A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusi Arabic

Edited by
Institute of Islamic Studies of
the University of Zaragoza

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BRILL

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TEXT SAMPLES

FOREWORD

More than thirty years have elapsed since we published the manual entitled *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle* (Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, Madrid, 1977) and so much has happened in the meantime, for better and worse, that one cannot at times avoid the strange feeling of having lived several successive lives. However, old age and the ensuing fatigue, even a sensation of failure in the defence of humanities against an unsympathetic materialistic society, cannot be an excuse to burden the reader with bothersome details, as the main fact is that neither that book nor its hurried Spanish sequel, *Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances* (MAPFRE, Madrid, 1992), can presently lay claims to being updated references for this subject matter, if only because in the meantime we have ourselves authored no less than thirteen books and sixty articles bearing on this issue, not to mention valuable contributions by our disciples and other colleagues, as reflected in the attached bibliography. The author of the *Sketch*, having reached the age of academic retirement, but still feeling the urge to contribute to his share of lost love works, deems it his duty to issue a last state of this art in his lifetime.

As the *Sketch* has remained the single international comprehensive reference manual of its kind and given relatively good service up to this date, we have thought that the best way to carry out our task would be to just overhaul its contents on a large scale, by removing from it mistaken, redundant or simply weak statements and adding new pieces of evidence to this introduction to the descriptive and comparative grammar of a rather peculiar mediaeval dialect of Western Arabic, the first one about which we have an encompassing array of data, sufficient to draw something more than just a sketch.

Granada, 2011

PREFACE

Andalusi Arabic[1] is a close-knit bundle of dialects resulting from interference by local stock and interaction of the Arabic dialects brought along to the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century a.D. by an invading army of a few thousand Arab tribesmen who, accompanied by a much larger number of partially Arabicised Berbers, all of them fighting men, without women or children, succeeded in establishing Islamic political rule and, as a consequence of developments in the Islamic East, Arab cultural supremacy for a long period over these Western European lands.

After a remarkably quick consolidation of their state under the aegis of the Western Umayyads, necessarily characterized by the cultural and linguistic ambivalence of most subjects, for at least about two centuries, a few Christian nuclei who had resisted occupation and acculturation in the northernmost areas of the country started a slow but—in spite of frequent long lulls—steady counter-offensive, in which Romance language and culture, identified with Christianity, made no lasting concessions to the once Hispanic people who, intermingled with the minority of former invaders and long before having formed a new Andalusi nation in the Southern, Central and Eastern areas of these lands, would have preferred to keep Arabic as their by then only spoken language, or Islam as their faith and way of life. In the ensuing struggle for survival, the 13th c. seems to have been the turning point at which the entire native population of Al-Andalus[2] had become monolingual in AA, but for a few individuals who had acquired a relatively shallow acquaintance with Romance,[3] required for certain crafts, unlike previously, when large segments of the local population of the country had been generally, though decreasingly, bilingual in AA and Proto-Rm. dialects.

This situation was brought about by a process of concentration of Islamic and Arabic cultural features, as an understandable reaction against the successful military campaigns of the Northern Christian states, which had

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[1] Hereinafter AA.

[2] About the Egyptian origin of this innovated geographical designation, which superseded older Lt. *Hispania* from the beginning of Islamic rule, see Corriente 2008a, which offers a new reasonable solution to a most controversial old riddle. It is noteworthy, however, that Al-Idrīsī in his botanical treatise (12th c., see Sezgin *et. al.* 1995), no doubt on account of his Sicilian environment, still calls Al-Andalus *išbāniyā*, and its Arabic dialect, i.e., AA, *išbānī*.

[3] Hereinafter, Rm.

reduced the once powerful and feared Andalusi state to the narrow limits of
the Naṣrī kingdom of Granada. It took the Castilians nearly three more cen-
turies to eliminate even this last Islamic foothold on the Iberian Peninsula in
1492, and few more decades to put an end to the presence of the last Muslims
living under Christian rule, among whom some were still speakers of AA.
When the so-called Moriscos were expelled and subsequently absorbed by
the North African countries in which most of them took shelter in the early
sixteen hundreds, the last hour had sounded for the first Arabic dialect ever
to have risen to full-fledged status as a vehicle of a popular and universal
culture, which included the literary production of Ibn Quzmān and other
*zaǧǧāl*s (= folk-poets),[4] as well as of the Christian Mozarabs, and underlaid
the Arabic and Hebrew works of the most renowned Sephardic authors.

