Nl.Ps the place of the occurrence of the definite article depends on the class membership of the noun involved.

With noun Classes 'IA2' and 'IA3' the article is prefixed solely to the numeral, e.g.

'IA2'	lit'ne:n 'fatma ...	'The two Fatimas...'
'IA3'	lit'ne:n 'santi ...	'The two centimetres...'

With all other relevant noun classes (i.e. 'IB2', 'IIH1', 'IIH2' and 'IIH4'), the article is prefixed to both the numeral and the noun, e.g.

'IB2'	lit'ne:n il'a8'ya:n ...	'The two high class people...'
'IIH1'	lit'ne:n ilmudarri'si:n...	'The two teachers ...'
'IIH2'	lit'ne:n ilmi'lu:k ...	'The two rulers ...'
'IIH4'	lit'ne:n issuk'ka:n ...	'The two tenants ...'

C. The Form of the noun involved depends on its class membership as follows:

With noun Classes 'IA2' and 'IA3' Form 1 occurs, e.g.

'IA2'	'it'ne:n '8ali ...	'Two Alis ...'
'IA3'	'it'ne:n 'santi ...	'Two centimetres ...'

With all other relevant noun Classes, Form 3 occurs, e.g.

'IB2'	'it'ne:n za'wa:t...	'Two aristocratic people...'
'IIH1'	'it'ne:n makwa'giyya...	'Two laundry men...'
'IIH2'	'it'ne:n basa'wa:t...	'Two pashas...'
'IIH4'	'it'ne:n sit'ta:t...	'Two ladies...'

In general, 'it'ne:n is used in my idiolect with nouns which have no Form 2. For exceptions see below, pp.108-10. Some speakers use 'it'ne:n with Form 3 of some human nouns⁽²⁶⁾ which do have a Form 2, e.g.

'it'ne:n ba'na:t...	'Two girls'
'it'ne:n i8'ma:m...	'Two uncles'

as an alternation to Form 2. This, however, is not so in my idiolect. As far as I have been able to observe these differences do not have regional connotations and are purely personal. It seems, however, that my usage is by far the more common.

D. All examples containing the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n as the first element of basic nominal phrase structure 5 are 'Plural' clause structures whether the N1.P is indefinite or definite.

(26) Form 3 of the following five items, all of which are nouns of kinship, cannot be preceded by 'it'ne:n even by those speakers:

'8amma 'Aunt', 'xa:l 'Maternal uncle', 'xa:la 'Maternal aunt', 'gidd 'Grandfather' and 'gidda 'Grandmother'.

Examples:

1. 'it'ne:n 'a8'ya:n 'wasalu 'Two high-class people arrived'
2. lit'ne:n 'fatma 'nagaHu 'The two Fatimas succeeded'
3. 'it'ne:n 'ki:lu t'ba:8u 'Two kilograms were sold'
4. lit'ne:n ilmu'gri'fi:n 'waf'u 'The two supervisors agreed'

It may be argued that the above examples are 'Dual' structures parallel to the following four examples all of which involve noun Form 2 in the first phrase of the verbal clause, e.g.

5. 'rag'le:n 'wasalu 'Two men arrived'
6. 'il'ux'te:n 'nagaHu 'The two sisters succeeded'
7. Hamam'te:n it'ba:8u 'Two pigeons were sold'
8. 'ilbin'te:n 'waf'u 'The two girls agreed'

on the basis that in all eight examples the verbal element only occurs in Form z (i.e. ending in /-u/) and the element /-e:n/ is present in the first phase of the clause. However, the present writer treats only the last four examples ('5 - 8') as 'Dual' structures since the two simultaneous factors characterizing a Dual clause structure namely, the occurrence of noun Form 2 in one of the two-phrase typifiable clauses and Form z of the element involved in the other without alternation are found. But in the first four examples ('1 - 4') the case is somewhat different. It is true that the verbal element occurs in Form z only (i.e. without alternation) and the element /e:n/ occurs in

the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n. Nevertheless, these examples are considered as 'Plural' structures for the following reasons:

a) The element /-e:n/ only characterizes a Dual structure when it is the Form 2 ending of a noun. Although the element /-e:n/ in 'it'ne:n is etymologically related to noun Form 2 suffix, it is not treated here synchronically as that element.

b) The fact that the verb occurs only in Form z is not determined by the presence of the cardinal 'it'ne:n since with the type of noun involved, Form z of the verb would occur with any cardinal numeral from '2 to 10'. Compare examples '1 - 4' given above with the following:

ta'la:ta 'a8'ya:n 'wasalu	'Three high-class people arrived'
'il'xamsa 'fatma 'nagaHu	'The five Fatimas succeeded'
'sab8a 'ki:lu t'ba:8u	'Seven kilograms were sold'
'il'8a8ar ba'na:t 'war'u	'The ten girls agreed'

Notes:

1) The following eight 'non-human' items, shown in my data, may be used in Form 3 with 'it'ne:n as N1.P5 examples, but with a special meaning. This special usage must always be interpreted as a form of personification. For instance, the item 'kalb 'Dog' is normally used in reference to 'dogs'. But examples such as 'it'ne:n ki'la:b it'rafadu refer not to the animal 'dog' but to 'human beings' who are compared with 'dogs'. Hence the above

sentence has the special meaning 'Two scoundrels were dismissed'. Note that when these items are used with the other non-ordinal numerals, they do not have their special meaning, e.g.

'talat ki'la:b' must refer to 'Three dogs' and not to 'Three scoundrels'. The following table includes the non-human items shown in my data in their three ordinary Forms, then with the special meaning when used in Form 3 with the numeral 'it'ne:n' 'Two'.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	'it'ne:n + Form 3
/kalb/ 'Dog'	/kal'be:n/ 'Two dogs'	/ki'la:b/ 'Dogs'	'it'ne:n ki'la:b 'Two scoundrels'
/Hu'ma:r/ 'Donkey'	/Huma're:n/ 'Two donkeys'	/Hi'mi:r/ 'Donkeys'	'it'ne:n Hi'mi:r 'Two stupid persons'
/bi'hi:ma/ 'Animal'	/bihim'te:n/ 'Two animals'	/ba'ha:yim/ 'Animals'	'it'ne:n ba'ha:yim 'Two brutes'
/''arnab/ 'Rabbit'	/'arna'be:n/ 'Two rabbits'	/'a'ra:nib/ 'Rabbits'	'it'ne:n 'a'ra:nib 'Two cowardly persons'
/'sab8/ 'Lion'	/sab'8e:n/ 'Two lions'	/su'bu:8a/ 'Lions'	'it'ne:n su'bu:8a 'Two heroes'
/'dahya/ 'Calamity'	/dahyi'te:n/ 'Two calamities'	/da'wa:hi/ 'Calamities'	'it'ne:n d'wa:hi 'Two cunning persons'
/'balwa/ 'Calamity'	/balwi'te:n/ 'Two calamities'	/ba'la:wi/ 'Calamities'	'it'ne:n ba'la:wi 'Two terrible persons'
/sar'mu:ta/ 'A ragged piece of cloth'	/sarmut'te:n/ '2 ragged pieces of cloth'	/sara'mi:t/ 'Ragged pieces of cloth'	'it'ne:n sara'mi:t 'Two prostitutes'

2) The item Hu'sa:n 'Horse' has three Forms (1, 2 and 3) .

Hence /Hu'sa:n/, /Husa'ne:n/ and /'iH'sina/ respectively.

However, in technical expressions, it may be preceded by any non-ordinal numeral other than 'wa:Hid, in which case it occurs in Form 1, e.g.

'makana 'sitta H'sa:n ... 'A six horse power engine ...'

IIA(ii) : The cardinal numerals ta'la:ta - '8aṣara 'Three to ten'

A. For each member of this sub-class of cardinal numerals two different phonetic shapes are recognized; one ending with /-a/, the other with a consonant /-c/. For future reference, these two different phonetic shapes will be called 'First' and 'Second' form respectively. The first form is the one which occurs in N1.P1 or as a one-word sentence. The two forms are as follows:

	<u>First form</u>	<u>Second form</u>
Three:	/ta'la:ta/	/'talat.../
Four:	/'ar'baṣa/	/'arbaṣ.../
Five:	/'xamsa/	/'xamas.../
Six:	/'sitta/	/'sitt.../
Seven:	/'sabṣa/	/'sabaṣ.../
Eight:	/ta'manya/	/'taman.../
Nine:	/'tisṣa/	/'tisaṣ.../
Ten:	/'8aṣara/	/'8aṣar.../

A phonological characteristic feature of the second form (i.e. that ending in /-c/) is that where it precedes certain forms with initial segments /'v-/, it forms a syllabic structure of the type ctv- at the boundary of the two forms, e.g.

/'talat/	+	/'iw'la:d/	=	'talat tiw'la:d	'3 boys'
/'xamas/	+	/'iH'zima/	=	'xamas tiH'zima	'5 belts'
/'sabaṣ/	+	/'uḡhur/	=	'sabaṣ 'tuḡhur	'7 months'
/'taman/	+	/'a'la:f/	=	'taman ta'la:f	'8 thousands'
/'8aṣar/	+	/'ay'ya:m/	=	'8aṣar tiy'ya:m	'10 days'

Note that where the vowel of the initial syllable of the form following the second form of any of these cardinal numerals is /i/ or /u/, it remains the same, but where it is /a/, it sometimes changes. As far as I can see, the absence of /'-/ and the presence of /t-/ cannot be fully explained in terms of syllabic structures since not all 'acca:c, 'icca:c or 'aca:c structures have this characteristic. Compare, for instance: /'as'na:f/ and /'ax'ba:r/, e.g.

'talat tis'na:f 'Three sorts'

but

'talat 'ax'ba:r 'Three (pieces of) news'

/ 'iw'da:n/ and / 'imsa:n/, e.g.

' 'arba8 tiw'da:n 'Four ears'

but

' 'arba8 'im'sa:n 'Four shirts'

/ 'a'la:f/ and / 'a'ma:l/, e.g.

'xamas ta'la:f 'Five thousands'

but

'xamas 'a'ma:l 'Five hopes'

Therefore, this feature has to be stated as a characteristic of certain items. In the majority of cases structures where the form ending in /-c/ has the suffix /-t/ are reflexes of Classical

Arabic structures involving Form 3 of a masculine noun with the initial segment /'a-/. With this type of noun Form in Classical Arabic the preceding numeral has the suffix /-at.../, e.g.

ða'la:ðu	'aw'la:d	'Three boys'
ða'la:ðu	'a:'ma:l	'Three hopes'
ða'la:ðu	'a:šur	'Three months'

In many other environments the /t/ of the suffix is no longer present in Colloquial Arabic. However, in this environment it has remained.

As mentioned earlier, each of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' has two forms. These two forms have different distributions as follows:

First form:

- (i) It may be used independently as a one-word sentence, e.g.

'liha 'kam ''axx	'How many brothers does she have?'
'xamsa	'Five'

- (ii) When the nominal element accompanying any of these cardinal numerals (i.e. '3 to 10') occurs in N1.P1 modified structures, N1.P2, N1.P3 (modified) or N1.P4 it is this form which occurs, e.g.

N1.P1	{	Numeral + modifying adjective: ta'la:ta [Hil'wi:n] ...
		'Three pretty ones ...'
	{	Noun + modifying numeral: 'ik'kutub [itta'la:ta]...
		'The three books ...'

N1.P2 (Numeral + demonstrative) : 'ittā'la:ta 'do:l ...

'These three ...'

N1.P3 (Noun + noun of material) + modifying numeral:

'iṣ'ṣunāt ig'gild [ittā'la:ta] ...

'The three leather bags ...'

N1.P4 (Construct) : 'aHsan ta'la:ta ...

'The best three ...'

(iii) When the noun following any of these cardinal numerals is a 'IA2', 'IA3', 'IA4' or 'IB2' item, only the first form occurs, e.g.

'IA2' (e.g. 'fatma 'Fatima') :

'xamsa fatma...

'Five Fatimas ...'

'IA3' (e.g. 'santi 'Centimetre') :

'sab8a 'santi...

'Seven centimetres ...'

'IA4' (e.g. 'ṣa:y 'Tea') :

ta'manya 'ṣa:y...

'Eight teas ...'

'IB2' (e.g. 'a8'ya:n 'High-class people') :

'8aṣara 'a8'ya:n...

'Ten high-class people ...'

Second form:

It occurs to the exclusion of the first form before 'non-human' nouns of Class 'II', 'III' and 'IV' (27)

Examples:

'II' (e.g. 'i:d 'Hand') :

1. 'arba8 'i'de:n ... 'Four hands ...'

'III' (e.g. 'badla 'Suit') :

2. 'saba8 'bidal ... 'Seven suits ...'

'IVA' (e.g. Ha'ma:m 'Pigeons') :

3. 'taman Hama'ma:t ... 'Eight pigeons ...'

'IVB' (e.g. 'ars 'Pinching') :

4. '8a8ar 'ar'sa:t ... 'Ten pinches'

Before all other noun classes not mentioned as exclusive environments for the first or the second form - which may be preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' (i.e. noun Classes 'IIH1', 'IIH2', 'IIH4' and 'IIIH') - both forms occur. However, in my idiolect, the second form (i.e. which ends with a consonant) is by far the more common.

(27) All items belonging to noun Class VI are 'non-human'.

Examples:

'IIH1' (e.g. mu'darris 'Male teacher') :

'talat mudarri'si:n ...

'Three teachers ...'

ta'la:ta mdarri'si:n ...

'IIH2' (e.g. 'malik 'King') :

'xamas mi'lu:k ...

'Five rulers ...'

'xamsa m'lu:k ...

'IIH4' (e.g. 'sa:kin 'Tenant') :

'saba8 suk'ka:n ...

'Seven tenants ...'

'sab8a suk'ka:n ...

'IIIH' (e.g. 'ra:gil 'Man') :

'8a8ar rig'ga:la ...

'Ten men ...'

'8a8ara rig'ga:la ...

B. In definite Nl.Ps the place of the occurrence of the definite article depends exclusively in my idiolect on the class membership of the noun involved.

(i) With noun Class 'IB2', the article is prefixed to both elements, e.g.

'itta'la:ta l'a8'ya:n ... 'The three high-class people...'

(ii) With all other relevant noun classes (i.e. 'IA2', 'IA3', 'IIH1', 'IIH2', 'IIH4', 'IIH', 'IIIH', 'IIIH', 'IVA' and 'IVB') the article is prefixed solely to the numeral, e.g.

1. 'IA2'	'itta'la:ta '8ali...	'The three Alis...'
2. 'IA3'	'itta'la:ta 'santi...	'The three centimetres...'
3. 'IIH1'	'it'talat mudarri'si:n...	'The three teachers ...'
4. 'IIH2'	'it'talat mi'lu:k...	'The three rulers ...'
5. 'IIH4'	'it'talat suk'ka:n...	'The three tenants...'
6. 'IIH'	'it'talat 'i'de:n...	'The three hands...'
7. 'IIIH'	'it'talat rig'ga:la...	'The three men...'
8. 'IIIH'	'it'talat 'kutub...	'The three books...'
9. 'IVA'	'it'talat Hama'ma:t...	'The three pigeons...'
10. 'IVB'	'it'talat da''a:t...	'The three strokes...'

However, I have come across a few speakers who use the article with both elements with noun Class 'IIH1', 'IIH2', 'IIH4', and 'IIIH', in which case the first form of the numerals is used. Compare the following examples with their counterparts given above:

3. 'IIH1'	'itta'la:ta lmudarri'si:n...	'The three teachers...'
4. 'IIH2'	'itta'la:ta lmi'lu:k...	'The three rulers...'
5. 'IIH4'	'itta'la:ta ssuk'ka:n...	'The three tenants...'
7. 'IIIH'	'itta'la:ta rrig'ga:la...	'The three men...'

As far as I have been able to observe, my usage is by far the more common. Further, when the article is prefixed to both

elements a reversed sequence occurs, e.g.

'ilmudarri'si:n itta'la:ta... 'The three teachers...'

in which case such phrases are examples of N1.P1 modified structures (not of basic N1.P5).

C. The Form of the noun involved depends on its class membership as follows:

(i) With noun Class 'IA2' and 'IA3', Form 1 occurs (see examples 1 and 2 above).

(ii) With noun Class 'IVA' and 'IVB', Form 4 occurs⁽²⁸⁾ (see examples 9 and 10 above).

(iii) With all other relevant noun classes, Form 3 occurs (see examples 3 to 8 above).

D. All examples containing any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' are 'Plural' structures. However, the verbal element sometimes occurs only in Form z (i.e. ending in /-u/) and sometimes in either Form z or Form y (i.e. ending in /-it/). In order to account for these two possibilities, we have to take into consideration whether the noun involved is 'human' or 'non-human'.

(28) 'IVA' and 'IVB' items have no Form 3. Further, Form 4 is exclusively characterized by the following two facts:
 (i) Its limitation to going with any of the numerals '3 to 10' in its second form;
 (ii) Its ending in /-a:t/.

a) With 'human' nouns of all classes together with the three 'non-human' nouns constituting Class 'IA3', the verbal element occurs in Form z (i.e. ending in /-u/) whether the nominal phrase involved is indefinite or definite. Compare the following two sets of examples where Set I contains indefinite Nl.Ps and Set II definite ones. The second example in each contains a noun belonging to Class 'IA3'.

Set I:

- 1) 'talat ba'na:t 'nagaHu 'Three girls succeeded'
- 2) ta'la:ta 'ki:lu t'ba:8u 'Three kilograms were sold'

Set II:

- 1) 'it'talat ba'na:t 'nagaHu 'The three girls succeeded'
- 2) 'itta'la:ta 'ki:lu t'ba:8u 'The three kilograms were sold'

b) With all 'non-human' nouns other than those constituting Class 'IA3', we have to take into account whether the Nl.P is indefinite or definite.

(i) In indefinite Nl.Ps the verbal element occurs either in form z (i.e. ending in /-u/) or in form y⁽²⁹⁾ (i.e. ending in /-it/).

(ii) In definite Nl.Ps the verbal element only occurs in form z. This is one of the reasons for dealing with definiteness with

(29) In such clause structures, Form y of the verb generally occurs as a second (not as a first) choice with native speakers. Out of 600 responses from my 20 informants there were only some 60 cases where the y Form occurred.

respect to the category of number. Compare the following two sets of examples where Set I examples contain indefinite Nl.Ps and Set II definite ones.

Set I:

Noun class 'IIH' (e.g. 'i:d 'Hand') :

'arba8 'i'de:n it'rafa8u (it'rafa8it) '4 hands were raised up'

Noun class 'IIIH' (e.g. ki'ta:b 'Book') :

'saba8 'kutub 'da:8u ('da:8it) 'Seven books were lost'

Noun class 'IVA' (e.g. 'xo:x 'Peaches') :

'8aṣar xo'xa:t 'xisru ('xisrit) 'Ten peaches went bad'

Noun class 'IVB' (e.g. 'da'' 'Act of stroking') :

'talat da''a:t in'sim8u (in'sim8it) 'Three strokes were heard'

Set II:

'larba8 'i'de:n it'rafa8u 'The 4 hands were raised up'

'is'saba8 'kutub 'da:8u 'The 7 books were lost'

'il'8aṣar xo'xa:t 'xisru 'The ten peaches went bad'

'it'talat da''a:t in'sim8u 'The three strokes were heard'

IIB : The numerals Hi'da:ʒar ... 'Eleven upwards'

A. The members of this sub-class of numerals fall into two groups as regards their formal scatter. These are:

IIB(i) containing the three numerals 'miyya 'A hundred', ''alf 'A thousand' and mil'yo:n 'A million', each of which has more than one form as follows:

'miyya:

/'miyya - 'mi:t/ (30)	'A hundred'
/mi'te:n/	'Two hundred'
/miy'ya:t/ (31)	'Hundreds'

'alf:

/'alf/	'A thousand'
/'al'fe:n/	'Two thousand'
/'a'la:f/ (32)	'Thousands'

mil'yo:n:

/mil'yo:n/	'A million'
/mala'yi:n/ (32)	'Millions'

IIB(ii) containing all the other numerals belonging to this sub-class, each of which has only one form, e.g. /Hi'da:ʒar/ '11', /tala'ti:n/ '30', etc.

(30) /mi:t/ is another phonetic shape of /'miyya/ which occurs before nouns only, e.g. 'mi:t kita:b... 'A hundred books...'.

(31) /miy'ya:t/ occurs only in special contexts with the meaning 'Hundreds; a lot of', but never as the first element of N1.P5 examples, e.g. 'a'bu:h 'sablū f'lu:s bilmiy'ya:t 'His father left him hundreds (a lot) of pounds'.

(32) When either of the two forms /'a'la:f/ and /mala'yi:n/ precedes the noun, the resulting nominal phrase is N1.P4 (i.e. Construct) and not N1.P5 (see above, p. 87 under 12).

B. The place of the occurrence of the article in definite N1.Ps:

In definite N1.P5 examples, the definite article is prefixed solely to these numerals irrespective of the class membership of the following noun, e.g.

Noun sub-class	'IA2'	'ilHi'da:ʒar '8ali...	'The eleven Alis ...'
	'IA3'	'ilHi'da:ʒar 'santi...	'The eleven centimetres ...'
	'IIH1'	'ilHi'da:ʒar mu'darris...	'The eleven male teachers ...'
	'IIH2'	'ilHi'da:ʒar 'malik...	'The eleven kings ...'
	'IIH4'	'ilHi'da:ʒar 'sa:kin...	'The eleven male tenants...'
	'IIH'	'ilHi'da:ʒar ''i:d...	'The eleven hands ...'
	'IIIH'	'ilHi'da:ʒar 'ra:gil...	'The eleven men...'
	'IIIH'	'ilHi'da:ʒar ki'ta:b...	'The eleven books ...'
	'IVA'	'ilHi'da:ʒar Ha'ma:ma...	'The eleven pigeons ...'
	'IVB'	'ilHi'da:sar ''akla...	'The eleven meals ...'

In this respect, the numerals in Class IIB differ from those cardinals belonging to Class IIA (i.e. '2 to 10'). See above under (B) p.105 and pp.116-7. Further, it is to be noted that 'IB2' items (which may be preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '2 to 10' cannot immediately follow the numerals of Class 'IIB'.

C. The Form in which the following noun occurs:

Again, unlike Class 'IIA' cardinal numerals, any member of Class IIB numerals, when occurring as the first element of N1.P5, must be followed by Form 1 of the noun irrespective of its class membership. The above examples where all nouns involved are in Form 1 illustrate the case.

D. The term in the category of number to which the whole clause is referable:

All examples containing any of the numerals 'Eleven upwards' are 'Plural' structures. However, in order to account for the possibility of the occurrence of the verbal element in only one form or in one of two alternative forms, we have to take into account the following factors:

1) Whether the N1.P as a whole is indefinite or definite. This is one of the reasons for dealing with definiteness with respect to the category of number.

2) The gender of the noun involved (in indefinite Nl.Ps). This is one of the cases where the category of 'Gender' has to be taken into account in 'Plural' Verbal Clauses.

The above two factors result in three separate cases as follows:

(i) Where the Nl.P as a whole is indefinite and involves a masculine noun, the verbal element occurs either in Form z or Form x.

(ii) Where the Nl.P as a whole is also indefinite but involves a feminine noun, the verbal element occurs either in Form z or Form y.

(iii) Where the Nl.P as a whole is definite, the verbal element always occurs in Form z whether the noun involved is masculine or feminine. Compare the following two sets of examples where Set I involves indefinite Nl.Ps and Set II definite ones. The first five examples in each set involve masculine nouns and the next five feminine nouns.

Set I:

1. 'IA2' Hi'da:ʒar '8ali 'nagaHu ('nagaH)
 'Eleven Alis succeeded'
2. 'IA3' Hi'da:ʒar 'ki:lu t'ba:8u (t'ba:8)
 'Eleven kilograms were sold'
3. 'IIHI' Hi'da:ʒar mu'darris it'ra''u (it'ra''a)
 'Eleven teachers were promoted'

4. 'IIH2' Hi'da:ʒar 'malik 'waʒalu ('waʒal)
'Eleven kings arrived'
5. 'IIH4' Hi'da:ʒar 'sa:kin 8az'zilu ('8azzil)
'Eleven tenants removed'
6. 'IIH' Hi'da:ʒar ''i:d it'rafa8u (it'rafa8it)
'Eleven hands were raised up'
7. 'IIIH' Hi'da:ʒar 'binti 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)
'Eleven girls succeeded'
8. 'IIIH' Hi'da:ʒar 'santa t'ba:8u (t'ba:8it)
'Eleven bags were sold'
9. 'IVA' Hi'da:ʒar Ha'ma:ma 'ta:ru ('ta:rit)
'Eleven pigeons flew away'
10. 'IVB' Hi'da:ʒar 'akla 'fidlu ('fidlit)
'Eleven meals remained'

Set II:

1. 'IA2' 'ilHi'da:ʒar '8ali 'nagaHu
'The eleven Alis succeeded'
2. 'IA3' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'ki:lu t'ba:8u
'The eleven kilograms were sold'
3. 'IIH1' 'ilHi'da:ʒar mu'darris it'ra''u
'The eleven teachers were promoted'
4. 'IIH2' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'malik 'waʒalu
'The eleven kings arrived'
5. 'IIH4' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'sa:kin 8az'zilu
'The eleven tenants removed'

6. 'IIH' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'i:d it'rafa8u
'The eleven hands were raised up'
7. 'IIIH' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'binti 'nagaHu
'The eleven girls succeeded'
8. 'IIIH' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'ʒanta t'ba:8u
'The eleven bags were sold'
9. 'IVA' 'ilHi'da:ʒar Ha'ma:ma 'ta:ru
'The eleven pigeons flew away'
10. 'IVB' 'ilHi'da:ʒar 'akla 'fidlu
'The eleven meals remained'

In this respect, Class IIB numerals differs from the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' (see above, pp.118-20 under D) in that with the numerals '11 upwards' there is no need to take into consideration whether the noun involved is 'human' or 'non-human'.

Sequences of non-ordinal numerals

So far, in discussing N1.P5, all examples given contain one-word non-ordinal numeral. However, non-ordinal numeral words may occur in sequences. These will not involve the cardinal numerals 'wa:hid 'One' or 'it'ne:n 'Two' since the Arabic translation of English (one or two) requires Forms 1 and 2 of the noun without any numeral, e.g.

ki'ta:b ' 'aw kita'be:n ... 'One or two books ...'

Sentences involving numeral sequences will, therefore, have non-ordinal numeral words from ta'la:ta ... 'Three upwards'. These sequences fall into two groups (A + B).

Group A has two complete and separate non-ordinal numerals, and expresses a rather vague number.

Group B has a 'compound' numeral and expresses a particular number.

Group A consists of a sequence of two or three non-ordinal numeral words. These sequences, in turn, are of two types:

- 1) A sequence of consecutive numerals, e.g.

tala't arba8 'kutub... 'Three or four books...'

'taman 'tisa8 '8aṣar 'kutub... 'Eight, nine or ten books..

xamas'ta:ṣar sit'ta:ṣar ki'ta:b... 'Fifteen or sixteen books..

2) A sequence of non-consecutive non-ordinal numerals usually in multiples of five or ten, e.g.

8iʃ'rim tala'ti:n mad'rasa ...

'Twenty or thirty schools ...'

'xamsa wtala'ti:n arbi'8i:n mad'rasa ...

'Thirty five or forty schools ...'

mi'te:n tultu'mi:t mad'rasa ...

'Two or three hundred schools...'

tala't arba8 ta'la:f mad'rasa ...

'Three or four thousand schools ...'

In sequences involving the cardinal numerals '3 to 10', both numerals will occur in either the 'first' or the 'second' form in accordance with the class of the noun as previously mentioned on pp. 113-6.

Examples with:

First form:

'IA2' 'ar'ba8a 'xamsa '8ali...

'Four or five Alis ...'

'IA3' 'sab8a ta'manya 'santi ...

'Seven or eight centimetres ...'

'IA4' 'tis8a '8aʒara 'ʒa:y ...

'Nine or ten teas ...'

'IB2' ta'la:ta r'ba8a 'a8'ya:n ...

'Three or four high-class people...'

Second form:

- 'IIH' tala't arba8 rig'le:n ...
'Three or four legs ...'
- 'IIIH' 'arba8 'xamas bi'dal ...
'Four or five suits ...'
- 'IVA' 'saba8 'taman Hama'ma:t ...
'Seven or eight pigeons ...'
- 'IVB' 'tisa8 '8a8ar 'ak'la:t ...
'Nine or ten meals ...'

Note that:

- (i) Where both numerals in the sequence belong to the same sub-class (i.e. IIA(ii) or IIB), then the noun Form is the same as for the one-word non-ordinal numeral.

Compare:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 'talat 'kutub... | 'Three books... |
| 'arba8 'kutub... | 'Four books... |

with:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| tala't arba8 'kutub... | 'Three or four books... |
|------------------------|-------------------------|

and

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Hi'da:8ar ki'ta:b... | 'Eleven books... |
| 'it'na:8ar ki'ta:b... | 'Twelve books... |

with:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hi'da:8ar it'na:8ar ki'ta:b... | 'Eleven or twelve books... |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|

(ii) But in cases where the first numeral is of sub-class IIA(ii) items (i.e. '3 to 10') and the second is of sub-class IIB (i.e. '11 upwards'), then the noun following has the form required by the second numeral.

Compare:

'8aʒar 'kutub...

'Ten books...'

Hi'da:ʒar ki'ta:b...

'Eleven books...'

with:

'8aʒara Hi'da:ʒar ki'ta:b...

'Ten or eleven books...'

Not *'8aʒara Hi'da:ʒar 'kutub...

(iii) In definite Nl.Ps the definite article associates only with the first non-ordinal numeral.

Compare:

(Indef.) '8aʒara Hi'da:ʒar ki'ta:b... 'Ten or eleven books...'

with:

(Def.) 'il'8aʒara Hi'da:ʒar ki'ta:b... 'The ten or the eleven books

(iv) In indefinite Nl.Ps the verbal element occurs only in Form z, e.g.

'IVA' 'saba8 'taman xo'xa:t 'xisru
'Seven or eight peaches went bad'

'IIIIH' '8aʒara t'na:ʒar 'walad 'nagaHu
'Ten or twelve boys succeeded'

Contrast:

'saba8 xo'xa:t 'xisru ('xisrit)

'Seven peaches went bad'

'taman xo'xa:t 'xisru ('xisrit)

'Eight peaches went bad'

'8a8ar tiw'la:d 'nagaHu

'Ten boys succeeded'

'it'na:8ar 'walad 'nagaHu ('nagaH)

'Twelve boys succeeded'

Group B consists of compound numerals starting from 'wa:hid wi 8i8'ri:n 'Twenty one' involving units, teens, tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. The order of items within the compound numerals corresponds to the English order with the exception that 'units' precede 'tens'; the particle wi 'And' always precedes the final numeral.

Examples:

'ar'ba8a wtala'ti:n mad'rasa ...

'34 schools ...'

'miyya wta'la:ta mad'rasa ... (33)

'103 schools ...'

'miyya wxamas'ta:8ar mad'rasa ...

'115 schools ...'

'talat ta'la:f tumnu'miyya 'sab8a wtis'8i:n mad'rasa ...

'3,897 schools ...'

(33) A more common alternative structure in which the unit numeral follows the noun occurs in my idiolect. Hence, 'mi:t mad'rasa wta'la:ta ...

Note that:

(i) The noun following this type of compound numeral always occurs in Form 1 even when the last numeral preceding it is from '3 to 10' (as is the case with the second example above).

(ii) In definite Nl.Ps, as is the case with Group A, the article is prefixed solely to the first numeral.

Compare the last example above with:

'it'talat ta'la:f tumnu'miyya 'sab8a wtis'8i:n mad'rasa...
'The 3,897 schools...'

(iii) In verbal clauses where the nominal phrase is indefinite, the verbal element (unlike the case with Group A) may occur in one of two alternative Forms. One form is always Form z; the other is either Form x (where the noun is masculine) or Form y (where the noun is feminine). This is another case where the category of 'gender' has to be taken into account in 'Plural' Verbal clauses.

The following two examples where the first involves the masculine noun ki'ta:b and the second the feminine noun mad'rasa are illustrations.

1. 'ar'ba8a wtala'ti:n ki'ta:b 'da:8u ('da:8)
'Thirty four books were lost'

2. 'miyya 'wa:Hid wi8i8'ri:n mad'rasa t'banu (t'banit)
'A hundred and twenty one schools were built'

In this respect, it is to be noted that when the compound numeral involves the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid 'One', the latter occurs in Form x (i.e. /'wa:Hid/) and never in Form y (i.e. /'waHda/) even if the noun involved is feminine as is the case with the last example above. Conversely, if the compound numeral involves any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10', the latter occurs in its first form (i.e. ending with /-a/) even if the noun involved is masculine as is the case in the first example above.

(iv) Needless to say where the nominal phrase is definite, the verbal element occurs only in Form z.

Compare the above two examples with:

lar'ba8a wtala'ti:n ki'ta:b 'da:8u
'The thirty four books were lost'

'il'miyya 'wa:Hid wi8i8'ri:n mad'rasa t'banu
'The hundred and twenty one schools were built'

This is another reason for dealing with definiteness with respect to number.

Fractions words

Since, apart from 'nuss 'One-half', fraction words are related by their root to the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' and because they do not function syntactically entirely like nouns, may most conveniently be treated here. Morphologically, they can be considered as masculine 'non-human' nouns of Class III having three Forms. These are as follows:

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
1/2	/'nuss/	/nus'se:n/	/'in'sa:s/
1/3	/'tult/	/tul'te:n/	/'it'la:t/
1/4	/'rub8/	/rub'8e:n/	/'ir'ba:8/
1/5	/'xums/	/xum'se:n/	/'ix'ma:s/
1/6	/'suds/	/sud'se:n/	/'is'da:s/
1/7	/'sub8/	/sub'8e:n/	/'is'ba:8/
1/8	/'tumn/	/tum'ne:n/	/'it'ma:n/
1/9	/tus8/	/tus'8e:n/	/'it'sa:8/
1/10	/'8u8r/	/8u8're:n/	/'i8'8a:r/

Compare the masculine noun 'xurg 'Saddle bag' belonging to noun Class (III_H):

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/'xurg/	/xur'ge:n/	/'ix'ra:g/

In general, Form 1 (Indef.) of a three-Form noun can occur on its own as the subject of the sentence, e.g.

'walad 'nagaH

'A boy succeeded'

But only the definite Form 1 of fraction words can have this syntactic position, e.g.

'in'nussī'nagaH

'The half succeeded'

In this thesis, a sequence of a fraction word + noun is treated as a construct belonging to the first of the three groups set up for constructs on pp.89-90 where the first element of the construct (in this case the fraction word) controls the number concord of the clause. Compare the following three sets of examples:

Set I:

'nuss iṣ'santa n'sara'

'Half (the contents) of the bag was stolen'

'tult ilma'8a:li' 'da:8

'A third of the spoons was lost'

'rub8ī limtiHa'na:t iṣ'saHHaH

'A quarter of the examination papers was corrected'

'8uṣr il'manga 'xisir

'A tenth of the mangoes went bad'

Set II:

'is'anta n'sara'it

'The bag was stolen'

'ilma'8a:li' 'da:8it ('da:8u)

'The spoons were lost'

limtiHa'na:t issaH'HaHit

'The examination papers were corrected'

'il'manga 'xisrit

'The mangoes went bad'

Set III:

'in'nuss in'sara'

'The half was stolen'

'it'tulti'da:8

'The third was lost'

'ir'rub8 is'saHHaH

'The fourth was corrected'

'il'8u8ri 'xisir

'The tenth went bad'

As can be seen from the above three sets of examples, Set I has the same number concord as Set III showing that the concord of the whole clause is with the fraction word.

This is not so, however, for all speakers. Some have the usage where it is the second element of the construct (i.e. the noun following the fraction word) which controls the number concord of the clause, e.g.

'nu_{ss} i_s'santa n'sara'it

'Half (the contents) of the bag was stolen'

'tult ilma'8a:li' 'da:8it ('da:8u)

'A third of the spoons was lost'

'rub8i limtiHa'na:t issaH'HaHit

'A quarter of the examination papers was corrected'

'8u_r il'manga 'xisrit

'A tenth of the mangoes went bad'

Although these different usages are restricted to particular idiolects, they are all acceptable in general.

Basic structure 6, (Nominal + ki'ti:r) (34)

The nominal element in the above structure may be:

A noun in Form 1, Form 3 or Form 5.

A numeral quantifier in Form 3.

A variable adjective in Form z.

Like N1.P5, N1.P6 enters either into 'Singular' or 'Plural' (but not 'Dual') clause structures.

If the nominal is a numeral quantifier or a variable adjective, then the N1.P enters into 'Plural' clause structures only (see p. 140-1).

In cases where the nominal is a noun, then the number concord depends on its class as follows:

(i) Where the noun belongs to Class 'IA4' it occurs in Form 1 and the whole clause structure is 'Singular', e.g.

'laHma k'ti:r 'xisrit 'A lot of meat went bad'

(ii) Where the noun belongs to Class IV, it is Form 5 of the noun that occurs and the clause structure as a whole is also 'Singular', e.g.

'xo:x ki'ti:r 'xisir 'A lot of peaches went bad'

(iii) With nouns of all the other classes with which ki'ti:r can colligate (i.e. Noun Classes 'IB', 'II' and 'III') it is Form 3 of the noun that occurs and the whole clause is 'Plural', e.g.

(34) Where other speakers use three forms, i.e. /ki'ti:r/, /ki'ti:ra/, /ku'ta:r/ 'Many, a lot of' which correspond to those of variable adjectives, I use the form /ki'ti:r/ only.

'IBI.' (e.g. /'na:s/ 'People) :

'na:s ki'ti:r 'waṣalu ('waṣalit)

'Many people arrived'

'IIH1' (e.g. /mudarri'si:n/ 'Teachers') :

mudarri'si:n ki'ti:r 'waṣalu ('waṣalit)

'Many teachers arrived'

'IIIH' (e.g. /ba'na:t/ 'Girls') :

ba'na:t ki'ti:r 'waṣalu ('waṣalit)

'Many girls arrived'

Note that where ki'ti:r is preceded by a noun, the nominal phrase as a whole may be indefinite (as is the case in all the above examples) or definite. In the latter case, the article is prefixed to both elements (i.e. noun + ki'ti:r). This type of N1.P is semantically equivalent to the definite construct (kuṭr + (def.) noun). The lexical item 'kuṭr' is a masculine one-Form noun meaning 'Abundance; a great number of' and controls the number (and gender) concord of the clause, (i.e. the clause structure as a whole is always masculine 'Singular'). Semantically equivalent examples are given below using ki'ti:r and 'kuṭr'.

'IA4'

Singular (m) 'is'sukkar ikki'ti:r yi'durr

(m) 'kuṭr is'sukkar yi'durr

'(Consuming) a lot of sugar is harmful'

'IVA' :

Singular (f) il'manga kki'ti:r 'tit8ib
(m) 'kutr il'manga 'yit8ib
'(Eating) too many mangoes is harmful'

'IB1' :

Plural 'in'na:s ikki'ti:r yif'riHu ('tifriH)
Singular (m) 'kutr in'na:s 'yifriH
'(Having) many people (around) gladens'

'IIH1' :

Plural 'ilmudarri'si:n ikki'ti:r yi'tam'minu (ti'tammin)
Singular (m) 'kutr ilmudarri'si:n yi'tammin /
'(Having) many teachers gives confidence'

'IIIH' :

Plural 'il8i'ya:l ikki'ti:r yi'rifu ('ti'rif)
Singular (m) 'kutr il8i'ya:l 'yi'rif
'(Having) many children causes trouble'

Where the first element of basic N1.P6 is a numeral quantifier, it always occurs in Form 3 and the whole N1.P (whether indefinite or definite) enters into 'Plural' clause structures only, e.g.

'disat ki'ti:r it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it) 'Many dozens were sold'
'id'disat ikki'ti:r it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it) 'The many dozens were sold'

Note that the two numeral quantifiers 'to:ra and 'dasta show two alternative forms with respect to Form 3, one ending in

/-cac/, the other in /-ca:t/. However, in N1.P6 examples, it is the first (never the second) that occurs. For these forms, see below, p. 374.

If the nominal involved is an adjective, it always occurs in Form z; and the whole clause structure is 'Plural' and the verbal element in the second phrase occurs also only in Form z, e.g.

ʒat'ri:n ki'ti:r 'nagaHu 'Many clever (persons) succeeded'

Here it is to be noted that this sort of N1.P (i.e. where ki'ti:r is preceded by an adjective) does not enter into the system of definiteness and therefore is never associated with the article.

It may be argued that ki'ti:r occurring in basic structure 6 could be considered as a modifying adjective, in which case N1.P6 would be classed with N1.P1 modified structures since phrases such as:

- a) 'ik'kutub ikki'ti:r 'awī...
'The very many books...'
- b) 'ik'kutub ikki'ti:r 'awī 'do:l ...
'Those very many books ...'
- c) 'ik'kutub il'wara' ikki'ti:r 'awī ...
'The very many paper-back books ...'

are parallel to the following three examples of the basic structures (N1.P1, N1.P2 and N1.P3 respectively modified by the

Set I, basic structure 1 + [adjective] :

Adjective	Form x	'iḡ'sa:tir [itti'xi:n] 'nagaH 'The fat clever one(m) succeeded'
	Form y	'iḡ'satra [itti'xi:na] 'nagaHit 'The fat clever one(f) succeeded'
	Form z	iḡsat'ri:n [ittu'xa:n] 'nagaHu 'The fat clever ones succeeded'
Numeral- quantifier	Form 1	'id'dasta [lḡalya] t'ba:8it 'The expensive dozen was sold'
	Form 2	'iddasti'te:n [ilḡal'yi:n] it'ba:8u 'The two expensive dozens were sold'
	Form 3	'id'disat [il'ḡalya (ilḡal'yi:n)] (i)t'ba:8it (i)t'b:8u 'The expensive dozens were sold'
Noun	Form 1	'il'bint [ikki'bi:ra] 'nagaHit 'The big girl succeeded'
	Form 2	'ilbin'te:n [ikku'ba:r] 'nagaHu 'The two big girls succeeded'
	Form 3	'ilba'na:t [ikku'ba:r] (ikki'bi:ra)] 'nagaHu (nagaHit) 'The big girls succeeded'
	Form 4	talat batti'xa:t [ku'ba:r] it'ba:8u 'Three big water melons were sold'
	Form 5	'ilbat'ti:x [ikki'bi:r] it'ba:8 'The big water melons were sold'

Set II, basic structure 6 :

Adjective	Form 2:	ʃat'ri:n ki'ti:r'nagaHu 'Many clever ones succeeded'
Numeral quantifier	Form 3	'disat ki'ti:r it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u) 'Many dozens were sold'
Noun	Form 1	'sukkar ki'ti:r xisir 'A lot of sugar went bad'
	Form 3	ba:na:t ki'ti:r'nagaHu ('nagaHit) 'Many girls succeeded'
	Form 5	bat'ti:x ki'ti:r it'ba:8 'Many water melons were sold'

In this way it can be seen that N1.P6 has a particular relationship to the category of number only occurring in either 'Singular' or 'Plural' clause structures depending on the class of the nominal element preceding ki'ti:r. These syntactic characteristics differentiate ki'ti:r from the rest of the class of adjectives. Therefore, I consider it as an element of a basic nominal phrase structure (i.e. N1.P6) and not as a modifying element to basic N1.P1 examples. However, there is the idiomatic expression si'wayya k'ti:r ... 'A lot of' in which ki'ti:r might be considered as modifying the N1.P1 si'wayya (see p. 160).