AA was a dialect bundle, not a single dialect, it being established that
there were certain differences between, say, the local dialects of Granada
and Valencia, e.g., concerning the acceptance of 2nd degree *imālah* (see
1.1.1.2) in their standard registers. However, the common core of AA was pre-
dominant, and the local features, minimal, apparently less noticeable than
the average in today's Arabic speaking lands, between, e.g., town, country-
side, and mountain dialects. We must surmise that the diverse backgrounds
of the tribesmen integrated in the Arab armies and settlements of the first
decades, some of Southern, some of Northern Arabian stock, was bound to
be reflected by dialectal divergences,[5] probably much deeper at the begin-
ning, but then gradually minimised, particularly in the cities where inter-
mingling obviously must have reached much higher levels, with pervasive
effects. While rural AA has all but escaped our meagre means of detec-
tion, we know for sure, as is witnessed by our sources, that urban idiolects
attained a fairly advanced degree of standardisation. On the other hand,
inasmuch as interference by the Rm. substratum of the local population was
the second ingredient in the process of emergence of an AA koine, and since
the political maturity of Al-Andalus was reached only in the days of the first
Cordovan Umayyad Caliph ʿAbdarraḥmān III, one would consider it an edu-
cated guess, supported by written records, that the Hispano-Arabic melting
pot produced the standards of this spoken language between the 9th and
10th centuries.

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[4] I.e., authors of *azǧāl*, on which see Schoeler 2002, s.v. *zadjal*. See closing text samples.
[5] About this subject, see Corriente 1976 and Kofler 1940–1942. The hypothesis put for-
ward by Fück 1950, of a military koine in the earliest Islamic encampments no longer enjoys
the great favour it reached among scholars at the time.

AA belongs to the Western group of Neo-Arabic[6] dialects, on account of its use of {nv+} and {nv+—+ū} markers for the 1st persons sg. and pl. respectively, of imperfective verbs, which is generally held as the main characteristic trait of this group, in spite of partial exceptions in Chad, Sudan, even Egypt, and among some Bedouins.[7] But otherwise, and perhaps because of the late dates of most of our North African documents, there are not so many issoglosses connecting AA with the other Western dialects, to the exclusion of all Eastern dialects. In the realms of phonology and morphology, the preservation of interdental phonemes, of the connective *tanwīn*, of reflexes of the negative pseudo-verb *laysa*, and the relative currency of the internal non-agentive voice (with the necessary qualifications) reflect a slow and independent evolution of Old Arabic[8] materials with results very close to what is usually known as Middle Arabic.[9] On the other hand, because of the ethnic make-up of the speakers, syntax and vocabulary are often quite aberrant to an extent that the present state of source availability does not allow us to gauge with total accuracy.

Perhaps the most striking fact in our survey of AA has been the ever present need to take into account that in Al-Andalus the situation was not only one of bilingualism (Rm. and Arabic being simultaneously spoken until the 13th c.), but also of diglossia (Colloquial Arabic vs. Classical Arabic,[10] the latter imported from the East, but adopted soon and enthusiastically in Al-Andalus, where some of the finest literary, scientific, grammatical and lexicographical works in CA were produced). Furthermore, many phenomena of AA, like the partial merger of dentals and interdentals, or of velarised and plain phonemes, cannot be understood without reckoning with the fact that, in addition to the high registers requiring CA for formal purposes, there were within the colloquial idiolects at least two main distinguishable registers: the standard or educated idiolect of the well-bred who cared a good deal for the established ideals of correctness, and the low, substandard registers of the masses, who could or would not use but the only local brand of

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[6] Hereinafter, NA.

[7] See Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 31–32 and Vicente 2008:39–41.

[8] Hereinafter, OA.

[9] Hereinafter, MA, masterly described by Blau 1965. In fact, this is a mere label of convenience for a mixed bag of linguistic features reflecting an already mature NA, as written by those unable to entirely rid themselves of OA habits and traditions. This last ingredient is also present in AA, since the whole corpus of data about it has reached us in written records, often produced by the learned, as were most authors of *azǧāl* and proverb collections, or at least half-learned, i.e., literate, in the case of personal letters.

[10] Hereinafter, CA.

Arabic to which the underprivileged inhabitants of Al-Andalus had access. This situation is reflected, e.g., by the contemporary grammatical treatises bearing different titles, depending on whether they were addressed to correcting the mistakes of the high or the low classes, and it is also highlighted by statements such as that of Azzubaydī, when explaining why his book cannot intend to comprehend all kinds of mistakes: "for if it had to contain them all, the book would be very bulky: we only mention the mistakes that are expectable from educated people".[11]

   In one respect, AA was unique in its time and would remain so for centuries amidst Arab lands, namely, that its speakers were aware, even proud of the zest and personality of their dialect and not a bit ashamed of it, to the point that they sometimes preferred it over CA for literary purposes such as folk poetry and proverb collections. Instinctively feeling the main differences between Eastern CA and AA, such as the substitution of phonemic stress for syllable and vowel length, they went as far as to develop spelling devices, described in the appropriate sections of this monograph, in an attempt to make living usage match traditional graphemes. That this was intentional, and not merely resulting from ignorance of CA rules, is borne out by the fact that such orthography, in spite of frequent pseudo-corrections by later unaware scribes, is quite consistently used in the writings of learned authors, like Ibn Quzmān, Azzaǧǧālī, Aššuštarī and others, whom we cannot accuse of any measure of ignorance in such elementary matters.

   For obvious reasons, the study of AA is of enormous interest to the Arabic dialectologist, being the earliest dialect from which we possess a sizeable body of information and, at the same time, standing close enough to its OA ingredients to allow us to see how NA dialects are not the direct offspring of CA nor, as a whole, of any post-Islamic koine, but are rather the result of the evolution of OA stock in interplay with foreign elements in the given sociolinguistic contour of the early Islamic societies in the High Middle Ages. On the other hand, AA is also a subject of paramount importance to those who seek a deeper insight into the medieval literatures and cultures of Western Europe, especially of Spain, Portugal, Italy and Southern France, which could not be and were not impervious to the powerful and multifarious impact of Medieval Islamic civilization on language, literature, science, politics, trade, etc. Without it, the Renaissance as it occurred, would

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[11] See Krotkoff 1957:7 and ʿAbdattawwāb 1964:8.

simply have been unthinkable. Whether or not some in the West are currently ready to acknowledge this fact and live with its implications, no trustworthy assessment of that impact is attainable without something more than a superficial acquaintance with Arabic and Islamic culture, and with AA in particular.

Of course, we cannot, and do not claim to have collected every retrievable item in the rather scarce surviving and available sources of this variety of Arabic, nor to have offered the materials identified as relevant in the most systematic, accessible or scientific of ways. Some chapters of this monograph, such as that on syntax, must necessarily look somewhat sketchy and insufficient, and we must honestly confess our inability to draw much more than this harvest of data at the present stage of information and elaboration of those scarce sources, i.e., the aforementioned poems and proverb collections, some hundreds of low-yield legal deeds, a few personal letters, a few hundred items in Lt. transcription, both personal and geographical names, and some transcribed AA phrases culled from Rm. literatures, Cs., Ct., Gl. and Pt. Some colleagues might also with good reason object to our linguistic approach and terminology, eclectic and uncommitted to any particular school, as we have strived not to go beyond the limits of average assimilation and reasonable usage of current theoretical linguistics by most people working on Arabic dialectology and Semitic linguistics, to whom this monograph is mainly addressed. On the other hand, for the benefit of Rm. linguists and generalists eventually interested in this realm, we have entirely dispensed with the use of Arabic script, as is otherwise customary among Arabic dialectologists, even in cases where we have felt uncomfortable among unsatisfying graphemic transcriptions and dubious phonemic interpretations. While unable to entirely avoid inconsistencies and oversights when quoting sources, we have endeavoured to limit their negative consequences by providing exhaustive references which would allow spotting and checking of *loci probantes*, except, for the sake of brevity, in the case of works endowed with their own indices.