Complex nominal phrases

As mentioned before, 'Complex' nominal phrases can be described in terms of combinations of two (or more) of the six basic 'Simple' nominal phrases given on page 68. In general, these combinations are of three types as follows:

1. Those constituting successions of separate Nl.Ps linked to each other by wi 'And'.
2. Those involving two Nl.Ps in apposition to each other.
3. Those combining features of more than one basic simple Nl.P.

The following three examples are illustrations:

1. '8ali wim'darris itta'ri:x wit'talat ba'na:t raw'waHu
'Ali (and) the history teacher and the three girls went home'

This example is a succession of three basic simple nominal phrases namely, Nl.P1 (i.e. '8ali), Nl.P4 (i.e. mu'darris itta'ri:x) and Nl.P5 (i.e. 'it'talat ba'na:t) linked to each other by wi. There are, however, no restrictions on the combinability of the different basic nominal phrase structures except that where the first Nl.P is an adjective, all succeeding ones will also be adjectives, e.g.

- 'ittta'wɪl witti'xi:na raw'waHu
'The tall one(m) and the fat one(f), both went home'

Note that though each nominal may occur in any form, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'. For further details see above, pp.49-51 (Case 6).

2. '8ali mu'darris itta'ri:x 'rawwaH
'Ali, the history teacher, went home'

This is an example of two basic simple Nl.Ps; Nl.Pl (i.e. '8ali) and Nl.Pl (i.e. mu'darris itta'ri:x) in apposition to each other. Many combinations of different nominal phrase structures are possible. However, a full enumeration of these possibilities will not be given. What is to be noted here is that in this type of complex nominal phrases there is number concord between the two Nl.Ps and gender concord where the number is 'Singular'. Therefore both /'8ali/ and /mu'darris/ are in Form 1(m). The number concord of the whole clause can be said to be between the whole combination Nl.P and the second phrase of the clause except in the case of one type of 'bi'ta:8 phrase' where the concord of the whole clause is with the Nl.P. preceding bi'ta:8/ bi'ta:8a. Therefore, in a Verbal clause such as 'ig'ḡunat ig'gildī b'ta8t ik'kutub 'ḡilyu ('ḡilyit) 'The leather brief cases have become expensive', the verbal element in Form 2 (y) is in concord with noun Form 3 (i.e. /'ḡunat/). An alternative structure showing concord between the whole combination of Nl.P. and the Form of the verb in the second phrase does occur, e.g.

'ig'ḡunat ig'gildī b'tu:8 ik'kutub 'ḡilyu ('ḡilyit)

where the Form of the verbal element shows regular concord both with /'ḡunat/ and /bi'tu:8/.

3. 'kull il'8aṣar ka'ra:si il'xaṣab it'ba:8u

'All the ten wooden chairs were sold'

This example shows features of three different basic simple nominal phrase structures namely, N1.P3 (i.e. ka'ra:si 'xaṣab), N1.P5 (i.e. 'il'8aṣar ka'ra:si) and N1.P4 (i.e. 'kull ikka'ra:si). In this particular example the concord is between the second phrase (i.e. Verb Form z) and N1.P5 (i.e. 'il'8aṣar ka'ra:si). For the actual nature of this concord, see definite N1.P5 examples on pp.120 and 125-6 under Set II. In fact, the matter of concord with this type of complex N1.P is very involved. In each combination one N1.P can be regarded as controlling the number concord. This of course would have to be stated for each type separately, but as it is irrelevant to the study of number, it will not be treated further here.

CHAPTER SIX

EXTENDED NOMINAL PHRASE STRUCTURES

As stated above on p.67 examples of basic nominal phrase structures can be extended in two ways referred to in this thesis as:

1. Expansion
2. Modification

both of which may be applied separately or simultaneously to Simple and Complex Nl.Ps.

1. Expansion

This is of two kinds:

- (i) Relative phrases
- (ii) Prepositional phrases

The following examples show one basic Simple nominal phrase + one each of the three above mentioned types of Complex Nl.P, expanded in each case by a bracketed relative phrase and a prepositional phrase. The example involving the relative phrase is marked (b) and that involving the prepositional phrase is marked (c).

Examples:

Simple Nl.P (structure 1) :

- (a) ki'ta:b 'da:8
 'A book was lost'
- (b) ki'ta:b ['ka:n fiʃ/ʃanta] 'da:8
 'A book that was in the brief case was lost'
- (c) ki'ta:b [bi'gilda 'Hamra] 'da:8
 'A book with a red cover was lost'

Complex Nl.Ps:

Type 1:

- (a) 'walad wi'binti 'nagaHu
 'A boy and a girl succeeded'
- (b) 'walad wi'binti ['ka:nu xay'bi:n] 'nagaHu
 'A boy and a girl who were unintelligent succeeded'
- (c) 'walad wi'binti [min Hit'titna] 'nagaHu
 'A boy and a girl of our district succeeded'

Type 2:

- (a) '8ali mu'darris itta'ri:x 'ba'a wa'zi:r
 'Ali, the history lecturer, became a minister'
- (b) '8ali mu'darris itta'ri:x [illi 'abil'na:h im'ba:riH]
 'ba'a wa'zi:r
 'Ali, the history lecturer whom we met yesterday
 became a minister'
- (c) '8ali mu'darris itta'ri:x [fi'gam8it iskindi'riyya]
 'ba'a wa'zi:r
 'Ali, the history lecturer in Alexandria University
 became a minister'.

Type 3:

- (a) 'kull il'8aʒar ka'ra:si l'xaʒab it'ba:8u
'All the ten wooden chairs were sold'
- (b) 'kull il'8aʒar ka'ra:si l'xaʒab [illi h'na:k] it'ba:8u
'All the ten wooden chairs over there were sold'
- (c) 'kull il'8aʒar ka'ra:si l'xaʒab (biʒarabe'zithum)it'ba:8u
'All the ten wooden chairs together with the table
that goes with them were sold'

If we compare examples (b) and (c) which involve expansions with their counterpart (a) involving no expansion we see that expansion has no implications for the study of number. Therefore, no further reference will be made to expansion. Moreover, all examples given from now on will be without any expansion.

2. Modification

I recognize four classes of modifying elements which may be added to Simple and Complex nominal phrase structures. These are:

1. Adjective
2. Intensifier
3. Numeral⁽¹⁾
4. 'wa:hid 'A (certain)'

A detailed description of these modifying elements and the concordial relationship obtaining between them and the other

(1) In discussing Nl.Ps in which a numeral acts as a modifying element, two types of piece, namely, 'Cardinal' and 'Ordinal' are to be distinguished. (See below, pp. 173-87).

elements of the nominal phrase structure with which they may colligate may be of great relevance to a thesis dealing with concord; it is not suitable here to treat it more than briefly.

Although the presence or absence of these modifying elements does not affect the assignment of the clause structure as a whole to a single term in the category of number, the present thesis cannot totally ignore some study of modification as it has certain implications for number with regard to particular N1.P5 structures.⁽²⁾

Since Complex N1.Ps, as stated above, are described in terms of combinations of two or more of the six basic N1.Ps mentioned on page 68, all examples in this section, for the sake of simplicity, will be of the type involving Simple nominal phrase structures only. Further, examples of basic nominal phrase structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1) will be taken as a model since they are in general typical of the others as well; exceptions will be pointed out.

In the following section examples of each of the word classes which occurs as the main constituent of basic N1.P1 will be given with whichever of the four classes of modifying elements it can colligate. Moreover, an example without any modifying element will also be given so that we can see in which case the modifying element has implication for 'Number'. Since the category of definiteness hardly affects number, the examples chosen are all definite apart from those involving

(2) See below, p. 153 under (iii) and pp. 164-5 under N1.P5.

the modifying element 'wa:Hid 'A certain' since such nominal phrases are outside the system of definiteness. As will be noted, the adjective and the numeral as modifying elements are prefixed with the definite article in these definite examples.

Nl.Pl (Nominal) :

As stated above, the nominal element in this type of structure may be a member of one of the following seven word classes:

- A. Noun
- B. Adjective
- C. Numeral
- D. Personal pronoun
- E. Quantifier
- F. Demonstrative
- G. Classifier

The possibility of occurrence of the four classes of modifying elements with these nominals is shown below. The modifying element (or elements) will be given between square brackets.

Nl.Pl : A. Noun

e.g. 'il'binti 'nagaHit
'The girl succeeded'

A noun can be modified by:

(1) Adjective⁽³⁾ e.g.

'il'bint [itt'a'wi:la] 'nagaHit
'The tall girl succeeded'

(3) See next page.

(ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.

'il'bint [it̥ta'wi:la 'awi] 'nagaHit

'The very tall girl succeeded'

(iii) Numeral (in both ordinal and cardinal pieces), e.g.

Ordinal: 'il'bint [ilHi'da:sar] 'nagaHit

'The eleventh girl succeeded'

Cardinal: 'ilba'na:t [ilHi'da:sar] 'nagaHu

'The eleven girls succeeded'

In the above cardinal example the verbal element occurs in Form z only. (Cf. 'ilba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit) where the verbal element may occur in one of two alternative Forms, i.e. Form z or Form y. This is one of the structures where the modifying element is of relevance to the study of number.

(iv) 'wa:Hid 'A certain', ⁽⁴⁾ e.g.

['waHda] 'binti 'nagaHit

'A certain girl succeeded'

Note that combinations of three at most of the above four modifying elements can accompany a noun. These are either:

1. ['wa:Hid] + noun + [adjective + intensifier] OR
2. Noun + [numeral + adjective + intensifier]

(3) In my idiolect the maximum number of adjectives occurring as modifiers is three. However, these all obey the same rules of concord with the controlling element, e.g. 'il'bint [it̥ta'wi:la s̥'sa'ra l'Hilwa] 'nagaHit 'The tall blonde pretty girl succeeded'. As this is the case, for brevity's sake, examples with one adjective only will be given in each case.

(4) For the particular group of nouns that can be preceded with this modifying element, see below, p. 188.

Examples:

1. ['waHda] 'binti [ta'wi:la ''awi] 'nagaHit
'A certain very tall girl succeeded'
2. 'il'bint [it'talta tta'wi:la ''awi] 'nagaHit
'The third very tall girl succeeded'

Nl.Pl : B. Adjective

- e.g. 'is'ʒa:tir 'nagaH
'The clever one(m) succeeded'

An adjective can be modified by:

- (i) Adjective, e.g.
'is'ʒa:tir [ittta'wi:l] 'nagaH
'The tall clever one succeeded'
- (ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.
'is'ʒa:tir [ittta'wi:l ''awi] 'nagaH
'The very tall clever one succeeded'
- (iii) Intensifier, e.g.
'is'ʒa:tir [''awi] 'nagaH
'The very clever one succeeded'
- (iv) Ordinal numeral, e.g.
'is'ʒa:tir [it'ta:lit] 'nagaH
'The third clever one succeeded'

Here too, combinations of three at most of the above modifying elements namely, ordinal numeral + adjective + intensifier (in this order) can accompany the adjective, e.g.

'iʒ'ʒa:tir [it'ta:lit itta'wi:l 'ʔawi] 'nagaH

'The third clever one who is very tall succeeded'

Nl.Pl : C. Numeral

e.g. 'itta'la:ta 'nagaHu

'The three succeeded'

Only non-ordinal (but not ordinal) numerals can colligate with a modifying element. The modifying elements involved in this type of structure are the following:

(i) Adjective, e.g.

'itta'la:ta [ttu'wa:l] 'nagaHu

'The three tall ones succeeded'

(ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.

'itta'la:ta [ttu'wa:l 'ʔawi] 'nagaHu

'The very three tall ones succeeded'

(iii) An ordinal numeral,⁽⁵⁾ e.g.

'itta'la:ta [l'awwalaniy'yi:n] 'nagaHu

'The first three succeeded'

(5) Note that (i) Where the cardinal numeral involved is 'wa:Hid 'One', the modifying element is only one of the ordinals 'ta:ni 'Other, second' to '8a:sir 'Tenth' and the whole nominal phrase is outside the system of definiteness, e.g. 'wa:Hid ['ta:ni] 'sa'al 8a'le:k 'A second (another) one asked about you'

(ii) Where the non-ordinal numeral involved is above 'wa:Hid, only one of the following three ordinal numerals 'awwala:ni, 'ta:ni and 'ax'ra:ni may occur as a modifying element. However, though only the two ordinals 'awwa'la:ni and 'axra:ni occur in definite nominal phrases, the three always occur in Form z (i.e. ending in /-i:n/.

Combinations of all three modifying elements can occur. In this sort of combination the intensifier follows the adjective directly. However, the order of the adjective and the ordinal numeral is optional. Therefore, there are the following two possibilities:

'itta'la:ta [ttu'wa:l ''awi l'awwalaniy'yi:n] 'nagaHu
 or 'itta'la:ta [l'awwalaniy'yi:n ittut'wa:l ''awi] 'nagaHu
 'The first three very tall ones succeeded'

Nl.Pl : D. Personal pronoun

e.g. ''intu na'gaHtu
 'You (pl.) succeeded'

Only plural pronouns can have a modifying element and this in turn is always a member of Class II non-ordinal numerals.

Examples:

- 1) First person plural: ''iHna [lit'ne:n] na'gaHna
 'Both of us succeeded'
- 2) Second person plural: ''intu [lar'ba8a] na'gaHtu
 'The four of you succeeded'
- 3) Third person plural: 'humma [l'xamsa] 'nagaHu
 'The five of them succeeded'

Note that:

- (i) These cardinal pieces are always definite.
- (ii) Where the modifying numeral is any of the cardinals '3 to 10' it occurs in its first Form (i.e. that ending with /-a/).

- (iii) Phrases corresponding to 'Two of us', 'Three of them', etc. are not of this structure but Nl.Pl expanded by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

'it'ne:n [min'nina] ...

'Two of us ...'

ta'la:ta ['minhum] ...

'Three of them ...'

Nl.Pl : E. Quantifier

As mentioned before (see above, p. 70) quantifiers are of two groups each of which involves four items. These two groups are termed:

- (1) Numeral quantifiers
- (2) Non-numeral quantifiers

1. Numeral quantifiers:

e.g. 'id'dasta t'ba:8it

'The dozen was sold'

All members of the numeral quantifiers can be modified by:

- (i) Adjective, e.g.

'id'dasta [l'galya] t'ba:8it

'The expensive dozen was sold'

- (ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.

'id'dasta [l'galya ''awi] t'ba:8it

'The very expensive dozen was sold'

(iii) Numeral (in both ordinal and cardinal pieces) e.g.

Ordinal: 'id'dasta [lHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8it
'The eleventh dozen was sold'

Cardinal: 'id'disat [ilHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8u
'The eleven dozens were sold'

Combinations of all three modifying elements normally occur in the following order:

Numeral + adjective + intensifier (in both ordinal and cardinal pieces). Note that the adjective and the intensifier cannot be separated but the numeral may precede or follow them both.

Examples of ordinal pieces:

'id'dasta [lHi'da:ʒar il'galya ''awi] t'ba:8it
or
'id'dasta [l'galya ''awi lHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8it
'The eleventh very expensive dozen was sold'

2. Non-numeral quantifiers:

Out of the four non-numeral quantifiers, 'mu8zam and 'aglab 'Most of' do not occur as examples of Nl.Pl (See above, p. 70) Of the other two, 'kull only occurs in Nl.Pl in its definite form (i.e. /'il'kull/) 'All' and is not subject to modification. Therefore only ʒi'wayya 'A few, some' has to be considered here. e.g. ʒi'wayya 'nagaHu 'A few succeeded'

ʒi'wayya can be modified by:

(i) Adjective (other than those of origin) e.g.

'iʃʃi'wayya [lHil'wi:n] 'nagaHu

'The few pretty ones succeeded'

I exclude adjectives of origin because in my idiolect they involve different structures, e.g.

a) ʃi'wayyit 'na:s [masriy'yi:n] ... 'Some Egyptians...'

b) si'wayyit ba'na:t [faransawiy'yi:n].. 'Some French girls...'

The above two examples are constructs (N1.P4) modified by adjectives of origin.

I have come across some speakers who use phrases such as ʃi'wayyit masriy'yi:n ..., ʃi'wayyit faransawiy'yi:n ... etc. These would be considered as examples of a construct (see above, p. 88) and not of a non-numeral quantifier modified by an adjective.

(ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.

'iʃʃi'wayya [lHil'wi:n ' 'awi] 'nagaHu

'The few very pretty ones succeeded'

(iii) One of the three ordinals 'awwa'la:ni 'First', 'ta:ni 'Second' and 'ax'ra:ni 'Last' in Form z only, e.g.

'iʃʃi'wayya [l'awwalaniy'yi:n] 'nagaHu

'The first few ones succeeded'

Combinations of all three modifying elements can occur. In such a combination the intensifier always follows the adjective directly. However, the order of the ordinal numeral and the

adjective is optional. Thus, there are the following possibilities:

'is/si'wayya [l'awwalaniy'yi:n ilHil'wi:n ''awi] 'nagaHu
 or 'is/si'wayya [lHil'wi:n ''awi l'awwalaniy'yi:n] 'nagaHu
 'The first very pretty few ones succeeded'

Note: si'wayya is often used with ki'ti:r 'A lot of, many'. The combination of the two items is an idiomatic expression equivalent to just ki'ti:r in meaning. Compare the following three examples:

si'wayya 'nagaHu	'A few succeeded'
ki'ti:r 'nagaHu	'Many succeeded'
si'wayya k'ti:r 'nagaHu	'Many succeeded'

As mentioned on p.144 ki'ti:r might be considered as modifying si'wayya.

N1.P1 : F. Demonstrative

In my idiolect, demonstratives do not colligate with any modifying element. However, with some speakers the demonstrative Form /'do:l/ 'These' may be modified by any non-ordinal numeral above 'wa:Hið 'One', e.g. 'do:l [itta'la:ta] ... 'These three...', etc. Such phrases are impossible in my idiolect. Instead I use 'itta'la:ta 'do:l ... etc. which belong to N1.P2 (see above, p. 74, f.n.4).

N1.P1 : G. Classifier

e.g. 'fassi 'wa'a8 'A segment fell down'

A classifier can be modified by:

(i) Adjective, e.g.

'fassi [k'bi:r] 'wa'a8

'A big segment fell down'

(ii) Adjective + intensifier, e.g.

'fassi [k'bi:r ''awi] 'wa'a8

'A very big segment fell down'

(iii) Numeral (in both ordinal and cardinal pieces), e.g.

Ordinal: 'ilfassi [ilHi'da:ʒar] 'wa'a8

'The eleventh segment fell down'

Cardinal: 'ilfu'su:s [ilHi'da:ʒar] 'wa'a8u

'The eleven segments fell down'

Combinations of all three modifying elements can occur, e.g.

'ilfu'su:s [ilHi'da:ʒar ikku'ba:r ''awi] 'wa'a8u

'The very big eleven segments fell down'

The ways in which examples of the nominal phrase of basic structure 1 are modified have been shown in detail. A similar full treatment of the other five basic structures is unnecessary⁽⁶⁾ and only one model example will be given for each basic structure except for N1.P5. Note that the element 'wa:Hid 'A certain' does not modify examples of these five basic structures. For the sake of easy reference, the items used in all the examples are the masculine noun ki'ta:b 'Book', the ordinal numeral

(6) But see below, pp.164-5 under N1.P5.

'awwa'la:ni 'First' and the adjective ki'bi:r 'Big; old'.

Intensifiers have not been included as they are invariable in form and always follow the adjective. I have also chosen definite examples as illustrations.

N1.P2 (Nominal + demonstrative) :

In this structure the modifying elements occur in most idiolects (including my own) between the nominal element and the demonstrative, e.g.

'ikki'ta:b [il'awwa'la:ni kki'bi:r] 'da t'ba:8

'That first big book was sold'

However, with some speakers the modifying element may occur either before or after the demonstrative.

N1.P3 (Noun + noun of material) :

In this structure the modifying elements also follow the whole N1.P, e.g.

'ikki'ta:b il'wara' [il'awwa'la:ni kki'bi:r] it'ba:8

'The first big paper-back book was sold'

N1.P4 (Construct) :

In this structure too the modifying elements follow the constituents of the construct, e.g.

ki'ta:b il'walad [il'awwa'la:ni kki'bi:r] 'da:8

The above example is ambiguous. It may be interpreted as 'The boy's first big book was lost' or 'The book of the first big boy was lost' depending on whether the modifying part is looked on as modifying the first or the second element of the construct respectively. This is only true where both elements of the construct are nouns and have one of the following six sets of associations:

	Form of the first noun	Form of the second noun	Form of the modifying element(s)
a)	1(m)	1(m)	x
b)	1(f)	1(f)	y
c)	1(f)	3	y
d)	3	1(f)	y
e)	3	3	y
f)	3	3	z

Such phrases constitute instances of constructional homonymity which may be resolved by the use of 'bi'ta:8 phrases' which are semantically equivalent to constructs but in which the modifying part follows directly the nominal element it modifies. In such phrases the construct relation no longer obtains between its two main constituents. Therefore, the above example will be either:

'ikki'ta:b [il'awwa'la:ni kki'bi:r] bi'ta:8 il'walad...
'The boy's first big book...'

or

'ikki'ta:b bi'ta:8 il'walad [il'awwa'la:ni kki'bi:r]...
'The book of the first big boy...'

Where this is not the case, the Form of these modifying elements would indicate which of the two constituents of the construct they are modifying, e.g.

Form of the first noun	Form of the second noun	Form of the modifying element(s)
1(f)	1(m)	y
'šantit	il'walad	'il'awwa'la:ni
'The bag of the first boy'		
1(f)	1(m)	y
'šantit	il'walad	'il'awwala'niyya
'The boy's first bag'		
3	1(m)	y
'šunat	il'walad	il'awwala'niyya
'The boy's first bags'		
3	1(m)	z
'šunat	il'walad	il'awwalaniy'yi:n
'The boy's first bags'		
3	1(m)	x
'šunat	il'walad	il'awwa'la:ni
'The bags of the first boy'		
3	1(f)	z
'šunat	il'bint	il'awwalaniy'yi:n
'The girl's first bags'		

Nl.P5 (Non-ordinal numeral + noun) :

In this structure the modifying elements also follow the noun, e.g.

'it'talat 'kutub [il'awwalaniy'yi:n ikku'ba:r] it'ba:8u
'The first three big books were sold'

Before leaving Nl.P5 modified structures it is to be mentioned that in 'Plural' clause structures, the concord obtaining between the basic Nl.P5 and the verb in the second phrase required a number of different statements given on pages 106-33. Modification of the sub-structures set up does not alter the number concord and calls for no special comment except in one case which will be dealt with here.

In the following four examples, the first two have a basic Nl.P5 and the verb occurs in one of two alternative Forms; the second two have a basic Nl.P5 modified by an adjective ('sound' and 'broken' respectively) and the verb has no alternative Form.

Examples:

1. 'talat da''a:t in'sim8u (in'sim8it)
'Three strokes were heard'
2. '8aṣar baṭṭi'xa:t 'xisru ('xisrit)
'Ten water melons went bad'
3. 'talat da''a:t gam'di:n in'sim8u
'Three loud strokes were heard'

4. '8aʒar batti'xa:t ku'ba:r 'xisru
'Ten big water melons went bad'

This lack of alternation in the verb is subject to the following restrictions:

- a) The numeral is one of the cardinals '3 to 10'
- b) The noun is a member of Class IV and occurs in Form 4,
(see above, p. 44).
- c) The modifying element is an adjective.

This is one of the reasons for dealing with modification with respect to number. Here, I would like to mention that all the 600 responses of the above modified N1.P5 examples from my twenty informants representing eight dialects occur with Form z only of verb, adjective or deictic in the second phrase. With respect to the modifying adjective, it generally occurs in one Form only (Form z). However, out of the 600 responses only two occur with alternative Forms. These are,

- 1. 'talat zatu'na:t 'su:d ('so:da) 'xisru
'Three black olives went bad'
- 2. '8aʒar wara''a:t 'bi:d ('be:da) (i)t'malu
'Ten white sheets of paper were filled'

This alternative Form never occurs in my idiolect.

Nl.P6 (Nominal + ki'ti:r) :

Here too, the modifying elements follow the whole basic phrase, e.g.

'ik'kutub ikki'ti:r [il'awwalaniy'yi:n ikku'ba:r] it'ba:8u
 or 'ik'kutub ikki'ti:r [il'awwala'niyya kki'bi:ra] t'ba:8it
 'The first lot of the big books was sold'

The analysis will now proceed with a brief description of each of the four classes of modifying elements, in particular with respect to their formal scatter.

I. Adjective

Adjectives have various syntactic functions in the language.

(1) An adjective may be the only constituent of a basic nominal phrase structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1) in a nominal or a verbal clause. See, for instance, p.68 and pp. 218-24.

(2) It also occurs as the first element in basic nominal phrase structures 2, 4 and 6. See pp. 47, 86 (under 8 and 9) and 138.

(3) It also occurs with restrictions as the second element in basic nominal phrase structure 4. See p.85 under 6 and p. 88 under 14.

(4) It may also occur as an element modifying any of the basic N1.Ps '1 to 6'.

Number concord between the adjective and other relevant elements are the same within the phrase or from phrase to phrase within the clause. This is dealt with in detail below. See pp.220-4 ,264-7 , 281 , etc. See also, pp.164-5 under N1.P5. Two points are, however, dealt with here.

a) When adjectives occur as a modifying element, the adjective and the noun both are definite or indefinite except where the noun is outside the system of definiteness (i.e. a proper noun) where the adjective only is prefixed with the article, e.g.

'ikki'ta:b [ikku'wayyis]...	'The good book...'
ki'ta:b [ku'wayyis]...	'A good book...'
but 'Hasan [ikku'wayyis]...	'The good Hassan...'

b) The second point concerns the form of the adjective. Here it is to be noted that adjectives are of two sorts: 'Invariable' and 'Variable'. An invariable adjective such as 'ta:za 'Fresh' has only one form and hence shows no concord with the preceding Nl.P, e.g.

'il'xo:x	[it'ta:za]...	'The fresh peaches...'
'il'xo:xa	[t'ta:za]...	'The fresh peach...'
'ilxox'te:n	[it'ta:za]...	'The two fresh peaches...'
'it'talat xo'xa:t	[it'ta:za]...	'The three fresh peaches...'

The following are examples of commonly used invariable adjectives:

<u>'ta:za</u>	'Fresh'	<u>'8adam</u>	'Useless'
<u>'dalma</u>	'Dark'	<u>'baladi</u>	'Local; of a lower class'
<u>'8itra</u>	'Clever'	<u>'sa:da</u>	'Plain'
<u>'nimra</u>	'Cunning'	<u>'dahabi</u>	'Golden'
<u>'xa:m</u>	'Crude;raw'	<u>'faddi</u>	'Silvery'
<u>'8a:l</u>	'Good'	<u>'bunni</u>	'Brown'
<u>'Hizma</u>	'Modest;bashful'	<u>ru'sa:si</u>	'Grey'
<u>'sirf</u>	'Pure; 100%'	<u>'basali</u>	'Onion-coloured'
<u>'suruk</u>	'Defective'	<u>ni'bi:ti</u>	'Garnet'

A variable adjective has three forms termed x, y and z: as with certain other word classes (see above p. 35. Moreover,

variable adjectives fall into two types on the basis of the ending of Form z. These two types are traditionally referred to as 'Sound' and 'Broken'. In the 'Sound' type Form z is formed by the addition of the suffix /-i:n/ to Form x whereas in the 'Broken' type it is formed by internal change of various kinds in relation to Form x. In both types Form y is formed by the addition of the suffix /-a/ to Form x, e.g.

Form x	Form y	Form z	
'Sound' type: /ku'wayyis/	/kuway'yisa/	/kuwayyi'si:n/	'Good'
'Broken' type: /gi'di:d/	/gi'di:da/	/gu'da:d/	'New'

For the purpose of this thesis adjectives of origin, although they are variable in the sense that they have three Forms, will not be used apart from the examples given below since they do not vary with the majority of 'non-human' nouns, which would confuse the issue. Compare the following two sets of examples:

Set I, 'Human' nouns:

Form 1 (m)	'walad [ingi'li:zi]...	'An English boy...'
Form 1 (f)	'bint [ingili'ziyya]...	'An English girl...'
Form 2	wala'de:n [ingi'li:z]...	'Two English boys...'
Form 3	ba'na:t [ingi'li:z]...	'English girls...'

Set II, 'Non-human' nouns:

Form 1 (m)	'di:k [ingi'li:zi]...	'An English cockerel...'
Form 1 (f)	'farxa [ngi'li:zi]...	'An English hen...'

Form 2	di'ke:n [ingi'li:zi]...	'Two English cockerels...'
Form 3	fi'ra:x [ingi'li:zi]...	'English hens...'

Therefore, when the term adjective is mentioned from now on
(unless otherwise stated) it means a variable adjective other
than those of origin.

2. Intensifier

The following four items (traditionally termed 'intensifiers') are recognized in my idiolect. These are: ''awi 'Very', ''xa:lis 'Very', ''giddan 'Very' and 'si'wayya 'A little'. These intensifiers are invariable in form and regularly occur following adjectives as modifying elements. Note that when the nominal phrase involves more than one adjective + an intensifier, the latter modifies the adjective immediately preceding it, e.g.

1. 'il'walad [iʃ'ʒa:t̪ir it̪ta'wi:l 'xa:lis] ...
'The very tall clever boy...'
2. 'il'bint [iʃ'ʒat̪ra t̪ta'wi:la 'xa:lis] ...
'The very tall clever girl ...'
3. 'ilwala'de:n [iʃ'ʒat̪'ri:n it̪tu'wa:l 'xa:lis] ...
'The two very tall clever boys ...'
4. liw'la:d [iʃ'ʒat̪'ri:n it̪tu'wa:l 'xa:lis] ...
'The very tall clever boys ...'

Contrast:

1. 'il'walad [it̪ta'wi:l iʃ'ʒa:t̪ir 'xa:lis] ...
'The very clever tall boy ...'
2. 'il'bint [it̪ta'wi:la ʃ'ʒat̪ra 'xa:lis] ...
'The very clever tall girl ...'

3. 'ilwala'de:n [ittu'wa:l iʃʃat'ri:n 'xa:liʃ] ...
 'The two very clever tall boys ...'
4. liw'la:d [ittu'wa:l iʃʃat'ri:n 'xa:liʃ] ...
 'The very clever tall boys ...'

In addition, all intensifiers with the exception of ʃi'wayya

'A little' may be repeated for emphasis, e.g.

- 'il'bint [il'Hilwa ''awi ''awi] ...
 'The very very pretty girl ...'

3. Numeral

Numerals have various syntactic functions in the language as follows:

- (1) A numeral (whether ordinal or non-ordinal) may occur as the sole constituent of a basic nominal phrase structure 1, e.g.

Ordinal numeral:

'il'awwa'la:ni 'nagaH

'The first one succeeded'

Non-ordinal numeral:

'wa:Hid 'nagaH

'One succeeded'

'miyya 'nagaHu

'A hundred succeeded'

- (2) It also occurs with restrictions as an integral element in basic nominal phrase structures 2, 4 and 5, (see pp. 74, 83 and 96-133).

- (3) It may also occur as an element modifying any of the basic nominal phrase structures '1 to 6'.

In this section I am considering cases where the numeral is not basic to the phrase structure, but is a modifying element which may, in general, modify any of the six basic nominal phrase structures given on page 68. Here it is necessary to distinguish two types of numeral piece: 'Cardinal' and 'Ordinal'. These two types are distinguished by certain syntactic features and, when

involving enumerations from '1 to 10', by the form of the numeral involved as given below.

Cardinal numerals		Ordinal numerals	
<u>'wa:hid</u>	'One'	<u>'awwa'la:ni</u>	'First'
<u>'it'ne:n</u>	'Two'	<u>'ta:ni</u>	'Second; other'
<u>ta'la:ta</u>	'Three'	<u>'ta:lit</u>	'Third'
<u>'ar'ba8a</u>	'Four'	<u>'ra:bi8</u>	'Fourth'
<u>'xamsa</u>	'Five'	<u>'xa:mis</u>	'Fifth'
<u>'sitta</u>	'Six'	<u>'sa:tit</u>	'Sixth'
<u>'sab8a</u>	'Seven'	<u>'sa:bi8</u>	'Seventh'
<u>ta'manya</u>	'Eight'	<u>'ta:min</u>	'Eighth'
<u>'tis8a</u>	'Nine'	<u>'ta:si8</u>	'Ninth'
<u>'8a8ara</u>	'Ten'	<u>'8a:8ir</u>	'Tenth'

The syntactic features distinguishing these two types of numeral piece are the following:

A. Cardinal pieces

In cardinal pieces there will be a correlation between the cardinal numeral involved, the Form of the noun preceding it, and the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable. Here the classification of the numerals into (I, IIA(i), IIA(ii) and IIB) is the same as in N1.P5 examples though the treatment may be different.

I : 'wa:Hid 'One'

With the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid the preceding noun is always in Form 1 and the whole clause structure is 'Singular' (masculine or feminine), e.g.

	Noun Form	Numeral Form	Verb Form
	1(m)	x	x
(m)	ki'ta:b	['wa:Hid]	it'ba:8 'One book was sold'
	1(f)	y	y
(f)	'santa	['waHda]	tba:8it 'One bag was sold'

There is normally some element of emphasis in these Arabic examples, shown best perhaps by such an English translation as 'Only one book/bag was sold'.

Note that when the cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid occurs as the first element of N1.P5 examples, it differs from that used as a modifying element in the following points:

- 1) It occurs only in Form x (see p.102 under A).
- 2) The whole clause structure is always masculine singular regardless of the gender of the noun involved (see p.102 under D).

IIA(i) : 'it'ne:n 'Two'

When the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n modifies, it often, but not necessarily, has some emphasizing effect on the numeral

element, 'Only two' or 'Exactly two'. There are three cases to be considered.

1) Where it follows noun Form 2:

Here the basic nominal phrase as a whole may be indefinite or definite and the whole clause structure is 'Dual', e.g.

Ind. Dual: wala'de:n [it'ne:n] 'nagaHu

'Only two boys succeeded'

Def. Dual: 'ilwala'de:n [lit'ne:n] 'nagaHu

'Both the two boys succeeded'

Note that the addition of the modifying element 'it'ne:n in no way alters these two facts.

2) Where it follows noun Form 3 + a pronominal suffix:

Here the initial nominal phrase as a whole is always definite and the whole clause structure is 'Plural'. Note that only the numeral associates with the definite article, e.g.

ba'na:ti [lit'ne:n] 'nagaHu

'Both my two daughters succeeded'

cf. ba'na:ti 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)

'My daughters succeeded'

where the nominal phrase is outside the system of definiteness and the verb occurs in one of two alternative Forms.

3) Where it follows noun Form 3 without a pronominal suffix:

This case is limited, in my idiolect, to those nouns having no Form 2 such as mu'darris 'Male teacher'. Here, the nominal phrase as a whole is always definite, the article is prefixed to both the noun and the numeral and the whole clause structure is 'Plural', e.g.

'ilmudarri'si:n [lit'ne:n] 'nagaHu⁽⁷⁾

'(Both) the two teachers succeeded'

This is in contrast to Verbal clauses involving 'it'ne:n as the first element of basic nominal phrase structure 5 (i.e. N1.P5) where the nominal phrase as a whole may be indefinite or definite, e.g.

Ind. 'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n 'nagaHu
 'Two teachers succeeded'

Def. lit'ne:n ilmudarri'si:n 'nagaHu⁽⁷⁾
 'The two teachers succeeded'

Note that cases 1 and 2 show a different usage from 'it'ne:n in basic N1.P5, where it never occurs before noun Form 2, nor with noun Form 3 + a pronominal suffix.

IIA(ii) : ta'la:ta to '8a:ga:ra 'Three to ten'

In N1.P1 modified structures the following observations may be made:

(7) If there is a question of emphasis between these two examples, the first one will be chosen.

- 1) The preceding noun occurs only in Form 3.
- 2) The cardinal numeral occurs only in its first form (i.e. that ending in /-a/).
- 3) The initial nominal phrase as a whole is always definite in which case both the noun and the modifying numeral are prefixed with the definite article.
- 4) The term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable is 'Plural'.

Examples:

Noun Class	Noun Form	Numeral Form	Verb Form ⁽⁸⁾
IB	3	first	z
e.g.	'il'8'ya:n	[itta'la:ta]	'waşalu
	'The three high-class people arrived'		
II	3	first	z
e.g.	'ilmudarri'si:n	[il'xamsa]	'waşalu
	'The five teachers arrived'		
III	3	first	z
	'ilba'na:t	[il'8aşara]	'waşalu
	'The ten girls arrived'		

This is in contrast to N1.P5 examples where:

(8) For the occurrence of the verbal element in Form z. only, see above, p. 153 under (iii)

- 1) The following noun may be in Form 1, Form 3 or Form 4
(See above, p.118 under C).
- 2) The numeral may occur in its first or second form in
accordance with the conditions mentioned on pp. 113-15.
- 3) The initial nominal phrase as a whole may be indefinite
or definite (See pp. 116-17 under B.).

B. Ordinal pieces

In ordinal pieces the correlation between the numeral involved, the Form of the preceding noun and the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable is different from that of cardinal pieces.

- 1) With the three ordinals 'awwa'la:ni 'First', 'ta:ni 'Second; other', and 'ax'ra:ni 'Last', the preceding noun may be in Form 1, 2, 3 or 5 and the whole clause structure will be 'Singular', 'Dual', 'Plural' or 'Singular' respectively. The following examples are illustrations:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Numeral Form	Verb Form
Masculine singular	1(m)	x	x
	'ikki'ta:b	[il'awwa'la:ni]	t'ba:8
	'The first book was sold'		
Feminine singular	1(f)	y	y
	'iʃ'ʃanta	[l'awwala'niyya]	t'ba:8it
	'The first bag was sold'		

	Noun Form	Numeral Form	Verb Form
Dual	2	z	z
	'ikkitabe:n [il'awwalaniy'yi:n] t'ba:8u		
	'The first two books were sold'		
Plural	3	y	z
	'iβ'ʒunat [il'awwala'niyya(il'awwalaniy'yi:n)]		
	y	z	
	(i)t'ba:8it	((i)t'ba:8u)	
	'The first bags were sold'		
Masculine singular	5(m)	x	x
	'il'xo:x	[il'awwa'la:ni]	t'ba:8
	'The first (lot of) peaches was sold'		
Feminine singular	5(f)	y	y
	'il'manga	[l'awwala'niyya]	t'ba:8it
	'The first (lot of) mangoes was sold'		

In this connection it is to be noted that in Verbal clauses:

a) Where the ordinal numeral is either 'awwa'la:ni or 'ax'ra:ni, the nominal phrase as a whole is always definite and both the noun⁽⁹⁾ and the numeral are prefixed with the article. (See the above examples).

b) But where the ordinal is 'ta:ni we have to take into account the Form of the preceding noun since:

(9) With the exception of proper nouns where the numeral only has to occur in its definite form and the nominal phrase as a whole is always definite, e.g.

'8ali [l'awwa'la:ni]...

'The first Ali ...'

'masr [it'tanya]...

'The other Cairo ...'

(i) With noun Forms 1⁽⁹⁾ and 2 the nominal phrase as a whole may be indefinite or definite, e.g.

Noun Form 1 (Ind.) ki'ta:b [i'ta:ni] it'ba:8
'Another book was sold'

Noun Form 1 (Def.) 'ikki'ta:b [it'ta:ni] it'ba:8
'The other book was sold'

Noun Form 2 (Ind.) kita'be:n [tan'yi:n] it'ba:8u
'Another two books were sold'

Noun Form 2 (Def.) 'ikkita'be:n [ittan'yi:n] it'ba:8u
'The other two books were sold'

(ii) With noun Form 3 and 5, as is the case with the ordinal 'awwa'la:ni, the nominal phrase as a whole is always definite, e.g.

Noun Form 3 : 'ik'kutub [it'tanya (ittan'yi:n)]
(i)t'ba:8it ((i)t'ba:8u)
'The other books were sold'

Noun Form 5 : 'il'xo:x [it'ta:ni] t'ba:8
'The second (lot of) peaches was sold'

However, in Nominal clauses the ordinal piece as a whole is always definite irrespective of the ordinal numeral and the noun Form involved, e.g.

Noun Form 1 : 'ikki'ta:b [it'ta:ni] k'wayyis
'The second (other) book is good'

(9) See footnote (9) on page 180.

Noun Form 2 : 'ikkita'be:n [ittan'yi:n] kuwayyi'si:n
 'The other two books are good'

2) With all other ordinals (i.e. 'ta:lit to '8a:šir) 'Third to tenth' the preceding noun is either in Form 1 or in Form 5. Form 5 occurs where the noun is a member of Class IV only as is the case with 'xo:x and 'manga used in the last two examples below. In all cases the whole clause structure is Singular (m or f).

Examples:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Numeral Form	Verb Form
Masculine singular	1(m)	x	x
	'ikki'ta:b	[it'ta:lit]	it'ba:8
	'The third book was sold'		
Feminine singular	1(f)	y	y
	'iš'santa	[t'talta]	t'ba:8it
	'The third bag was sold'		
Masculine singular	5(m)	x	x
	'il'xo:x	[it'ta:lit]	it'ba:8
	'The third (lot of) peaches was sold'		
Feminine singular	5(f)	y	y
	'il'manga	[t'talta]	t'ba:8it
	'The third (lot of) mangoes was sold'		

Note that with the ordinals 'ta:lit to '8a:šir the ordinal piece may be indefinite or definite where the preceding noun is in Form 1.⁽¹⁰⁾ But it must be definite where the preceding noun

(10) Unless it is a proper noun where the ordinal piece must be always definite in which case only the ordinal numeral, but not the proper noun, is prefixed with the article. See footnote 9 above.

is in Form 5, e.g.