Our previous *Sketch* concluded its preface with a long list of acknowledgements to those contributing in one way or another to facilitate that task: there is no reason why we should not restate our gratitude to them here, and furthermore enlarge that catalogue with the names of faithful disciples and sincere colleagues who have been of great help to us and and motive of pride in the last decades, like Hossein Bouzineb, Carmen Barceló, Ana Labarta, Jaime Sánchez Ratia, Ignacio Ferrando, Marina Marugán, Ahmed Salem Ould Mohammed Baba, Otto Zwartjes, Alberto Montaner, Juan Pedro Monferrer, María José Cervera and Ángeles Vicente. Knowing

that they will carry on this humanistic task and keep the flame alight is indeed the best consolation for one's own failures and those induced by adverse circumstances and the frailty of human nature. Finally, we must again ask forgiveness, or at least understanding for the shortcomings which we shall certainly not have been able to wholly remove from this new and considerably updated version of that book.

SIGLA

A	Aragonese
AA	Andalusi Arabic
AB	Alarcón 1915
Ab.	Albacete (province of)
AC	Alonso del Castillo's proverb collection (quoted after Bouzineb & Corriente 1994)
Ak.	Akkadian
Alq	*Al-Qanṭara*
Am.	Almeria (province of)
Alc.	Alcalá (quoted after its edition by Lagarde 1883, and Corriente 1988, being an alphabetical arrangement of his materials)
And	*Al-Andalus* (journal)
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
Av.	Avila (province of)
Ax	García Gómez 1929
Ba.	Barcelona (province of)
Bd.	Badajoz (province of)
BF	*Boletim de Filologia*
Bg.	Burgos (province of)
BHS	*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*
Bq.	Basque
Br.	Berber
BSL	*Boletim da Sociedade Lingüística de Portugal*
CA	Classical Arabic (with connotation of high register)
Ca.	Cadiz (province of)
Cc.	Caceres (province of)
CD	Corriente 1998d
Cen.	González Palencia 1940
Cl.	Castellon (province of)
ClC	Dozy 1873
Co.	Cordova (province of)
Cp.	Coptic
Cr.	Ciudad Real (province of)
Cs.	Castilian (= Spanish)
Ct.	Catalan
Cu.	Cuenca (province of)
DC	*Doctrina christiana* (Ayala 1566)
DE	Dozy & Engelmann 1889
Dz	Dozy 1881
EDNA	*Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* (Saragossa)
Eg.	Egyptian dialect of Arabic

EI²	*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed
ESA	Epigraphic South Arabian
Et.	Ethiopic (usually, Geʿez)
EV	Corriente 1987b
EYG	Eguílaz 1886
fem.	feminine
FJ	Ferreras 1998
Gk.	Greek
Gl.	Galician
GL	*Leiden Glossary* (quoted after Corriente 1991, in alphabetical arrangement)[12]
GLECS	*Groupe linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques. Comptes rendues*
Goth.	Gothic
Gr.	Granada (province of)
Gu.	Guadalajara (province of)
HB	Hoenerbach 1965
Hb.	Hebrew
HH	Hoenerbach 1956
Hisp.	Hispanic
Hl.	Huelva (province of)
HR	*Hispanic Review*
Hs.	Huesca (province of)
Hv	Harvey 1971
IA	Ibn ʿĀṣim's proverb collection (quoted after Marugán 1994)
IH	Ibn Hišām Allaḥmī's treatise on linguistic mistakes (quoted after Pérez Lázaro 1994)
IHAC	Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura
IHE	*Índice Histórico Español*
IM	Gómez Moreno 1919
IQ	Ibn Quzmān's *Dīwān* (quoted after Corriente 1995, by the number of each poem, stanza and line, attributing zero to other authors' poems quoted in his own introduction)
Ir.	Iraqi dialects of Arabic
IW	Banqueri 1802
Ja.	Jaen (province of)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JT	Jewish Tunisian Arabic
L	Leonese
LA	Azzubaydī's treatise on linguistic mistakes (quoted after ʿAbdattawwāb 1964)
LAT	ʿAbdattawwāb 1967

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[12] This work must be used with the cautions expressed in Corriente 1991:8–24.