Noun Form 1 (Ind.) ki'ta:b ['ta:lit] it'ba:8

'A third book was sold'

Noun Form 1 (Def.) 'ikki'ta:b [it'ta:lit] it'ba:8

'The third book was sold'

Noun Form 5 (Def.) 'il'xo:x [it'ta:lit] it'ba:8

'The third (lot of) peaches was sold'

IIB : Hi'da:gar... 'Eleven upwards'

As stated on page 71, all numerals above '10' are invariable in form and show no distinction with regard to cardinal or ordinal pieces, nor to gender concord. However, differences between cardinal and ordinal pieces are shown by the Form of the preceding noun taken together with the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable, e.g.

		Noun Form	Verb Form	term in the category of number	ORIGINAL FILED	Noun Form	Verb Form	term in the category of number
11	3	'ik'kutub [ilHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8u 'The eleven books were sold' 'iʒ'ʒunat [ilHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8u 'The eleven bags were sold'	z	Pl.		l(m) 'ikki'ta:b [ilHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8 'The eleventh book was sold' l(f) 'iʒ'ʒanta [ilHi'da:ʒar] it'ba:8it 'The eleventh bag was sold'	x y	(m) (f) S.
20		'ik'kutub [il8iʒ'ri:n] it'ba:8u 'The twenty books were sold' 'iʒ'ʒunat [il8iʒ'ri:n] it'ba:8u 'The twenty bags were sold'		Pl.		l(m) 'ikki'ta:b [il8iʒ'ri:n] it'ba:8 'The twentieth book was sold' l(f) 'iʒ'ʒanta [l8iʒ'ri:n] it'ba:8it 'The twentieth bag was sold'	x y	(m) (f) S.
1000		'ik'kutub [il'alf] it'ba:8u 'The one thousand books were sold' 'iʒ'ʒunat [il'alf] it'ba:8u 'The one thousand bags were sold'		Pl.		l(m) 'ikki'ta:b [il'alf] it'ba:8 'The thousandth book was sold' l(f) 'iʒ'ʒanta [l'alf] it'ba:8it 'The thousandth bag was sold'	x y	(m) (f) S.

Now as regards the form(s) in which these numerals occur as modifying elements, the following observations may be made:

- 1) The cardinal numeral 'wa:Hid 'One' has two Forms termed x and y namely, /'wa:Hid/ and /'waHda/ respectively. The first colligates with noun Form 1(n); the second with noun Form 1(f), e.g.

ki'ta:b ['wa:Hid]... 'One book ...'
 'badla ['waHda]... 'One suit ...'

- 2) Cardinal numerals from '2 to 10' occur in one form only. Note that with '3 to 10' it is the first form (i.e. that ending with /-a/) which occurs, (11) e.g.

'ik'kutub [il'8aʒara]... 'The ten books ...'

- 3) Each of the three ordinals 'awwa'la:ni 'First', 'ta:ni 'Second; other' and 'ax'ra:ni 'Last' has three Forms the agreement of which with the preceding noun is parallel to that of a variable adjective. These are as follows

Form x	Form y	Form z
/ʔawwa'la:ni (ʔ'awwal) (12)	/ʔawwala'niyya(ʔ'u:la) (12)	/ʔawwalaniy'yi:n/
/'ta:ni/ (12)	/'tanya/	/tan'yi:n/
/ʔax'ra:ni (ʔ'a'xi:r)/	/ʔaxra'niyya (ʔ'a'xi:ra) (12)	/ʔaxraniy'yi:n/

(11) For the Forms of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' occurring in Nl.P5, see above, p.111 under A.

(12) Apart from a very few idiomatic expressions such as 'daraga 'u:la 'First class'; 'sana 'u:la 'First year (of school or college), the bracketed Forms are 'Learned' Forms used by educated speakers. The more normal usage, however (cont'd next page)

4) Any member of the other eight ordinals 'ta:lit' 'Third' to '8a:8ir' 'Tenth' has two forms termed x and y. The first colligates with masculine nouns in Form 1 or 5; the second with feminine nouns in Form 1 or 5.

Examples:

Noun Form	Ordinal Form
1(m)	x
'ikki'ta:b	[it'ta:lit]... 'The third book...'
5(m)	x
'il'xo:x	[it'ta:lit]... 'The third (lot of) peaches...'
1(f)	y
'il'xo:xa	[t'talta]... 'The third peach...'
5(f)	y
'il'manga	[t'talta]... 'The third (lot of) mangoes...'

Form x and y of these ordinals are as follows:

Ordinal	Form x	Form y
'Third'	/'ta:lit/	/'talta/
'Fourth'	/'ra:bi8/	/'rab8a/
'Fifth'	/'xa:mis/	/'xamsa/
'Sixth'	/'sa:tit ('sa:dis)/	/'satta ('sadsa) /
'Seventh'	/'sa:bi8/	/'sab8a/
'Eighth'	/'ta:min/	/'tamna/
'Ninth'	/'ta:si8/	/'tas8a/
'Tenth'	/'8a:8ir/	/'8a:8ra/

(12)(cont'd from previous page) is with the unbracketed Form above, e.g.

'Learned'	'Normal'
'ikki'ta:b [il'awwal]... 'The first book...'	'ikki'ta:b [il'awwa'la:ni] ...
'il'Hissa [l'u:la]... 'The first period...'	'il'Hissa [l'awwala'niyya] ...

5) Numerals above '8ešara 'Ten' occurring in cardinal and ordinal pieces are invariable in form, ⁽¹³⁾e.g.

Number	Cardinal piece	Ordinal piece
11	'irrig'ga:la [1Hi'da:šar]...	'ir'ra:gil [11Hi'da:šar]..
	'The eleven men...'	'The eleventh man...'
	'ilba'na:t [il8iš'ri:n]...	'il'bint [il8iš'ri:n]...
	'The twenty girls...'	'The twentieth girl...'
	'ik'kutub [il''alf]...	'ikki'ta:b [il''alf]...
	'The one thousand books...'	'The thousandth book...'

(13) For the Forms of the non-ordinals '11 upwards' occurring in N1.P5, see above, p. 121 under A.

4. 'wa:hid 'A (certain)'

The modifying element 'wa:hid meaning 'A (certain)' which colligates with a particular group of nouns has two Forms termed x and y namely, /'wa:hid/ and /'waHda/ respectively. Form x colligates with noun Form l(m); Form y with noun Form l(f). In all cases the term in the category of number to which the verbal clause structure as a whole is referable is always 'Singular', e.g.

Masculine Singular clause structure:

['wa:hid] 'ra:gil 'sa'al 8a'le:k
'A (certain) man asked about you'

Feminine Singular clause structure:

['waHda] 'sittī 'sa'alit 8a'le:k
'A (certain) lady asked about you'

Note that:

(i) The noun following this modifying element is almost always 'human' (14) belonging to either Class II (with the exception of family names) or Class III with the exception of two items shown in my data namely, 'walad 'Boy' and 'mara 'Woman'.

'ii) The nominal phrase as a whole (i.e. 'wa:hid + noun) is functionally equivalent to noun phrases involving single nouns such as 'ra:gil 'A man' and 'sitt 'A lady', etc.

(14) The 'non-human' nouns given on page 109 may also occur here, but with their special meanings, e.g. ['wa:hid] Hu'ma:r 'sa'al 8a'le:k (Lit. one donkey asked about you) meaning 'A (certain) stupid person(m) asked about you'.

PART TWO

AN INTRODUCTORY SECTION

At the end of Chapter Two an account, albeit brief, of sets of the two-phrase typifiable clause structures has been given showing that some of these structures require all three terms in the category of number, some require two terms and others require only one term. Since N1.P5 and N1.P6 structures have already been dealt with in some detail and since they are much more restricted than N1.P '1 to 4', they will not be taken any further into account in the three subsequent chapters (i.e. Chapters '7-9'). It is necessary, however, to give a short description here of the other elements and categories of the clause structure before going on to deal with the different terms within the category of number to which the clause structures are referable.

1. Other elements:

Chapter Six has described the ways in which basic Nominal Phrase Structures may be extended, and that in general these extensions do not affect the statement of 'Number'. Similarly, the extensions of other basic phrases have no effect on the category of number. For example, if we consider for the moment Verbal clauses of the structure N1.P1 - VP where the nominal phrase involves a three-Form noun (i.e. N (III)), we can set up the three terms required for the study of number. In such sets of two-phrase typifiable clause structures the nominal

phrase may be extended by an expansion or a modification, and the verbal phrase may be extended by an object, a prepositional phrase, a complement, etc. However, no number concord obtains between any of the extensions and the basic phrases. Therefore, the assignment of the clause as a whole to a specific term in the category of number will depend only on the Forms of the basic nominal and verbal phrases.

The following selected six examples illustrate the case. The first two examples are 'Singular' structures (masculine and feminine respectively); examples 3 and 4 are 'Dual' structures, and 5 and 6 are 'Plural'. The extensions in each example are put between square brackets.

Singular structures:

- | Noun Form | Verb Form |
|---|-----------|
| 1(m) | x |
| 1. 'il'walad [illi 'abil'na:h im'ba:riH] 'katab [ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r] | |
| 'The boy whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to the minister' | |
| 1(f) | y |
| 2. 'il'bint [illi 'abil'na:ha m'ba:riH] 'katabit [ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r] | |
| 'The girl whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to the minister' | |

Dual structures:

Noun Form

2

Verb Form

z

3. 'ilwala'de:n [illi 'abil'na:hum im'ba:riH] 'katabu
[ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r]

'The two boys whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to
the minister'

2

z

4. 'ilbin'te:n [illi 'abil'na:hum im'ba:riH] 'katabu
[ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r]

'The two girls whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to
the minister'

Plural structures:

Noun Form

3

5. liw'la:d [illi 'abil'na:hum ('abil'na:ha) (i)m'ba:riH]

Verb Form

z

(y)

'katabu ('katabit) [ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r]

'The boys whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to the
minister'

3

6. 'ilba'na:t [illi 'abil'na:hum ('abil'na:ha) (i)m'ba:riH]

Verb Form

z

(y)

'katabu ('katabit) [ga'wa:b lilwa'zi:r]

'The girls whom we met yesterday wrote a letter to the
minister'

In view of the above considerations, extensions from now on will be excluded from the examples.

2. Other categories:

In addition to the category of 'Number' which is the topic of this thesis and that of 'Definiteness' which has some implications for the study of number as mentioned in Chapter Four, five other categories are also relevant to the overall description of most types of Verbal Clauses. These are: 'Gender', 'Person', 'Mood', 'Tense' and 'Polarity'. The relevance of these five categories to that of 'Number' differs considerably. By relevance I mean here the degree to which the statement of the category of number may differ for structures associated with different terms in these other categories. The five other categories will be dealt with here in order.

A. Gender

It is necessary to set up the category of gender with its two terms namely, (i) Masculine; (ii) Feminine, to account for different Forms of Verbs, Adjectives, Deictics and Pronouns in typifiable 'Singular' clause structures. In general, a particular noun regularly selects only x Forms or y Forms of members of these word classes, e.g.

Noun Form	Verb Form	
1(m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b	'da:8	'The book was lost'

Noun Form	Verb Form	
l(r)	y	
'is'santa	'da:8it	'The bag was lost'
Noun Form	Adjective Form	
l(m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b	'ga:li	'The book is expensive'
l(r)	y	
'is'santa	'galya	'The bag is expensive'
Noun Form	Deictic Form	
l(m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b	a'hoh	'Here is the book'
l(r)	y	
'is'santa	'heh	'Here is the bag'
Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
x	l(m)	
'huwwa	m'darris	'He is a teacher'
y	l(r)	
hiyya	mdar'risa	'She is a teacher'

This is a matter of grammatical gender although normally animate nouns select gender forms parallel to the sex of the referent. This applies also to second and third person singular in Verbal Clauses but not to first person singular (See below, p.195).

Further, as will be shown later, gender concord may be broken for purposes of praise or insult.

Gender is not a category of 'Dual' structures. The following four examples in which the lexical items ki'ta:p(m), 'ṣanta(r), 'walad(m) and 'bint(r) are used in the first phrase are illustrations.

Noun Form	Verb Form	
2	z	
1. 'ikkita'be:n	'ḍa:8u	'The two books were lost'
2. 'iṣṣanti'te:n	'ḍa:8u	'The two bags were lost'
3. 'ilwala'de:n	'nagaHu	'The two boys succeeded'
4. 'ilbin'te:n	'nagaHu	'The two girls succeeded'

With the exceptions mentioned on pp. 124 under (2) and 132 under (iii), Gender is not a category of 'Plural' structures, e.g.

Noun Form	Verb Form	
3	z (y)	
1. 'ik'kutub	'ḍa:8u ('ḍa:8it)	'The books were lost'
2. 'iṣṣunāt	'ḍa:8u ('ḍa:8it)	'The bags were lost'
3. liw'la:sd	'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The boys succeeded'
4. 'ilba'na:t	'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The girls succeeded'

B. Person

The category of person has three terms: (i) First person; (ii) Second person; (iii) Third person. Examples of the first and second persons show two terms in the category of number namely, 'Singular' and 'Plural', e.g.

First person	(S.)	'ana na'gaHt	'I (m or f) succeeded'
	(Pl.)	'iHna na'gaHna	'We succeeded'
Second person	(S.m)	'inta na'gaHt	'You (m) succeeded'
	(S.f)	'inti na'gaHti	'You (f) succeeded'
	(Pl.)	'intu na'gaHtu	'You (pl) succeeded'

With regard to the third person, in most types of structure only 'Singular' and 'Plural' are differentiated. Thus:

Third person	(S.m)	'huwwa 'nagaH	'He succeeded'
	(S.f)	'hiyya 'nagaHit	'She succeeded'
	(Pl.)	'humma 'nagaHu	'They succeeded'

However, clause structures involving a three-Form noun in the initial nominal phrase may show any of the three terms in the category of number, e.g.

Third person	(S.m)	'il'walad 'nagaH	'The boy succeeded'
	(S.f)	'il'binti 'nagaHit	'The girl succeeded'
	(D.)	'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'The two boys succeeded'
	(Pl.)	liw'la:d 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The boys succeeded'

C. Mood

The category of mood has three terms: (i) Affirmative; (ii) Interrogative; (iii) Imperative. Affirmative and interrogative examples involving a three-Form noun in the initial nominal phrase may show any of the three terms in the category of number. But imperative examples occur only either in 'Singular' or 'Plural' (but never 'Dual') clause structures, e.g.

Affirmative	{	(S.m)	'il'walad 'nagaH	'The boy succeeded'
		(S.f)	'il'binti 'nagaHit	'The girl succeeded'
		(D)	'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'The two boys succeeded'
		(Pl)	'ilba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The girls succeeded'
Interrogative	{	(S.m)	'il'walad 'nagaH	'Did the boy succeed?'
		(S.f)	'il'binti 'nagaHit	'Did the girl succeed?'
		(D)	'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'Did the two boys succeed?'
		(Pl)	'ilba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'Did the girls succeed?'

Notes:

a) Though the above affirmative and interrogative examples have the same word order, they can be differentiated by intonation since affirmative examples normally have a falling intonation and interrogative examples have a rising one.

b) This is not the only way of having interrogative examples. These may also be formed from affirmative ones by placing the third person pronoun before the initial nominal phrase in which case the pronoun and the following noun are in apposition, agree in number (and gender in 'Singular' structures only) and the interrogative example has a rising intonation, e.g.

Interrogative	{	(S.m) 'huwwa l'walad 'nagaH	'Did the boy succeed?'
		(S.f) 'hiyya l'binti 'nagaHit	'Did the girl succeed?'
		(D) 'humma lwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'Did the two boys succeed?'
		(Pl) 'humma ('hiyya) lba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'Did the girls succeed?'

Imperative	{	(S.m) 'uxrug ya 'walad	'Boy, go out!'
		(S.f) 'ux'rugī ya 'bint	'Girl, go out!'
		(Pl) 'ux'rugū ya ba'na:t	'Girls, go out!'

D. Tense

The category of tense has two terms: (i) Imperfective; (ii) Perfective. Clauses with examples of both show all three terms in the category of number. However, the exponents of these terms are different in each case. In the 'Imperfective', number is shown by a system of prefixes and suffixes while in the 'Perfective' it is shown by suffixes or their absence, e.g.

Imperfective	{	(S.m) 'il'walad 'y(i)ngaH ⁽¹⁾	'The boy (can) succeed'
		(S.f) 'il'binti 't(i)ngaH	'The girl (can) succeed'

(1) The bracketed vowel of the imperfect prefixes is required by the phonological pattern and is not really part of the prefix.

Imperfective	{	(D.) 'ilwala'de:n x(i)n'gaHu	'The two boys (can) succeed'
	{	(Pl.) liw'la:d x(i)n'gaHu ('t(i)ngaH)	'The boys (can) succeed'
Perfective	{	(S.m) 'il'walad 'nagaH	'The boy succeeded'
	{	(S.f) 'il'binti 'nagaHit	'The girl succeeded'
	{	(D.) 'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'The two boys succeeded'
	{	(Pl.) liw'la:d 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The boys succeeded'

E. Polarity

The category of polarity has two terms: (i) Positive; (ii) Negative. Clauses with examples of both show all three terms in the category of number with exactly the same exponents. The exponents of the term negative are a prefix /ma-/ and a suffix /-s/ in Verbal clauses, e.g.

Positive	{	(S.m) 'il'walad 'nagaH	'The boy succeeded'
	{	(S.f) 'il'binti 'nagaHit	'The girl succeeded'
	{	(D.) 'ilwala'de:n 'nagaHu	'The two boys succeeded'
	{	(Pl.) liw'la:d 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)	'The boys succeeded'
Negative	{	(S.m) 'il'walad mana'gaHs	'The boy did not succeed'
	{	(S.f) 'il'binti managa'Hits	'The girl did not succeed'
	{	(D.) 'ilwala'de:n managa'Hu:s	'The two boys did not succeed'
	{	(Pl.) liw'la:d managa'Hu:s (managa'Hits)	'The boys did not succeed'

In fact any item or phrase other than the verbal one can be negated by placing the negative particle 'miṣ' 'Not' in front of it, e.g.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	
'fatma	'miṣ' 'fatma	'Not 'Fatima'
'bukra	'miṣ' 'bukra	'Not tomorrow'
ri'xi:s	'miṣ' ri'xi:s	'Not cheap'
''awi	'miṣ' ''awi	'Not well'
ki'ta:bi	'miṣ' ki'ta:bi	'Not my book'
fil'be:t	'miṣ' fil'be:t	'Not at home'

In addition, pronominal phrases (i.e. Personal pronouns) may be negated by miṣ or ma...ṣ, e.g.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	
'huwwa	'miṣ' 'huwwa or ma huw'wa:ṣ	'Not him'
'hiyya	'miṣ' 'hiyya or ma hiy'ya:ṣ	'Not her'
'humma	'miṣ' 'humma or ma hum'ma:ṣ	'Not them'
''ana	mi'ṣ' ana or ma'ni:ṣ	'Not me'

etc.

What has been said in the introductory section is not exhaustive but just illustrative of the features other than

number concord in the grammatical description of two-phrase typifiable clauses. Since these additional features scarcely affect the study of number, the examples in the rest of the thesis will be in general just of Simple basic structures.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THREE-TERM CLAUSES

Three-term clauses is the way of referring to sets of three clauses each of which involves one of the three Forms of a lexical item classified as a member of Noun Class III, i.e. N(III).

As stated before (see pp.32-40), these sets of two-phrase typifiable clauses fall into two groups ('A' + 'B') both of which require all three terms in the category of number, namely, 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural'; but on different criteria. I will begin with the description of clause structures coming within group 'A'.

Three-term Clauses 'A'

This group includes four different internal clause structures; one Verbal and three Nominal. These can be summarized as follows:

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|--------|---------------------|
| 1. | N(III) | - | VP | (Verbal phrase) |
| 2. | N(III) | - | DP | (Deictic phrase) |
| 3. | N(III) | - | AP | (Adjectival phrase) |
| 4. | Dem.P (Demonstrative phrase) | - | N(III) | |

In dealing with these four clause structures, I will group together those which are exactly alike with respect to:

- (i) The Form in which the items involved in the two basic phrases occur.
- (ii) The number of the basic structure relevant to the initial nominal phrase.

On the basis of these two factors Clauses 1 and 2 will be grouped together.

- 1. N(III) - VP :
- 2. N(III) - DP :

The above two clause structures are grouped together because:

(i) The initial nominal phrase in each involves a three-Form noun, i.e. N(III), and the element involved in the second phrase has the same number of Forms which I refer to as x, y and z ; (see below).

(ii) These nouns occur in basic nominal phrase structures 1, 2, 3 and 4.⁽¹⁾ In this connection it is to be noted, as has already been said, that:

- (a) The first noun in N1.P3 is mostly 'non-human; (see p. 75).
- (b) N1.P4 rarely occurs where the first element of the construct is noun Form 2; (see pp. 90-1).

(1) Three-Form nouns occur in all the six basic Nominal phrase structures, but only N1.P '1 to 4' are treated here. This is because these phrases enter into Three-term clauses, whereas N1.P5 and 6 require only two terms, namely 'Singular' and 'Plural' of which the first occurs within certain limitations. (See above, pp. 100 and 138).

The criteria for 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' clause structures (whether the basic structure of the initial nominal phrase is 1, 2, 3 or 4) are as follows:

	First phrase Noun Form	Second phrase Verb or Deictic Form
S.	1(m)	x
	1(f)	y
D.	2	z
Pl.	3	z(y) ⁽²⁾

The following two sets of examples are cases in point. The second phrase in Set I involves a verb and in Set II a deictic. Though variation of all relevant Nl.Ps in the first phrase will be given, the internal structure of these different Nl.Ps will not be dealt with here but elsewhere (see, pp.214 -7) and all that is noted here is which item functions as the 'Control' of number concord. In all examples the two nouns controlling the number concord namely, ki'ta:b (non-human(m)) and 'bint (human(f)) will be used for reasons that will become clear presently; (see below, pp.211 - 2). However, as will be seen from the examples with Nl.P4 given below, only 'Singular' and 'Plural' clause structures are distinguishable. This is due to the fact that in most idiolects (including my own) constructs in which the first element is a noun in Form 2 are not common. (See above, pp. 90-1). This fact applies to all 'Dual' clause structures involving Nl.P4

(2) But see below, pp. 211-2.

in one of (or both) the two phrases of the typifiable clause. In addition, as the first element in N1.P3 is mostly a 'non-human' noun, only examples of this basic nominal phrase structure will be given, from now on, when its first element is a 'non-human' noun.

Set I

A. Examples of Singular structures

N1.P1 (in this case N(III)) - VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form	
l(m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b	'wa'a8	'The book fell down'
l(f)	y	
'il'binti	'wa'a8it	'The girl fell down'

N1.P2 (in this case N(III) + Demonstrative) - VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form	
l(m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b 'dukha	'wa'a8	'The other book fell down'
l(f)	y	
'il'binti 'dikha	'wa'a8it	'The other girl fell down'

N1.P3 (in this case N(IIIH) + Noun of material) - VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form	Verb Form	
l (m)	x	
'ikki'ta:b il'wara'	'wa'a8	'The paper-back book fell down'

N1.P4 (Construct (in this case noun + noun)) - VP:

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

1(m)

x

ki'ta:ʒ

il'bintĩ

'wa'a8

'The girl's book fell down'

1(f)

y

'bint

iggi'ra:n

'wa'a8it

'The neighbours' daughter fell down'

B. Examples of Dual structures

N1.P1

-

VP :

Noun Form

Verb Form

2

z

'ikkita'be:n

'wa'a8u

'The two books fell down'

'ilbin'te:n

'wa'a8u

'The two girls fell down'

N1.P2

-

VP :

Noun Form

Verb Form

2

z

'ikkita'be:n 'dukham

'wa'a8u

'The other two books fell down'

'ilbin'te:n 'dukham

'wa'a8u

'The other two girls fell down'

N1.P3

-

VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

2'

z

'ikkita'be:n il'wara' 'wa'a8u

'The two paper-back books fell down'

C. Examples of Plural structures

N1.P1	-	VP :
Noun Form		Verb Form
3	z	or y
'ik'kutub	'wa'a8it	('wa'a8u) 'The books fell down'
'ilba'na:t	'wa'a8u	('wa'a8it) 'The girls fell down'

N1.P2	-	VP :
Noun Form		Verb Form
3	z	or y
'ik'kutub	'dikha ('dukham)	'wa'a8it ('wa'a8u) 'The other books fell down'
'ilba'na:t	'dukham ('dikha)	'wa'a8u ('wa'a8it) 'The other girls fell down'

N1.P3	-	VP :
Noun Form		Verb Form
3	y	or z
'ik'kutub	il'wara'	'wa'a8it ('wa'a8u) 'The paper-back books fell down'

N1.P4	-	VP :
Noun Form		Verb Form
3	z	or y
'kutub	il'wald	'wa'a8it ('wa'a8u) 'The boy's books fell down'
ba'na:t	in'na:zir	'wa'a8u ('wa'a8it) 'The headmaster's daughters fell down'

Set IIA. Examples of Singular structures

N1.P1 - DP :

Noun Form Deictic Form

l(m) x

'ikki'ta:b a'hoh 'Here is the book'

l(f) y

'il'bint a'heh 'Here is the girl'

N1.P2 - DP :

Noun Form Deictic Form

l(m) x

'ikki'ta:b 'dukha 'hoh 'Here is the other book'

l(f) y

'il'binti 'dikha 'heh 'Here is the other girl'

N1.P3 - DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form Deictic Form

l(m) x

'ikki'ta:b il'wara' a'hoh 'Here is the paper-back book'

N1.P4 - DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form Deictic Form

l(m) x

ki'ta:b il'bint a'hoh 'Here is the girl's book'

l(f) y

'bint iggi'ra:n a'heh 'Here is the neighbour's daughter'

B. Examples of Dual structures

N1.P1 DP :

Noun Form Deictic Form

2

z

'ikkita'be:n a'hum 'Here are the two books'

'ilbin'te:n a'hum 'Here are the two girls'

N1.P2 DP :

Noun Form Deictic Form

2

z

'ikkita'be:n 'dukham a'hum 'Here are the other two books'

'ilbin'te:n 'dukham a'hum 'Here are the other two girls'

N1.P3 DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form Deictic Form

2

z

'ikkita'be:n il'wara' a'hum 'Here are the two paper-back books'

C. Examples of Plural structures

N1.P1 DP :

Noun Form Deictic Form

3

z or y

'ik'kutub a'hum (a'heh) 'Here are the books'

'ilba'na:t a'hum (a'heh) 'Here are the girls'

N1.P2

DP :

Noun Form

Deictic Form

3

z. or y

'ik'kutub 'dukham ('dikha) (a)'hum ((a)'heh)

'Here are the other books'

'ilba'na:t 'dakham ('dikha) (a)'hum ((a)'heh)

'Here are the other girls'

N1.P3

DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Deictic Form

3

z or y

'ik'kutub il'wara' a'hum (a'heh)

'Here are the paper-back books'

N1.P4

DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Deictic Form

3

z. or y

'kutub il'walad a'hum (a'heh)

'Here are the boy's books'

ba'na:t in'na:zir a'hum (a'heh)

'Here are the headmaster's daughters'

Taking into consideration all the examples given under the above two sets, the following facts can be drawn.

- 1) Each of the two elements involved in the second phrase of the clause (i.e. the verb and the deictic) has three Forms.

These can be summarized as follows:

Lexical item	Form x	Form y	Form z
The Verb 'wa'a8	/ 'wa'a8/	/ 'wa'a8it/	/ 'wa'a8u/
The Deictic 'a'hoh ⁽³⁾	/ 'a'hoh/	/ 'a'heh/	/ 'a'hum/

The distribution of the above Forms is as follows:

- (i) Form x occurs exclusively in 'masculine singular' clause structures.
 - (ii) Form y occurs either in 'feminine singular' or 'plural' clause structures.
 - (iii) Form z occurs either in 'dual' or 'plural' clause structures.
- 2) In 'Singular' structures the clause as a whole is either 'masculine' or 'feminine' depending on the gender of the noun controlling the number concord. This means that an additional grammatical category, namely, 'Gender' with its two terms:
- (i) 'Masculine'; (ii) 'Feminine' has to be taken into account.
- 3) 'Dual' structures are characterized by two simultaneous factors. These are:
- (i) The controlling noun always occurs in Form 2 (i.e. ending in /-e:n/).

(3) With some speakers (myself excluded), each of the three Forms belonging to the 'deictic' has a variety of related forms as alternatives. These are as follows:

Form x : / 'a'hoh/ or / 'a'huwwa/ or / 'a'huwwat/

Form y : / 'a'heh/ or / 'a'hiyya/ or / 'a'hiyyat/

Form z : / 'a'hum/ or / 'a'humma/ or / 'a'hummat/

(ii) The element involved in the second phrase exclusively occurs in one Form (in this case Form z without variation)

4) In 'Plural' clause structures the controlling noun occurs in Form 3 and the element involved in the second phrase occurs in one of the two alternative Forms namely, Form z or Form y. In general, Form z is strongly favoured with 'human' nouns whereas Form y is preferred where the controlling noun is 'non-human'.

Let us now take things a little further since I find that in certain 'Plural' structures of the clauses under consideration, the element involved in the second phrase occurs exclusively in Form y.⁽⁴⁾ This type of 'Plural' structures occurs only with a restricted number of three-Form 'non-human' nouns that have particular syllabic structures in Form 3, all of which, generally⁽⁵⁾ never occur in noun Form 1. Items of these kinds, as shown in my data, are the following:

a) All nouns of the syllabic structure 'isti8'ra:d 'Parade', 'isti8'da:d 'Preparation' 'isti8'la:m 'Inquiry', etc.

b) All nouns of the syllabic structure 'ihti'fa:l 'Festival', 'inti'Han 'Examination', 'igti'ma:8 'Meeting', 'inti'xa:b 'Election', etc.

(4) In this I differ from all linguists who have not noticed this phenomenon.

(5) With the exception of some one-Form nouns such as 'i8ti'ma:d (IA1) 'Dependence' and some proper nouns (IA2) such as 'af'ka:r 'Afkar', sa'da:t 'Sadat', etc.

c) Some nouns of various syllabic structures all of which have the syllabic structure 'acca:c in Form 3 such as /'ax'ba:r/ 'News' from 'xabar, /'aH'la:m/ 'Dreams' from 'Hilm, /'ay'ya:m/ 'Days' from 'yo:m, /'ad'ya:n/ 'Religions' from 'di:n, etc.

d) The Form /Ha'ga:t/ from the three-Form noun 'Ha:ga 'Thing'

These four kinds of items will be referred to from now on as three-Form 'Non-human' nouns group A, i.e. N(IIIHA).

The following two sets of examples where the initial nominal phrase consists of just a noun are illustrations:

Set I,	Nl.Pl	VP:
	Noun Form	Verb Form
	3	y
a)	listi8ra'da:t ⁽⁶⁾	'xilsit 'The parades came to an end'
b)	limtiHa'na:t	'xilsit 'The exams came to an end'
c)	'il'x'ba:r	'xilsit 'The news finished'
d)	'ilHa'ga:t	'xilsit 'The things came to an end'

Set II,	Nl.Pl	DP :
	Noun Form	Deictic Form
	3	y
a)	listi8ra'da:t	a'heh 'These are the parades'
b)	limtiHa'na:t	a'heh 'These are the exam papers'
c)	'il'ax'ba:r	a'heh 'This is the news'
d)	'ilHa'ga:t	a'heh 'Here are the things'

(6) See the note below.

Note:

Certain indefinite noun Forms with an initial /'i.../, where the glottal stop does not relate to an initial radical, when associated with the definite article form a syllabic structure beginning with /li.../. These are of four sorts:

- (i) Form 3 of the syllabic structure 'icca:c where the initial glottal stop does not relate to a radical, e.g.

Indefinite Form 3

/ʔiw'la:d/ 'Boys'
/ʔib'wa:b/ 'Doors'

Definite Form 3

/liw'la:d/ 'The boys'
/lib'wa:b/ 'The doors'

Contrast the following Forms in which the initial glottal stop relates to a radical:

Indefinite Form 3

/ʔim'sa:n/ 'Shirts'

Definite Form 3

/ʔilʔim'sa:n/ 'The shirts'

from the lexical item 'a'mi:s 'Shirt'

- (ii) Form 3 of the syllabic structure 'iccica where the glottal stop does not relate to a radical, e.g.

Indefinite Form

/ʔiH'zima/ 'Belts'
/ʔiH'sina/ 'Horses'

Definite Form

/liH'zima/ 'The belts'
/liH'sina/ 'The horses'

(iii) Forms 1, 2 and 3 of lexical items of the syllabic structure 'ictica:c where the glottal stop does not relate to a radical, e.g.

	<u>Indefinite Form</u>	<u>Definite Form</u>
Form 1 :	/ʔimti'Ha:n/ 'Exam'	/limti'Ha:n/ 'The exam'
Form 2 :	/ʔimtiHa'ne:n/ 'Two exams'	/limtiHa'ne:n/ 'The two exams'
Form 3 :	/ʔimtiHa'na:t/ 'Exams'	/limtiHa'na:t/ 'The exams'

(iv) Forms 1, 2 and 3 of lexical items of the syllabic structure 'isticca:c where the glottal stop does not relate to a radical, e.g.

	<u>Indefinite Form</u>	<u>Definite Form</u>
Form 1 :	/ʔisti8'ra:q/ 'Parade'	/listi8'ra:q/ 'The parade'
Form 2 :	/ʔisti8ra'de:n/ 'Two parades'	/listi8ra'de:n/ 'The two parades'
Form 3 :	/ʔisti8ra'da:t/ 'Parades'	/listi8ra'da:t/ 'The parades'

In the following section a description of the concordial relationship obtaining between the elements of the 4 basic nominal phrase structures relevant to Three-term clauses will be given.

1. Nl,Pl, (Nominal) :

In the above structure there is no internal concord since it consists of only one element.

2. N1.P2, (Nominal + Demonstrative in concordial relationship) :

As can be seen from the heading there is always concordial relationship between the demonstrative and the nominal preceding it. In general, there are two demonstratives (A + B) as follows:

A :

- Form x : /'da/ (7) 'This'
- Form y : /'di/ or /'diyya/ or /'diyyat/ 'This;these'
- Form z : /'do:l/ or /'do:la/ or /'do:lat/ 'These'

B :

- Form x : /'dukha/ or /duk'hawwa/ or /duk'hawwat/ 'That'
- Form y : /'dikha/ or /dik'hayya/ or /dik'hayyat/ 'That;those'
- Form z : /'dukham/ or /duk'hamma/ or /duk'hammat/ 'Those'

In fact, the first demonstrative (A) is more common in my idiolect than the second which is largely confined to cases of specific contrast as in 'miṣ 'da 'la:kin 'dukha 'Not this but that'.

Further, the last two alternative forms given in both y and z Forms in (A) as well as those given in x, y and z Forms in (B) are rarely used in my idiolect.

(7) Note that only the two demonstrative Forms /'da/ and /'di/ are often suffixed to the preceding noun with certain attendant phonetic differences including accentuation; thus both 'ilwa'ladda and 'il'walad 'da 'This boy' as well as 'iṣṣan'ta:di and 'iṣṣanta 'di 'This bag' are possible forms. However, in my idiolect, the second alternative form is more emphatic.

x, y and z Forms of both demonstratives correspond with those of the verb and the deictic with respect to the two clauses under consideration. For instance, taking Verbal clauses of the structure N(III) - VP where the nominal phrase occurs in basic structure₂, the Forms of the controlling noun, the demonstrative and the verb are as follows:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Demonstrative Form	Verb Form
S.	1(m)	x	x
	1(f)	y	y
D.	2	z	z
Pl.	3[HA]	y	y
	3[other]	y(z)	y(z)

The following examples in which the two nouns 'igti'ma:8 (m. belonging to [HA] items and 'Hissa (f. not belonging to [HA] items; the demonstrative 'da and the verb 'xilis are used to illustrate the case.

Examples of Singular clause structures:

Noun Form	Demonstrative Form	Verb Form
1(m)	x	x
ligti'ma:8	'da	'xilis
'This meeting came to an end'		
1(f)	y	y
'il'Hissa	'di	'xilsit
'This period came to an end'		

Examples of Dual clause structures:

Noun Form	Demonstrative Form	Verb Form
2	z	z
ligtima'8e:n	'do:l	'xilṣu
'These two meetings came to an end'		
'ilHiṣṣi'te:n	'do:l	'xilṣu
'These two periods came to an end'		

Examples of Plural clause structures:

Noun Form	Demonstrative Form	Verb Form
3[HA]	y	y
ligtima'8a:t	'di	'xilṣit
'These meetings came to an end'		
3[other]	y(z)	y(z)
'il'Hiṣṣaṣ	'di ('do:l)	'xilṣit ('xilṣu)
'These periods came to an end'		

3. N1.P3, (Noun + Noun of material in no concordial relationship) :

As can be seen from the heading there is no concordial relationship between the two elements constituting N1.P3; the second element is invariable in form.

4. N1.P4, (Construct) :

As previously mentioned (see above, p.84) no concord of any sort obtains between the constituents of a construct.

3 : N(III) - AP :

This Nominal clause could well be grouped with the previous two clauses, i.e. N(III) - VP and N(III) - DP, since all of them involve a three-Form noun in the first phrase occurring in basic nominal structures '1 to 4'; and the item involved in the second phrase has the three Forms termed x, y and z. However, Nominal clause 3 is dealt with separately because, generally speaking, in 'Plural' clause structures we have to take into account certain factors which are not relevant to Clauses 1 and 2.

Before dealing with the above Nominal clause structure the following three points are to be borne in mind:

- (i) Any adjective constituting the second phrase of the above clause structure must occur in its indefinite form whereas the preceding noun occurs in its definite form.
- (ii) Examples involving adjectives of 'origin' will not be used here since they do not vary with the majority of 'non-human' nouns which would confuse the issue.
- (iii) For the purpose of this thesis, what are traditionally referred to as 'Participles' are taken as adjectives since they behave in the same way as adjectives of the 'Sound' type with respect to number and gender. It is true, however, that from the syntactic point of view there may be reasons for considering 'participles' as a separate word class.

Now the criteria for the assignment of Nominal clause 3 examples to the terms 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural' regardless of whether the basic structure of the first nominal phrase is 1, 2, 3 or 4 are as follows:⁽⁸⁾

	First phrase Noun Form	Second phrase Adjective Form
S.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1(m) \\ 1(f) \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right.$
D.	2	z
Pl.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} z(y) \\ y \\ z \end{array} \right.$

As can be seen from the above formulae the concordial relationship obtaining between the Form of the two items in both 'Singular' and 'Dual' clause structures is simple.

In 'Singular' clause structures noun Form 1(m) goes with Form x of the adjective involved in the second phrase, and noun Form 1(f) goes with adjective Form y.

In 'Dual' clause structures noun Form 2 goes with Form z of the adjective, e.g.

(8) As this is the case all examples will be of the basic nominal phrase structure 1 (in this case a three-Form noun) plus one-word adjective.

	Noun Form	Adjective Form	
	1(m)	x	
S.	'il'walad	'ša:tir	'The boy is clever'
	1(f)	y	
	'il'binti	'šatra	'The girl is clever'
	2	z	
D.	'ilwala'de:n	šat'ri:n	'The two boys are clever'
	'ilbin'te:n	šat'ri:n	'The two girls are clever'

In 'Plural' clause structures, however, we have to take into account the following three factors:

I. The classification of the noun as to 'human' (H) or 'non-human' (H).

II. The sub-classification of the noun within the main classes of (H) and (H) into two sets of sub-classes, namely,

A. Human nouns with:

- (i) Form 3 ending in /-a/ or /-a:t/, i.e. H[^{-a}_{-a:t}]
- (ii) Form 3 in other endings, i.e. H[other]

B. Non-human nouns with:

- (i) Form 3 of [HA] items
- (ii) Form 3 of all other non-human nouns, i.e. H[other]

III. Type of formation of Form z of the adjective in the second phrase, i.e. whether it is 'Sound' or 'Broken'. For these two terms, see above, p. 169.

Depending on various combinations of these three factors, 'Plural' structures of the above nominal clause fall into three groups according to the Form of the adjective occurring in the second phrase.

In group I the adjective shows alternance of Form z and y.

In group II the adjective occurs exclusively in Form y.

In group III the adjective occurs exclusively in Form z.

This can be summarized as follows:

Group	Subclassification of noun	Type of Form z of adjective (Sound or Broken)	Form of adjective occurring
I	A(i) H ^{-a} _{-a:t}	Both	z (y)
	A(ii) H[other]	Sound	z (y)
	B(ii) H[other]	Both	y (z)
II	B(i) H[A]	Both	y
III	A(ii) H[other]	Broken	z

Examples of the five possible combinations of type of noun element with type of Form *z* of adjective grouped on the basis of concord are given:

Group I A(i) :

H [-a:t] + Sound adjective :

'itta'lamza sḡayya'ri:n (sḡay'yara)	'The students are young'
'irrig'ga:la ṣat'ri:n ('ṣatra)	'The men are clever'
'il'umma'ha:t tayyi'bi:n (tay'yiba)	'The mothers are kind'
'ilba'na:t Hil'wi:n (Hilwa)	'The girls are pretty'

H [-a:t] + Broken adjective :

'itta'lamza 'fu'ara (fa''i:ra)	'The students are poor'
'irrig'ga:la 'nubaha (na'bi:ha)	'The men are intelligent'
'il'umma'ha:t lu'ta:f (la'ti:fa)	'The mothers are nice'
'ilba'na:t 'aḡ'biya (ḡa'biyya)	'The girls are unintelligent'

Group I A(ii) :

H [other] + Sound adjective :

'il8i'ya:l ṣat'ri:n ('ṣatra)	'The young boys are clever'
liw'la:d xay'bi:n ('xayba)	'The boys are stupid'
'iggu'du:d naṣ'Hi:n ('naṣHa)	'The grandfathers are far-sighted'
'innis'wa:n mu'ri'fi:n (mu'rifa)	'The women are troublesome'

Group I B(ii) :

H [other] + Sound adjective :

'ilfi'ra:x şugay'yara (şugayya'ri:n)	'The chickens are small'
'iʃ'şunat kuway'yisa (kuwayyi'si:n)	'The bags are good'
'ilma'as'şat 'Hanya (Ham'yi:n)	'The scissors are sharp'
'il8arabiy'ya:t 'ǧalya (ǧal'yi:n)	'The cars are expensive'

H [other] + Broken adjective :

'ilfi'ra:x si'mi:na (su'ma:n)	'The chickens are fat'
'iʃ'şunat ki'bi:ra (ku'ba:r)	'The bags are big'
'ilma'as'şat ri'xi:şa (ru'xa:s)	'The scissors are cheap'
'il8arabiy'ya:t 'a'di:ma ('u'da:m)	'The cars are old'

Group II B(i) :

H [A] + Sound adjective :

listi8ra'da:t 'hayla	'The parades are magnificent'
limtiHa'na:t 'sahla	'The exam questions are easy'
'il'af'la:m kuwway'yisa	'The films are good'

H [A] + Broken adjective :

listi8ra'da:t ki'bi:ra	'The parades are big'
limtiHa'na:t ta'wi:la	'The exam questions are long'
'il'af'la:m 'a'di:ma	'The films are old'

Group III.A(ii) :

H [other]

÷

Broken adjective :

'il8i'ya:l 'fu'ara

'The young boys are poor'

liw'la:d tu'wa:l

'The boys are tall'

'iggu'du:d 'nubaha

'The grandfathers are intelligent'

'innis'was:n lu'ta:f

'The women are nice'

In this I differ from all linguists who either do not mention the possibility of Form y of the adjective occurring with 'human' nouns (under the conditions mentioned above) or the restriction of the adjective to Form y with H[A] items or both.

4 : Dem. P - N(III) :

All examples of Nominal clause 4 involve a demonstrative in the first phrase and a three-Form noun in the second. These nouns occur in basic nominal phrase structures 1, 3 and 4.⁽⁹⁾ Since whichever of these three Nl.Ps is involved the clause structure as a whole is typifiable as 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural', only examples involving basic Nl.P1 will be given. In fact Nominal clause 4 shows the same concordial relationship as Nominal clauses 1 and 2 from the point of view of the occurrence of the Form of the elements constituting the two phrases of the clause and could therefore well be grouped with them. However, I prefer to deal with it separately since it differs from them in word order and the nouns involved here do not occur in Nl.P2.

The criteria for 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' clause structures with respect to Nominal clause 4 are as follows:

	First phrase Demonstrative Form	Second phrase Noun Form
S.	x	1(m)
	y	1(f)
D.	z	2
Pl.	z(y)	3
	y	3

(9) These nouns may occur as well in Nl.P5 and 6, but these are irrelevant here since they require the one term 'Plural'

As can be seen from the above formulae the concordial relationship obtaining between the Form of the two items involved in the two phrases of the clause in both 'Singular' and 'Dual' clause structures is simple. In 'Singular' clause structures, it is noun Form 1(m) which governs the selection of Form x of the demonstrative, and it is noun Form 1(f) which governs the selection of demonstrative Form y. In 'Dual' clause structures it is noun Form 2 which selects demonstrative Form z without variation.

Examples of Singular clause structures :

Dem. Form	Noun Form	
x	1(m)	
'da	k'ta:b	'This is a book'
'da	mti'Ha:n	'This is an examination paper'
x	1(f)	
'di	'bint	'This is a girl'
'di	'Ha:ga	'This is a thing'

Examples of Dual clause structures :

Dem. Form	Noun Form	
z	2	
'do:l	kita'be:n	'These are two books'
'do:l	imtiHa'ne:n	'These are two examination papers'
'do:l	bin'te:n	'These are two girls'
'do:l	Hag'te:n	'These are two things'

In 'Plural' clause structures, however, we have to take into account whether the noun involved is a [HA] item or not since

(i) Where the noun is a [HA] item, the demonstrative occurs exclusively in Form y, e.g.

	Dem. Form	Noun Form	
	y	3[<u>HA</u>]	
	'di	mtiHa'na:t	'These are examination papers'
not	*do:l	imtiHa'na:t	
	'di	Ha'ga:t	'These are things'
not	*do:l	Ha'ga:t	

(ii) Where the noun is not a [HA] item, the demonstrative occurs in one of the two alternative Forms: z or y, e.g.

	Dem. Form	Noun Form	
	z(y)	3 [other]	
	'do:l('di)	ba'na:t	'These are girls'
	'do:l('di)	'kutub	'These are books'

Three-term clauses 'B'

This group concerns only two Nominal clauses of restricted structures. In one of them the first phrase is always a three-Form noun and the second is either a three-Form noun or a two-Form 'human' noun. In the other the first nominal phrase is always a personal pronoun (i.e. PP) and the second is limited to a noun phrase where the noun is a three-Form 'human' noun. The restrictions involved can be summarized as follows:

	First phrase		Second phrase
1.	N(III)	-	N(III) or N(IIH)
2.	PP	-	N(IIIH)

These two nominal clauses will be dealt with in order.

1.	N(III)	-	N(III) or N(IIH) :
----	--------	---	--------------------

In Nominal clause 1 there are certain relations between the two phrases of the clause. The first phrase is always a three-Form noun whereas the second is either a three-Form noun or a two-Form 'human' noun. Further, the noun involved in the first phrase may occur in basic nominal phrase structures '1 to 4' (10) whereas that in the second phrase may occur in N1.P1, 3 and 4. The occurrence of both nouns in N1.P3 has certain limitations (see above, p. 75).

(10) But see above, p. 202 , n.1.

A. As a starting point I will consider the case where the Nominal clause is of the structure N(III) - N(III) where both phrases occur in basic nominal structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1). This restricted structure is of two sorts according to whether the first phrase involves a 'human' or a 'non-human' noun.

(i) Where the noun occurring in the first phrase is 'human', that in the second is almost always 'human',⁽¹¹⁾ e.g.

'il'walad 'ra:gil (Lit. the boy is a man) meaning 'The boy behaves like a man'

(ii) Where the noun in the first phrase is 'non-human', that in the second is 'non-human' too, e.g.

'is'sa:la 'maktab 'The hall is (used as) an office'

In general, considering Nominal clause structures involving a three-Form noun in both phrases, we can distinguish the following three sets if we take into account the different noun Forms involved. In each set two examples are given. The first involves a 'human' noun in both phrases; the second a 'non-human' noun in both phrases too.

Set I :

Noun Form	Noun Form	
1	1	
1. 'il'walad	'ra:gil	'The boy behaves like a man'
2. 'is'sa:la	'maktab	'The hall is (used as) an office'

(11) Any of the three-Form 'non-human' nouns given on page 109 may occur here. When they do, they refer to human beings with a specific meaning, e.g. 'il'walad Hu'ma:r (Lit. the boy is a donkey) meaning 'The boy is stupid'

Set II :

	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	2	3	
1.	'ilwala'de:n	rig'ga:la	'The two boys behave like men'
2.	'issal'te:n	ma'ka:tib	'The two halls are (used as) offices'

Set III :

	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	3	3	
1.	liw'la:d	rig'ga:la	'The boys behave like men'
2.	'issa'la:t	ma'ka:tib	'The halls are (used as) offices'

As can be seen from the above three sets of examples, though both nouns are three-Form nouns, the noun in the first phrase occurs in three different Forms (i.e. Forms 1, 2 and 3) but that in the second phrase occurs only in two Forms, i.e. Form 1 (as is the case in Set I examples) and Form 3 (as is the case in both Set II and III examples). A similar account still obtains when the two items are reversed in order (see above, p. 39).

Set I examples are considered 'Singular' structures because it is the fact that the noun in the first phrase occurs in Form 1 which governs the choice of noun Form 1 in the second phrase. In other words there is singular number concord between the two phrases of the nominal clause.

Set II examples are considered 'Dual' structures. This is expressed by the Form of the noun in the first phrase, (i.e. Form 2) and the Form of the noun in the second phrase, (i.e. Form 3). The occurrence of these two simultaneous factors characterizes 'Dual' clause structures of this type.

Set III examples are considered 'Plural' structures. Plurality is expressed here by Noun Form 3 in both phrases. As stated above, there is usually gender concord in 'Singular' structures. However, in 'Singular' structures involving a three-Form noun in both phrases, this is not necessarily the case. Sometimes the two nouns happen to be of the same gender (as is the case in the first example in Set I above) and sometimes not (as is the case in the second example in Set I). One can say, for instance, 'il'walad 'bint 'The boy behaves like a girl' where the two nouns are of different gender as well as 'il'walad 'ra:gil 'The boy behaves like a man' where the two nouns are of the same gender.

B. Considering the second case where the nominal clause is of the restricted structure N(III) - N(IIH) the following points are observed:

- (i) Both nouns are of the first sort (i.e. 'human' nouns).
- (ii) The two-Form human noun involved in the second phrase cannot be a family name, i.e. N(IIH3).

(iii) Unlike 'Singular' clauses of the structure N(III) - N(III) where there is no necessary gender concord between the two phrases, here, i.e. in 'Singular' clauses of the structure N(IIIH)- N(IIH), there is always gender concord between the two phrases.

Examples:

	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	1(m)	1(m)	
(m)	'il''abbĩ	m'darris	'The father is a teacher'
	'ir'ra:gil	'de:f	'The man is a guest'
	1(f)	1(f)	
(f)	'il''ummĩ	mdar'risa	'The mother is a teacher'
	'il'bintĩ	'de:fa	'The girl is a guest'

One cannot say, for instance, 'il''abbĩ mdar'risa 'The father is a woman teacher' nor can we say 'il'bintĩ 'de:f 'The girl is a (male) guest'.

(iv) There is no gender concord in 'Dual' and 'Plural' clause structures. In both cases the same Form 3 occurs whether the Form involved in the first phrase is related to a masculine or a feminine lexical item, e.g.

Dual clause structures :

Noun Form	Noun Form	
2	3	
'il'ab'be:n	mudarri'si:n	'The two fathers are teachers'
'il'un'me:n	mudarri'si:n	'The two mothers are teachers.'

Plural clause structures :

Noun Form	Noun Form	
3	3	
'il'abba'ha:t	mudarri'si:n	'The fathers are teachers'
'il'umma'ha:t	mudarri'si:n	'The mothers are teachers'

However, I have come across a few speakers for whom sets of words such as mu'dar^ri:ss and muda'r^ri:ssa which are related by their phonology and refer to individuals of male and female sex, do have three separate Forms which is a trace of Classical Arabic, e.g.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/mudarris/ 'Male teacher'	/mudarri'se:n/	/mudarri'si:n/
/madar'risa/ 'Female teacher'	/mudarris'te:n/	/mudarri'sa:t/

For these speakers, the counterparts of the above 'Dual' and 'Plural' clause structures are as follows:

Dual structures:

Noun Form	Noun Form	
2	2	
'il'b'be:n	mudarri'se:n	'The two fathers are teachers'
'il'um'me:n	mudarris'te:n	'The two mothers are teachers'

Plural structures:

Noun Form	Noun Form	
3	3	
'il'abba'ha:t	mudarri'si:n	'The fathers are teachers'
'il'umma'ha:t	mudarri'sa:t	'The mothers are teachers'

So far, all the examples of Nominal clause 1 given above have involved a noun occurring in N1.P1 in both phrases. It is also possible in this Nominal clause to have in the first phrase a noun in basic nominal structures '2 - 4' (12) and in the second phrase a noun in basic nominal structures 3 and 4 but not 2. Whatever sequences of basic N1.P in examples of Nominal clause 1 under consideration, the number concord is such that the clause structure as a whole is typifiable as 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural'. In the following section, examples with basic N1.P1 in the second phrase and variations of the three relevant basic N1.Ps (other than N1.P1) in the first phrase will be given as illustrations. For brevity's sake the possibility of variation in the second phrase is not shown. The internal structure of the three possible N1.Ps in the first phrase has been dealt with elsewhere (see above, pp. 215-7), and all that is noted here is which item functions as controlling the number concord.

Examples of Singular clause structures :

N1.P2 (in this case Noun + Demonstrative) - N1.P1 (in this case Noun):

Noun Form		Noun Form	
1		1	
1.	'ir'ra:gil 'da	m'darris	'This man is a teacher'
2.	'il'o:da 'di	'maxzan	'This room is a storeroom'

(12) The nouns in the first phrase may occur as well in N1.P5 in which case the clause structure as a whole is 'Plural'. Hence, this basic nominal phrase structure is irrelevant here.

N1.P3 (Noun + Noun of material) - N1.Pl :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Noun Form

1

1

2. 'il'o:da lis'mant 'maxzan
'The concrete room is a storeroom'

N1.P4 (Construct, in this case Noun + Noun) - N1.Pl :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Noun Form

1

1

1. 'ra:gil il'be:t mu'darris
'The man of the house is a teacher'
2. 'o:tt ilxadda'mi:n 'maxzan
'The servants' room is (used as) a storeroom'

Examples of Dual clause structures :

N1.P2 - N1.Pl :

Noun Form

Noun Form

2

3

1. 'irrag'le:n 'do:l mudaris'si:n
'These two men are teachers'
2. 'ilot'te:n 'do:l ma'xa:zin
'These two rooms are storerooms'

N1.P3 - N1.P1 :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

2

Noun Form

3

2. 'ilot'te:n lis'ment ma'xa:zin
'The two concrete rooms are storerooms'

Examples of Plural clause structures :

N1.P2 - N1.P1 :

Noun Form

3

Noun Form

3

1. 'irrig'ga:la 'do:l (di) m(u)darri'si:n
'These men are teachers'
2. 'il'i'wad 'di ('do:l) ma'xa:zin
'These rooms are storerooms'

N1.P3 - N1.P1 :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

3

Noun Form

3

2. 'il'i'wad lis'mant ma'xa:zin
'The concrete rooms are storerooms'

N1.P4 - N1.P1 :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

3

Noun Form

3

- rig'galt il'be:t mudarri'si:n
'The men of the house are teachers'
- 'i'wad ilxadda'mi:n ma'xa:zin
'The servants' rooms are (used as) storerooms'

2 : PP - N(IIIIH)

All examples of this Nominal clause have a personal pronoun in the first phrase and a three-Form 'human' noun in the second such as /'ra:gil/ 'Man', /rag'le:n/ 'Two men' and /rig'ga:la/ 'Men'. These nouns occur generally in basic nominal phrase structures 1 and 4. (13)

At this stage a description of the personal pronouns will be given. In the present treatment they are analyzed as referable to three terms in the category of person namely:
(i) First person; (ii) Second person; (iii) Third person. The first person has two forms; the second and third three each. These are as follows:

(i) First person :

/'ana/	'I'
/'iHna/	'We'

(ii) Second person :

/'inta/	'You (m.s.)'
/'inti/	'You (f.s.)'
/'intu/	'You (Pl.)'

(iii) Third person :

/'huwwa/	'He'
/'hiyya/	'She'
/'humma/	'They'

(13) These nouns may occur as well in basic nominal phrase structures 5 and 6. However, when they do, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'. Therefore, these two phrase structures are irrelevant here. In addition, they may occur in N1.P3, but within limitations, see p.75.

The forms of the personal pronoun will be labelled (in accordance with the labelling of the Verb, Adjective, Demonstrative and Deictic) as Form x, y or z since they have the same relationship to the terms in the category of number as do similarly labelled forms of the other word classes mentioned above. The only difference is that the first person pronoun has only two forms. One of these two forms namely, /'iHna/ 'We' is clearly parallel to Form z in other word classes. The other form, however, namely /'ana/ 'I' is generally neutral for gender and thus does not exactly parallel Form x or Form y of other word classes. Accordingly, it is labelled Form /xy/ (but see below, p.270-1). Contrast the following two sets of examples where Set I involves a demonstrative in the first phrase and Set II the first person pronoun.

Set I (Demonstrative - N(IIIH) :

	Dem. Form	Noun Form	
	x	l(m)	
e.g.	'da	'ra:gil	'This is a man'
	y	l(f)	
e.g.	'di	'bint	'This is a girl'

Set II (First person pronoun - N(IIIH) :

	Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
	xy	l(m)	
e.g.	'ana	'ra:gil	'I am a man'
	xy	l(f)	
e.g.	'ana	'bint	'I am a girl'

For future reference the Forms of personal pronouns are labelled as follows:

First person :

xy	z
/i'ana/	/i'iHna/

Second person :

x	y	z
/i'inta/	/i'inti/	/i'intu/

Third person :

x	y	z
/i'huwva/	/i'hiyya/	/i'humma/

Having shown the Forms of the personal pronouns, all examples of Nominal clause 2, i.e. PP - N(IIIH), will involve a third person pronoun and a three-Form 'human' noun occurring in basic nominal phrase structure 1.

Examples :

First phrase	Second phrase	
Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
x	l(m)(14)	
1. 'huwva	'ra:gil	'He is a man'

(14) In 'Singular' clause structures, there is usually gender concord between the two phrases of the clause as is the case in the first example above. However, this gender concord may be broken for purposes of insult or praise, e.g. 'huwva 'mara (Lit. he is a woman) meaning 'He behaves like a woman', 'hiyya 'ra:gil (Lit. she is a man) meaning 'She behaves like a man'.

z

2

2. 'humma rag'le:n 'They are two men'

z

3

3. 'humma rig'ga:la 'They are men'

The first example is a masculine 'Singular' structure as it is the fact that the noun is masculine and occurs in Form 1 that governs the selection of Form x of the personal pronoun. The second example is a 'Dual' structure having simultaneously the two factors characterizing examples of a 'Dual' clause structure, namely, the noun is in Form 2 and the pronoun is in Form z. As a matter of fact 'Dual' clauses of the structure PP - N(IIIIH) occur only when it is necessary to state explicitly that two persons are referred to. The third example is a 'Plural' structure with Noun Form 3 and Form z of the pronoun.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TWO-TERM CLAUSES

As mentioned earlier on pp. 41-6 sets of two-phrase typifiable clauses requiring two terms in the category of number fall into two groups ('A' + 'B'). In group 'A' the two terms are 'Singular' and 'Plural', whereas in group 'B' the two terms are 'Singular' and 'Dual'. Singular clauses are also either masculine or feminine (see below).

Two-term Clauses 'A'

Clauses belonging to this group show twelve different internal structures, seven being Verbal and five Nominal. These can be summarized as follows:

1.	N(II)(1)	--	VP
2.	Dem.P	--	VP
3.	DP	--	VP
4.	PP	--	VP
5.	AP	--	VP
6.	Numeral	--	VP
7.	Ya phrase	--	VP
1.	N(IIH)(1)	--	N(III/IIH)(1)
2.	N(II)(1)	--	DP
3.	N(II)(1)	--	AP

(1) Note that these nominal phrases are limited to noun phrases where the noun is an example of the class given between brackets.

- | | | | |
|----|----|---|------------|
| 4. | PP | → | N(IIH) (1) |
| 5. | PP | → | AP |

In dealing with these clauses I will group together those which are alike in the Form in which the items involved in the two phrases occur. On this basis the seven Verbal clauses coming within this group fall into four sub-groups.

The first sub-group includes one verbal clause of the structure:

1 : N(II) - VP :

All examples of the above clause structure have a two-Form noun, (i.e. Form 1 and Form 3) in the first phrase such as /mu'darris/ 'Male teacher' → /mudarri'si:n/ 'Teachers'; /'sitt/ 'Lady' → /sit'ta:t/ 'Ladies'; /'rigl/ 'Leg' → /rig'le:n/ 'Legs', etc. These nouns occur in basic Simple nominal phrase structures 1, 2, 3 and 4 of which 3 (i.e. N1.P3) occurs where the first noun is mostly 'non-human' as is the case with 'rigl 'Leg' in the examples below.⁽²⁾

The criteria for 'Singular' and 'Plural' clause structures whether the internal structure of the nominal phrase is 1, 2, 3 or 4 are as follows:

(1) See footnote (1) on previous page.

(2) These nouns may also occur in N1.P5 and 6. But these two basic nominal phrase structures are irrelevant here since they require only one term, namely, 'Plural' with respect to this Verbal clause.

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Noun Form	Verb Form
S.	1(m)	x
	1(f)	y
Pl.	3	z(y)

Examples of Singular clause structures :

N1.P1 (Nominal; in this case just a two-Form noun) - VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form
1(m)	x
mu'darris	it'ra''a 'A teacher(m) was promoted'
1(f)	y
'rigl	ik'kasarit 'A leg was broken'

N1.P2 (Nominal + demonstrative where the nominal is a two-Form noun)⁽³⁾ VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form
1(m)	x
'ilmu'darris 'da	t'ra''a 'This teacher(m) was promoted'
1(f)	y
'ir'riglĭ 'di	k'karsarit 'This leg was broken'

(3) The concordial relationship obtaining between the two elements constituting N1.P2 has been dealt with on pp. 216-7.

N1.P3 (Noun + noun of material) - VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

l(f)

y

'ir'rigl il'xaṣab ik'kasarit 'The wooden leg was broken'

N1.P4 (Construct; in this case noun + noun) - VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

l(m)

x

mu'darris il'bint it'ra''a 'The girl's teacher(m) was promoted'

l(f)

y

'rigl ik'kursi k'kasarit 'The leg of the chair was broken'

Examples of Plural clause structures :

N1.P1 - VP :

Noun Form

Verb Form

3

z (y)

'ilmudarri'si:n it'ra''u (it'ra''it) 'The teachers were promoted'

'irrig'le:n ik'kasaru (ik'kasarit) 'The legs were broken'

N1.P2 - VP :

Noun Form

Verb Form

3

z (y)

'ilmudarri'si:n 'do:l('di) (i)t'ra''u (i)t'ra''it)

'These teachers were promoted'

'irrig'le:n 'do:l('di) (i)k'kasaru ((i)k'kasarit)

'These legs were broken'

N1.P3 - VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

3

z (y)

'irrig'le:n il'xasab ik'kasaru (ik'kasarit)

'The wooden legs were broken'

N1.P4 - VP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Verb Form

3

z (y)

mudarri'si:n il'bint it'ra''u (it'ra''it)

'The girl's teachers were promoted'

rig'le:n ik'kursi k'kasaru (k'kasarit)

'The legs of the chair were broken'

The second sub-group includes four clauses of the structure:

2 :	Dem.P	}	- VP :
3 :	DP		
4 :	PP		
5 :	AP		

Although the above four Verbal clauses may differ in distribution, they are grouped together since they are alike in the Form in which the items occur in both phrases (see below). The difference

in distribution lies in the fact that only in Clauses 3 and 5 the nominal phrase may occur in basic structures 1 and 2 (i.e. N1.P1 and N1.P2)⁽⁴⁾ whereas in Clauses 2 and 4 it occurs only in N1.P1. Since whatever the internal structure of the nominal phrase the criterion for assigning the clause structure as a whole to a particular term in the category of number is the same, all examples illustrating the above Verbal clauses will be of the basic nominal phrase structure 1 - VP. The criteria for 'Singular' and 'Plural' structures are as follows:

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Nominal Form	Verb Form
S.	(m) x	x
	(f) y	y
Pl.	z	z

Here it is to be noted that although there is mutual concordial relationship between the two phrases, the concord is governed by the appropriate form of the referable noun (previously mentioned) in the discourse. This statement, as mentioned earlier on p.59, applies to all two-phrase typifiable clauses where neither of them involves a noun and will not be repeated. For further details see above pp.59-61.

(4) In Clause 5 adjectives may also occur in N1.P6 in which case the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural' (see p.141). Therefore, this basic nominal phrase structure is irrelevant here.

Examples :

2 :	Dem.P	VP :
	Demonstrative Form	Verb Form
(m)	x	x
S.	'dukha	'wasal 'The other one arrived'
(f)	y	y
	'dikha	'wasalit 'The other one arrived'
Pl.	z	z
	'dukham	'wasalu 'The other ones arrived'

3 :	DP ⁽⁵⁾	VP :
	Deictic Form	Verb Form
(m)	x	x
S.	''aho	'wasal 'He has arrived'
(f)	y	y
	''ahe	'wasalit 'She has arrived'
Pl.	z	z
	''ahum	'wasalu 'They have arrived'

4 :	PP	VP :
	Pronoun Form	Verb Form
(m)	x	x
S.	'huwwa	'wasal 'He arrived'
(f)	y	y
	'hiyya	'wasalit 'She arrived'
Pl.	z	z
	'humma	'wasalu 'They arrived'

5 :	AP ⁽⁶⁾	VP :	
	Adjective Form	Verb Form	
S.	(m) {	x	x
	'il'Hilwĩ	'wasal	'The nice one(m) arrived'
	(f) {	y	y
	'il'Hilwa	'wasalit	'The nice one(f) arrived'
Pl.	z	z	
	'ilHil'wi:n	'wasalu	'The nice ones arrived'

The third sub-group includes one clause of the structure:

6 : Numeral - VP :

Here the numeral may occur in basic Nl.Pl and 2 only⁽⁷⁾. Since whether the internal structure of the initial Nl.P is 1 or 2 the assignment of the clause structure as a whole to a particular term in the category of number is the same, all examples will be of the basic structure Nl.Pl - VP.

The criteria for differentiating 'Singular' from 'Plural' structures vary according to whether the numeral is 'Non-ordinal' or 'Ordinal' as follows:

(i) Non-ordinal numerals :

(5) The deictic is difficult to translate in English. In some cases it is equivalent to 'Here' as in ''aho 'gah 'Here he comes'. In other cases the whole clause is equivalent to English sentences where the subject pronoun bears emphatic stress, e.g. ''aho 'nagaH 'He has succeeded'

(6) In this structure the adjective occurs in its definite form.

(7) With the exception of 'wa:Hid which occurs only in Nl.Pl

Any member of the non-ordinal numerals (i.e. One to infinity) can occur as the initial nominal phrase in the above structure. However, the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable depends on whether the non-ordinal numeral involved is 'wa:Hið 'One' or any other member above one. With 'wa:Hið the clause structure as a whole is 'Singular'; otherwise it is 'Plural'. As mentioned earlier, 'Singular' clauses may be masculine or feminine. In masculine clauses both the numeral and the verb occur in Form x whereas in feminine ones both the numeral and the verb occur in Form y. In 'Plural' clauses the verb occurs in Form z and the non-ordinals to be considered (i.e. two upwards) occur, in general, in one form.⁽⁸⁾ Hence there is no need to relate such a form to the labels x, y or z.

Examples :

	Numeral Form	Verb Form	
S.	(m)	x	x
	'wa:Hið	'wasal	'One arrived'
	(f)	y	y
	'waHda	'wasalit	'One arrived'

	Any non-ordinal above One	Verb Form	
Pl.	ta'la:ta ⁽⁹⁾	'wasalu	'Three arrived'
	Hi'da:ðar	'wasalu	'Eleven arrived'
	mi'te:n	'wasalu	'Two hundreds arrived'
	'al'fe:n	'wasalu	'Two thousands arrived'

(8) With the exception of 'miyya and 'alf each of which occurs in two forms namely: /'miyya/ 'One hundred' /'alf/ 'One thousand' /mi'te:n/ 'Two hundreds' /'al'fe:n/ 'Two thousands'

(9) See next page.

Note that any member of the non-ordinal numerals may occur with the definite article, e.g.

'ittat'la:ta	'waṣalu	'The three arrived'
'ilHi'da:sar	'waṣalu	'The eleven arrived'
'il'miyya	'waṣalu	'The one hundred arrived'
'il'alfi	'waṣalu	'The one thousand arrived'

Contrary to what some linguists have said, 'wa:Hiḍ may also occur with the definite article, but when it does it denotes the first person singular, e.g.

'il'wa:Hiḍ	'tiṣib	'I have become tired' (Lit. one has become tired'
------------	--------	---

which is equivalent to ti'ṣibt.

(ii) Ordinal numerals :

Any member of the eleven ordinals may occur in 'Singular' structures, but in 'Plural' structures only 'awwa'la:ni 'First', 'ta:ni 'Second; other' or 'ax'ra:ni 'Last' occurs. However, in both cases the ordinal always occurs in its definite form. The criteria for differentiating 'Singular' from 'Plural' clause structures are as follows:

	Ordinal Form	Verb Form
S.	(m) x	x
	(f) y	y
Pl.	z	z

(9) Note that each of the Cardinal numerals '3 to 10' which has two forms when occurring in N1.P5 (i.e. Non-ordinal numeral + noun) occurs here only in one form (i.e. that ending in /-a/). This also applies to 'miyya 'A hundred'. For these forms see page 111 and 121.

Examples :

Ordinal Form	Verb Form	
x	x	
'il'awwa'la:ni	'nagaH	'The first one succeeded'
y	y	
'il'awwala'niyya	'nagaHit	'The first one succeeded'
z	z	
'il'awwalaniy'yi:n	'nagaHu	'The first ones succeeded'

The fourth sub-group includes also one Verbal clause, namely:

7 : ya phrase - VP :

All examples of the above structure involve a verb in the imperative. Further, the sequences ya phrase - VP or VP - ya phrase both occur without any difference in semantic implications.

The ya phrase is a nominal phrase structure occurring only in isolation or in conjunction with an imperative verb Form used in calling.⁽¹⁰⁾ The internal structure of the ya phrase may be of two types. These are:

(10) ya phrase is used here for 'vocative phrases' such as ya 'ra:gil. 'Oh man!'. It does not cover other uses of the particle 'ya occurring in non-typifiable clause structures pointing out 'Alternative' Verbal clauses such as yat'ru:H yan'ru:h iHna 'Either you go or we go'; 'exclamatory' ya phrase such as sa'la:m! 'Oh, wonderful!', etc. For the usage of these terms see S.M. Badawi, ' "ya" Particles in the Egyptian dialect of El-nakhas (Sharqiyya Province)', M.A. thesis, University of London, 1960, pp. 34-75.

1) ya + nominal 1 :

e.g. ya 'ʔayman ... 'You, Aymen! ...'

2) ya + nominal 1 + Second person pronoun + wi + nominal 2 +
(wi nominal 3) :

e.g. ya 'ʔayman inta wi'na:s (wis'Ha:bak) ...

'You Aymen, Inas and your friends ...'

Nominal 1 occurring in ya phrase is either (i) A noun (usually human); (ii) An adjective or (iii) A proper noun (usually a personal given name).

Nominal 2 may be either (i) A noun (usually human); (ii) A proper noun (usually a personal given name); (iii) A personal pronoun.

Nominal 3 in my idiolect is always a human noun. In no case is the nominal element associated with the definite article.

Examples of type 1 :

(i) ya 'walad 'Oh, boy!'

(ii) ya 'gabi 'Oh, stupid one!'

(iii) ya 'ʔayman 'Oh, Aymen!'

Examples of type 2 :

(i) 'ya 'wa:d⁽¹¹⁾ inta 'wuxtak ... 'You boy, together with
your sister...'

(11) /'wa:d/ is another dialectal variant of /'walad/.

(ii) 'ya 'ʔayman inta wi' 'na:s... 'You Ayman and Inas ...'

(iii) 'ya ǵa'biyya nti w'hiyya... 'You stupid ones ...'

Sets of Verbal clauses of the structure 'ya phrase - VP' fall also into two types as regards the category of number both of which show two terms namely, Singular and Plural.

Type 1, (ya phrase (i) - VP)

Type 2, (VP - ya phrase (ii))

In type 1 structures the presence of Form 1 of a masculine noun or Form x of an adjective correlates with Form x of the verb; Form 1 of a feminine noun or Form y of an adjective correlates with Form y of the verb; Form 3 of a noun or Form z of an adjective with Form z of the verb.

In type 2 structures the Form of the verb correlates with the Form and gender of the immediately following nominal and also the following second person pronoun:

Examples :

Type 1 :

a) Masculine Singular structures

ya $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Noun Form 1 (m)} \\ \text{Adjective Form x} \end{array} \right] + \text{Verb Form x}$

e.g. ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{'walad} \\ \text{'gabi} \end{bmatrix}$ ta'8a:la

'You $\begin{bmatrix} \text{boy} \\ \text{stupid one} \end{bmatrix}$ come here !'

b) Feminine Singular structures

ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Noun Form 1 (f)} \\ \text{Adjective Form y} \end{bmatrix}$ + Verb Form y

e.g. ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{'binti} \\ \text{'ga'biyya} \end{bmatrix}$ ta'8a:li

'You $\begin{bmatrix} \text{girl} \\ \text{stupid one} \end{bmatrix}$ come here !'

c) Plural structures

ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Noun Form 3} \\ \text{Adjective Form z} \end{bmatrix}$ + Verb Form z

e.g. ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{w'la:d} \\ \text{'ag'biya} \end{bmatrix}$ ta'8a:lu

'You $\begin{bmatrix} \text{boys} \\ \text{stupid ones} \end{bmatrix}$ come here !'

Type 2 :

a) Masculine Singular structures

Verb Form x + ya + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Noun Form 1 (m)} \\ \text{Adjective Form x} \end{bmatrix}$ + second person

pronoun Form x + wi + noun

e.g. 'uxrug ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{'ayman} \\ \text{'gabi} \end{bmatrix}$ (i)nta wiş 'Ha:bak

'You $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Ayman} \\ \text{stupid one} \end{bmatrix}$ and your friends, go out!'

b) Feminine Singular structures

Verb Form y + ya + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Noun Form 1 (f)} \\ \text{Adjective Form y} \end{bmatrix}$ + second person

pronoun Form y + wi + noun

e.g. 'ux'rugi ya $\begin{bmatrix} \text{'na:s} \\ \text{ga'biyya} \end{bmatrix}$ (i)nti wiş 'Ha:bik

'You $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Inas} \\ \text{stupid one} \end{bmatrix}$ and your friends, go out!'

c) Plural structures

Verb Form z + ya + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Noun Form 3} \\ \text{Adjective Form z} \end{bmatrix}$ + second person

pronoun Form z + wi + noun

e.g. 'ux'ɾugu [ya w'la:d
ya 'ag'biya] (i)ntu wiʒ'habku

'You [boys
stupid ones] and your friends, go out!'

Note that the Form and gender of the last noun does not affect the number or gender concord of the clause structure though semantically it can be considered to be in subject relationship with the verb.

Nominal Clauses

1 :	Nl.P	-	Nl.P
	NP	-	NP
	N(IIH)		N(III/IIH)

In the examples of the above nominal clause, the Nl.P in both phrases is limited to a noun phrase where the noun is an example of the class given between brackets. As can be seen from the above formula the first phrase always involves a two-Form 'human' noun; the second involves either a three-Form noun which is usually 'human' (12) or a two-Form 'human' noun other than family names (i.e. IIH3). The two phrases involved in the above structure have different distributions as follows:

In general, the first occurs as basic nominal structures 1, 2, and 4; the second only as basic nominal structures 1 and 4. It is to be noted that although the nouns in the first phrase may as well occur as basic Nl.P5 and 6, these two nominal phrases are not considered here since they occur only in 'Plural' clause structures with respect to the above nominal clause.

In the following section, for brevity's sake, examples with Nl.Pl in the second phrase and variation of all relevant

(12) The three-Form 'non-human' items mentioned above on p.109 can also occur in this structure, but with a special meaning, e.g. 'ilHa'ra:mi H'ma:r (Lit. the thief is a donkey) meaning 'The thief is stupid'

Nl.Ps in the first phrase will be given since the facts concerning the category of number are the same whatever sequences of Nl.P occur in either phrase.

The criteria for 'Singular' and 'Plural' clause structures are as follows:

	First phrase	-	Second phrase
S.	Noun Form 1		Noun Form 1
Pl.	Noun Form 3		Noun Form 3

Under each of the two terms required for such nominal clause structures, only one example will be given involving a two-Form 'human' noun in the first phrase and a three-Form 'human' noun in the second as this noun class is representative of all other relevant noun classes with respect to number. For examples involving a two-Form 'human' noun in both phrases, see Case 3 above, pp. 41-3. The internal concord obtaining between the elements of Nl.P2 has been dealt with elsewhere and all that is noted here is which item functions as the 'control' of number concord.

Examples of Singular clause structures :

Nl.P1	-	Nl.P1	:
Noun Form		Noun Form	
1		1	
'iz'zasbiṭ		'ra:gil	'The officer(m) is a (good) man'

N1.P2 (in this case Noun + Demonstrative) - N1.P1 :

Noun Form

Noun Form

1

1

'iz'za:bit 'da 'ra:gil⁽¹³⁾ 'This officer(m) is a (good) man'

N1.P4 (Construct, in this case noun + noun) - N1.P1 :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Noun Form

1

1

'za:bit il'ismī '8ayyil (Lit. the police officer(m) is a child) meaning 'He behaves childishly'

Examples of Plural clause structures :

N1.P1

-

N1.P1

Noun Form

Noun Form

3

3

'izzub'ba:t rig'ga:la 'The officers are (good) men'

N1.P2

N1.P1

Noun Form

Noun Form

3

3

'izzub'ba:t 'do:l('di) rig'ga:la 'These officers are (good) men'

(13) There is generally gender concord between the two phrases in Singular structures. However, this is not always so where the second phrase involves a three-Form 'human' noun. This is because regardless of their gender, these nouns may be used to signify some aspect of behaviour or character which can be attributed to persons of either sex. For example, one can say: 'iz'za:bit 'da 'mara (Lit. that officer(m) is a woman) meaning 'He behaves like a woman'.

Nl.Pl

-

Nl.Pl :

'Controlling'

Noun Form

Noun Form

3

3

zub'ba:t il''ismi 8'ya:l (Lit. the police officers are children)
 meaning 'They behave childishly'

2	:	Nl.P	-	Nl.P
		NP	-	Nl.P
		N(II)	-	DP

As can be seen from the above formula, all examples of the above structure have a two-Form noun (i.e. Form 1 and Form 3) in the first Nl.P. These nouns occur in basic nominal structures 1, 2, 3 and 4 of which 3 occurs within certain limitations, (see Nl.P3 above, p. 75). These nouns may also occur in Nl.P5 and 6, but when they do the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'. Therefore, these two basic nominal phrase structures are irrelevant here.

Whether the internal structure of the first phrase is 1, 2, 3 or 4, the clause structure as a whole is typifiable as 'Singular' or 'Plural'. The internal concord obtaining between the elements of Nl.P2 has been dealt with elsewhere, and all that is noted here is which item functions as controlling the number concord. Moreover, since the 'non-human' items belonging to two-Form nouns are only three namely, '8e:n 'Eye', 'i:d 'Hand' and 'rigl 'Leg', all examples will involve a two-Form 'human' noun in the first phrase and hence no examples with Nl.P3 are given since the first noun in Nl.P3 is mostly 'non-human' (see p. 75).

The criteria for 'Singular' and 'Plural' structures of the above clause are as follows:

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Noun Form	Deictic Form
S.	1(m)	x
	1(f)	y
Pl.	3	z(y)

Examples of Singular clause structures :

N1.P1 (in this case just a two-Form 'human' noun) - DP :

Noun Form	Deictic Form	
l(m)	x	
'il'malik	a'hoh	'Here is the King'
l(f)	y	
'is'sitt	a'heh	'Here is the lady'

N1.P2 (in this case Noun + Demonstrative) - DP :

Noun Form	Deictic Form		
l(m)	x		
'il'malik	'dukha	'hoh	'Here is the other King'
l(f)	y		
'issiti	'dikha	'heh	'Here is the other lady'

N1.P4 (in this case noun + noun) - DP :

'Controlling'

Noun Form	Deictic Form		
l(m)	x		
'malik	il''urdun	a'hoh	'Here is the Jordanian King'
l(f)	y		
'sitti	liw'la:d	a'heh	'Here is the boys' grandmother'

Examples of Plural clause structures :

N1.P1	-	DP :
Noun Form		Deictic Form
3	z	(y)
'ilmi'lu:k	a'hum	(a'heh) 'Here are the rulers' (14)
'issit'ta:t	a'hum	(a'heh) 'Here are the ladies'

N1.P2	-	DP :
Noun Form		Deictic Form
3	z	(y)
'ilmi'lu:k 'dukham ('dikha)	(a)'hum ((a)'heh)	'Here are the other rulers'
'issit'ta:t 'dukham ('dikha)	(a)'hum ((a)'heh)	'Here are the other ladies'

N1.P4	-	DP :
'Controlling'		
Noun Form		Deictic Form
3	z	(y)
mi'lu:k ilxa'li:g	a'hum	(a'heh) 'Here are the rulers of the Gulf'
sit'ta:t il'8e:la	'hum	('heh) 'Here are the ladies of the family'

(14) In my idiolect the form /mi'lu:k/ is Form 3 of both the two lexical items 'malik 'King' and 'malika 'Queen'.

3 :	Nl.P	---	Nl.P
	NP	---	Nl.P
	N(II)	---	AP

All examples of this nominal clause 3, like those of nominal clause 2, have a two-Form noun in the first phrase. Nominal clauses 2 and 3 could therefore well be grouped together since the first phrase in both involves a two-Form noun occurring in basic nominal structures '1 to 4'; and the item involved in the second phrase (though belonging to different word classes) has the three Forms termed x, y and z. However, nominal clause 3 is dealt with separately because in 'Plural' structures we have to take into account certain factors which are not relevant to nominal clause 2.

The criteria for the assignment of nominal clause 3 examples to the terms 'Singular' or 'Plural' regardless of whether the basic structure of the first nominal phrase is 1, 2, 3 or 4 are as follows:

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Noun Form	Adj. Form
S.	{ 1(m)	x
	{ 1(f)	y
Pl.	{ 3	z(y)
	{ 3	z

As can be seen from the above formulae the concordial relationship between the Form of the two items in 'Singular' clause

structures is simple. It is Form 1 of a masculine noun which governs the selection of Form x of the adjective in the second phrase and it is Form 1 of a feminine noun which governs the selection of Form y of the adjective.

Examples of Singular clause structures :

Noun Form	Adj. Form	
l(m)	x	
'ilfal'la:H	mu'himm	'The farmer is important'
'it'ta:gir	mu'himm	'The merchant is important'
l(f)	y	
'is'sitti	m'himma	'The lady is important'
'il'8e:n	mu'himma	'The eye is important'

In 'Plural' structures, however, we have to take into account the following two factors:

I. The classification of noun into 3 types namely,

- (a) 'Non-human' (i.e. H)
- (b) 'Human' ending in /-a/ or /-a:t/ (i.e. $H[\begin{smallmatrix} -a \\ -a:t \end{smallmatrix}]$)
- (c) 'Human' with other endings (i.e. $H[\text{other}]$).

II. Type of formation of Form z of the adjective in the second phrase, i.e. whether it is 'sound' or 'broken'. For these two terms see above, p. 169.

Depending on various combinations of the above two factors, 'Plural' structures of the above nominal clause fall into two groups according to the Form of the adjective occurring in the second phrase. In group I the adjective shows alternance of Form z and y; in group II it occurs exclusively in Form z. This can be summarized as follows:

Group	Subclassification of noun	Type of Form z of adjective (sound or broken)	Form of adjective occurring
I	(a) <u>H</u>	Both	z (y)
	(b) H [^{- a} _{- a:t}]	Both	z (y)
	(c) H [other]	Sound	z (y)
II	H [other]	Broken	z

The following examples of the four possible combinations of type of noun element with type of Form z of adjective grouped on the basis of concord will illustrate the case.