Ld.	Lerida (province of)
Le.	Leon (province of)
lit.	literally
Lt.	Latin
Lo.	Logroño (province of)
Lu.	Lugo (province of)
Ma.	Malaga (province of)
MAS-GELLAS	*Materiaux Arabes et Sudarabiques—Groupe d'Études de Linguistique et de Littérature Arabes et Sudarabiques*
masc.	masculine
Md.	Madrid (province of)
MEAH	*Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebreos* (Granada)
Mh.	Mehri
MI	Barceló 1984
Mj.	Majorca (province of)
Ml.	Maltese
Mo.	Moroccan Arabic
Mod.Yem.	Modern Yemenite dialects of Arabic
MT	Legal deeds of the Toledan Mozarabs (quoted after González Palencia 1926–1930 and Ferrando 1995)
Mu.	Murcia (province of)
Na.	Navarre (province of)
Naf.	North African dialects
n.un.	*nomen unitatis*
Nv.	Navarrese dialect of Cs
NQ	Corriente 1994
OA	Old Arabic
Or.	Orense (province of)
Ov.	Oviedo (province of)
P	Modern Persian (= Farsi)
PES	Aššuštarīʾs *Dīwān* (quoted after Corriente 1988b, by the number of each poem, stanza and line, and distinguishing the various degrees of reliability in their attribution to that author with an asterisk before or after the poem numbers)
Ph.	Pahlavi
pl(s).	plural(s)
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
pn(s).	personal name(s)
PS	Proto-Semitic
Pt.	Portuguese
Pv.	Pontevedra (province of)
RAAB	*Revue of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Baghdad*
RC	Römer 1905/6
RF	*Romanische Forschungen*
RFE	*Revista de Filología Española*
RFH	*Revista de Filología Hispánica*
RIEEI	*Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* (Madrid)

RIMA	*Revue de l'Institute de Manuscripts de la Ligue Arabe*
RL	*Revue de Linguistique*
RM	Repartimiento de Mallorca (after Busquets 1954)
Rm.	Romance
RP	*Revista de Portugal*
RPh	*Romance Philology*
RRL	*Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
RTP	*Revista de Tradiciones Populares*
RVF	*Revista Valenciana de Filología*
SA	Standard Arabic (roughly = Modern CA)
Sa.	Salamanca (province of)
Sb.	Sabaic
Se.	Seville (province of)
SG	Simonet 1888
sg(s).	singular(s)
ShA	*Sharq al-Andalus*
SK	Corriente 1977
Sk.	Sanskrit
SNT	Seco 1955a
So.	Soria (province of)
SOBI	*Societat d'Onomàstica Catalana. Butlletí interior*
Sr.	Syriac
St	Steiger 1932
St.	Santander (province of)
Sy.	Syrian dialects of Arabic
Ta.	Tarragona (province of)
Te.	Teruel (province of)
Tg.	Tallgren 1925
To.	Toledo (province of)
Ug.	Ugaritic
Urz	León Tello 1964
V	Valencian dialect of Ct
VA	*Vocabulista in arabico* (quoted after Corriente 1989a)
Va.	Valencia (province of)
VEGI	*Revista del Col·legi Oficial de Veterinaris de Girona*
Vl.	Valladolid (province of)
VR	*Vox Romanica*
WG	Western Gothic
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
Z	Azzağālī's proverb collection (quoted after Bencherifa 1971, in Arabic script, and Ould Mohamed Baba 1999, in phonemic transcription, with a Cs. translation)
Za.	Zamora (province of)
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAL	*Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZfRP	*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*
Zg.	Saragossa (province of)
ZM	Maṭar 1967