Group I (a) :

<u>H</u>	+	Sound Adjective :
8i'ne:ha		'was8a (was'8i:n) 'Her eyes are wide'
rig'le:ha		'wiH'sa (wiH'si:n) 'Her legs are ugly'

H + Broken Adjective :

Si'ne:sha ga'mi:la (g'ma:l) 'Her eyes are beautiful'
 rig'le:sha ta'wi:la (t'wa:l) 'Her legs are long'

Group I (b) :

H[-^a_{a:t}] + Sound Adjective :

'idda'katra saṭ'ri:n ('saṭra) 'The doctors are clever'
 'ilxawa'ga:t naṣ'Hi:n ('naṣHa) 'The Europeans are far-sighted'

H[-^a_{a:t}] + Broken Adjective :

'idda'katra 'aḡ'niya (ḡa'niyya) 'The doctors are rich'
 'ilxawa'ga:t 'nubaha (na'bi:ha) 'The Europeans are intelligent'

Group I (c) :

H[other] + Sound Adjective :

'issuk'ka:n mutṣi'bi:n (mut'ṣiba) 'The tenants are troublesome'
 'ilmudarri'si:n ṭayyi'bi:n (ṭay'yiba) 'The teachers are kind-
 hearted'

Group II :

H[other] + Broken Adjective :

'issuk'ka:n 'fu'ara 'The tenants are poor'
 not *'issuk'ka:n fa'ʔi:ra
 'ilmudarri'si:n gu'da:d 'The teachers are new'
 not * 'ilmudarri'si:n gi'di:da

4	:	Nl.P	-	Nl.P
		Nl.P	-	NP
		PP	-	N(IIH)

All examples of the above nominal clause structure have a personal pronoun in the first Nl.P and a two-Form 'human' noun in the second phrase.⁽¹⁵⁾ These nouns may occur in basic nominal phrase structures 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6. However, only basic Nl.Pl and 4 are relevant here (see p. 257). Since whichever of these two Nl.P structures is involved, the clause as a whole is typifiable as 'Singular' or 'Plural', only examples involving Nl.Pl will be given.

The criteria for assignment to the terms 'Singular' and 'Plural' with respect to all examples of the above nominal clause structure are as follows:

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Personal Pronoun Form	Noun Form
S.	{ x y	1(m) 1(f)
Pl.	z	3

(15) Any of the eight three-Form 'non-human' items given on p. 109 may also occur here. When it does,

(i) Only Forms 1 and 3 of this item are found

(ii) It occurs with a specific meaning as an insult to a human-being, e.g.

'huwwa H'ma:r (Lit. he is a donkey) meaning 'He is a stupid person'

'humma H'mi:r 'They are stupid persons'.

Examples :

Masculine Singular structure :

Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
x	l(m)	
'huwwa	wa'zi:r	'He is a minister'

Feminine Singular structure :

Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
	l(f)	
'hiyya	wa'zi:ra	'She is a minister'

Plural structure :

Pronoun Form	Noun Form	
z	3	
'humma	'wuzara	'They are ministers'

5 :	Nl.P	--	Nl.P
	PP	--	AP

As can be seen from the above formula all examples of the above nominal clause structure have a personal pronoun in the first Nl.P and an adjective in the second. The adjective involved never associates with the definite article.

The criteria for assignment to the terms 'Singular' and 'Plural' are as follows:

	First phrase	Second phrase
	Personal Pronoun Form	Adjective Form
S.	(m) { x	x
	(f) { y	y
Pl.	z	z

Examples :

Masculine Singular structure :

Personal Pronoun Form	Adjective Form
x	x
'ana	fa'i:r 'I (m) am poor'

Feminine Singular structure :

Personal Pronoun Form	Adjective Form
y	y
'ana	fa'i:ra 'I (f) am poor'

Plural structure :

Personal Pronoun Form	Adjective Form
z.	z.
'iHna	'fu'ara 'We are poor'

Note that in this clause structure /'ana/ can be stated definitely as Form x or Form y because of the difference of the Form of the following adjective. This is in contrast to, say, Verbal clauses involving the same personal pronoun in the first phrase as in 'ana na'gaHt 'I (m or f) succeeded' where gender is not marked in either the pronoun or the verb. Thus, /'ana/ occurring in Verbal clause structures is termed /xy/. For further details see above, pp. 237-9.

Two-term Clauses 'B'

As can be seen from the heading sets of two-phrase typifiable clauses belonging to this group, like those belonging to group 'A' previously dealt with, require two terms in the category of number. But here the two terms are 'Singular' and 'Dual' (not 'Singular' and 'Plural' as is the case with two-term clauses 'A').

Group 'B' concerns three different internal clause structures; one Verbal and two Nominal. In all cases the initial nominal phrase is limited to a noun phrase where the noun belongs to Class IV, i.e. N(IV). As stated above (see p. 44) these nouns have Forms 1, 2, 4 and 5, but no Form 3.

Note that there are 132 four-Form nouns belonging to group 'A' (see pp. 365-7) of which 25 also occur with special meaning. For instance, the lexical item burtu''a:n 'Oranges' has four Forms, e.g.

- | | | |
|----------|--|--------------------------|
| Form 1 : | 'i/ɬti're:t <u>burtu''a:na</u> | 'I bought an orange' |
| Form 2 : | 'i/ɬti're:t <u>burtu'an'te:n</u> | 'I bought two oranges' |
| Form 4 : | 'i/ɬti're:t 'talat <u>burtu'a'na:t</u> | 'I bought three oranges' |
| Form 5 : | 'i/ɬti're:t <u>burtu''a:n</u> | 'I bought some oranges' |

In addition to that, the invariable form of the same lexical item occurs in N1.P5 examples with a special meaning, e.g.

- 'iʃti're:t 'wa:hid burtu'a:n 'I bought an orange drink'
- 'iʃti're:t it'ne:n burtu'a:n 'I bought two orange drinks'
- 'iʃti're:t ta'la:ta burtu'a:n 'I bought three orange drinks'

For the other 24 items, see p. 364 under (2).

The three typifiable clause structures coming within this group can be summarized as follows:

	First phrase		Second phrase
1 :	N(IV)	-	VP
2 :	N(IV)	-	AP
3 :	N(IV)	-	DP

These will be grouped together since the items involved in the two phrases are alike in Form and distribution (see below). As regards Form the first phrase in all three clauses involves a four-Form noun (which is always 'non-human'); the second (though belonging to different word classes) has three Forms referred to as x, y and z. With respect to distribution, the noun involved in the first phrase occurs in basic nominal structures N1.P1, N1.P2 and N1.P4.⁽¹⁶⁾ Since whichever of these three N1.P structures is involved the criteria for assignment to the terms 'Singular' or 'Dual' are the same, only examples involving basic nominal phrase structure 1 (in this case a four-Form noun) in the first phrase will be given.

(16) Form 4 occurs only in N1.P5 examples, in which case the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural' (see p. 44). Form 5 may also occur as the first element of N1.P6, in which case the clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular' (see p. 138 under (ii)). These two Forms are, therefore, irrelevant here.

The criteria for assignment to the terms 'Singular' and 'Dual' with respect to the above three clauses are as follows:

	Form of the item in the first phrase	Form of the item in the second phrase
S.	1(f)	y
	5(f)	y
	5(m)	x
D.	2	z

The following three sets of examples will illustrate the case. In Set I the second phrase is a Verbal one (VP), in Set II it is Adjectival (AP) and in Set III it is Deictic (DP). In each Set the two lexical items bat'ti:x(m) 'Water-melons' and 'ringa(f)' 'Herrings' are used.

Singular clause structures :

Set I,	N(IV)	-	VP	:
	Noun Form		Verb Form	
	1(f)		y	
	'ilbat'ti:xa		t'ba:8it	'The water melon was sold'
	'irrin'ga:ya		t'ba:8it	'The herring was sold'
	5(f)		y	
	'ir'ringa		t'ba:8it	'The herrings were sold'
	5(m)		x	
	'ilbat'ti:x		it'ba:8	'The water melons were sold'

Set II, N(IV) - AP :

Noun Form	Adjective Form	
1(f)	y	
'ilbat'ti:xa	'galya	'The water melon is expensive'
'irrin'ga:ya	'galya	'The herring is expensive'
5(f)	y	
'ir'ringa	'galya	'The herrings are expensive'
5(m)	x	
'ilbat'ti:x	'ga:li	'The water melons are expensive'

Set III, N(IV) - DP :

Noun Form	Deictic Form	
1(f)	y	
'ilbat'ti:xa	'heh	'Here is the water melon'
'irrin'ga:ya	'heh	'Here is the herring'
5(f)	y	
'ir'ringa	'heh	'Here are the herrings'
5(m)	x	
'ilbat'ti:x	a'hoh	'Here are the water melons'

As can be seen from the above examples, Singular clause structures involving Form 1 are always feminine. It is a peculiarity of all four-Form nouns that their Form 1 is always feminine even where the corresponding Form 5 is masculine as with bat'ti:x here. This is in contrast to all other Singular clause structures

which almost always include both masculine and feminine examples. Further, it is to be noted here that where Form 5 is involved the Arabic structures are Singular even though the English translations involve plural words and Form 5 is semantically plural.

Dual clause structures :

Set I, N(IV) - VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form	
2	Z	
'ilbattix'te:n	it'ba:8u	'The two water melons were sold'
'irringi'te:n	it'ba:8u	'The two herrings were sold'

Set II, N(IV) - AP :

Noun Form	Adjective Form	
2	Z	
'ilbattix'te:n	gal'yi:n	'The two water melons are expensive'
'irringi'te:n	gal'yi:n	'The two herrings are expensive'

Set III, N(IV) - DP :

Noun Form	Deictic Form	
2	Z	
'ilbattix'te:n	a'hum	'Here are the two water melons'
'irringi'te:n	a'hum	'Here are the two herrings'

All the above examples are 'Dual' structures since the two simultaneous factors characterizing 'Dual' clause structures namely noun Form 2 and Form Z of other word classes in two-phrase typifiable clauses are found here.

CHAPTER NINE

ONE-TERM CLAUSES

As mentioned earlier on pp. 47-53, sets of two-phrase typifiable clauses requiring only one term in the category of number fall into three groups: 'A', 'B' and 'C'. In both 'A' and 'B' the term required is 'Plural', but on different criteria; in 'C' the term required is 'Singular'. These three groups will be dealt with in order:

One-term Clauses 'A'

This group includes three different internal clause structures requiring the one-term 'Plural' in the category of number; one Verbal and two Nominal. In all cases the initial nominal phrase is limited to a noun phrase involving a noun belonging to Class I, group 'B' (i.e. having only one-Form within the category of number termed Form 3 since its syntactic function is parallel to Form 3 of the majority of nouns belonging to other classes). In my data eight items belonging to this group, i.e. N(IB) are found. Five of them are 'human' and three are 'non-human'. These are:

Human nouns :

- (i) 'a8'ya:n 'High-class people'
- (ii) za'wa:t 'Aristocratic people'

- (iii) 'na:s 'People'
- (iv) 'xal' 'People'
- (v) ga'ma:8a 'Group of people; wife'

Non-human nouns :

- (i) fi'lu:s 'Money'
- (ii) 'at'ya:n 'Plots of land'
- (iii) hi'du:m 'Clothes'

In general, all of these nouns occur in basic nominal structures 1, 2, 4 and 6.⁽¹⁾ Whatever the internal structure of the first phrase the criterion for assigning the whole clause to the term 'Plural' is the same. Therefore, for the sake of brevity, only examples of the basic structure N1.Pl in the first phrase (in this case just a noun) will be given here. Further, since the nouns involved in the first phrase may be 'human' or 'non-human', one (or more) 'human' and one 'non-human' will be chosen when dealing with the three different internal clause structures coming within this group in order to show the different concord of these two types of noun in certain cases.

The three recognizable clause structures concerning group 'A' can be summarized as follows:

	First phrase		Second phrase
1 :	N(IB)	-	VP
2 :	N(IB)	-	DP
3 :	N(IB)	-	AP

These will be dealt with in order.

(1) See next page.

- | | | |
|-----|-------|----|
| 1 : | N(IB) | VP |
| 2 : | N(IB) | DP |

The above two clause structures are grouped together because they are exactly alike in Form. The criterion for assigning all examples of the above two clause structures to the term 'Plural' in the category of number is as follows:

First phrase	Second phrase
Noun Form	Verb or Deictic Form
3	z (y) ⁽²⁾

The following two sets of examples are illustrations. Set I involves in the second phrase a Verb; Set II a Deictic.

Set I, N(IB) - VP :

Noun Form	Verb Form
3	z (y)

1. 'il'a8'ya:n 'waʒalu ('waʒalit) 'The high-class people arrived'

2. 'ilfi'lu:s 'waʒalu ('waʒalit) 'The money arrived'

3	z
---	---

3. 'igga'ma:8a 'waʒalu 'The group of people arrived'

or

'The wife arrived'

(1) Note that: the item ga'ma:8a when it means 'Wife' occurs only in N1.P1 and N1.P4. Also, the two items 'a8'ya:n and ga'wa:t may occur as well in certain sub-structures of N1.P5 (see IB2, p. 342).

(2) There is one exception to this criterion. This concerns clause structures involving the item ga'ma:8a in the first phrase in which case the Form of the element involved in the second phrase occurs in one Form only namely, Form z. See example 3 below in both sets.

Set II, N(1B) - DP :

	Noun Form	Deictic Form	
	3	z (y)	
1.	'il'a8'ya:n	a'hum (a'heh)	'Here are the high-class people'
2.	'ilfi'lu:s	a'hum (a'heh)	'Here is the money'
	3	z	
3.	'igga'ma:8a	'hum	'Here is the group of people'
		or	
			'Here is the wife'

3 :	NIP	--	Nl.P
	NP	--	Nl.P
	N(IB)	--	AP

All examples of the above clause structure are Plural. The criteria for Plural structures, depending on whether the noun involved in the first phrase is 'human' or 'non-human', are as follows:

First phrase	Second phrase
Noun Form	Adjective Form
3 H	z
3 <u>H</u>	y

The following two sets of examples are cases in point. Under each set two examples are given. The first involves the adjective ku'wayyis 'Good' whose Form z is of the 'Sound' type; the second the adjective 8a'zi:z 'Rare; beloved' whose Form z is of the 'Broken' type to show that the choice of the adjective Form depends mainly on the type of noun involved. This is in contrast to other Nominal clauses of the structure N(III) - AP or N(II) - AP where Form z of the adjective involved, as well as other factors, have to be taken into account (see above, pp. 220 - 4 and pp. 264 - 7).

Examples:

Set I, Human noun -- Ajective :

Human noun Form Adjective Form

3

z

1. 'igga'ma:8a kwayyi'si:n

'My wife (the group of people) is all right'

2. 'igga'ma:8a 8'za:z

'My wife (the group of people) is beloved'

Set II, Non-human noun -- Adjective:

Non-human noun Form Adjective Form

3

y

1. 'il'at'ya:n kuway'yisa

'The plots of land are good'

or

'Having plots of land is a good thing'

2. 'il'at'ya:n 8a'zi:za

'The plots of land are dear'

One-term Clauses 'B'

This group, like group 'A' deals with three different internal clause structures requiring the one term 'Plural' in the category of number, but on a different criterion. In group 'B' clauses, unlike those belonging to group 'A', the initial nominal phrase is always a Complex one of the first type mentioned on p. 145 (i.e. a wi Nl.P).

Out of the three clauses coming within group 'B', one is Verbal and two are Nominal. These can be summarized as follows:

	First phrase		Second phrase
1.	wi Nl.P	-	VP
2.	wi Nl.P	-	AP
3.	wi Nl.P	-	NP

These will be dealt with in order. But before doing this it might be useful to repeat here two general observations regarding the wi Nl.P.

(i) There are no restrictions on the combinability of the six basic nominal phrase structures given on p. 68 as constituents of a wi Nl.P except that where the first Nl.P is an adjective, all the succeeding ones will also be adjectives.

(ii) Though each nominal involved in the wi Nl.P may occur in any form, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'. Therefore, in dealing with the above three clauses only examples of selected Nl.P structures in the first nominal phrase will be given.

- 1 : wi Nl.P -- VP
 2 : wi Nl.P -- AP

The above two clause structures are grouped together as they correspond as regards the Form of the items involved in the two phrases since whatever the internal structure of the wi Nl.P it shows concord with Form z of the element involved in the second phrase.

The criterion for assignment to the term 'Plural' is as follows:

Form of the items
 involved in the
 first phrase

Form of the item
 involved in the
 second phrase

Any

z

The following two sets of examples will illustrate the possibility of different Forms and combination of Forms of items in the first phrase.

Set I, wi Nl.P -- VP :

Form of the items in the
 first phrase

Verb Form

l(m)

l(f)

z

a) 'ik'kursi wiṭṭara'be:za it'ba:8u

'The chair and the table were sold'

Form of the items in the

first phrase

Verb Form

2

1(f)

z

b) 'ikkursiy'ye:n wiṭṭara'be:za it'ba:8u

'The two chairs and the table were sold'

3

1(f)

z

c) 'ikka'ra:si wtarabe'zithum it'ba:8u

'The chairs and the table that goes with them were sold'

x (demonstrative) 1(f)

z

d) 'da wiṭṭara'be:za it'ba:8u

'That one (m) and the table were sold'

y (pronoun)

4

z

e) 'hiyya wit'talat batti'xa:t it'ba:8u

'It (f) and the three water melons were sold'

y (adjective) z(adjective)

z

f) 'iggi'di:da wil'u'da:m it'ba:8u

'The new one (f) and the old ones were sold'

5(m)

1(f)

3

z

g) 'is'samak wil'laHma wilfi'ra:x it'ba:8u

'The fish, the meat and the chickens were sold'

Set II, wi Nl.P

AP .:

Form of the items in the
first phrase

Adjective Form

1(m)

1(f)

z

a) 'ik'kursi wittara'be:za gal'yi:n

'The chair and the table are expensive'

2

1(f)

z

b) 'ikkursiy'ye:n wittara'be:za gal'yi:n

'The two chairs and the table are expensive'

3

1(f)

z

c) 'ikka'ra:si wtarabe'zithum gal'yi:n

'The chairs and the table that goes with them are expensive'

x(demonstrative) 1(f)

z

d) 'da wittara'be:za gal'yi:n

'That one (m) and the table are expensive'

y(pronoun)

4

z

e) 'hiyya wit'talat batti'xa:t gal'yi:n

'That one (f) and the three water melons are expensive'

y(adjective) z(adjective)

z

f) 'iggi'di:da wil'u'da:m gal'yi:n

'The new one(f) and the old ones are expensive'

5(m)

1(f)

3

z

g) 'is'samak wil'laHma wilfi'ra:x gal'yi:n

'The fish, the meat and the chickens are expensive'

3 : wi N1.P -- N1.P

All examples of the above nominal clause have in the second phrase either a two-Form noun (other than those of family names) or a three-Form noun (other than those which remain constant such as ni'sisba 'Calamity', etc. in which case the clause as a whole is non-typifiable as in 'ilba'na:t wiliw'la:d ni'sisba 'The boys and the girls are a calamity). In general, these nouns occur in N1.P1 and N1.P4. Regardless of whether the basic structure of the second nominal phrase is 1 or 4, the whole clause is typifiable as 'Plural'. The criterion for assignment to the term 'Plural' is as follows:

Form of the items in the first phrase		Form of the noun in the second phrase
Any	--	3

The following examples are illustrations:

- a) 1(m) 3 3
 'ir'ra:gil wiw'la:du da'katra
 'The man and his children are doctors'
- b) xy (pronoun) 3 3
 'ana wigga'lalda na'sa:yib
 'Lit. I and the Gallads' are brothers-in-law) meaning
 'We are related by marriage'

- z (pronoun) y (demonstrative) 3
- c) 'numma w'di s'Ha:b
 'They and she are friends'
- 1(f) 1(m) 3
- d) 'il'bintĩ wa'bu:ha mdarri'si:n
 'The girl and her father are teachers'
- y (adjective) y (adjective) 3
- e) 'il'Hilwa wil'wiHga x'wa:t
 'The pretty one(f) and the ugly one(f) are sisters'
- 1(f) 1(m) 5(f) 3
- f) 'il'laHma wil'laban wil'manga 'an'wa:8
 'Meat, milk and mangoes are (each) of many kinds'

One-term Clauses 'C'

This group comprises eight different internal clause structures all of which require in general the one term 'Singular' in the category of number; two being Verbal and six Nominal. In all cases the initial nominal phrase involves either a one-term noun belonging to group 'A', i.e. N (IA '1 - 4') OR one of the eight ordinals 'it'ta:lit 'The third' to 'il'8a:sir 'The tenth' in its definite form.

In dealing with these clause structures I will group together those which are alike in the Form in which the items involved in the two phrases occur. On this basis the eight clause structures coming within group 'C' fall into four sub-groups as follows:

Sub-group	First phrase	Second phrase
First	x	x
	y	y
Second	x	1(m) or 5(m)
	y	1(f) or 5(f)
Third	1(m)	x
	1(f)	y
Fourth	1	1

The first sub-group includes three structures, one Verbal and two Nominal. These are:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|----|
| 1. | Ordinal numeral as specified | - | VP |
| 2. | " " " " | - | AP |
| 3. | " " " " | - | DP |

The above three clause structures are grouped together because they are alike in the Form in which the items occur in both phrases (see p. 289) and the N1.P structure involved in the first phrase. With respect to Form, both elements involved in the two phrases occur either in Form x or Form y.⁽¹⁾ As regards the N1.P structure, the ordinal numeral involved in the first phrase occurs either in N1.P1 or N1.P2. Regardless of whether the basic structure of the first nominal phrase is 1 or 2, the criterion for assigning the whole structure to the term 'Singular' is as follows:

Form of the ordinal numeral in the first phrase	Form of the item involved in the second phrase
x	x
y	y

The following three sets of examples are illustration. In Set I the second phrase is a Verb; in Set II it is an Adjective and in Set III it is a Deictic.

(1) For x and y Forms of these ordinals, see p. 186.

Set I, Ordinal numeral as specified - VP :

Ordinal Form	Verb Form	
x	x	
e.g. 'it'ta:lit	'nagaH	'The third one(m) succeeded'
y	y	
e.g. 'it'talta	'nagaHit	'The third one(f) succeeded'

Set II, Ordinal numeral as specified - AP :

Ordinal Form	Adjective Form	
x	x	
e.g. 'it'ta:lit	ku'wayyis	'The third one(m) is good'
y	y	
e.g. 'it'talta	kway'yisa	'The third one(f) is good'

Set III, Ordinal numeral as specified - DP :

Ordinal Form	Deictic Form	
x	x	
e.g. 'it'ta:lit	a'hoh	'This is the third one(m)'
y	y	
e.g. 'it'talta	'heh	'This is the third one (f)'

The second sub-group comprises one nominal clause of the structure:

4. Ordinal numeral from } NP :
 'it'ta:lit to 'il'8a:sir }

All examples of the above nominal clause involve an ordinal numeral as specified in the first nominal phrase and a noun in the second between which there are certain relations as follows:

(i) In the first phrase the ordinal numeral has to occur in its definite form; in the second the noun (when it falls within the category of definiteness) has to occur in its indefinite form.

(ii) As regards the basic structure of both phrases, the ordinal numeral may occur in N1.P1 or N1.P2 whereas the noun involved in the second phrase may occur in N1.P1, N1.P3 or N1.P4.

(iii) The ordinal numeral has two Forms termed x and y. For these Forms see above, p. 186. However, as the noun involved in the second phrase may belong to Classes 'IA2', 'IA4', 'II', 'III' or 'IVA', it occurs in Form 1 if it belongs to one of the first four cases and either in Form 1 or Form 5 if it belongs to the last case (i.e. if it is a 'IVA' item).

Regardless of the basic structure of both phrases the whole clause is typifiable as 'Singular'. The criterion for assignment to the term 'Singular' is as follows:

Ordinal Form	Noun Form
x	1(m) or 5(m)
y	1(f) or 5(f)

As can be seen from the above formulae, there is gender concord between the two phrases of the clause. However, where the noun is 'human' and belongs to Class III (i.e. IIH) the gender concord obtaining between the two phrases may be broken for purposes of praise or insult. For instance, a possible alternative example to 'it'ta:lit 'ra:gil 'The third one is a man' is 'it'ta:lit 'mara meaning 'The third one (m) behaves like a woman'

The following examples of the basic structure Nl.Pl - Nl.Pl are illustrations of the nominal clause under consideration.

Noun Class	Ordinal Form	Noun Form	
'IA2'	x	1(m)	
	'it'ta:lit	'8ali	'The third one(m) is Ali'
	y	1(f)	
	'it'talta	'li:dz	'The third one(f) is Leedz'

Noun Class	Ordinal Form	Noun Form	
'IA ₄ '	x	l(m)	
	'ir'ra:bi8	'sukkar	'The fourth one(m) is sugar'
	y	l(f)	
	'ir'rab8a	'laHma	'The fourth one(f) is meat'
'II'	x	l(m)	
	'il'xa:mis	'malik	'The fifth one(m) is a King'
	y	l(f)	
	'il'xamsa	'sitt	'The fifth one(f) is a lady'
'III'	x	l(m)	
	'is'sa:bi8	ki'ta:b	'The seventh one(m) is a book'
	y	l(f)	
	'is'sab8a	'santa	'The seventh one(f) is a bag'
'IVA'	x	5(m)	
	'it'ta:min	'xo:x	'The eighth(m) are peaches'
	y	l(f)	
	'it'tamna	'xo:xa	'The eighth one(f) is a peach'
	y	5(f)	
	'il'8a8ra	'ringa	'The tenth(f) are herrings'

The third sub-group includes three structures; one Verbal and two Nominal. These are:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------|---|----|
| 5. | N(IA '1 - 4') | - | VP |
| 6. | N(IA '1 - 4') | - | AP |
| 7. | N(IA '1 - 4') | - | DP |

The above three clauses are grouped together because they are alike in the Form in which the items occur in both phrases though they may differ in distribution. With respect to Form, the noun in the first phrase always occurs in Form 1 (m or f) and the item involved in the second phrase occurs either in Form x or Form y depending on the gender of the noun in the first phrase. As regards the N1.P structure, all nouns in the initial nominal phrase occur in general in basic nominal phrase structures 1, 2 and 4. In this connection it is to be noted that:

(i) All members of N(IA4) may occur also in N1.P6, in which case the clause structure as a whole is 'Singular', see above p. 138. In addition, some (but not all) of these members may occur in N1.P5 examples when used in particular situational contexts (i.e. in restaurants or buffets). In such a case the clause structure as a whole is either masculine 'Singular' when the preceding numeral is the cardinal 'wa:Hiid' or 'Plural' when the preceding numeral is any member of the non-ordinals above 'wa:Hiid'. For further details see pp. 102-4.

(ii) All personal given names which are in a sub-group of N(IA2) as well as the three items constituting N(IA3) may occur in certain sub-structures of Nl.P5 examples, in which case the clause structure as a whole is 'Plural' (see above, p.106 under D). However, for the reasons given on p.189, these two Nl.Ps (i.e. Nl.P5 and Nl.P6) are not taken into account here.

(iii) Where the noun falls within the category of definiteness, it generally occurs in its definite form in Nl.P1 and Nl.P2 examples.⁽²⁾ As regards Nl.P4, this has been dealt with in some detail on pp. 81-2.

Regardless of whether the basic structure of the initial nominal phrase is 1, 2 or 4, the criterion for assignment of the whole clause to the term 'Singular' is as follows:

Noun Form	Form of the item in the second phrase
1(m)	x
1(f)	y

As this is the case only examples involving basic nominal phrase structure 1 in the initial nominal phrase (in this case a noun) will be given. Further, as noun class one, group A, falls into four sub-groups, only one item representing each sub-group will be given in dealing with all clause structures involving N(IA) items in either of the two phrases of the typifiable clause.

(2) In Nl.P1, the two items 'u:ra 'Forehead' and mana'xi:r 'Nose' belonging to N(IA1) and the three items constituting N(IA3) may occur as well in their indefinite forms.

The following three sets of examples are illustrations of the above formulae. The second phrase in Set I is a Verb; in Set II an Adjective and in Set III a Deictic.

Set I, N(IA) - VP :

	Sub-group	Noun Form	Verb Form
1.	N(IA1)	1(m)	x
2.	N(IA2)	1(f)	y
3.	N(IA3)	1(m)	x
4.	N(IA4)	1(f)	y

Examples :

1. 'il'bardī 'za:d
(Lit. Cold has increased) meaning 'It becomes colder'
2. 'masrī 'za:dit
'Egypt has increased (in population)
3. 'ik'ki:lu 'za:d
'The kilogram has gone up (in price)
4. 'il'lahma 'za:dit
'Meat has gone up (in price)

Set II, N(IA) - AP :

	Sub-group	Noun Form	Adjective Form
1.	N(IA1)	1(m)	x
2.	N(IA2)	1(f)	y
3.	N(IA3)	1(m)	x
4.	N(IA4)	1(f)	y

Examples :

1. 'il'8arabi k'wayyis
(Lit. Arabic is good) meaning 'Arabic is a good language'
2. 'fatma kway'yisa
'Fatima is nice'
3. 'iggi'ne:h ku'wayyis.
'The guinea is all right'
4. 'is'surba kway'yisa
'The soup is nice'

Set III, N(IA) - DP :

	Sub-group	Noun Form	Deictic Form
1.	N(IA1)	l(m)	x
2.	N(IA2)	l(f)	y
3.	N(IA3)	l(m)	x
4.	N(IA4)	l(f)	y

Examples :

1. 'il'xe:l a'hoh
'Here are the horses'
2. 'li:dz a'heh
'This is Leedz'
3. gi'ne:h a'hoh
'This is a guinea'
4. 'ilfa'sulya 'heh
'Here are the beans'

The fourth sub-group comprises one Nominal clause of the structure:

8. N(IA) - NP

All examples of the above nominal clause have a noun in both phrases between which there are certain relations that can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Though the noun in the first phrase belongs to Class I group 'A'; that in the second phrase may belong to Class I group 'A', Class II or Class III.
- (ii) Where the noun in the first phrase has to occur in its definite form (when it falls within the category of definiteness), that in the second phrase occurs in its indefinite form.
- (iii) Where the first phrase may be of the basic nominal structure 1, 2 or 4 (and also 6 where the noun involved is a 'IA4' item), only N1.P1 or N1.P4 are possible in the second phrase.

Since the clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular' regardless of the basic nominal structure of its two phrases, all examples will be of the basic structure N1.P1 - N1.P1.

The criterion for the assignment of the whole structure to the term 'Singular' is as follows:

First phrase

Second phrase

Noun Form

Noun Form

1

1

Here it is to be noted that although in 'Singular' clause structures there is usually gender concord between the two phrases, this is not always so as will be seen from the examples given in the four sets below. In Set I the items in the first phrase belong to N(IA1); in Set II to N(IA2); in Set III to N(IA3) and in Set IV to N(IA4).

Set I, N(IA1) - NP : (NO CONCORD)

Noun Form

Noun Form

1(m)

1(m)

e.g. 'issa'ma:r ga'ma:l 'Being brunette is a beauty'

1(f)

1(f)

e.g. 'il'a'ma:na fa'di:la 'Honesty is a virtue'

1(m)

1(f)

e.g. 'il'8o:m ri'ya:da 'Swimming is a sport'

1(f)

1(m)

e.g. 'is'siHHa 'ta:g 'Health is a crown'

Set II, N(IA2) - NP : (CONCORD)

Noun Form

Noun Form

1(m)

1(m)

e.g. 'Hasan mu'darris 'Hassan is a teacher'

1(f)

1(f)

e.g. 'landan '8asma 'London is a capital'

In general, as can be seen from Set II examples, there is usually gender concord between the two phrases of the clause. However, where the noun in the first phrase is a personal given name, this gender concord may be broken for purposes of insult or praise, e.g.

Noun Form	Noun Form	
1(m)	1(f)	
'8ali	'mara	(Lit. Ali is a woman) meaning 'He behaves like a woman'
1(f)	1(m)	
'fatma	'ra:gil	(Lit. Fatima is a man) meaning 'She behaves like a man'

Set III,	N(IA3) ⁽³⁾	NP :	(NO CONCORD)
	Noun Form -	Noun Form	
	1(m)	1(m)	
e.g.	'ik'ki:lu	m'zain	(Lit. the kilogram is a scale) meaning 'It is an exact measure'

	1(m)	1(f)	
e.g.	'iggi'ne:h	'8unla	'The guinea is a coin'

Set IV,	N(IA4)	NP :	(NO CONCORD)
	Noun Form -	Noun Form	
	1(m)	1(m)	
e.g.	lisbi'ri:n	'dawa	'Aspirin is a medicine'

(3) All the three items constituting N(IA3) are masculine, see p. 323.

	Noun Form	Noun Form	
	l(f)	l(f)	
e.g.	'il'ahwa	'8a:da	'(Drinking' coffee is a habit'
	l(m)	l(f)	
e.g.	'il'8inab	'fakha	'Grapes. is a kind of fruit'
	l(f)	l(m)	
e.g.	'issa'ba:nix	xu'da:r	'Spinach is a kind of vegetable'

CHAPTER TEN

NOUN FORMS AND CLASSES

Arab grammarians as well as most writers on Arabic grammar classified 'Parts of speech' into: (i) Nominals; (ii) Verbals; (iii) Particles. This grammatical classification seems suitable for the study of 'Number'. In this thesis I am not going to make a detailed study of these parts of speech, they have been dealt with by many linguists.⁽¹⁾

However, as stated in Chapter Three, since nouns are generally involved - actually or potentially - in the concordial process of number and are regarded by me as 'controlling' the form of element(s) in two-phrase typifiable clause structures, it is thought necessary to deal with noun 'Forms' and 'Classes' in some detail in order to be able to distinguish generalized types of syntagm. I would like to stress here that this is a different view from that held by most linguists, by which gender is a linguistic classification of nouns into arbitrary groups for syntactic purposes (conceivably stemming from classical traditions of language learning and teaching). It is this latter view which, to quote Mitchell, '... has led to serious distortion in accounting for Cairene Arabic facts'.⁽²⁾

(1) See for instance:

(i) M.A. Abu Farag, see above, p.19, n.8. (pp.113-329)
 (ii) K.M. Bishr, see above, p.64, n.4. (pp.176-91)
 (iii) S.M. Gamal-Eldin, see above, p.64, n.4. (pp.18-23)

(2) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p.36.

Noun Forms

In order to deal with the different shapes individual nouns may have within the category of number,⁽³⁾ it is necessary to differentiate six Forms numbered '1 to 6', even though no single noun exhibits all six Forms.

In what follows the relations between these noun Forms and the three terms in the category of number will be shown. I have chosen Verbal clauses where the initial nominal phrase is of basic structure 1 (i.e. N1.Pl - VP) to illustrate these relations.

(a) Where the initial nominal phrase is a noun in Form 1, it is this Form which selects the verbal Form in the second phrase, and the whole clause structure is 'Singular', e.g.

Noun Form	Verb Form	
1(m)	x	
ki'ta:b	it'ba:8	'A book was sold'
1(f)	y	
bat'ti:xa	t'ba:8it	'A water melon was sold'

(3) By Forms within the category of number I mean Forms which have relevance to this category. Therefore, this excludes other types of form variation with respect to nouns such as:

(i) Presence or absence of various affixes such as the definite article /'il-/ and pronominal suffixes such as /...i/ 'My...'; /...ak/ 'Your(m)...'; /...na/ 'Our...', etc.

(ii) The possibility of two variant forms with identical number relevance such as /'u'tu:ra/ and /'utu'ra:t/ 'Trains'; /8i'ne:n/ and /8u'yu:n/ 'Eyes'; /za'ma:yil/ and /'zumala/ 'Colleagues' where both variants are counted as Form 3 of the same lexical item. Therefore, the lexical item 'atr, for example, though having the following Forms /'atr/; /'a't're:n/ and /'u'tu:ra/ or /'utu'ra:t/ is still regarded a three-Form noun, not a four-Form noun. From now on the term 'Form' will be used purely to refer to Form within the category of number as specified.

(b) Where the nominal phrase is a noun in Form 2, the verbal element occurs in Form z and the whole structure is 'Dual', e.g.

Noun Form	Verb Form	
2	z	
kita'be:n	it'ba:8u	'Two books were sold'
battix'te:n	it'ba:8u	'Two water melons were sold'

(c) Where the nominal phrase is a noun in Form 3, it is also this Form which selects the relevant Form or Forms of the verb in the second phrase and the whole clause structure is 'Plural'. Here we have to take into consideration two factors in order to account for the Form or Forms in which the verbal element may occur. These are as follows:

(i) Where the noun is a three-Form non-human, group 'A', (see above pp. 211-2), the verbal element occurs only in Form y.

This can be summarized as follows:

Noun Class	Noun Form	Verb Form
III[HA]	3	y

Examples :

listi8da'da:t	'xilsit	'The preparations were completed'
limtiHa'na:t	'xilsit	'The exams came to an end'
'il'ax'pa:r	'xilsit	'The news finished'
'ilHa'ga:t	'xilsit	'The things came to an end'

(ii) Where the noun is not of the above specified type, the verbal element generally occurs in one of the two alternative Forms namely, Form z or Form y. This can be summarized as follows:

Noun Class	Noun Form	Verb Form
IB.	3	z(y) ⁽⁴⁾
II	3	z(y)
III[other]	3	z(y)

The following three examples illustrate the three cases respectively.

'il'a8'ya:n 'waṣalu ('waṣalit) 'The high-class people arrived'
 'il'i'de:n it'rafa8u (it'rafa8it) 'The hands were raised up'
 'ik'kutub it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it) 'The books were sold'

D) Where the nominal phrase involves a noun in Form 4,⁽⁵⁾ the verbal element occurs either in Form z only, or in one of the two alternative Forms (i.e. Form z or Form y) depending on whether the nominal phrase as a whole is definite or indefinite. (For this, see p. 119 under b).

Indefinite examples are chosen to show the two alternative Forms of the verb. In all cases the whole structure is 'Plural'. These examples are of structure N1.P5, since Form 4 does not occur in N1.Pl examples, e.g.

(4) But see p. 279, footnote 2.

(5) This Form is traditionally referred to as 'Paucal Plural'.

Noun Form	Verb Form
4	z (y)
'talat da''a:t in'sim8u (in'sim8it)	
'Three strokes were heard'	
'xemas ba'a'ra:t 'ma:tu ('ma:tit)	
'Five cows died'	
'saba8 lamu'na:t 'xi8ru ('xi8rit)	
'Seven lemons went bad'	
'8a8ar man'ga:t it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it)	
'Ten mangoes were sold'	

E) Where the nominal phrase is a noun in Form 5, it is this Form which governs the selection of the Verbal Form and the whole clause structure is 'Singular' (m) or (f) depending on the gender of the noun, e.g.

	Noun Form	Verb Form
	5(m)	x
(m)	'illa'mu:n	'xi8ir
	'The lemons went bad'	
	'id'diHki	y'farfi8
	'Laughing cheers'	
	5(f)	y
(f)	'il'manga	'rix8it
	'The mangoes have become cheap'	
	'ilba'ta:tis	'rix8it
	'The potatoes have become cheap'	

F) Where the nominal phrase is a noun in Form 6,⁽⁶⁾ the clause structure as a whole is 'Plural' and the verbal element occurs in one of two alternative Forms (i.e. Form y or Form z), e.g.

Noun Form	Verb Form
6	y (z)
'il'aw'ra:'	'da:8it ('da:8u)
'The sheets of papers were lost'	
'ilgiz'la:n	'giryit ('giryu)
'The gazelles ran away'	

In my idiolect, only two (rare) examples of Form 6 occur namely, /'aw'ra:'/ from the lexical item 'wara' and /giz'la:n/ from the lexical item ga'za:l.

Note that certain other examples of Form 6 may be heard from educated speakers. These include Forms such as /'a8'ga:r/, /'as'ma:k/, /'a8'wa:k/, /8u'mu:8/, /di'da:n/, /mi'8i:z/, /ni'xi:l/, /8i'ba:k/, /ri'ma:l/, /wu'ru:d/, /'a8'na:m/, etc. from the lexical items '8agar 'Trees', 'samak 'Fish', '8o:k 'Thorns', '8am8 'Candles', 'du:d 'Worms', 'mi8z 'Goats', 'naxl 'Palms', '8abak 'Nets', 'raml 'Sand', 'ward 'Roses' and '8anam 'Sheep', respectively.

However, these Forms and the like are not considered as being central to ECA, but are regarded by me as instances of register mixture in which these Forms are borrowed from Classical Arabic.

(6) This Form is traditionally referred to as 'Big Plural'.

Now bearing in mind that no one noun includes all the six Forms given on pp. 304-8 , the analysis will proceed with the division of nouns into Classes according to the number of Forms individual nouns have. These are looked at with regard to their functions in various syntactic structures.

Noun Classes

Nouns in ECA can be divided into the following four classes.

Class I : This includes all items having one Form; Form 1 for some nouns (i.e. Group A) and Form 3 for others (i.e. Group B), e.g.

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 3
<u>'8ali</u>	'Ali'	/'8ali/	*
<u>'laHma</u>	'Meat'	/'laHma/	*
<u>'a8'ya:n</u>	'High-class people'	*	/'a8'ya:n/
<u>fi'lu:s</u>	'Money'	*	/fi'lu:s/

Class II : This includes all items having in my idiolect Form 1 and Form 3, e.g.

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 3
<u>bus'tagi</u>	'Postman'	/bus'tagi/	/busta'giyya/
<u>'sitt</u>	'Lady'	/'sitt/	/sit'ta:t/
<u>'rigl</u>	'Leg'	/'rigl/	/rig'le:n/

Class III : This includes all items having Form 1, Form 2 and Form 3, e.g.

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
<u>'bint</u>	'Girl'	/'bint/	/bin'te:n/	/ba'na:t/
<u>ki'ta:b</u>	'Book'	/ki'ta:b/	/kita'be:n/	/'kutub/
<u>fin'ga:n</u>	'Cup'	/fin'ga:n/	/finga'ne:n/	/fana'gi:n/

Class IV : This includes all items having four⁽⁷⁾ Forms; Form 1, Form 2, Form 4 and Form 5, e.g.

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 2	Form 4	Form 5
<u>'xo:x</u>	'Peaches'	/'xo:xa/	/xox'te:n/	/..xo'xa:t/	/'xo:x/
<u>'manga</u>	'Mangoes'	/man'ga:ya/	/mangi'te:n/	/..man'ga:t/	/'manga/
<u>'darb</u>	'Hitting'	/'darba/	/darbi'te:n/	/..dar'ba:t/	/'darb/

Of the above four classes, Class I will further be divided into two groups (IA and IB) on the basis of the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable (i.e. 'Singular' or 'Plural') when these nouns occur in basic nominal phrase structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1).⁽⁸⁾ Even within these two groups, as will be shown later, further subgroupings will be made on formal criteria.

(7) In my idiolect there are two items which may occur in five Forms; 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 respectively. These are 'wara' and 'ga'za:l' (see above, p.308 under F). However, I include them within this class for the following reason. In general, they are not frequently used and their Form 5 is usually used instead though the term in the category of number for the whole structure in which each Form is used is different.

(8) Note that: (i) Form 1 of some nouns belonging to N(IA) may occur in N1.P5 examples, in which case the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable requires special mention. This has been dealt with in some detail under N1.P5 and will not be repeated here. (ii) Form 4 of N(IV) never occurs in N1.P1 examples. It is always limited to going with any member of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' (see above, p.118, f.n.28)

In this thesis the number of Forms individual nouns may have and the possible term(s) in the category of number in which these Forms may occur as examples of basic Nl.Pl constitute the primary classification of noun items into noun classes. Though further syntactic divisions of noun items will emerge on the basis of other considerations such as those between 'Human' and 'Non-human' in Classes II and III; 'Mass' and 'Action' in Class IV, such divisions are regarded by me as secondary since they have no implications for the total structure in the way in which the primary classification has.

The following table shows the primary classification of noun items into noun classes on the basis of the number of Forms occurring and the number relevance of these Forms when occurring in basic Nl.Pl.

Noun class	Number of Forms	Type of Form	Number relevance
I { A B	One	1 3	Singular Plural
II	Two	1 3	Singular Plural
III	Three	1 2 3	Singular Dual Plural
IV	Four	1 2 ('3-10')4 5	Singular Dual Plural Singular

Before proceeding with the detailed analysis of noun classes, certain general syntactic characteristics of nouns are set out below so that where any of these characteristics do not apply comparison can be made. These are the following:

- (i) They may associate with the definite article.
- (ii) They may be immediately preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10'.⁽⁹⁾
- (iii) They may occur as the first element of a construct (i.e. N1.P4).

There is another syntactic grouping of noun classes which to a great extent overlaps the major morphological division in terms of the number of Forms per item, and which has certain implications for the study of number. This concerns the classification of nouns as 'Human' vs. 'Non-human'.

In general, the syntactic characteristics of these two groups are as follows:

a) Form 1 of 'human' nouns may be immediately preceded by the modifying element 'wa:Hid 'A certain', in which case it agrees in gender with the following noun and the whole clause structure is always 'Singular' (m or f). This can be summarized as:

Clause structure	Modifying element Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
S.(m)	x	1(m)	x
S.(f)	y	1(f)	y

(9) For the reasons for selecting this class of cardinal numerals, see pp.100, 105 and 118 under (C) respectively.

The following two examples are cases in point.

S.(m) ['wa:Hid] 'ra:gil 'sa'al 8a'le:k
'A certain man asked about you'

S.(f) ['waHda] 'sitti 'sa'alit 8a'le:k
'A certain lady asked about you'

However, there are certain exceptions to this rule. These are confined to:

- (i) All personal given names such as '8ali 'Ali'
- (ii) The two items shown in my data namely, 'walad 'Boy' and 'mara 'Woman'.

In general 'non-human' nouns are not preceded by that modifying element. But see above, p. 188, n. 14.

b) 'Human' nouns that have no Form 2 may be, in general,⁽¹⁰⁾ preceded by the numeral 'it'ne:n 'Two' to denote that two persons are involved. Here the noun occurs in Form 3 unless it is a personal given name in which case it occurs in Form 1 as is the case with the first example below. In all cases the clause structure as a whole is typifiable as 'Plural' for the reasons mentioned on pp. 106-8 under D, e.g.

(10) But see below, 'IB1', p. 340-41.

Noun Form Verb Form

1. ^l 'it'ne:n ^z '8ali 'Haḍaru l'Hafḷa
 'Two persons named Ali attended the party'
2. 'it'ne:n 'a8'ya:n 'Haḍaru l'Hafḷa
 'Two high-class people attended the party'
3. 'it'ne:n tug'ga:r 'Haḍaru l'Hafḷa
 'Two merchants attended the party'

In general, 'it'ne:n does not precede 'non-human' nouns. (11)

c) When 'human' nouns are followed by an adjective of 'origin', there is always gender concord between the two nominal elements in 'Singular' clause structures which is not generally the case with 'non-human' nouns, (12) e.g.

Noun Form	Adjective Form	
^{l(m)}	^x	
'walad	'masri...	'An Egyptian boy...'
^{l(f)}	^y	
'bintī	maṣ'riyya...	'An Egyptian girl...'

Contrast the following two examples where the noun is 'non-human'

^{l(m)}	^x	
muf'ta:H	masri...	'An Egyptian key...'
^{l(f)}	^x	
sag'ga:da	masri...	'An Egyptian carpet'

(11) But see above, pp. 109 and pp. 105-6 under C.

(12) But see above, pp. 21-2 under 2.

d) In Plural clause structures where the item in the second phrase may occur in one of two alternative Forms (i.e. Form z or Form y), Form z is strongly favoured where the noun involved is 'human' whereas Form y is preferred where the noun is 'non-human', e.g.

Type of noun	Noun Form	Verb Form
	3	z (y)
Human	'ilba'na:t 'The girls fell down'	'wa'a8u ('wa'a8it)
	3	y (z)
Non-human	'ik'kutub 'The books fell down'	'wa'a8it ('wa'a8u)

Having stated the essential characteristics of nouns in the above section, the analysis will now proceed with the study of each noun class in turn.

Class I : One-Form Nouns

As on p. 311, Class I nouns fall into two groups (IA) according to the term in the category of number to which the clause structure is referable (i.e. 'Singular' or 'Plural') where these nouns occur in basic N1.Pl examples. In verbal clauses, this can be summarized as follows:

Class	Noun Form	Verb Form	Term in the category of number
IA	1(m)	x	Singular (m)
	1(f)	y	Singular (f)
IB	3	z(y) ⁽¹³⁾	Plural

The following are illustrative examples:

IA	{	S.(m)	'8ali	'waṣal	'Ali arrived'
	{	S.(f)	'fatma	'waṣalit	'Fatima arrived'
IB	Pl.	'il'aḡya:n	'waṣalu ('waṣalit)	'The high-class people arrived'	

Even within these two groups it is necessary to distinguish further sub-groups on the basis of the three general syntactic characteristics of nouns given on p. 313. Consequently, as will become clear presently, IA nouns will be further divided into four sub-groups, IA '1 to 4'. With respect to IB nouns they will be divided into two sub-groups namely, 'IB1' and 'IB2'. In what follows an account, albeit brief, of each of these sub-groups is

(13) But see p. 279 under example 3.

given. Note that out of the three general syntactic characteristics of nouns, only exceptional ones will be mentioned.

IA1

This sub-group comprises items referring to languages, diseases and what are traditionally referred to as 'abstract' nouns, but which have only one Form, e.g. 'siHHa 'Health', 'fa'r 'Poverty', sa'8a:da 'Happiness', etc. In addition, sixteen items, not of the above semantic types, are found in my data. These are: 'rabb 'God', 'u:ra 'Forehead', mana'xi:r 'Nose', 'afa 'Nape', ma'8a:lim 'Topography', ta'a'ti:8 '(Facial) features', ma8lu'ma:t 'Information', 'at'8a:b 'Fees', la'wa:zim 'Requisites', si'wa:r 'A bride's furniture', 'ax'la:ʔ 'Morals', Hi'wa:n '(Certain) edible fowl', nigawiy'ya:t 'Carbohydrates', 'il'8a:lam 'The earth', bu'le:s 'Police' and 'xe:l 'Horses'.

Note that although the last twelve items are semantically plural, they occur in 'Singular' clause structures under the conditions mentioned above on p. 317, e.g.

'ilbu'le:s 'waʃal	'The police arrived'
'ilHi'wa:n 'ma:t mig'gu:8	'The animals are starving'
'innigawiy'ya:t tu'durr ittu'xa:n	'Carbohydrates are harmful to fat people'

IA1 nouns have the following characteristics:

(i) They regularly associate with the definite article when they occur in basic nominal phrase structure 1(i.e. N1.P1). For this

see the above three examples.

(ii) They cannot be preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' nor by any non-ordinal numeral. However, the following six items shown in my data can be preceded by specific numerals in the following idiomatic expressions:

'alfi 'šukr	'A thousand thanks'
'alfi n'ha:r abyad	A phrase of congratulation. (Lit. A thousand white days).
'alfi 'baraka	'A thousand blessings'
'alfi sa'la:ma	'Safety a thousand times' meaning (Good-bye)
'alfi 'hana	'A thousand pleasures' meaning (Bon appétit)
'miyya 'misa	'A hundred evenings' meaning (Good evening).

IA2

This sub-group comprises what are traditionally referred to as 'Proper nouns' (i.e. names of persons, such as 'šali 'Ali', and geographical places such as 'masr 'Egypt'). IA2 items have the following characteristics:

(i) They are outside the system of definiteness (see Chapter Four). Note that the initial /'il-/ which appears in the form of some proper nouns such as 'il'Hasan 'Elhassan', 'ilxu're:bi 'ElKhoreiby', 'il'hind 'India', 'il'mağrib 'Morocco' cannot be

separated as the definite article elsewhere as in, say, /'il'badla/ 'The suit' and /'badla/ 'A suit'. In other words, it is a part of the proper noun itself.

(ii) Like the majority of nouns, Proper nouns can be preceded by any of the numerals '3 to 10', in which case the typifiable clause structure as a whole is 'Plural'. However, when they are, they are distinguished by two facts characterizing them from noun Classes II, III and IV. These are:

- a) The numeral occurs in its first Form (i.e. that ending in /-a/).
- b) The noun occurs in Form 1.

Examples :

Numeral Form	Noun Form
first	1
ta'la:ta	'8ali 'nagaHu
'Three Alis succeeded'	
'fi:h ta'la:ta	skindi'riyya f'masr
'There are three Alexandrias in Egypt'	

Contrast :

Noun class	Numeral Form	noun Form
II	Second	3
III	Second	3
IV	Second	4

Examples :

'talat mudarri'si:n	'waṣalu	'Three teachers arrived'
'talat ba'na:t	'waṣalu	'Three girls arrived'
'talat xo'xa:t	'wa'aṣu ('wa'aṣit)	'Three peaches fell down'

For further details, see pp. 111-20.

(iii) Together with family names (i.e. IIH3), IA2 items are distinguished from all other noun classes by the fact that in most idiolects (including my own) they do not occur as the first element of a Construct (i.e. N1.P4).

However, I have come across a few speakers who may use proper nouns as the first element of a Construct to refer to a specific person or place, e.g.

Ha'sanna ...	'Our Hassan ...'
maṭa'riyyit 'maṣr ...	'Matariyya of Cairo ...'

This usage would be impossible in my idiolect. Instead I use 'bi'ta:ṣ phrases' (see above, p. 90). Hence,

'Hasan bi'taṣna ...
'ilmata'riyya b'ta:ṣit 'maṣr ...

General notes:

1) It is common for most writers on Arabic grammar to consider geographical places as Singular feminine nouns,⁽¹⁴⁾ i.e. they

(14) See for example : M.A. Abu Farag, see above, p. 18, n.8 (p. 113-4).

enter exclusively into feminine Singular clause structures. Though the majority of them do, this is not always the case. For instance, some enter only into masculine Singular clause structures when occurring in Nl.Pl examples, e.g.

'ik'kafrī k'wayyis (not *'ikkafrī kwayyisa) 'Alkafr is nice'
'is'sirwī s'ḡayyar (not *'is'sirwī sḡayyara) 'Alsirw is small'

Others may show fluctuation in terms of grammatical gender concord occurring sometimes in masculine, sometimes in feminine 'Singular' clause structures, e.g.

(m) 'issu'da:n '8amal in'i'la:b 'The Sudan made a coup'
(f) 'issu'da:n '8amalit in'i'la:b

(m) 'il8i'ra: 'wa''a8 mu'8ahda 'Iraq signed a treaty'
(f) 'il8i'ra: wa''a8it mu'8ahda

(m) lib'na:n ga'mi:l 'Lebanon is beautiful'
(f) lib'na:n ga'mi:la

2) Certain personal given names such as ḡi'ri:n 'Shirin', 'rida 'Rida', su'8a:d 'Soad', '8iffat 'Effat', ka'ma:l 'Kamal', etc. may also occur in both masculine and feminine Singular clause structures but this would depend on whether the item is the name of a male or a female person, e.g.

ḡi'ri:n za'kiyya 'Shirin (the girl) is intelligent'
ḡi'ri:n 'zaki 'Shirin (the boy) is intelligent'
'rida 'nagah 'Rida (the boy) succeeded'
'rida 'nagaHit 'Rida (the girl) succeeded'

3) There are a few personal given names which end with /e:n/ such as 8awa'de:n 'Awadeen', Hasa'ne:n 'Hassaneen', miHamma'de:n 'Mohammedeen', etc. However, in these items the element /e:n/ is not the one characterizing Form 2 of nouns, but an element common to names of persons. Therefore /Hasa'ne:n/, for instance, is not Form 2 of 'Hasan' but Form 1 of another lexical item and enters into 'Singular' masculine clause structures, e.g.

Hasa'ne:n 'nagaH

'Hassaneen succeeded'

Compare:

'Hasan 'nagaH

'Hassan succeeded'

IA3

This sub-group comprises, in my speech, the following three masculine loan items: 'ki:lu 'Kilogram; kilometre', 'santi 'Centimetre' and gi'ne:h 'Guinea'. Though these items are of foreign origin, they are considered here on the basis that they have become a part of the language in the sense that they are commonly used in every day life and serve a very important social purpose.

IA3 items have the three general characteristics of nouns given on p. 313. However, like IA2 items, when they are preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10', the numeral occurs in its first form (i.e. ending in /-a/), the noun occurs in Form 1 and the clause structure as a whole is 'Plural', in which case the element involved in the second phrase occurs only in Form 2.

For further details, see above, pp. 118-20 under D, e.g.

Numeral Form	Noun Form	Verb Form	
first	1	2	
ta'la:ta	'ki:lu	t'ba:8u	'Three kilograms were sold'
'sab8a	'santi	'fidlu	'Seven centimetres were left'
'8a8ara	g'ne:h	in'sarafu	'Ten guineas were spent'

For some speakers, but not for me, this sub-group would also include the following eleven items :

<u>'tinn</u>	'Ton'	<u>'in'ta:r</u>	'cantar (95 pounds)'
<u>'bu:sa</u>	'Inch'	<u>'yarda</u>	'Yard'
<u>'mitr</u>	'Metre'	<u>'mi:l</u>	'Mile'
<u>ga'lu:n</u>	'Gallon'	<u>'ritl</u>	'Litre'
<u>mal'li:m</u>	'Milliëme'	<u>'šilin</u>	'Shilling'
<u>ri'ya:l</u>	'Riyal (20 piastres)'		

For me, these eleven items are members of N(IIIH), e.g.

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/ 'in'ta:r/	/ 'inta're:n/	/ 'anaɬi:r/
/ 'mitr/	/ mit're:n/	/ 'im'ta:r/
/ 'ritl/	/ rit'le:n/	/ 'ir'ta:l/
/ 'šilin/	/ šili'ne:n/	/ šili'na:t/

Some speakers again, use these items sometimes as members of N(IA3), and sometimes of N(IIIH).

IA₄

The items belonging to this sub-group are variously referred to as 'Collectives' or 'Mass' nouns but not all of them are members of this sub-group.⁽¹⁵⁾ These include fruits such as '8inab 'Grapes', 'mo:z 'Bananas', etc.; vegetables such as fa'sulya 'Beans', sa'ba:nix 'Spinach', etc.; some kinds of food such as 'laHma 'Meat', '8e:ʒ 'Bread', etc. and materials such as 'dahab 'Gold', 'utn 'Cotton', etc.

IA₄ items, in general, do not follow any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10'. However, some of them may be preceded by any non-ordinal numeral, but only in particular situational contexts (i.e. restaurants and buffets) as in 'wa:hid 'ahwa wit'ne:n 'ʒa:y 'min 'fadlak 'One coffee and two teas, please'. In addition, the item '8e:ʒ 'Bread' is commonly preceded by the numeral 'alf 'A thousand' among bakers and grocers in which case the nominal phrase refers to twenty loaves only, e.g.

'ib'8atli 'alfi '8e:ʒ 'Send me twenty loaves of bread'

Most members of what are traditionally referred to as 'Collectives' or as 'Mass' nouns (whether they belong to 'IA₄' or 'IVA' items) have the following two characteristics:

- a) They may occur in a Construct (i.e. N1.P4) when preceded by what are traditionally referred to as nouns of 'weight'. Note here that IVA items (having in general Forms 1, 2, 4 and 5) occur always in Form 5.

(15) There are some 'Collectives' or 'Mass' nouns which, in general, have four Forms and hence belong to noun Class IV group A (i.e. 'IVA'). See pp. 365-9.

Examples with IA₄ items :

'ar'dabbī	'galla...	'An ardeb of wheat...'
'in'ta:r	'uṭn...	'A cantar of cotton...'
'ke:lit	'dura...	'A bushel of maize...'

Examples with IVA items :

'tinnī	'baṣal...	'A ton of onions...'
'ki:lo	bar''u:'...	'A kilogram of plums...'
'ratlī	tuf'fa:H...	'A pound of apples...'

b) They may also occur as the second element of a Construct in which both elements may be prefixed with the definite article and the first one occurs in Form 2.

IA₄ Examples :

'il8u'de:n	ikkab'ri:t...	'The two sticks of matches...'
'irra'se:n	it'to:m...	'The two cloves of garlic...'
'ilHitti'te:n	il'laHma...	'The two slices of meat...'

IVA Examples :

'il8ig'le:n	il'ba'ar...	'The two calves...'
'iggo'ze:n	ilHa'ma:m...	'The two pairs of pigeons...'
'issandu''e:n	issa'bu:n...	'The two boxes of soap...'

In this, 'Mass' nouns contrast with, say, nouns of Class III. Compare the above examples with the following three where all the nouns belong to Class III in 'bi'ta:8 phrases', e.g.

1. 'ilwala'de:n bi'tu:8 ilma'Hall ...

'The two boys working at the shop ...'

not *'ilwala'de:n ilma'Hall...

2. 'ilmufta'He:n bi'tu:8 il'ba:b ...

'The two keys of the door ...'

not *'ilmufta'He:n il'ba:b ...

3. 'ilfusta'ne:n bi'tu:8 il'bint ...

'The two dresses of the girl ...'

not * 'ilfusta'ne:n il'bint ...

Further, IA₄ items only are characterized by their collocability with certain words which I have called 'Classifiers'. When they do so, the resulting nominal phrases are Constructs denoting specific types of object. For instance, if the IA₄ item referred to is itself a conglomeration of smaller natural units, then the 'Classifier' denotes one of these units. But if the item denotes a mass which can be divided into smaller fractions, other words such as 'Hitta 'A piece of' which is generally grouped by some linguists⁽¹⁶⁾ with what I have called 'Classifiers', are used to denote the fraction.

(16) See for instance:

(i) W. Lehn and P. Abboud, see above, p.21, n.11. (p.257)
 (ii) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p. 17, n.6, (p. 43)

For example, 'Hitta may occur with most items that can be divided into pieces. The following examples are illustrations:

- 1) 'Hittit 'ʔaṣab ... 'A piece of sugar cane ...'
- 2) 'Hittit 'mo:z ... 'A piece of banana ...'
- 3) 'Hittit ta8'miyya ... 'A piece of fried bean puree...'
- 4) 'Hittit fi'lafla ... 'A piece of sweet pepper ...'
- 5) 'Hittit li'ba:n ... 'A piece of a piece of chewing gum...'
- 6) 'Hittit 'sukkar ... 'A piece of sugar ...'
- 7) 'Hittit birin'ga:n ... 'A piece of aubergene ...'

However, the second element in the seven Constructs above collocates with different classifiers when it is desired to indicate the natural units.

Examples :

- 1) '8u:d 'ʔaṣab ... 'A stalk of sugar cane ...'
- 2) 'ša:bi8 'mo:z ... 'A stalk of banana ...'
- 3) 'ʔurṣi ta8'miyya ... 'A fried bean puree ...'
- 4) 'ʔarni f'lafla ... 'A sweet pepper ...'
- 5) 'faṣṣi l'ba:n ... 'A piece of chewing gum ...'
- 6) 'ra:s 'sukkar ... 'A sugar loaf ...'
- 7) 'ku:z birin'ga:n ... 'An aubergene ...'

Further, there are two separate figurative usages of 'Hitta in which they associate with items other than those belonging to IA4. In the first of these, the sentence as a whole denotes admiration, e.g. 'liyya 'Hittit 'muṣrif (IIH1) 'ha:yil

'I have an excellent supervisor'

In the second usage, the whole sentence denotes scorn on the part of the speaker, e.g.

'Hittit 'bintī (IIIH) la'hina 'wala h'na:k

(Lit. She is just a bit of a girl neither here nor there)
meaning 'She is an insignificant girl'.

Therefore, I have not included 'Hitta as a classifier.

The ten Classifiers given below on p.333 are in fact members of noun Class 'IIIH' (i.e. 'non-human' nouns having three Forms). For example the classifier 'ra:s 'A head; a bulb' has the following three Forms:

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/'ra:s/	/'ra:se:n/	/'ru:s/

and therefore when collocated with IA₄ items, the whole clause structure is 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural' depending on the Form in which the classifier occurs.

Further, in a 'Singular' clause structure the term in the category of gender applicable to the structure depends on the gender of the classifier itself, not the IA₄ item following it, e.g.

Singular clause structure :

Compare:

'8u:d mulu'xiyya 'xišir 'A stalk of Jew's mallow went bad'

where the whole structure is masculine singular composed of the

masculine classifier '8u:d and the feminine noun mulu'xiyya with:

Hab'ba:yit '8inab 'xisrit 'A grape went bad'

where the whole structure is feminine singular composed of the feminine classifier Hab'ba:ya and the masculine noun '8inab.

Dual clause structures :

8u'de:n mulu'xiyya 'xisru 'Two stalks of Jew's mallow went bad'

Habbay'te:n '8inab 'xisru 'Two grapes went bad'

Plural clause structures :

8i'da:n ilmu'xiyya 'xisrit ('xisru) 'The stalks of Jew's mallow went bad'

Habba'ya:t il'8inab 'xisrit ('xisru) (Lit. The (grains of) grapes went bad) meaning
'The grapes went bad'

At this point it is worth mentioning that I differ from Mitchell⁽¹⁷⁾ in that he seems to regard nominal phrases such as:

Hab'ba:yit fa'sulya... 'A (grain of) bean...'

Habbay'te:n fa'sulya... 'Two (grains of) beans...'

Habba'ya:t fa'sulya '(Grains of) beans...'

as being the singular, the dual and the plural Forms respectively of fa'sulya. However, in this thesis such phrases are regarded

(17) T.F. Mitchell, see above, p. 17, n.6. pp. 42-3.

as examples of a Construct (i.e. N1.P4)⁽¹⁸⁾ in which the first element (i.e. the classifier) has three Forms, but the second (i.e. the IAL item) only one. In other words, Mitchell equates:

Set I

Hab'ba:yit fa'sulya	'A bean'
Habbay'te:n fa'sulya	'Two beans'
'talat Habba'ya:t fa'sulya	'Three beans'

with:

Set II

'xo:xa	'A peach'
xox'te:n	'Two peaches'
'talat xo'xa:t	'Three peaches'

whereas in the present analysis the first two examples of Set I are equated with any other Construct such as:

Set III

zu'ra:r 'a'mi:s	'A shirt button'
zura're:n 'a'mi:s	'Two shirt buttons'
za'ra:yir 'a'mi:s	'Shirt buttons'

It must be admitted that there are certain differences between Constructs such as the first two examples in Set I and those in Set III with regard to their form in definite contexts where both

(18) For the reasons of considering such nominal phrases as Constructs, see above, pp. 81-2.

nominals in Set I examples may be preceded by the definite article. Thus the definite construct corresponding to, say, Habbay'te:n fa'sulya 'Two beans' is:

	Habbay'te:n	ilfa'sulya	}	'The two beans'
or	'ilHabbay'te:n	ilfa'sulya		

whereas the definite counterpart of zura're:n 'a'mi:s 'Two shirt buttons' is:

	zura're:n	il'a'mi:s	}	'The two shirt buttons'
or more commonly	'izura're:n	bi'tu:8 il'a'mi:s		

It seems that the classifiers associate mainly with objects among which there is discernible some similarity of shape, way of processing or both.

In the following section I will give a list of the ten classifiers, shown in my data, in their three Forms, then give representative examples of IA4 items with which they collocate. A tentative translation is given in order to indicate certain similarities of shape or processing common to the items.

A list of the classifiers

Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
/ʔ8u:d/ 'A stalk'	/8u'de:n/	/8i'da:n/
/Hab'ba:ya/ 'A grain'	/Habbay'te:n/	/Habbay'ya:t (Hab'ba:t/
/ʔsa:bi8/ 'A finger'	/sab'8e:n/	/sa'wa:bi8/
/ʔ'urs/ 'A pill'	/ʔur'se:n/	/ʔi'ra:s/
/ʔ'arn/ 'A horn'	/ʔar'ne:n/	/ʔu'ru:n/
/ʔfass/ 'A segment'	/fas'se:n/	/fu'su:s/
/ʔra:s/ 'A head'	/ra'se:n/	/ʔru:s/
/ʔku:z/ 'A cone'	/ku'ze:n/	/ki'za:n/
/ʔlu'ma/ 'A portion of'	/lu'mi'te:n/	/ʔlu'am (lu'ma:t)/
/ʔlo:H/ 'A slab'	/lo'He:n/	/ʔil'wa:H/

1) Examples of constructs involving '8u:d :

'8u:d kab'ri:t	'A match; a match stick'
'8u:d ʔ'asab	'A stalk of sugar cane'
'8u:d ʔ'as/	'A straw'
'8u:d 'Hatab	'A cotton stalk'
'8u:d Ha'si:s/	'A blade of grass'
'8u:d 'dura	'A stalk of maize'
'8u:d di'ri:s	'A stalk of hay'
'8u:d 'ribba	'A stalk of clover'
'8u:d ba'ʔdu:nis	'A stalk of parsley'

'8u:d mulu'xiyya	'A stalk of Jew's mallow'
'8u:d sa'ba:nix	'A stalk of spinach'
'8u:d si'ri:s	'A blade of chicory'

Notes:

- i) The classifier '8u:d' is used with plants and a few objects made of wood all of which have a similar elongated shape.
- ii) It may be used in its Form 1 with certain items to denote a small quantity, not a single item, e.g.

'hutti lilba'ha:yim '8ud'ribba 'You(f) give some clover to the cattle'

'id'di:ni '8ud ba' 'du:nis 'Give me some parsley'

2) Examples of constructs involving Hab'ba:ya

Hab'ba:yit 'galla	'A grain of wheat'
Hab'ba:yit si'8i:r	'A grain of barley'
Hab'ba:yit bi'silla	'A grain of peas'
Hab'ba:yit fa'sulya	'A (grain of) bean'
Hab'ba:yit 'lubya	'A black-eyed bean'
Hab'ba:yit '8ats	'A (seed of) lentil'
Hab'ba:yit 'ruzz	'A grain of rice'
Hab'ba:yit '8inab	'A grape'
Hab'ba:yit 'dawa	'A medical tablet'

Note: When the classifier Hab'ba:ya precedes a mass noun, it always ends in /-it/ (i.e. Hab'ba:yit) in accordance with the

crucial rule of a construct as mentioned on p. 81. The classifier Hab'ba:ya usually goes with grain-like or seed-like items.

3) Examples of constructs involving 'sa:bi8 ⁽¹⁹⁾

'sa:bi8 'mo:z	'A (finger of) banana'
'sa:bi8 taba'ʒi:r	'A stick of chalk'
'sa:bi8 'kufta	'A meat ball'
'sa:bi8 su'gu''	'A sausage roll'
'sa:bi8 'malban	'A kind of Turkish delight'
'sa:bi8 dina'mi:t	'A stick of dynamite'
'sa:bi8 ba'ta:rix	'A fish roe'

Note: The above classifier goes with nouns of different kinds, all designating items which are long and thin.

4) Examples of constructs involving ''urs

'ursi ta8'miyya	'A cake of fried bean puree'
'ursi k'ba:ba	'A cake of minced prawns'
'ursi '8igga	'An omelette'
'ursi m'ʒabbik	'Kinds of pastry'
'ursi la'di:da	
'ursi 'gilla	'A cake of fuel made of dung'
'ursi sbi'ri:n	'An asprin'

Note: All nouns that go with 'urs denote objects prepared in a circular shape.

(19) su'ba:8 may be heard as a dialectal variant of 'sa:bi8

5) Examples of constructs involving 'arn

'arnĩ 'bamyā	'A single item of okra'
'arnĩ f'lafla	'A sweet pepper'
'arnĩ 'ṣattā	'A chili'
'arnĩ xar'ru:b	'A carob'
'arnĩ 'fu:l	'A pod of broad beans'

Note: The above classifier goes with certain plants all of which have a similar shape.

6) Examples of constructs involving 'fass

'fassĩ Habbi'ha:n	'A cardomom'
'fassĩ mis'tika	'A grain of mastic'
'fassĩ l'ba:n	'A piece of a piece of chewing gum'
'fassĩ 'samg	'A grain of glue'
'fassĩ 'malH	'A lump of salt'
'fassĩ 'lu:li	'A pearl'
'fassĩ z'murruḍ	'An emerald'
'fassĩ ya''u:t	'A ruby'

Note: All objects that go with 'fass have a spherical formation though they may differ somewhat in size.

7) Examples of constructs involving 'ra:s

'ra:s 'to:m	'A bulb of garlic'
'ra:s 'lift	'A turnip'
'ra:s 'sukkar	'A sugar loaf'

Note: The above three items are the only items shown in my data. They are all edible items having nearly a similar shape.

8) Examples of constructs involving 'ku:z

'ku:z 'dura	'A corn cob'
'ku:z ba'ta:ta	'A sweet potatoe'
'ku:z birin'ga:n	'An aubergene'
'ku:z '8asal	'A honey dew melon'
'ku:z su'no:bar	'A pine cone'

Note: These are the only items shown in my data that collocate with 'ku:z'.

9) Examples of constructs involving 'lu'ma

'lu'mit maka'ru:na	
'lu'mit ba''la:wa	
'lu'mit ku'na:fa	'Kinds of pastry'
'lu'mit bas'bu:sa	
'lu'mit hi'ri:sa	

Note: All objects that go with the classifier 'lu'ma' 'A portion of' denote stuffed pastry all of which are prepared in a similar way and have a similar shape.

10) Examples of constructs involving 'lo:H

'lo:H 'talg	'A block of ice'
'lo:H 'abla'ka:ʒ	'A sheet of plywood'
'lo:H 'xaʒab	'A board'
'lo:H 'i'za:z	'A pane of glass'
'lo:H 'irdi'wa:z	'A slate'
'lo:H sa'fi:h	'A tin plate'
'lo:H 'zing	'A sheet of zinc'

Note: All objects that go with the above classifier refer to *flat solid* metals and are processed in a similar shape.

metals and are processed in a similar shape.

General notes:

A. The following five items which have already been given as members of Class IA₄ collocating with specific classifiers may occasionally occur as members of Class IVA (i.e. having four Forms). These are 'ruzz, '8inab (both of which collocate with Hab'ba:ya), 'mo:z which collocates with 'sa:bi8; 'isbi'ri:n which collocates with 'urs and li'ba:n which collocates with 'fass. Therefore the two counterparts are possible. The four Forms of these items are as follows:

Form 1	Form 2	Form 4	Form 5
/ruʒ'za:ya/	/ruʒzay'te:n/	/(3-10) ruʒza'ya:t/	/'ruʒz/
/8ina'ba:ya/	/8inab'te:n/	/(3-10) 8ina'ba:t/	/'8inab/
/'mo:za/	/moz'te:n/	/(3-10) mo'za:t/	/'mo:z/
/'isbi'ri:na/	/'isbirin'te:n/	/(3-10) 'isbiri'na:t/	/'isbi'ri:n/
/li'ba:na/	/liban'te:n/	/(3-10) liba'na:t/	/li'ba:n/

B. There are certain members of noun class 'IIIIH' which denote objects normally appearing in pairs which also associate with a specific word namely, 'farda 'One of a pair' in order to refer to a single item of the pair. However, it is not considered that this fact contradicts the criterion for membership of 'IA4' mentioned on pages 325-6 since 'farda is not used with 'IA4' items. Further, the nine items shown in my data with which 'farda may associate are not One-Form nouns and therefore no confusion can occur.

The Forms of these nine items are the following:

Form 1		Form 2	Form 3
/gazma/	'A pair of shoes'	/gazmi'te:n/	/'gizam/
/sa'ra:b/	'A pair of socks'	/sara'be:n/	/sara'ba:t/
/ru'ba:t/	'A shoe-lace'	/ruba'te:n/	/'ir'bita/
/'sib'sib/	'A slipper'	/sib'si'be:n/	/sa'ba:sib/
/'Hala'/	'A pair of ear-rings'	/Hala''e:n/	/Hil''a:n/
/ka'labʒ/	'A hand-cuff'	/kalab'ʒe:n/	/kalab'ʒa:t/
/'ʒanab/	'A moustache'	/ʒana'be:n/	/ʒana'ba:t/
/gi'wanti/	'A glove'	/giwantiy'ye:n/	/giwantiy'ya:t/
/'ti:z/	'Buttocks'	/ti'ze:n/	/'it'ya:z/

Examples:

'fardit 'gazma 'da:8it	'One shoe was lost'
'fardit sa'ra:b 'da:8it	'One sock was lost'

As can be seen from the above two examples, as is the case with all constructs involving a noun + noun, the concord obtaining between the two phrases is relatable to the first element of the construct.

Noun Class I, Group B ('IB') :

As previously mentioned 'IB' items enter exclusively into 'Plural' clause structures, e.g.

fi'lu:si n'sara'it (n'sara'u) 'My money has been stolen'
'il'a8'ya:n 'wasalu ('wasalit) 'The high-class people arrived'

However, although this group comprises only eight items, it is necessary to divide these eight items into two sub-groups (IB1 and IB2) on the basis of the second characteristic of nouns given on page 313, namely, their association (or non-association) with any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10'.

IB1

This sub-group comprises the following six items: 'na:s 'People', 'xal 'People', ga'ma:8a 'Group of people; wife', fi'lu:s 'Money', 'at'ya:n 'Plots of land' and hi'du:m 'Clothes', all of which cannot be immediately preceded by any of the numerals '3 to 10', nor in fact by any non-ordinal numeral. Nevertheless, with regard to the first three items which are 'human' nouns, when it is necessary to specify a particular number, special constructions with min 'Of' occur. In this they contrast with 'IA2', 'IA3' items as well as all nouns belonging to Classes II (other than family names), III and IV.

Compare the following sets of examples:

Set I :

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Examples with 'Three'</u>	
IA2	ta'la:ta '8ali	'Three Alis'
IA3	ta'la:ta g'ne:h	'Three guineas'
IIH1	'talat mudarri'si:n	'Three teachers'
IIIH	'talat 'kutub	'Three books'
IVA	'talat xo'xa:t	'Three peaches'

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Examples with 'Eleven'</u>	
IA2	Hi'da:gar '8ali	'Eleven Alis'
IA3	Hi'da:gar gi'ne:h	'Eleven guineas'
IIH1	Hi'da:gar mudarris	'Eleven teachers'
IIIH	Hi'da:gar ki'ta:b	'Eleven books'
IVA	Hi'da:gar 'xo:xa	'Eleven peaches'

Set II :

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Examples with 'Three'</u>	
IB1(H)	ta'la:ta 'min il'xal'	'Three of the people'

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Examples with 'Eleven'</u>	
IB1(H)	Hi'da:gar 'min il'xal'	'Eleven of the people'

Note that with respect to the three 'non-human' items belonging to sub-group 'IB1, these cannot be preceded by any non-ordinal numeral at all either with or without min. Therefore, there are no nominal phrases of the structure:

*ta'la:ta f'lu:s ...

or *ta'la:ta 'min ilfi'lu:s ...

IB2

This sub-group comprises the following two 'human' nouns:

'a8'ya:n 'High-class people' and za'wa:t 'Aristocratic people'
both of which can be immediately preceded by any of the numerals
'3 to 10', e.g.

ta'la:ta 'a8'ya:n 'Ha₁daru il'Hafla 'Three high-class people attended
the party'

'8a₁sara za'wa:t 'Ha₁daru ilHafla 'Ten aristocratic people attended
the party'

Note that with numerals above '10' a special construction with
'wa:Hid min 'One of' occurs, e.g.

Hi'da:gar 'wa:Hid 'min il'a8'ya:n 'Eleven of the high-class people'
or 'Eleven high-class people'

In this they are similar to IIH₃ (i.e. family names), e.g.

Hi'da:gar 'wa:Hid 'min ilxa'rayba 'Eleven Khoreibys'
or 'Eleven of the Khoreibys'

and differ from all other nouns (see the examples given under
Set I and II above)⁽²⁰⁾

(20) With some other speakers Hi'da:gar 'min ilxa'rayba also
occurs meaning only 'Eleven of the Khoreibys'.

Class II : Two-Form Nouns

This class includes all nouns which in my idiolect have only two Forms namely, Form 1 and Form 3. However, these nouns will be further divided into two groups namely, 'Human', i.e. N(IIH) and 'Non-human', i.e. N (IIH) on the grounds of the four syntactic characteristics (a to d) given on pp. 313-16.

N(IIH)

The nouns in this group, in most idiolects (including my own) refer to human-beings having two Forms. These will be further sub-divided into the following four sub-groups:

1. 'Occupational nouns' such as mu'darris 'Male teacher', mudar'risa 'Woman teacher', mak'wagi 'Laundry man', 'ta:gir 'Merchant', '8a:mil 'Worker', etc.
2. 'Titles' such as 'ba:sa 'Pasha', 'be:h 'Bey', 'a'fandi 'Effendi; Mr', 'malika 'Queen', 'a'mi:r 'Prince', 'Hagg 'Male pilgrim', etc.
3. 'Family names' as used to refer to whole families such as 'ilxa'rayba 'The Khoreibys', 'ilga'wa:bir 'The Gabers', 'il8awad'liyva 'The Adlys', 'il'xulafa 'The Caliphs', '8e:lit '8afya 'The Afyas', etc.
4. Some other items such as 'Hama 'Mother-in-law', 'sa:kin 'Tenant(m)', 'de:fa 'Guest(f)', xa'wa:ga 'European(m)', 'sitt 'Lady', 'sa:Hib 'Friend(m)', etc.

Items under sub-groups 1, 2 and 4 above, but not 3, exhibit the four syntactic characteristics of 'Human' nouns given on pages 313-16. Further details concerning the members of sub-groups 1, 2 and 3 are given below.

Sub-group 1, 'Occupational nouns' :

As regards the members of this sub-group, some speakers (myself excluded) use Form 2 of these nouns under certain conditions. For instance, if the following question is asked: 'fi:h 'ka:m mu'darris fil'maktab 'How many teachers are there in the office?' one answer is mudarri'se:n 'Two'. But if the answer is given in a complete sentence, it will include 'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n as in fil'maktab it'ne:n mudarri'si:n 'Two teachers are in the office'. Such Forms as /mudarri'se:n/ 'Two teachers', /falla'He:n/ 'Two farmers', etc. as one-word sentences only, are, for two-Form nouns, restricted to what have been termed above as 'occupational nouns', i.e. N(IIH1). I do not use these Forms, but, instead, I use the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n + noun Form 3. Hence:

'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n	'Two teachers'
'it'ne:n falla'Hi:n	'Two farmers'

Even those who use Form 2 for 'occupational nouns', i.e. N(IIH1) use it differently from that of 'three or four-Form nouns' in so far as Form 2 of any of the latter noun classes occurs in longer sentences as well as in one-word sentences, e.g.

Noun Class III (e.g. 'wala'd) :

wala'de:n 'Two boys'

and

fil'maktab wala'de:n 'There are two boys in the office'

Noun Class IV (e.g. 'xo:x) :

xox'te:n 'Two peaches'

and

'ay'man 'akal xox'te:n 'Aymen ate two peaches'

Therefore the use of Form 3 of a 'two-Form noun' is different from that of a 'three or a four-Form noun' in that it is used where the latter use Form 2, e.g.

Noun Class III (all groups) :

kita'be:n it'ba:8u 'Two books were sold'

Noun Class IV (all groups) :

battix'te:n it'ba:8u 'Two water melons were sold'

Noun Class IIH (sub-groups 1, 2 and 4) :

'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n it'ra''u 'Two teachers were promoted'

Sub-group 2, 'Titles' :

Titles which are of Arabic origin always precede the personal given name and, with the exception of 'ṣumḍa 'Mayor', have corresponding counterparts for male and female referents. But those of Turkish origin (i.e. 'ba:ṣa', 'be:h' and 'a'fandi')⁽²¹⁾ follow the name and refer to male referents only.

Compare:

'aḥmad 'ba:ṣa 'waṣal	'Ahmed pasha arrived'
'ṣali 'be:h 'waṣal	'Ali bey arrived'
'Ḥasan a'fandi 'waṣal	'Mr. Hassan arrived'

with:

'il'Ḥagg aḥmad 'waṣal	'The pilgrim Ahmed arrived'
'il'Ḥagga 'fatma 'waṣalit	'The pilgrim Fatima arrived'
'il'malik Ḥi'se:n 'waṣal	'King Hussein arrived'
'il'malika 'muna 'waṣalit	'Queen Mona arrived'

Sub-group 3, 'Family names' :

Family names are 'two-Form nouns'. Form 1(m) being an individual's last name (surname) and Form 3 being the corresponding family name. For example in the name ''ayman ilxu're:bi' 'Aymen ElKhoreiby', the first name ''ayman' is a 'one-Form noun' and /'ilxu're:bi/ is the surname being Form 1 of a IIH3 item. The corresponding Form 3 being the family name is /'ilxa'rayba/ 'The

(21) All titles of foreign origin have recently been abolished officially by decree, but are still heard.

Khoreibys'. Such family names are normally of one of the following five patterns:

- (i) fa'wa8la
- (ii) fa'wa:8il
- (iii) fawa8'liyya
- (iv) 'fu8ala
- (v) '8e:lit + surname ('8e:lit means 'family')

However, there is no regular phonological correspondence between the syllabic shape of the surname (i.e. Form 1) and that of the family name (i.e. Form 3). Each family will use one of these patterns to refer to the family as a whole. Nevertheless, subgroups of the same family may sometimes use different patterns. For instance, relating to the surname /'il'bakri/ 'Elbakry' there are the two possible family names /'ilba'karwa/ (pattern (i)) and /'ilbakar'wiyya/ (pattern (iii)) 'The Bakrys'. Similarly, relating to the surname /'ilxu're:bi/ 'ElKhoreiby' there are the two possible family names /'ilxa'rayba/ (pattern (i)) and '8elt ilxu're:bi (pattern (v)) 'The Khoreibys'. It is also regarded as quite normal to choose any form from the five patterns when one does not know which pattern the family use. This is therefore a productive process. The following are some family names that I know very well conforming to the five patterns given above.

<u>Pattern</u>	<u>Surname</u> (<u>Form 1</u>)	<u>Family name</u> (<u>Form 3</u>)	
(i)	/ʔilxu're:bi/	/ʔilxa'rayba/	'The Khoreibys'
	/ʔil'ba:ya/	/ʔissa'labwa/	'The Gilbayas'
	/ʔis'so:da/	/ʔissa'wayda/	'The Sodas'
	/ʔiggal'la:d/	/ʔigga'lalda/	'The Gallads'
	/ʔiʔsar''a:wi/	/ʔiʔsa'ra'wa/	'The Sharkawys'
	/ʔilHadi:di/	/ʔilHa'dayda/	'The Hadidys'
	/ʔiʔsi'ri:f/	/ʔissa'rayfa/	'The Sherifs'
	/Hag'ga:g/	/ʔilHa'gayga/	'The Haggags'
	/bi'te:n/	/ʔilba'tayna/	'The Biteens'
	/sul'ta:n/	/ʔissa'latna/	'The Sultans'
	/ʔissaʔ'dani/	/ʔissa'ʔadna/	'The Saadanys'
	/Ha'ma:da/	/ʔilHa'mayda/	'The Hamaadas'
(ii)	/ʔga:bir/	/ʔilga'wa:bir/	'The Gabers'
	/ʔʔa:mir/	/ʔilʔa'wa:mir/	'The Amirs'
(iii)	/ʔilʔa'layli/	/ʔilʔalay'liyya/	'The Alaylys'
	/Hasa'ne:n/	/ʔilHasay'niyya/	'The Hasaneens'
(iv)	/ʔʔa:dil/	/ʔil'ʔudala/	'The Adels'
	/ʔilxa'li:fa/	/ʔil'xulafa/	'The Khaliphs'
(v)	/ki'se:ba/	'ʔe:lit ki'se:ba	'The Kiseebas'
	/sar'Ha:n/	'ʔe:lit sarHa:n	'The Sarhaans'
	/ʔʔafya/	'ʔe:lit 'ʔafya	'The Afyas'
	/ʔil'ʔalami/	'ʔelt il'ʔalami	'The Alamys'

Note that although such a family name as '8e:lit sar'Ha:n is a construct where the first noun is in Form 1, it will require plural concord with a second phrase. This is in general in contrast with constructs composed of noun + noun where the first noun is in Form 1. Compare the following two examples where the first is a 'Singular' (f) clause structure and the second is 'Plural' though the first element of the construct in both cases is a noun in Form 1 (f), e.g.

1. 'ott ilmudarri'si:n kuway'yisa
 'The teachers' room is nice'
2. '8e:lit sar'Ha:n kuway'yisa (kuwayyi'si:n)
 'The Sarhaens are nice'

Note also that whereas surname items (being Form 1) enter into 'Singular' clause structures only, family name items (being Form 3) enter into 'Plural' clause structures only, e.g.

Surname :

Noun Form	Verb Form	
1(m)	x	
'ilxu're:bi	'wasal	'ElKhoreiby arrived'

Family name:

Noun Form	Verb Form	
3	z (y)	
'ilxa'rayba	'wasalu ('wasalit)	'The Khoreibys arrived'

Further, to use a family name (i.e. Form 3) parallel to Form 3 of the other three sub-groups belonging to N(IIH), only the family name cannot be immediately preceded by any of the cardinal numerals '2 to 10' in N1.P5 examples, but the cardinal numeral and the family name must be separated by the preposition min 'Of', in which case the nominal phrase as a whole is an expanded N1.P1. Compare the following N1.P5 examples :

IIH1	'it'ne:n tug'ga:r...	'Two merchants...'
IIH2	'xamas hug'ga:g...	'Five pilgrims...'
IIH4	'8aʒar sit'ta:t...	'Ten ladies...'

with IIH3 where the structure is an expanded N1.P1 example,

'it'ne:n [milxa'rayba]...	'Two (of the) Khoreibys...'
'xamsa [milxa'rayba]...	'Five (of the) Khoreibys...'
'8aʒara [milxa'rayba]...	'Ten (of the) Khoreibys...'

However, with numerals above '10', a special construction with 'wa:Hid 'min (as is the case with 'IB2' items) precedes the family name, e.g.

Hi'da:ʒar ['wa:Hid milxa'rayba]...'Eleven(of the)Khoreibys..

See also p. 342, footnote 20.

N(IIH)

This group comprises for me just three items. These are:

	Lexical item	Form 1	Form 3
1.	' <u>8e:n</u> 'Eye'	/'8e:n/	/8i'ne:n/
2.	' <u>'i:d</u> 'Hand'	/'i:d/	/'i'de:n/
3.	' <u>ri:ɬ</u> 'Leg'	/'ri:ɬ/	/rig'le:n/

Although the Forms /8i'ne:n/, /'i'de:n/ and /rig'le:n/ end in /-e:n/, the suffix normally appropriate to noun Form 2; my reason for considering them as Form 3 and not as Form 2 is a syntactic one since, like Form 3 of all other nouns, they enter into 'Plural' clause structures, e.g.

'il'i'de:n it'rafa8it (it'rafa8u) 'The hands were raised up'

Details of this have already been given above on pp. 17-8 under (ii). However, to express the fact that the objects referred to are only two, Form 3 of these items + a pronominal suffix or a noun (i.e. a construct) + the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n 'Two', as a modifying element, are used. In such a case the nominal phrase as a whole is always definite and the whole clause structure is always 'Plural', e.g.

8i'ne:h [lit'ne:n] biwga'8u:h 'Both his eyes hurt him'

ri'gle:n ik'kursi⁽²²⁾ [lit'ne:n] ik'kasaru 'The two legs of the chair were broken'

(22) Such a construct where the first element is a noun in Form 2 is not in common use but may sometimes be heard. See pp. 90-91.

For some highly educated speakers, this group comprises too:

(i) All nouns of the syllabic shape ta'fa88ul, e.g.

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 3
<u>ta'nabbu'</u>	'Foretelling'	/ta'nabbu'/	/tanabbu''a:t/
<u>ta'raddud</u>	'Hesitation'	/ta'raddud/	/taraddu'da:t/
<u>ta'hakkum</u>	'Irony'	/ta'hakkum/	/tahakkum'ma:t/
<u>ta'sannu8</u>	'Pretending'	/ta'sannu8/	/tasannu'8a:t/

(ii) A few other items such as :

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 3
<u>'simm</u>	'Poison'	/'simm/	/su'mu:m/
<u>'mahr</u>	'Dowry'	/'mahr/	/mu'hu:r/
<u>'wafd</u>	'Delegation'	/'wafd/	/wu'fu:d/
<u>'xe:t</u>	'Thread'	/'xe:t/	/xu'yu:t/
<u>'xamra</u>	'Liquor'	/'xamra/	/xu'mu:r/
<u>'ze:t</u>	'Oil'	/'ze:t/	/zu'yu:t/
<u>'matar</u>	'Rain'	/'matar/	/'am'ta:r/
<u>'sama</u>	'Sky'	/'sama/	/sama'wa:t/

It seems to me that this usage is a trace of the Classical register and in the colloquial speech which I am describing these nouns behave as one-Form nouns. In the Classical language, however, all nouns of the syllabic shape tafa88ul as well as the first four items under (ii) have three Forms (Forms 1, 2 and 3), but the last four, to the best of my knowledge, have only two Forms (Form 1 and Form 3).

Class III : Three-Form Nouns

This class includes all nouns having Forms 1, 2 and 3. It is necessary, however, within this class, as is the case with Class II, to distinguish two groups namely, 'human' and 'non-human' nouns. In general, these two groups are differentiated on the basis of the four syntactic characteristics given on pp. 313-16.

The first group, i.e. N(IIIH), comprises in most idiolects (including my own) the following twenty-three items:

Lexical item	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
' <u>abb</u> 'Father'	/ ' 'abb/	/ 'ab'be:n/	/ 'abba'ha:t/
' <u>umm</u> 'Mother'	/ ' 'umm/	/ 'um'me:n/	/ 'umma'ha:t/
' <u>axx</u> 'Brother'	/ ' 'axx/	/ 'ax'xe:n/	/ 'ix'wa:t/
' <u>uxt</u> 'Sister'	/ ' 'uxt/	/ 'ux'te:n/	/ 'ix'wa:t/
' <u>8amm</u> 'Uncle'	/ '8amm/	/ 8am'me:n/	/ 'i8'ma:m/
' <u>8amma</u> 'Aunt'	/ '8amma/	/ 8ammi'te:n/	/ 8am'ma:t/
' <u>xa:l</u> 'Maternal uncle'	/ 'xa:l/	/ xa'le:n/	/ xi'la:n/
' <u>xa:la</u> 'Maternal aunt'	/ 'xa:la/	/ xal'te:n/	/ xa'la:t/
' <u>gidd</u> 'Grandfather'	/ 'gidd/	/ gid'de:n/	/ gi'du:d/
' <u>gidda</u> 'Grandmother'	/ 'gidda/	/ giddi'te:n/	/ gid'da:t/
<u>til'mi:z</u> 'Student(m)'	/ til'mi:z/	/ tilmi'ze:n/	/ ta'lamza/
<u>til'mi:za</u> 'Girl-student'	/ til'mi:za/	/ tilmiz'te:n/	/ tilmi'za:t/
' <u>8ayyil</u> 'Young boy'	/ '8ayyil/	/ 8ayyi'le:n/	/ 8i'ya:l/
<u>8ay'yila</u> 'Young girl'	/ 8ay'yila/	/ 8ayyil'te:n/	/ 8ayyi'la:t/
' <u>walad</u> 'Boy'	/ 'walad/	/ wala'de:n/	/ 'iw'la:d/
' <u>bint</u> 'Girl'	/ 'bint/	/ bin'te:n/	/ ba'na:t/

Lexical item		Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
<u>'ra:gil</u>	'Man'	/'ra:gil/	/rag'le:n/	/rig'ga:la/
<u>'mara</u>	'Woman'	/'mara/	/mar'a'te:n/	/nis'wa:n/
<u>'gada8</u>	'A youth'	/'gada8/	/gada'8e:n/	/gid'8a:n/
<u>8a'ri:s</u>	'Bridegroom'	/8a'ri:s/	/8ari'se:n/	/8ir'sa:n/
<u>8a'ru:sa</u>	'Bride'	/8a'ru:sa/	/8arus'te:n/	/8aru'sa:t
<u>'rayyis</u>	'Boss(m)'	/'rayyis/	/rayyi'se:n/	/'ruyasa/
<u>ray'yisa</u>	'Boss(f)'	/ray'yisa/	/rayyis'te:n/	/rayyi'sa:t/

Note that the last two items, being 'occupational' may be used as two-Form nouns.

The second group, i.e. N(IIIH), comprises the vast majority of nouns in ECA (about a thousand items are shown in my data), but I will only give a hundred items as examples. Since the lexical item and Form 1 are identical, the latter will not be given, e.g.

Lexical item		Form 2	Form 3
<u>'xabar</u>	'A piece of news'	/xaba're:n/	/'ax'ba:r/
<u>'yo:m</u>	'Day'	/yo'me:n/	/'ay'ya:m/
<u>'sirr</u>	'Secret'	/sir're:n/	/'as'ra:r/
<u>'be:t</u>	'House'	/be'te:n/	/bi'yu:t/
<u>'ge:b</u>	'Pocket'	/ge'be:n/	/gi'yu:b/
<u>'di:k</u>	'Cockerel'	/di'ke:n/	/di'yu:k/
<u>'ru:s</u>	'Head'	/ra'se:n/	/ru:s/
<u>'da:r</u>	'House'	/da're:n/	/'du:r/
<u>'ki:s</u>	'Bag'	/ki'se:n/	/'ik'ya:s/

Lexical item		Form 2	Form 3
<u>'no:8</u>	'Kind'	/no'8e:n/	/'an'wa:8/
<u>'o:da</u>	'Room'	/'ot'te:n/	/'i'wad/
<u>'Hi:la</u>	'Trick'	/Hil'te:n/	/'Hiyal/
<u>'ke:la</u>	'Bushel'	/kel'te:n/	/kiyal/
<u>'sa:ri8</u>	'Street'	/sar'8e:n/	/sa'wa:ri8/
<u>'mu:lid</u>	'Festival'	/mul'de:n/	/ma'wa:lid/
<u>mi'za:n</u>	'Scale'	/miza'ne:n/	/mawa'zi:n/
<u>8a'mu:d</u>	'Pole'	/8amu'de:n/	/8awa'mi:d/
<u>'i'za:za</u>	'Bottle'	/'izaz'te:n/	/'a'za:yiz/
<u>ki'ni:sa</u>	'Church'	/kinis'te:n/	/ka'na:yis/
<u>8u'zu:ma</u>	'Banquet'	/8uzum'te:n/	/8a'za:yim/
<u>sa'niyya</u>	'Tray'	/saniyyi'te:n/	/sa'wa:ni/
<u>ta'iyya</u>	'Cap'	/ta'iyyi'te:n/	/ta'wa:'i/
<u>ha'diyya</u>	'Gift'	/hadiyyi'te:n/	/ha'da:ya/
<u>'baltu</u>	'Coat'	/baltuy'ye:n/	/ba'la:ti/
<u>'8irwa</u>	'Button-hole'	/8irwi'te:n/	/8a'ra:wi/
<u>'kursi</u>	'Chair'	/kursiy'ye:n/	/ka'ra:si/
<u>ri'gi:f</u>	'Loaf'	/rigi'fe:n/	/'ir'gifa/
<u>Hu'sa:n</u>	'Horse'	/Husa'ne:n/	/'iH'sina/
<u>Hu'ma:r</u>	'Donkey'	/Huma're:n/	/Hi'mi:r/
<u>''afas</u>	'Cage'	/'afa'se:n/	/'i''fa:s/
<u>'mitr</u>	'Metre'	/mit're:n/	/'im'ta:r/
<u>'furn</u>	'Oven'	/fur'ne:n/	/'if'ra:n/
<u>'kalb</u>	'Dog'	/kal'be:n/	/ki'la:b/
<u>'farxa</u>	'Hen'	/farxi'te:n/	/fi'ra:x/
<u>''arn</u>	'Horn'	/'ar'ne:n/	/'u'ru:n/
<u>ta'ri:'</u>	'Road'	/tari'e:n/	/'turu'/

Lexical item		Form 2	Form 3
<u>ki'ta:b</u>	'Book'	/kita'be:n/	/'kutub/
<u>8a'ba:ya</u>	'Cloak'	/8abay'te:n/	/'8iby/
<u>8a'sa:ya</u>	'Stick'	/8asay'te:n/	/'8usy/
<u>Ha'si:ra</u>	'Mat'	/Hasir'te:n/	/'Husr/
<u>'maxzan</u>	'Storeroom'	/maxza'ne:h/	/ma'xa:zin/
<u>'mat8am</u>	'Restaurant'	/mat8a'me:n/	/ma'ta:8im/
<u>'mafraʒ</u>	'Table cloth'	/mafra'se:n/	/ma'fa:riʒ/
<u>'gamal</u>	'Camel'	/gama'le:n/	/gi'ma:l/
<u>'balad</u>	'City'	/bala'de:n/	/bi'la:d/
<u>'dakar</u>	'Male'	/daka're:n/	/du'ku:ra/
<u>mad'rasa</u>	'School'	/madras'te:n/	/ma'da:ris/
<u>ma8'la'a</u>	'Spoon'	/ma8la'te:n/	/ma'8a:li'/
<u>'arnab</u>	'Rabbit'	/'arna'be:n/	/'a'ra:nib/
<u>'santa</u>	'Bag'	/santi'te:n/	/'sunat/
<u>'mihna</u>	'Profession'	/mihni'te:n/	/'mihan/
<u>'furga</u>	'Brush'	/fursi'te:n/	/'furaʒ/
<u>siH'liyya</u>	'Lizard'	/siHliyyi'te:n/	/sa'Ha:li/
<u>8am'siyya</u>	'Umbrella'	/8amsiyyi'te:n/	/8a'ma:si/
<u>dab'bu:s</u>	'Pin'	/dabbu'se:n/	/daba'bi:s/
<u>8ib'ba:k</u>	'Window'	/8ibba'ke:n/	/8aba'bi:k/
<u>sur'sa:r</u>	'Cricket'	/surʒa're:n/	/sara'si:r/
<u>fin'ga:n</u>	'Cup'	/finga'ne:n/	/fana'gi:n/
<u>8as'fu:r</u>	'Sparrow'	/8asfu're:n/	/8asa'fi:r/
<u>'xanda'</u>	'Ditch'	/xanda''e:n/	/xa'na:di'/
<u>'8ib8ib</u>	'Slipper'	/8ib8i'be:n/	/8a'ba:8ib/
<u>'dungul</u>	'Axle'	/dungu'le:n/	/da'na:gil/
<u>'Ha:ga</u>	'Thing'	/Hag'te:n/	/Ha'ga:t/

Lexical item		Form 2	Form 3
<u>'zi:na</u>	'Ornament'	/zin'te:n/	/zi'na:t/
<u>'sa:8a</u>	'Watch'	/sa8'te:n/	/sa'8a:t/
<u>ma'za:d</u>	'Auction'	/maza'de:n/	/maza'da:t/
<u>ma'ta:r</u>	'Airport'	/mata're:n/	/mata'ra:t/
<u>ma'ass</u>	'A pair of scissors'	/ma'as'se:n/	/ma'as'sa:t/
<u>mi'sann</u>	'Sharpener'	/misan'ne:n/	/misan'na:t/
<u>mi'galla</u>	'Magazine'	/migalli'te:n/	/migal'la:t/
<u>8a'ra:b</u>	'A pair of socks'	/8ara'be:n/	/8ara'ba:t/
<u>ri'ya:l</u>	'Twenty piastres'	/riya'le:n/	/riya'la:t/
<u>Ham'ma:m</u>	'Bathroom'	/Hamma'me:n/	/Hamma'ma:t/
<u>8a'ha:da</u>	'Certificate'	/8ahad'te:n/	/8aha'da:t/
<u>mi'la:ya</u>	'Bed-sheet'	/milay'te:n/	/mila'ya:t/
<u>Hu'ku:ma</u>	'Government'	/Hukum'te:n/	/Huku'ma:t/
<u>'Haraka</u>	'Movement'	/Harak'te:n/	/Hara'ka:t
<u>'Ha8ara</u>	'Insect'	/Ha8ar'te:n/	/Ha8a'ra:t/
<u>8ama'liyya</u>	'Operation'	/8amaliyyi'te:n/	/8amaliy'ya:t/
<u>8ara'biyya</u>	'Car'	/8arabiyyi'te:n/	/8arabiy'ya:t/
<u>zuha'riyya</u>	'Vase'	/zuhariyyi'te:n/	/zuhariy'ya:t/
<u>gamhu'riyya</u>	'Republic'	/gamhuriyyi'te:n/	/gamhuriy'ya:t/
<u>sukka'riyya</u>	'Sugar basin'	/sukkariyyi'te:n/	/sukkariy'ya:t/
<u>'imti'Ha:n</u>	'Exam'	/'imtiHa'ne:n/	/'imtiHa'na:t/
<u>'iHti'fal</u>	'Ceremony'	/'iHtifa'le:n/	/'iHtifa'la:t/
<u>'in'za:r</u>	'Warning'	/'inza're:n/	/'inza'ra:t/
<u>'id'ra:b</u>	'Strike'	/'idra'be:n/	/'idra'ba:t/
<u>'isti8'da:d</u>	'Preparation'	/'isti8da'de:n/	/'isti8da'da:t/
<u>'isti8'ma:l</u>	'Usage'	/'isti8ma'le:n/	/'isti8ma'la:t/
<u>fat'ta:Ha</u>	'Can-opener'	/fattaH'te:n/	/fatta'Ha:t/

Lexical item		Form 2	Form 3
<u>Hid'da:ya</u>	'Female hawk'	/Hidday'te:n/	/Hidda'ya:t/
<u>kub'ba:ya</u>	'Glass'	/kubbay'te:n/	/kubba'ya:t/
<u>masta'ri:n</u>	'Trowel'	/mastari'ne:n/	/mastari'na:t/
<u>bartama:n</u>	'Jar'	/bartama'ne:n/	/bartama'na:t/
<u>'fa:r</u>	'Mouse'	/fa're:n/	/fi'ra:n/
<u>'He:ta</u>	'Wall'	/Het'te:n/	/Hi'ta:n/
<u>'ku:z</u>	'Cone'	/ku'ze:n/	/ki'za:n/
<u>''atr</u>	'Train'	/'at're:n/	/'utu'ra:t/
<u>'laHza</u>	'Moment'	/laHzi'te:n/	/laHa'za:t/

Class IV : Four-Form Nouns

This class includes all nouns that have, in general,⁽²³⁾ four Forms termed Form 1, 2, 4 and 5. However, these items may be divided into two syntactic groups namely IVA (i.e. 'Mass nouns')⁽²⁴⁾ and IVB (i.e. 'Action nouns')⁽²⁵⁾

IVA items refer to 'objects in the mass' and therefore have the two syntactic characteristics of 'Mass nouns' as mentioned above on pp. 325-6 . Further, 'Mass nouns' belonging to Class IVA include a few animate 'non-human' nouns which is not the case with 'Mass nouns' belonging to 'IA4' (i.e. having only one Form). IVB items include a relatively few items (about 60) referring to 'Action' all of which are masculine. These have the following characteristics:

- a) The lexical item is generally related to a cognate verb, e.g.

<u>Verb</u>		<u>Action noun</u>	
'diHik	'He laughed'	' <u>diHk</u>	'Act of laughing'
'darab	'He hit'	' <u>darb</u>	'Hitting'
'ba:s	'He kissed'	' <u>bo:s</u>	'Kissing'
'na:m	'He slept'	' <u>no:m</u>	'Sleep'

(23) Out of the 132 items belonging to IVA, shown in my data, only 14 have a fifth Form (i.e. Form 6). As mentioned earlier, with the exception of 'wara' 'Sheets of paper' and 'giz'la:n' 'Gazelles', Form 6 of the other twelve items (see the list of IVA items below) is not considered by me as being central to ECA. It is true that Form 6 of these items may occasionally be used by educated people, but such cases are regarded by me as instances of register mixture, in which such Forms are 'borrowed' from Classical Arabic.

(24) These nouns are sometimes referred to as 'Collectives'.

(25) These nouns are traditionally referred to as 'Verbal nouns'.

<u>Verb</u>		<u>Action noun</u>	
'miʒi	'He walked'	'maʒy	'Walking'
'taff	'He spat'	'taff	'Spitting'
'mass	'He sipped'	'mass	'Sipping'

b) It frequently occurs in a particular structure in which the cognate verb precedes it, e.g.

'diHku	'diHka	'8alya	'They laughed loudly'
'xabatu	'xabta	'gamda	'He gave him a hard blow'
ʒa'fatti	ʒafta	k'bi:ra	'I had a big sip'
mi'ʒe:na	'maʒya	ta'wi:la	'We went for a long walk'
'baʒamit	'baʒma	'wadHa	'She made a clear mark with her thumb'

However, in some cases a verb other than the cognate verb may substitute for it. In these cases the whole clause will have a similar meaning to the equivalent clause with a cognate verb. For instance, compare the first three examples above with:

'tə' 'u	'diHka'8alya	'They burst out laughing'
'id'da:lu	'xabtə 'gamda	'He gave him a hard blow'
'a'xatti	'ʒafta k'bi:ra	'I took a big sip'

in which the following verbs are used:

<u>'ta''</u>	'To explode; to burst'
<u>'idda</u>	'To give'
<u>'exad</u>	'To take'

Note: The item 'akl which is generally considered as a member of IVB items can also be considered as a member of IVA items. This is because it can refer either to 'the

action of eating' or to 'the substance eaten' as can be seen from the following two examples respectively:

1. ta'ri:'it ''aklu 'wiHsa 'His way of eating is bad'
2. 'igta're:t ''akli 'ga:hiz 'I bought ready-cooked food'

As regards Class IV in general, I notice the following:

- 1) All nouns belonging to this class are 'non-human'.
- 2) Form 1 is always feminine⁽²⁶⁾ and therefore occurs exclusively in feminine 'Singular' clause structures.

Note that Form 1 of IVA items is formed by the addition of /-a/ or /-(a):ya/ or both to the lexical item as can be seen from the list given below, whereas Form 1 of IVB items is formed by the addition of /-a/ only to the lexical item which exclusively ends in a consonant. (See the list of IVB items below).

- 3) As has already been mentioned, items belonging to Class IV have no Form 3.
- 4) Form 4 of these items cannot occur in N1.P1 examples at all. It only occurs in a special sub-structure of N1.P5 since it is limited to going with any of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' only and is characterized by the ending /-a:t/.

(26) The majority of the lexical items belonging to Class IV ~~are masculine and, in general,~~ end in a consonant. A few, belonging to IVA, ~~are feminine and usually~~ end in /-a/. In the latter case Form 1 ends only in /-(a):ya/.

At this point it is to be noted that some nouns belonging to Classes 'IB2', 'IIH' and 'III' may have a Form which ends in /-a:t/ as is the case with:

<u>IB2</u> , e.g.	/za'wa:t/	'Aristocratic people'
<u>IIH</u> , e.g.	/sit'ta:t/	'Ladies'
	/xawa'ga:t/	'Europeans'
	/baʒa'wa:t/	'Pashas', etc.
<u>III</u> , e.g.	/ba'na:t/	'Girls'
	/talla'ga:t/	'Refrigerators'
	/iHtima'la:t/	'Possibilities', etc.

Although this ending is identical with the /-a:t/ of noun Form 4, the Forms given above are not Form 4 but Form 3. The reader may wonder how he can differentiate between Form 3 ending in /-a:t/ and Form 4. There is a crucial point for doing this, namely, Form 3 is not restricted to occurrence with any of the numerals '3 to 10' whereas Form 4 is, e.g.

IB2, e.g. /za'wa:t/

'kull ilmawgu'di:n za'wa:t 'All the present company are
aristocratic people'

'a'bilt ar'baʒa za'wa:t 'I met four aristocratic people'

IIH, e.g. /sit'ta:t/

'kull ilmawgu'di:n sit'ta:t 'All the present company are ladies'

'a'bilt arba8 sit'ta:t 'I met four ladies'

III (All groups), e.g. /ba'na:t/

'kull ilmawgu'di:n ba'na:t 'All the present company are girls'

'a'bilt arba8 ba'na:t 'I met four girls'

IVA, e.g. /('3-10') mi8mi'sa:t/

'a'kalt arba8 mi8mi'sa:t 'I ate four apricots'

kull ilmaw'gu:d 'mi8mi8 [Form 5]

not * 'kull ilmawgu'di:n mi8mi'sa:t

IVB, e.g. /('3-10') da''a:t/

si'mi8t arba8 da''a:t 'I heard four strokes'

'kull illi s'mi8tu 'da'' 'All what I heard are strokes'

not * 'kull illi s'mi8tu da''a:t

Notes:

(1) The following eight items ba'ta:tis 'Potatoes', ta'ma:tim 'Tomatoes', 'manga 'Mangoes', ga'wa:fa 'Guava', kara'milla 'Sweets', suka'la:ta 'Chocolates', 'fu:l 'Beans' and 'te:r 'Certain kinds of edible fowl', which are listed as members of 'IVA' items, may also be used as members of 'IA4' items, in which case they associate with the classifier Hab'ba:ya, e.g.

Hab'ba:yit ba'ta:tis	'A potato'
Hab'ba:yit ta'ma:tim	'A tomatoe'
Hab'ba:yit 'manga	'A mango'

Hab'ba:yit'ga'wa:fa	'A guave'
Hab'ba:yit kara'milla	'A sweet'
Hab'ba:yit şuka'la:ta	'A chocolate'
Hab'ba:yit 'fu:l	'A bean'
Hab'ba:yit 'te:r	'An edible fowl'

Similarly are:

Habbay'te:n ba'ta:tis	'Two potatoes'
talat Habba'ya:t bata:tis	'Three potatoes'

etc.

2) The other 24 items referred to on p. 273 are the following:

' <u>batt</u>	'Ducks'	' <u>wizz</u>	'Geese'
<u>Ha'ma:m</u>	'Pigeons'	<u>sim'ma:n</u>	'Quails'
' <u>samak</u>	'Fish'	<u>gan'bari</u>	'Shrimps'
' <u>fu:l</u>	'Beans'	<u>ba'ta:tis</u>	'Potatoes'
' <u>arna'bi:t</u>	'Cauliflowers'	<u>xar'şu:f</u>	'Artichokes'
' <u>ku:sa</u>	'Marrow'	' <u>ul'a:s</u>	'Taros'
<u>ku'runb</u>	'Cabbage'	' <u>manga</u>	'Mangoes'
<u>la'mu:n</u>	'Lemons'	<u>ga'wa:fa</u>	'Guave'
<u>tuf'fa:H</u>	'Apples'	<u>fa'rawla</u>	'Strawberries'
<u>bat'ti:x</u>	'Water melons'	' <u>mig'mig</u>	'Apricots'
<u>şam'ma:m</u>	'Melons'	' <u>xo:x</u>	'Peaches'
<u>rum'ma:n</u>	'Pomegranates'	' <u>Hummus</u>	'Chick-peas'

A List of the IVA items shown in my data⁽²⁷⁾

Form 5		Form 1 ending in /-a/	Form 1 ending in /-a:ya/	Form 6
/wara'/	'Sheets of paper'	✓	*	/'aw'ra:'/
/'sagar/	'Trees'	✓	*	/'as'ga:r/
/'sam8/	'Candles'	✓	*	/su'mu:8/
/'ward/	'Roses'	✓	*	/wu'ru:d/
/'naxl/	'Palms'	✓	*	/na'xi:l/
/'sabak/	'Nets'	✓	*	/si'ba:k/
/so:k/	'Thorns'	✓	*	/'as'wa:k/
/'du:d/	'Worms'	✓	*	/di'da:n/
/ga'za:l/	'Gazelles'	✓	*	/giz'la:n/
/'ba'ar/	'Cows'	✓	*	/'ab'qa:r/
/'mi8z/	'Goats'	✓	*	/mi'8i:z/
/ga'mu:s/	'Buffalos'	✓	*	*
/'batt/	'Ducks'	✓	*	*
/'wizz/	'Geese'	✓	*	*
/Ha'ma:m/	'Pigeons'	✓	*	*
/sim'ma:n/	'Quails'	✓	*	*
/'bu:m/	'Owls'	✓	*	*
/na'8a:m/	'Ostriches'	✓	*	*
/'naHl/	'Bees'	✓	*	*
/dib'ba:n/	'Flies'	✓	*	*
/na'mu:s/	'Mosquitoes'	✓	*	*
/za'ra:f/	'Giraffes'	✓	*	*

(27) The lexical item is identical with Form 5. Form 2 and Form 4 are always predictable. Hence, these are not included in the list.

Form 5		Form 1 ending in /-a/	Form 1 ending in /-a:ya/	Form 6
/ˈte:r/	'Edible fowl'	✓	*	*
/ˈuːrɑ:d/	'Ticks'	✓	*	*
/siˈbɑ:n/	'Nits'	✓	*	*
/fəˈrɑ:s/	'Butterflies'	✓	*	*
/ˈfɑ:ʒ/	'Bird lice'	✓	*	*
/ˈtu:b/	'Bricks'	✓	*	*
/bɑˈlɑ:t/	'Tiles'	✓	*	*
/ˈbily/	'Marbles'	✓	*	*
/ˈ8agal/	'Bicycles'	✓	*	*
/ˈmakan/	'Engines'	✓	*	*
/ˈnagaf/	'Chandeliers'	✓	*	*
/ˈkanak/	'Coffee pots'	✓	*	*
/ˈkanab/	'Sofas'	✓	*	*
/ˈli:f/	'Palm fibres'	✓	*	*
/sɑˈbu:n/	'Soaps'	✓	*	*
/kʊrˈrɑ:t/	'Leek'	✓	*	*
/ˈbe:d/	'Eggs'	✓	*	*
/ˈarnaˈbi:t/	'Cauliflowers'	✓	*	*
/ˈri:ʒ/	'Feathers'	✓	*	*
/xiˈyɑ:r/	'Cucumbers'	✓	*	*
/lɑˈmu:n/	'Lemons'	✓	*	*
/ˈxo:x/	'Peaches'	✓	*	*
/bɑrˈu:ʒ/	'Plums'	✓	*	*
/tʊfˈfɑ:H/	'Apples'	✓	*	*
/bʊrtuˈa:n/	'Oranges'	✓	*	*
/bɑtˈti:x/	'Water melons'	✓	*	*
/sɑmˈmɑ:m/	'Musk melons'	✓	*	*
/ˈsɑhd/	'Honeycomb'	✓	*	*

Form 5		Form 1 ending in /-a/	Form 1 ending in /-a:ya/	Form 6
/rum'ma:n/	'Pomegranates'	✓	*	*
/naʒ'sa:f/	'Blotting paper'	✓	*	*
/'lo:z/	'Almond'	✓	*	*
/'go:z/	'Walnuts'	✓	*	*
/zi'bi:b/	'Raisins'	✓	*	*
/bas'ku:t/	'Biscuits'	✓	*	*
/fi'si:x/	'Salted fish'	✓	*	*
/'samak/	'Fish'	✓	*	/'as'ma:k/
/'aru:s/	'Sea-bass'	✓	*	*
/Sar'di:n/	'Sardines'	✓	*	*
/suf'sa:f/	'Willow'	✓	*	*
/'salab/	'Cable'	✓	*	*
/'bakar/	'Reel'	✓	*	*
/'Hala'/	'Rings'	✓	*	*
/ru''a:'/	'Thin bread'	✓	*	*
/fi'ti:r/	'Pies'	✓	*	*
/ru'sa:s/	'Bullets'	✓	*	*
/su'ba:t/	'Bunches of dates'	✓	*	*
/gim'me:z/	'Sycamores'	✓	*	*
/'tu:t/	'Raspberry'	✓	*	*
/'fu:l/	'Beans'	✓	*	*
/fa''u:s/	'Squirting cucumber'	✓	*	*
/'ar8/	'Gourd'	✓	*	*
/full/	'Jasmine'	✓	*	*
/'dabʒ/	'Rupple stone'	✓	*	*
/duH're:g/	'Common vetch'	✓	*	*
/'bangar/	'Beet-root'	*	/	*

Form 5		Form 1 ending in /-a/	Form 1 ending in /-a:ya/	Form 6
/ 'ku:sa/	'Marrow'	*	✓	*
/ ' 'atta/	'Snake cucumbers'	*	✓	*
/ 'nawa/	'Pits, seeds'	*	✓	*
/ 'safa/	'Fish bones'	*	✓	*
/ 'turṭa/	'Cakes'	*	✓	*
/ ga'to:h/	'Cakes'	*	✓	*
/ gura'yiba/	'Cakes'	*	✓	*
/ kara'milla/	'Sweets'	*	✓	*
/ suka'la:ṭa/	'Chocolates'	*	✓	*
/ 'manga/	'Mangoes'	*	✓	*
/ ga'wa:fa/	'Guava'	*	✓	*
/ kum'mitra/	'Pears'	*	✓	*
/ fa'rawla/	'Strawberries'	*	✓	*
/ sa'fandi/	'Tangerine'	*	✓	*
/ 'ringa/	'Herrings'	*	✓	*
/ ka'burya/	'Crabs'	*	✓	*
/ gan'bari/	'Shrimps'	*	✓	*
/ 'ganam/	'Sheep'	✓	✓	/ 'ag'na:m/
/ 'naml/	'Ants'	✓	✓	*
/ ' 'aml/	'Lice'	✓	✓	*
/ 'ba' ' /	'Bugs'	✓	✓	*
/ 'gazar/	'Carrots'	✓	✓	*
/ 'xasṣ/	'Lettuce'	✓	✓	*
/ 'figl/	'Raddish'	✓	✓	*
/ 'basal/	'Onions'	✓	✓	*
/ ka'rafs/	'Celery'	✓	✓	*
/ ta'ma:ṭim/	'Tomatoes'	✓	✓	*

Form 5		Form 1 ending in /-a/	Form 1 ending in /-a:ya/	Form 6
/za'tu:n/	'Olives'	✓	✓	*
/ba'ta:tis/	'Potatoes'	✓	✓	*
/ku'runb/	'Cabbage'	✓	✓	*
/'ul''a:s/	'Taros'	✓	✓	*
/xar'gu:f/	'Artichoke'	✓	✓	*
/'balaH/	'Dates'	✓	✓	*
/'mis/mis/	'Apricots'	✓	✓	*
/'ti:n/	'Figs'	✓	✓	*
/'bundu'/	'Filberts'	✓	✓	*
/'fustu'/	'Pistachio nuts'	✓	✓	*
/'kastan/	'Chestnuts'	✓	✓	*
/'kaHk/	'Cakes'	✓	✓	*
/mi'labbis/	'Candies'	✓	✓	*
/'u'runful/	'Carnation'	✓	✓	*
/'Hasw/	'Pebbles'	✓	✓	*
/'xaraz/	'Beads'	✓	✓	*
/'tirtir/	'Spangles'	✓	✓	*
/'wada8/	'Shells'	✓	✓	*
/'zalat/	'Hard stones'	✓	✓	*
/'raml/	'Sand'	✓	✓	/ri'ma:l/
/'sa8r/	'Hair'	✓	✓	*
/'8adm/	'Bones'	✓	✓	*
/'igr/	'Peels'	✓	✓	*
/la'ring/	'Sour oranges'	✓	✓	*
/'sabal/	'Ears of corn'	✓	✓	*
/sa'fing/	'Sponge'	✓	✓	*
/'tirmis/	'Lupine'	✓	✓	*
/'Hummus/	'Chick-peas'	✓	✓	*

A List of IVB items shown in my data (28)

Form 5		Form 1
/'da''/	'Stroking'	/'da''a/
/'taff/	'Spitting'	/'taffa/
/'saft/	'Sucking'	/'safta/
/'mass/	'Sipping'	/'massa/
/'raxx/	'Showering'	/'raxxa/
/'baṣm/	'Making a mark with the thumb'	/'baṣma/
/'xabz/	'Patching'	/'xabza/
/'xabt/	'Hitting'	/'xabta/
/'darb/	'Knocking'	/'darba/
/zar8/	'Planting'	/'zar8a/
/'tabx/	'Cooking'	/'tabxa/
/'maɣy/	'Walking'	/'maɣya/
/'tar''/	'Closing noisly'	/'tar''a/
/'rafs/	'Kicking'	/'rafsa/
/'sarx/	'Screaming'	/'sarxa/
/'diHk/	'Laughing'	/'diHka/
/'8ats/	'Sneezing'	/'8atsa/
/''ars/	'Stinging'	/''arsa/
/'kidb/	'Telling lies'	/'kidba/
/'laHs/	'Licking'	/'laHsa/
/'nafx/	'Blowing'	/'nafxa/

(28) Here too, the lexical item and Form 5 are identical. Form 2 and Form 4 are always predictable. None of these items has Form 6. Hence, only Form 5 and Form 1 which always ends in /-a/ are given.

Form 5	Form 1
/'akl/ 'Eating'	/'akla/
/'no:m/ 'Sleeping'	/'no:ma/
/'bo:s/ 'Kissing'	/'bo:sa/
/'sahar/ 'Staying up late'	/'sahra/
/'garx/ 'Cracking'	/'garxa/
/'latʃ/ 'Slapping'	/'latʃa/
/xabs/ 'Spreading lies'	/'xabsa/
/'atm/ 'Snipping'	/'atma/
/'la't/ 'Picking up'	/'la'ta/
/'adH/ 'Heating (oil)'	/'adHa/
/'las8/ 'Whipping'	/'las8a/
/'nadh/ 'Calling'	/'nadha/
/'safx/ 'Hitting'	/'safxa/
/'gamz/ 'Winking'	/'gamza/
/'natʃ/ 'Snatching'	/'natʃa/
/'hatʃ/ 'Exaggeration'	/'hatʃa/
/'tahn/ 'Grinding'	/'tahna/
/'batH/ 'Wounding (the head)'	/'batHa/
/'natH/ 'Butting'	/'natHa/
/'at8/ 'Cutting'	/'at8a/
/'da8k/ 'Rubbing'	/'da8ka/
/'bary/ 'Sharpening (a pencil)'	/'barya/
/'gary/ 'Running'	/'garya/
/'fatH/ 'Opening'	/'fatHa/
/'8afs/ 'Kicking'	/'8afsa/
/'latm/ 'Slapping (the face)'	/'latma/

Form 5	Form 1
'xadd/ 'Shaking'	'xadda/
'kas8/ 'Pushing'	'kas8a/
'za''/ 'Pushing'	'za''a/
'gasl/ 'Washing'	'gasla/
'lawy/ 'Twisting'	'lawya/
'8asr/ 'Squeezing'	'8asra/
'hars/ 'Scratching'	'harsa/
'hars/ 'Mashing'	'harsa/
'dahn/ 'Painting'	'dahna/

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCORD WITH CONSTRUCT 'QUANTIFIER + NOUN'

Concordial relations involving constructs were dealt with in general in Chapter Five. But it was mentioned there that a separate descriptive treatment was necessary for those clauses in which the construct consists of a quantifier + a noun. This is because of the difficulty in ascertaining in certain examples which element controls the number concord.

Eight items are shown in my data which I am bringing together here under the title 'Quantifiers'. These are of two groups:

A. Numeral quantifiers.

B. Non-numeral quantifiers.

As has already been said, some of these quantifiers occur in basic nominal phrase structures 1 and 2, some do not (see above, pp. 70-71) but all of them occur as the first element of basic nominal phrase structure 4, i.e. a construct.

A. Numeral quantifiers

This group, as previously mentioned, comprises the following four items: 'go:z 'A pair of; two', 'to:ra 'Four', 'ṣadd 'Five' and 'dasta 'A dozen'. These have been traditionally classified

as 'Nouns' and indeed their morphological shapes would enable them to be considered as 'non-human' nouns belonging to Class III, i.e. N(IIIH) having Forms 1, 2 and 3 as follows:

Lexical item	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
<u>'go:z</u>	/'go:z/	/go'ze:n/	/... 'ig'wa:z/
<u>'to:ra</u>	/'to:ra/	/to'r'te:n/	/... 'tiwar(to'ra:t)/
<u>'8add</u>	/'8add/	/8ad'de:n/	/... 8u'du:d/
<u>'dasta</u>	/'dasta/	/dasti'te:n/	/... 'disat(das'ta:t)

Compare the following two 'non-human' nouns belonging to Class III

Lexical item	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3
<u>'yo:m</u> 'Day'	/'yo:m/	/yo'me:n/	/'ay'ya:m/
<u>'atr</u> 'Train'	/'atr/	/'at're:n/	/'u'tu:ra('utu'ra:t)

Further, as stated on p. 138, Form 3 of any of these numeral quantifiers, like that of any noun irrespective of its class, can occur as the first element of N1.P6 examples. For instance, compare:

'disat ki'ti:r it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u) 'Many dozens were sold'
with:

'u'tu:ra k'ti:r it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
or:
'utu'ra:t ki'ti:r it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)

} 'Many trains were sold'

In this thesis, however, I am treating these four items as 'Numeral quantifiers' since a detailed consideration of their syntactic behaviour reveals certain characteristics which would suggest their classification as items distinct from N(IIIH) items. These are the following:

- 1) Where Form 3 of N(IIIH) items shows two alternatives as is the case with ''atr' (see above), any of these two alternatives can occur as the first element of basic N1.P6. This is not so with the numeral quantifiers. For example, in the case of the two numeral quantifiers 'to:ra' and 'dasta' which also show two alternatives of Form 3, only one of these (i.e. that not ending in /-a:t/ can occur in this position, (see the example above).
- 2) Form 3 of any noun can occur in basic nominal phrase structure 1 (i.e. N1.P1) as the subject of a sentence, e.g.

Noun class

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| IB1 | 'ilfi'lu:s in'sara'it (in'sara'u)
'The money was stolen' |
| IB2 | 'il'a8'ya:n 'wa8alu ('wa8alit)
'The high-class people arrived' |
| IIH1 | 'ilmudarri'si:n it'ra''u (it'ra''it)
'The teachers were promoted' |
| II <u>H</u> | 'il'i'de:n it'rafa8it (it'rafa8u)
'The hands were raised up' |

Noun class

IIIIH 'ilba'na:t 'nagaHu ('nagaHit)

'The girls succeeded'

IIIIH 'ik'kutub it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)

'The books were sold'

This is not the case with the numeral quantifiers. To occur as the subject of a sentence (parallel to the above use of, say, ki'ta:b, etc.) Form 3 of these numeral quantifiers must be preceded by one of the cardinal numerals '3 to 10' (i.e. occurring in basic N1.P5 but not in N1.P1 examples) e.g.

'talat 'disat it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)

'Three dozens were sold'

In this respect Form 3 of these quantifiers behaves similarly to Form 4 of N(IV) items (see above, p. 361 under 4) which would suggest considering in particular the two Forms /to'ra:t/ and /das'ta:t/ as Form 4. This procedure, however, is not adopted since these Forms differ syntactically from Form 4 of N(IV) items in many respects the most important of which is that Form 3 of these numeral quantifiers can occur as the first element of N1.P6 whereas Form 4 of N(IV) items cannot as it is Form 5 of the latter which occurs in this position (see above, p. 138).

The four numeral quantifiers are characterized by:

- (1) Their restricted collocability with certain nouns in construct.

- (ii) The Construct (quantifier + noun) as a whole may be indefinite or definite. When definite, both elements may be prefixed with the definite article, e.g.

'dastit ilma'8a:li'... 'The dozen spoons...'
or 'id'dastit ilma'8a:li'...

As regards these two characteristics, 'numeral quantifiers' behave exactly like 'Classifiers' (see pp. 81-2). However, unlike classifiers, numeral quantifiers do not collocate in my idiolect with N(IA₄) items and hence no confusion arises.

In what follows a description of each of these four numeral quantifiers will be given when it occurs in its Form 1⁽¹⁾ with respect to:

- A. The noun classes with which it associates.
- B. The Form in which the accompanying noun occurs.
- C. The term in the category of number to which the clause structure as a whole is referable.
- D. The element controlling the number concord of the whole clause structure.

I have chosen Verbal clauses as illustrations.

(1) Examples of constructs involving a numeral quantifier in Form 2 + noun are not given since the clause structure as a whole is always 'Dual' irrespective of the Form of the following noun, and the number concord obtaining between the two phrases is always relatable to Form 2 of the numeral quantifier, e.g.

Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form	
2	3	z	'Two pairs of (four)
go'ze:n	'a'sa:wir	it'ba:8u	bracelets were sold'
2	5	z	'Two pairs of (four)
go'ze:n	Ha'ma:m	it'ba:8u	pigeons were sold'

1 : 'go:z 'A pair of, two'

In my speech the numeral quantifier 'go:z associates with fourteen items all of which are 'non-human'. These fall into four groups according to the noun class to which they belong taken together with the term in the category of number to which the whole clause structure is referable.

The first group includes the three items belonging to N(IIH), (i.e. having Forms 1 and 3 but not 2) namely, '8e:n 'Eye', ''i:d 'Hand' and 'rigl 'Leg'. A construct involving 'go:z + one of these three items is used only when admiration or disgust is to be expressed (see the two examples below). In such a case the accompanying noun occurs in Form 3, the clause structure is always 'Plural' and it is the noun (not the quantifier 'go:z) which controls the number concord, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	y (z)
8a'le:ha 'goz	rig'le:n	'tilHis (yil'Hisu)
'She has an amazing pair of legs'		
8a'le:ha 'goz	rig'le:n	'ti'rif (yi'rifu)
'She has a disgusting pair of legs'		

The second group comprises six items belonging to N(IIIH), (i.e. having Forms 1, 2 and 3) namely, 'farxa 'Hen', ''arnab 'Rabbit', '8igl 'Calf', ''is'wira 'Bracelet', 4i'we:sa 'Bangle'

and 'xa:tim '(Finger) ring'. In such a case the noun occurs in Form 3 and the clause structure is 'Plural'. Here it is to be noted that:

- (i) The verbal element occurs with the unusual alternatives of Form x or Form z, but never with the usual alternatives of Form y or Form z.
- (ii) The number concord obtaining between the two phrases of the clause cannot be directly related to either the quantifier 'go:z or the noun since this quantifier on its own concords with verb Form x and Form 3 of these six items concords with either verb Form y or z but never x.
e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	y (z)
'goz	8i'gu:l	it'ba:8 (it'ba:8u)
'Two calves were sold'		
'goz	'a'sa:wir	it'ba:8 (it'ba:8u)
'Two bracelets were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular(m)	1(m)	x
	'go:z	it'ba:8
'A pair was sold'		

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	y (z)
	'il8i'gu:l	it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
	'The calves were sold'	
	'il'a'sa:wir	it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
	'The bracelets were sold'	

(iii) It seems that these six items associate with 'go:z to signal that two and only two members are referred to as noun Form 2 may mean in general 'A few' (see above pp. 15-6). Also compare:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Dual	2	z
	8ig'le:n	it'ba:8u
	'Two (a few) calves were sold'	

The third group comprises two items belonging also to N(IIIH). These are 'gazma 'A pair of shoes' and sa'ra:b 'A pair of socks'. However, these two items are treated separately because:

(i) Constructs involving 'go:z + one of these two items occur exclusively in masculine Singular clause structures (i.e. the verb occurs in Form x only).

- (ii) The noun 'gazma(f) occurs in Form 1 (i.e. /'gazma/) but sa'ra:b(m) occurs in Form 3 (i.e. /sara'b:t/), e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1(f)	x
	'goz 'gaxma	t'ba:8
	'A pair of shoes was sold'	

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	3	x
	'goz sara'ba:t	it'ba:8
	'A pair of socks was sold'	

Compare:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	y
	'gazma	t'ba:8it
	'A pair of shoes was sold'	

Plural	3	y	(z)
	'is/sara'ba:t it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)		
	'The socks were sold'		

As can be seen from the above examples, it is the quantifier 'go:z which functions as the control of number concord in the first two examples.

The fourth group comprises three items belonging to N(IVA), namely Ha'ma:m 'Pigeons', 'batt 'Ducks' and 'wizz 'Geese'.

In constructs involving 'go:z + one of these three items, the following are noted:

- (i) The noun always occurs in Form 5 (m).
- (ii) The clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular' (m) and hence the verb occurs in Form x.
- (iii) Either the quantifier 'go:z or the noun may be considered as the control of number concord, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'goz Ha'ma:m	it'ba:8
	'Two pigeons were sold'	
	'goz 'batt	it'ba:8
	'Two ducks were sold'	
	'goz 'wizz	it'ba:8
	'Two geese were sold'	

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1(m)	x
	'go:z	it'ba:8
	'A pair was sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'ilHa'ma:m	it'ba:8
	'The pigeons were sold'	

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'il'batt	it'ba:8
	'The ducks were sold'	
	'il'wizz	it'ba:8
	'The geese were sold'	

General notes:

(1) For some speakers, but not for me, the numeral quantifier 'go:z' may associate as well with some more 'non-human' nouns belonging to Class III other than those mentioned in the second group such as ma8'la'a 'Spoon', sik'ki:na 'Knife', 'go:ka 'Fork', 'kursi 'Chair', 8ara'biyya 'Car', etc. In such a case the same rules given under the second group apply also here, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	x (z)
	'goz saka'ki:n	it'ba:8 (it'ba:8u)
	'Two knives were sold'	

I use instead noun Form 2 of these items (i.e. N1.Pl), in which case the whole structure is 'Dual', e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Dual	2	z
	sikkin'te:n	it'ba:8u
	'Two knives were sold'	

(2) For some speakers also, the quantifier 'go:z may occasionally associate with noun Form 3 of 'human nouns' belonging to Classes 'IB2' such as 'a8'ya:n 'High-class people', 'II' (other than family names) such as mu'darris 'Teacher' and 'III' such as 'ra:gil 'Man'. Hence:

'goz 'a8'ya:n ...	'Two high-class people ...'
'goz mudarri'si:n ...	'Two teachers ...'
'goz rig'ga:la ...	'Two men ...'

The above nominal phrases are impossible in my speech. Instead, I use the cardinal numeral 'it'ne:n 'Two' + noun Form 3 with those nouns which have no Form 2 (i.e. N1.P5), and noun Form 2 only if the lexical item belongs to N(IIIH), (i.e. N1.P1).

Hence:

'it'ne:n 'a8'ya:n ...	'Two high-class people ...'
'it'ne:n mudarri'si:n ...	'Two teachers ...'
rag'le:n ...	'Two men ...'

It is to be mentioned here that in my speech the sole human item that collocates with 'go:z is the three-Form noun 'bint 'Girl', but in an idiomatic expression referring to 'Two servant girls' in contrast to noun Form 2 /bin'te:n/ referring to 'Two daughters', e.g.

8an'däha 'goz ba'na:t	'She has two servant girls'
8an'däha bin'te:n	'She has two daughters'

I have observed that those speakers referred to above are quite familiar with my usage and indeed use my forms more commonly themselves.

2 : 'to:ra 'Four'

The numeral quantifier 'to:ra associates in my speech with four items all of which are masculine and belong to N(IVA). These are: 'balaH 'Dates', 'fu:l 'Beans', gim'me:z 'Sycamores' and 'te:r 'Fowl'

In all cases the noun occurs in Form 5(m), the whole structure is 'Singular' (f) as the verb occurs in Form y and it is the quantifier which controls the number concord, e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	5(m)	y
	'to:rit	'balaH	'xisrit
	'Four dates went bad'		
	'to:rit	'fu:l	'wa'a8it
	'Four beans fell down'		
	'to:rit	gim'me:z	it'ba:8it
	'Four sycamores were sold'		
	'to:rit	'te:r	it'ba:8it
	'Four fowl were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	y
	'to:ra	t'ba:8it
	'Four were sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'il'balaH	it'ba:8
	'The dates were sold'	

Notes:

(i) Constructs involving 'to:ra + noun Form 5 are functional alternatives to the equivalent basic N1.P5 examples involving the cardinal numeral 'ar'ba8a 'Four' in its second form (i.e. /'arba8/) + noun Form 4 and can alternate in all cases with no change of meaning. However, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural', e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	4	z (y)
	'arba8 bala'Ha:t	'xisru ('xisrit)
	'Four dates went bad'	
	'arba8 fu'la:t	wa'a8u ('wa'a8it)
	'Four beans fell down'	
	'arba8 gimme'za:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it)
	'Four sycamores were sold'	
	'arba8 te'ra:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it)
	'Four fowl were sold'	

(ii) Three of my informants use the item 'banya(f) 'Ladies fingers, okra' as well (belonging to N(IA4)) with the quantifier 'to:ra. In such a case the noun occurs in Form 1(f), the whole

structure is also Singular feminine, but the element controlling the number concord of the clause may be either the quantifier or the noun, e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	l(f)	l(f)	y
	'to:rit	'banya	t'ba:8it
	'Four ladies' fingers were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	l(f)	y
	'to:ra	t'ba:8it
	'Four were sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	l(f)	y
	'il'banya	t'ba:8it
	'The ladies' fingers were sold'	

The above usage never occurs in my speech as 'banya' always associates with the classifier ''arn' (see above, p. 336).

3 : '8add 'Five'

This numeral quantifier, like 'to:ra', associates in my speech with four items all of which are masculine and belong to N(IVA). These are: la'mu:n 'Lemons', burtu''a:n 'Oranges', sa'fandi 'Tangerine' and la'ring 'Sour oranges'.

In all cases the noun following this quantifier occurs in Form 5(m) and the clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular' (m), i.e. the verb occurs in Form x. Therefore, it is difficult to decide which element of the construct functions as controlling the number concord since each of the two elements may be looked upon as the control, e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1(m)	5(m)	x
	'8addĩ	la'mu:n	it'ba:8
	'Five lemons were sold'		
	'8addĩ	burtu''a:n	it'ba:8
	'Five oranges were sold'		
	'8addĩ	sa'fandi	t'ba:8
	'Five tangerines were sold'		
	'8addĩ	la'ring	it'ba:8
	'Five sour oranges were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1(m)	x
	'8add	it'ba:8
	'Five were sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'illa'mu:n	it'ba:8
	'The lemons were sold'	

Notes:

(i) Constructs involving '8add + noun Form 5 are functional alternatives to the equivalent basic N1.P5 examples involving the cardinal numeral 'xamsa 'Five' in its second form (i.e. /'xamas/) + noun Form 4. But here, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural', e.g.

Clause structure	Num. Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	Second	4	z (y)
	'xamas	lamu'na:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8i
	'Five lemons were sold'		
	'xamas	burtu'a'na:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8i
	'Five oranges were sold'		
	'xamas	safandiy'ya:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8i
	'Five tangerines were sold'		
	'xamas	larin'ga:t	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8i

(ii) For some speakers, but not for me, the numeral quantifier '8add may occasionally collocate with two other items namely, xi'ya:r 'Cucumbers' which belongs to N(IVA) and 'dura 'Corn' which belongs to N(IA4). In such a case the whole structure is

always 'Singular' (m), e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1(m)	5(m)	x
	'8addĩ	x'ya:r	it'ba:8
	'Five cucumbers were sold'		
	1(m)	1(m)	x
	'8addĩ	'ḍura	t'ba:8
	'Five corn cobs were sold'		

The above structures never occur in my speech. Instead, I use basic N1.P5 with respect to the item xi'ya:r and a complex nominal phrase showing features of two N1.Ps namely, N1.P5 (i.e. 'xamas ki'za:n) and N1.P4 (i.e. ki'za:n 'ḍura) with respect to the second item. In all cases the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural', e.g.

'xamas xiya'ra:t it'ba:8u (t'ba:8it)

'Five cucumbers were sold'

'xamas ki'za:n 'ḍura t'ba:8u (t'ba:8it)

'Five corn cobs were sold'

4: dasta 'A dozen'

Twenty-four items all of which are non-human are shown in my data with which this numeral quantifier can associate. These fall into two groups according to the noun class to which they belong as follows:

The first group comprises three items belonging to N (IVA). These are:

ga 'to:h 'Cakes', 'gam8 'Candles' and ka 'bura 'Crabs'.

With these nouns the form used is Form 5 and the whole clause structure is always 'Singular' (f) though the first two items are masculine. Therefore, in constructs whose second element is one of the first two items it is the quantifier dasta which functions as the control of number concord, but in the case of ka 'bura, either the quantifier or the noun may be regarded as the controlling element, e.g.

Clause structure	Quant. Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1 (f)	5 (m)	y
	'dastit	ga 'to:h	it 'ba:8it
	'A dozen cakes were sold'		
	'dastit	'gam8	it 'ba:8it
	'A dozen candles were sold'		
	1 (f)	5 (f)	y
	'dastit	ka 'bura	t 'ba:8it
	'A dozen crabs were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	y
	'dasta	t'ba:8it
	'A dozen were sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	5(m)	x
	'igga'to:h	it'ba:8
	'The cakes were sold'	
	'iʃ'ʃam8	it'ba:8
	'The candles were sold'	
Singular feminine	5(f)	y
	'ikka'burya	t'ba:8it
	'The crabs were sold'	

The second group involves twenty one items all of which are members of N(IIIH). These are:

<u>ma8'la'a</u>	'Spoon'	<u>'so:ka</u>	'Fork'	<u>sik'ki:na</u>	'Knife'
<u>'taba'</u>	'Dish'	<u>kub'ba:ya</u>	'Glass'	<u>fin'ga:n</u>	'Cup'
<u>'ibra</u>	'Needle'	<u>'binsa</u>	'Hair-pin'	<u>'mist</u>	'Comb'
<u>'maʃbak</u>	'Clothes peg'	<u>'alam</u>	'Pencil'	<u>'as'ti:ka</u>	'Eraser'
<u>kur'ra:sa</u>	'Notebook'	<u>ʃam'ma:8a</u>	'Clothes hanger'	<u>'kursi</u>	'Chair'
<u>tara'be:za</u>	'Table'	<u>man'di:l</u>	'Handker- chief'	<u>ʃa'ra:b</u>	'A pair of socks'
<u>'a'mi:s</u>	'Shirt'	<u>fa'nilla</u>	'Vest'	<u>'mu:s</u>	'Razor blade'

When any of these items occurs as the second element of a construct whose first element is the numeral quantifier 'dasta', it occurs in Form 3 and the whole clause structure in most idiolects (including my own) is 'Singular' feminine. Therefore, it is the quantifier 'dasta' (not the noun) which controls the number concord, e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	3	y
	'dastit	ma'8a:li'	it'ba:8it
	'A dozen spoons were sold'		
	'dastit	mana'di:l	it'ba:8it
	'A dozen handkerchiefs were sold'		
	'dastit	im'wa:s	it'ba:8it ⁽²⁾
	'A dozen razor blades were sold'		

Compare:

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1(f)	y
	'dasta	t'ba:8it
1)	'A dozen were sold'	

and:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	y (z)
2)	'ilma'8a:li'	it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
	'The spoons were sold'	

However, for some speakers constructs involving the quantifier 'dasta' plus one of these twenty-one nouns mentioned above enter

(2) 'dastit im'wa:s refers only to 10 not to 12 razor blades.

into 'Plural' clause structures (i.e. the verb occurs in one of the two alternative Forms y or z). Hence, it is the noun not the quantifier 'dasta' which controls the number concord of the clause, e.g.

Clause structure	Quantifier Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	1(f)	3	y (z)
	'dastit	ma'8a:li'	it'ba:8it(it'ba:8i
	'A dozen spoons were sold'		

Contrast examples 1 and 2 above. In fact, as far as I have been able to observe, those speakers referred to above are quite familiar with my usage and indeed use it more commonly themselves.

Notes:

(1) Constructs involving the quantifier 'dasta' plus noun (with the exception of 'mu:s', see f.n. (2) above) are functional alternative to the equivalent N1.P5 examples consisting of the numeral 'it'na:sar' 'Twelve' + noun. However, the noun here occurs in Form 1 and the whole clause structure is 'Plural'. But the verbal element occurs in one of the two alternative Forms z(y) or z(x) depending on the gender of the noun involved.

Compare:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	5(m)	y
	'dastit '8am8	it'ba:8it
	'A dozen candles were sold'	
	3	y
	'dastit mana'di:l	it'ba:8it
	'A dozen handkerchiefs were sold'	

with:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	1(f)	y (z)
	'it'na:ʒar 'ʒam8a	t'ba:8it (t'ba:8u)
	'Twelve candles were sold'	
	1(m)	x (z)
	'it'na:ʒar man'di:l	it'ba:8 (it'ba:8u)
	'Twelve handkerchiefs were sold'	

For further details see pp. 123-26 under (D).

(ii) For some speakers, but not for me, the first twenty items belonging to the second group given on p.392 may occur in constructs consisting of either 'nuʒʒi 'dasta 'Half a dozen' + noun or 'rub8i 'dasta 'A quarter of a dozen' + noun. Here the noun occurs in Form 3 and the whole structure is 'Singular' feminine. Therefore, it is the numeral quantifier 'dasta' which controls the number concord, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	3	y
	nuʒʒi 'dastit ma'8a:li'	it'ba:8it
	'Half a dozen spoons were sold'	
	'rub8i 'dastit mana'di:l	it'ba:8it
	'A quarter of a dozen of handkerchiefs were sold'	

Such a usage never occurs in my speech though I recognize it as perfectly grammatical. Instead, I use the equivalent cardinal numerals 'sitta 'Six' and ta'la:ta 'Three' respectively + noun

Form 3 (i.e. N1.P5 examples), in which case the clause structure as a whole is 'Plural', e.g.

Clause structure	Numeral Form	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	Second	3	z (y)
	'sittĩ	ma'8a:li'	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it)
	'Six spoons were sold'		
	'talat	mana'di:l	it'ba:8u (it'ba:8it)
	'Three handkerchiefs were sold'		

B. Non-numeral quantifiers

This group comprises also four items. These are:
ʕi'wayya 'Some, A few', Kull, 'All; Every', mu8ʕam, 'Most of'
 and 'aʕlab 'Most of'. Each of these items will be dealt
 with separately with respect to:

- A. The noun classes with which it colligates.
- B. The form in which the colligated noun will occur.
- C. The place of the occurrence of the definite article
 in definite Nl.Ps.
- D. The term in the category of number to which the whole
 clause structure is referable.
- E. The element controlling the number concord of the
 whole clause.

Verbal clauses have been chosen to illustrate this.

1: ʕi'wayya 'Some, A few'

A. In general, ʕi'wayya colligates with the following
 noun classes and sub-classes:

'IA4'	e.g. <u>laHma</u>	(f) 'meat', <u>sukkar</u> (m) 'sugar'
'IB1'	e.g. <u>na:s</u>	(H) 'people' 'at'ya:n (H) 'plots of land
'IB2'	e.g. <u>'a8'ya:n</u>	'high class people'
'IIH1'	e.g. <u>mu'darris</u>	(m) 'teacher'
'IIH2'	e.g. <u>malik</u>	(m) 'king'
'IIH4'	e.g. <u>sitt</u>	(f) 'lady'
'IIH'	e.g. <u>'i:d</u>	(f) 'hand'
'IIIH'	e.g. <u>bint</u>	(f) 'girl'
'IIIIA'	e.g. <u>'imtiHa:n</u>	(m) 'exam'
'IIIH [other]'	e.g. <u>ʕanta</u>	(f) 'bar'

'IVA'	e.g. 'manga	(f) 'mangoes'
'IVB'	e.g. 'zarṣ	(m) 'plants'

B. The form of the noun depends on the class to which it belongs as follows:

- (i) If it belongs to sub-class 'IA4', the noun occurs in Form 1.
- (ii) If it belongs to class 'IV', the noun occurs in Form 5.
- (iii) If it belongs to any other class, the noun occurs in Form 3.

C. The nominal phrase as a whole may be definite or indefinite. Where it is definite, it is possible for both elements of the construct (i.e. ṣi'wayya + noun) to be pre-fixed with the definite article (See the definite examples below).

D. The clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'. However, the verbal element may occur in one form only, namely, Form z OR in one of the two alternative forms, namely, Form z OR Form y. This depends mainly on the class to which the noun belongs and whether the construct is indefinite or definite. For instance:

- (i) If the noun belongs to Class 'III' (whether 'human' or 'non-human'), the verbal element occurs either in Form z or Form y where the nominal phrase (i.e. the construct)

is indefinite only. But where it is definite the verbal element occurs only in Form z. This can be summarized as follows:

Construct	Noun class	Noun form	Verb form
(Indef.)	III	3	z (y)
(Def.)	III	3	z

This is one of the reasons for dealing with definiteness.

Examples involving indefinite constructs:

- 1) Si^hwayyit 'Sunat it^hba:8u (it^hba:8it)
 'A few bags were sold'
 2) Si^hwayyit imtiHa^hna:t 'xilsu (xilsit)
 'A few exams finished'
 3) Si^hwayyit ba^hna:t 'nagaHu (nagaHit)
 'A few girls succeeded'

Examples involving definite constructs:

- 'issɪ^hwayyit ɪs^h.sʊnat ɪt^hba:8u
 'The few bags were sold'
 ʒi^hwayyit limtiHa^hna:t xilɬu
 'The few exams finished'
 'issɪ^hwayyit ilba^hna:t nagaHu
 'The few girls succeeded'

(ii) With all the other relevant noun classes, the verb always occurs in Form z whether the construct is indefinite or definite. Since the categories of definiteness and gender have no effect on number with respect to these classes, the examples will be given without particular regard to these categories, e.g.

Noun class		Verb Form (z)	
'IA4'	ʒi'wayyit	'laHma	'xisru
		'Some meat went bad'	
'IB1'	ʒi'wayyit	'at'ya:n	it'ba:8u
		'Some plots of land were sold'	
'IB2'	ʒi'wayyit	'a8'ya:n	'wa8alu
		'Some high class people arrived'	
'IIH1'	'iʒʒi'wayyit	ilmudarri'si:n	it'ra''u
		'The few teachers were promoted'	
'IIH2'	ʒi'wayyit	mi'lu:k	ig'tama8u
		'Some rulers held a meeting'	
'IIH4'	'iʒʒi'wayyit	issit'ta:t	raw'waHu
		'The few ladies went home'	
'IIH'	ʒi'wayyit	'ide:n	it'rafa8u
		'Some hands were raised up'	
'IVA'	ʒi'wayyit	'manga	t'ba:8u
		'Some mangoes were sold'	
'IVB'	ʒi'wayyit	iz'zar8	it'al'la8u
		'The few plants were uprooted'	

E. Where the verbal element occurs with alternative Forms z (y), it appears that it is the noun which controls the number concord, (See examples 1 and 2 on p.275)

Where the verbal element occurs in Form z only, it appears that ʒi'wayya is the control, (See the above examples).

Indefinite constructs involving N (IIIHA) items appear to be an exception.

Compare example 2 above where the verb occurs with Form
z or Form y with limtiHa'na:t'xilsit 'The exams finished'
where the verb occurs in Form y only.

2: Kull 'All; Every'

A. This quantifier colligates with all nouns other than personal given names such as '8ali 'Ali' + the item 'rabb 'God' belonging to N (IA1).

B. The form(s) in which the noun occurs depend(s) on the class to which it belongs as follows:

(i) One-Form nouns occur in Form 1 for group A and in Form 3 for group B.

(ii) With two-Form nouns, either of its two forms (i.e. Forms 1 and 3) may occur.

(iii) With three-Form nouns, any of its three Forms (i.e. Forms 1, 2 and 3) may occur.

(iv) With noun class 'IV' which has, in general, four Forms (i.e. Forms 1, 2, 4 and 5), the noun occurs only in Form 1, 2 or 5. It is true that Form 4 may occur, but in this case it is not a construct as Form 4 occurs only in N1.P5 examples.

C. Constructs consisting of 'kull + noun may be:

(1) Definite (2) indefinite or (3) outside the system of
definiteness.

Note that where the construct is definite, only the noun is prefixed with the definite article. The above three

statements can be summarized as follows:

1) The construct is always definite in the following three cases:

(i) If the noun is an item of class 'IA1' ⁽³⁾ or 'IA4', e.g.

'IA1'	'kull	il'8arabi	'xilis	'All Arabic exams finished
'IA4'	'kull	ilfa'sulya	t'ba:8it	'All the beans were sold'

(ii) If the noun is a member of class 'IV' provided it occurs in Form 5, e.g.

'IVA'	'kull	il'manga	t'ba:8it	'All the mangoes were sold
'IVB'	'kull	iz'zar8	it'alla8	'All the plants were uprooted.'

(iii) If the noun is in Form 3 irrespective of its class membership, e.g.

Noun class	Noun Form	Clause structure
	3	Plural
'IB1'	'kull	ilfi'lu:s in'sara'it (in'sara'u) 'All the money was stolen'
'IB2'	'kull	il'a8'ya:n 'gum (gat) All the high class people came
'IIH1'	'kull	ilmudarri'si:n it'ra''u (it'ra''it) 'All the teachers were promoted'

(3) With the exception of the following five items: 'u:ra 'forehead', mana'xi:r 'nose', 'afa 'nape', ta'a'ti:8 (facial) 'features' and si'wa:r 'a bride's furniture.'

- 'IIH2' 'kull ilmi'lu:k ig'tama8u (ig'tama8it)
'All the rulers held a meeting'
- 'IIH3' 'kull ilxa'rayba 'nagaHu (nagaHit)
'All the khoreibys succeeded'
- 'IIH4' 'kull iddu'yu:f 'wasalu (wasalit)
'All the guests arrived'
- 'IIH' 'kull il'i'de:n it'rafa8it (it'rafa8u)
'All hands were raised up'
- 'IIIH[A]' 'kull limtiHa'na:t 'xil8it
'All exams finished'
- 'IIIH[other]' 'kull ik'kutub it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
'All the books were sold'
- 'IIIH' 'kull ilba'na:t 'sa'atu (sa'atit)
'All the girls failed'

2) The construct is outside the system of definiteness in the following two cases:

(i) Where the noun is a geographical place name, e.g.

'kull 'masr'rafadit in'naksa

(Lit. All Egypt refused the set-back)

meaning 'All the Egyptians refused the set-back.'

(ii) Where the noun is 'human' and occurs in either Form 1

(ii) Where the noun is 'human' and occurs in either Form 1
or Form 2, e.g.

Form 1 'kullī 'walad is 'talam 'gayza
 'Every boy received a prize'

Form 2 'kullī wala 'de:n is 'talamu 'gayza
 'Every two boys received a prize'

3. Otherwise the construct may be indefinite or definite

D. Clause structures whose initial nominal phrase is of
the structure kull + noun may be 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural'.
This depends on the Form of the noun as follows:

(i) The clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular' where
the noun is in Form 1 or Form 5. Note that 'Singular' clause
structures may be masculine (where the noun is masculine)
or feminine (where the noun is feminine), e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1 (m)	x

'kull il 'be:t it ' 'aggar
'The whole house was let'

Singular masculine	5 (m)	x
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'kull iz 'zar8 it 'alla8
'All the plants were uprooted'

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular feminine	1 (f)	y
	'kull ilman'ga:ya	t'ramit
	'The whole mango was thrown away'	
Singular feminine	5 (f)	y
	'kull il'manga	t'ramit
	'All the mangoes were thrown away.'	

(ii) The whole structure is 'Dual' where the noun is in Form 2 e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Dual	2	z
	'kull ilbe'te:n	it'ag'garu
	'All the flats (rooms) of the two houses were let'	
	'kullī wala'de:n	is'talamu 'gayza
	'Every two boys received a prize'	
	'kullī battix'te:n	it'ba:8u big'ne:h
	'Every two water-melons were sold for a guinea'	

(iii) The clause structure is always Plural where the noun is in Form 3. In general, the verb either occurs in Form y only [where the noun is 'non-human' belonging to Class III group A, i.e. N (IIIHA)] or in one of the two alternative Forms z (y) [where the noun is not a member of NIIIHA)].

See the ten examples given on p.403-4. There is one exception to this rule namely, when the noun involved is the lexical item ga'ma:8a belonging to N(1B1). Here it is to be noted that ga'ma:8a means only 'A group of people' and the verb occurs in Form z only, e.g.

'kull igga'ma:8a 'wasalu
'All (the group of) people arrived'

E. In constructs involving 'kull + noun, it is the noun which functions as controlling the number concord of the clause, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	I (m)	x
	'kull il'be:t	it'aggar
	'The whole house was let'	
Singular feminine	5 (f)	y
	'kull il'manga	t'ba:8it
	'All the mangoes were sold'	
Dual	2	z
	'kullī wala'de:n	'axadu 'gayza
	'Every two boys got a prize'	
Plural	3	y
	'kullī limtiHa'na:t	'xilsit
	'All the exams finished'	

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Plural	3	y (z)
	'kull ik'kutub	it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
	'All the books were sold'	

Compare for instance:

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	1 (m)	x
	'il'be:t	it',aggar
	'The house was let'	
Singular feminine	5 (f)	y
	'il'manga	t'ba:8it
	'The mangoes were sold'	
Dual	2	z
	wala'de:n	'axadu 'gayza
	'Two boys got a prize'	
Plural	3	y
	limtHa'na:t	'xilsit
	'The exams finished'	
Plural	3	y (z)
	'ik'kutub	it'ba:8it (it'ba:8u)
	The books were sold	

With:

'il'kullī 'nagaH
'All succeeded'

where the quantifier has to occur in its definite form,
i.e. /'il'kull/ and the clause structure as a whole is
always 'Singular masculine' as the verb occurs only in Form x.

3: <u>'mu8zam</u>	} 'Most of'
4: <u>'ag1ab</u>	

The above two non-numeral quantifiers are grouped together since they are semantically equivalent and behave syntactically alike. As this is the case all examples will be given involving 'mu8zam.

A. These two quantifiers colligate with all nouns other than personal given names plus the item 'rabb 'God'. In this they are alike the quantifier 'kull 'all, every', see p. 402 under (A).

B. In general, the form (s) in which the colligated noun occurs depend (s) on the class to which it belongs. However, in certain cases we have to take into account whether the noun involved is 'human' or 'non-human'. For instance:

(i) One-Form nouns occur in Form I for group A and in Form 3 for group B.

(ii) With class 'IIH' the noun occurs only in Form 3 but never in Form I. In this respect these two quantifiers differ from the quantifier 'kull, see p.402 under B (ii).

(iii) With class 'IIH' the noun occurs in Form 3⁽⁴⁾

(iv) With class 'IIIH' the noun occurs only in Form 3. Here again these two quantifiers differ from 'kull, see above, p.402 under B (iii).

(v) With class 'IIIH' the noun may occur in Form I, 2 or 3.

(vi) With class 'IV' the noun may occur in Form I, 2 or 5.

C. Constructs involving either of these quantifiers + noun is always definite, in which case only the noun is prefixed with

(4) It may occur in Form I when followed by a pronominal suffix, e.g. 'mu8zam 'riglu t8awwarit 'Most of his leg was hurt.'

the definite article.

D. Clause structures involving constructs in the first phrase whose first element is either 'mu8zam or 'aɣlab and the second element is a noun may be 'Singular', 'Dual' or 'Plural'. This depends in general on the form and the type of noun involved as follows:

(i) Where the noun is 'non-human' and occurs in either Form I or Form 5, the clause structure as a whole is 'Singular' (m or f) depending on the gender of the noun, e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Singular masculine	I (m)	x
	'mu8zam ilbe:t	'iddahan
	'Most of the house was painted'	
Singular masculine	5 (m)	x
	'mu8zam ilxo:x	'xiʃir
	'Most of the peaches went bad'	
Singular feminine	I (f)	y
	'mu8zam 'ilmadrassa	'ddahanit
	'Most of the school was painted'	
Singular feminine	5 (f)	y
	'mu8zam ilmanga	'xisrit
	'Most of the mangoes went bad'	

(ii) Where the noun is also 'non-human' but occurs in Form 2, the whole clause structure is 'Dual' e.g.

Clause structure	Noun Form	Verb Form
Dual	2	z
	'mu8zam ikkitabe:n	it8addilu
	'Most of the two books were altered'	

(iii) Where the noun is in Form 3 (whether 'human' or 'non-human'), the clause structure as a whole is always 'Plural'.

In this connection the verb occurs in:

- 1) Form y only where the noun is 'non-human' belonging to Class III group A [i.e. N (IIIH A)], e.g.

Noun Form		Verb Form
3		y
'mu8zam	limti Hana:t	'xilʃit
'Most of the exams finished'		

- 2) Form z only where the noun involved is the item gama:8a belonging to N (IB1), in which case it means only 'A group of people' but never 'Wife', e.g.

Noun Form		Verb Form
3		z
'mu8zam	iggama:8a	'waʃalu
'Most of (the group of) the people arrived'		

- 3) Otherwise the verb occurs in one of the two alternative Forms z (y), e.g.

Noun class	Noun Form		Verb Form
'IB1' [other than <u>gama:8a</u>]	3		z (y)
	'mu8zam	ilfilu:s	insara'it (insara'u)
	'Most of the money was stolen'		
'IB2'	'mu8zam	il'a8ya:n	'waʃalu (waʃalit)
	'Most of the high class people arrived'		
'IIIH'	'mu8zam	il'idern	itrafafa8it (itrafafa8u)
	'Most of the hands were raised up'		

'IIH' [all groups]	'mu8zam	ilmudarrisi:n	itra''u	(itra''it)
	'Most of the teachers were promoted'			
'IIIH' [other]	'mu8zam	ikkutub	it8addilit	(it8addilu)
	'Most of the books were altered'			
'IIIH'	'mu8zam	ilbana:t	'naga' Hu	(naga' Hit)
'IIIH'	'mu8zam	ilbana:t	'naga' Hu	(naga' Hit)
	'Most of the girls succeeded'			

E. In my speech, as can be seen from all the above examples given under 'Singular', 'Dual' and 'Plural' structures, it is the second element of the construct (i.e. the noun), not the quantifier, which controls the number concord of the clause. Note that, as previously mentioned, neither of these two non-numeral quantifiers occurs in N.i.Pl examples.

However, for some speakers (but not for me) the clause structures under consideration require special mention as follows:

- (i) Where the noun is 'non-human' and occurs in either Form 1 or Form 5, the clause structure as a whole is always 'Singular Masculine' irrespective of the gender of the noun involved, i.e. the verb occurs only in Form x, e.g.

	Noun Form	Verb Form
	1 (m)	x
'mu8zam	ilbe:t	iddahan
	'Most of the house was painted'	
	5 (m)	x
'mu8zam	ilxo:x	'xisir
	'Most of the peaches went bad'	

	1 (f)	x
'mu8zam	ilmadrasa	ddahan

'Most of the school was painted'

	5 (f)	x
'mu8zam	ilmanga	'xişir

'Most of the mangoes went bad'

(ii) Where the noun is also 'non-human' and occurs in Form 2, the verb occurs in Form x, e.g.

	Noun Form	Verb Form
	2	x
'mu8zam	ikkitabe:n	it8addil

'Most of the two books were altered'

(iii) Where the noun is in Form 3 [other than those belonging to N (IIIH A) or the item gama:8a in which cases they use my forms] the verb may occur in one of three (not two) alternative Forms, namely, z, y, or x. Compare the examples given on pp. 282-3 under 3 with:

Noun Form	Verb Form		
3	z	(y)	(x)
'mu8zam ilfilu:s	insara'it	(insara'u)	(insara')

'Most of the money was stolen'

'mu8zam il'a8ya:n	'waşalu	(waşalit)	(waşal)
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'Most of the high class people arrived'

'mu8zam il'ide:n	itrafat8it	(itrafat8u)	(itrafat8)
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'Most of the hands were raised up'

'mu8zam ilmud.arrisian	itra''u	(itra''it)	(itra''a)
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'Most of the teachers were promoted'

'mu8zam ikkutub it8addilit (it8addilu) (it8addil)

'Most of the books were altered'

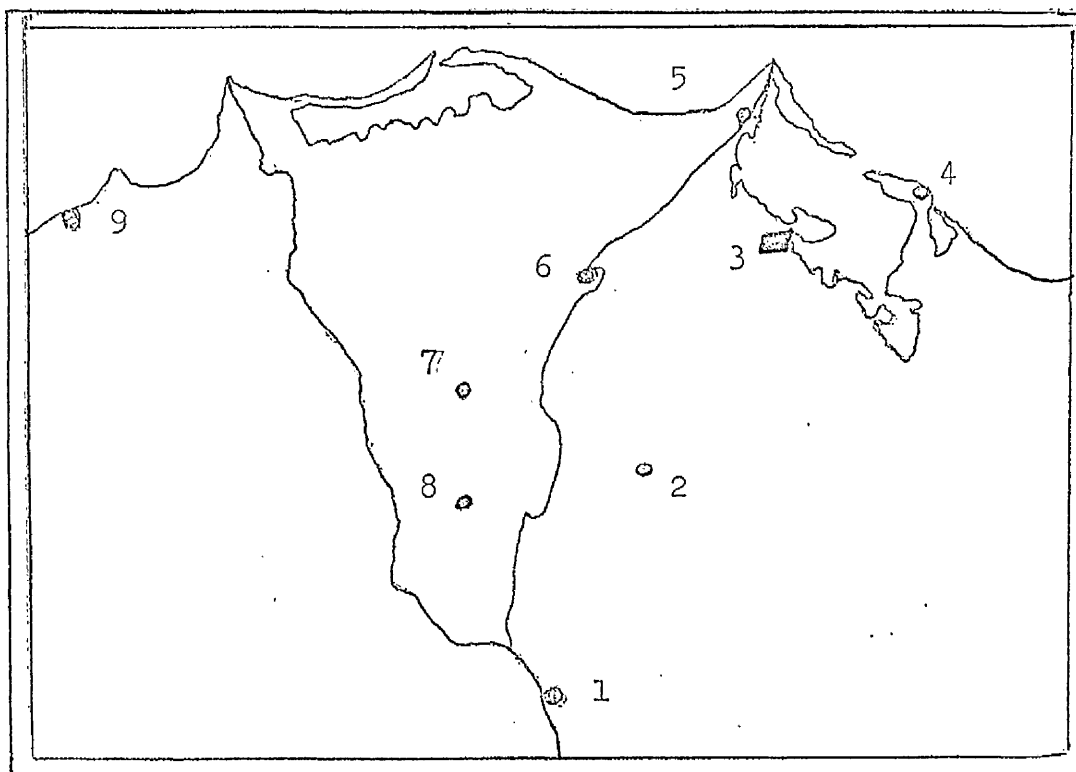
'mu8zam ilbana:t nagaHu (nagaHit) (nagaH)

'Most of the girls succeeded'

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The towns and cities marked on the map are the capitals of the governorates to which my 20 informants belong.

1. Cairo.....Cairo Governorate.
2. Zagazig.....Sharkia Governorate.
4. Port-Said.....Port-Said Governorate.
5. Damietta.....Damietta Governorate.
6. El-Mansura.....Dakahlia Governorate.
7. Tanta.....Gharbia Governorate.
8. Shebin el-Kom.....Menufia Governorate.
9. Alexandria.....Alexandria Governorate.

EL-MANZALA, my native town, is marked No. 3.