SYMBOLS

+	internal open juncture; addition of a bound morpheme (marked only when necessary)
ǂ	opposed to
/	optional with
=	equivalent to
~	in alternation with
>	becomes; evolved into
<	results from; derived from
/x/	phonemic transcription enclosed. However, unless as marked otherwise, items are usually transcribed phonemically, we have dispensed with slants when not strictly necessary
[x]	phonetic transcription enclosed
›x‹	graphemic transcription enclosed
{x}	morpheme or morphological formula enclosed
(x)	optional element enclosed
__	any phonemic string
C	any consonant
v	any vowel
V	vowel archiphoneme
Ø	phonemic or morphemic zero
123(4)	consonants of the root morpheme in sequential arrangement

Arabic is transcribed according to the Continental European system, with its regular *iʿrāb*, in the case of CA, except in pause, pns. and those of so transcribed work titles and institutions, without hyphens and with the occasional addition, when needed, of some of the symbols of the I.P.A. Alcalá's system of transcription for Granadan Arabic has been preserved, but for his three-dotted ›c‹ for /ṯ/, replaced by ›ċ‹, and his vowels surmounted with *hamzah*, but transcribing ʿayn, for which we have substituted *â, ê, î, ô* and *û*.[13]

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[13] For a detailed description of his primitive and pioneering system of transcription, see our edition of his materials, Corriente 1988: ii–vi. Briefly, he devised diacritics for interdentals (›ċ‹ and ›ḍ‹), /ʿ/ and /ḥ/ (his ›ḵ‹), used ›g‹ and ›j‹ indifferently for ›ǧ‹, ›x‹ for /š/ and ›gu‹ for /w/, but did not distinguish ›v‹ and ›u‹, ›y‹ and ›i‹, nor /h/ from /ḥ/, nor velarised from plain phonemes, nor was he consistent in his transcription of /k/ and /q/, for which he indistinctly used ›k‹, ›q‹ and ›c‹, although the effect on the surrounding vowels gives some cues to the presence or absence of velarisation, pharyngealisation and uvularisation; neither was he consistent in correctly transcribing gemination and stress. That system appears to have been known to the author of DC, although he used ›ħ‹ for /ḥ/, and ›th‹ and ›dh‹ for both interdentals: we have also kept its renderings.

Initial *hamz* has been dispensed with but in a few necessary instances. Ibero-Rm. items are given in their customary spellings, in boldface, Andalusi Rm. is transcribed in small italic capitals, and every other language, in italics. Morphological formulae are in boldface. It should be kept in mind, at any rate, that in the case of documents in Arabic script, both the absence of vocalisation and its pseudo-corrections by classicising copyists deprive us of much needed information on their original phonetic realization and phonemic interpretation. Consequently, in our rendering of those texts, we have introduced AA vocalisation in cases where CA forms were suspect of manipulation, and retained "strange" forms, when they do not appear to reflect tampering and might have been witnesses of dialectal peculiarities.

In the final indices of words and phrases quoted in chapters 1 to 4, including the notes, but not the main body of the text samples, we have followed the Lt. alphabetical order, except for absolute initial *ʿayn* in Arabic items, which has been inserted immediately after *z*, and disregarded in other positions. Footnote numbers in the indices are italicised in smaller print than paragraph numbers.

PHONOLOGY

1.1. VOCALISM

1.1.1. /a/ (*Low Intermediate Unround Vowel*)

1.1.1.1

The phoneme /a/ in AA had a normal reflex characterised by spontaneous fronting and raising whenever this palatalising tendency, called *imālah* (i.e., "inclination") by native grammarians, was not checked by inhibiting factors, above all the presence of a velar or pharyngeal contour.[14] This phenomenon[15] is consistently reflected by loanwords (e.g., Cs. **almoneda**, Pt. and Gl. **almoeda** "auction" < *almunáda*, and Cs. **alcahuete**, Pt. **alcoveto** "procurer" < *alqawwád*, Pt. **alvanel** "bricklayer" < *albanná*, etc.), as well as by place names in every area of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g., **Aceña** Bg., Cc., Lu., Or., St., Ov., Pv. < *assánya* "the noria", **Medinaceli** So. < *midínat sálim* "the town of S.", **Abofageg** Na. < *abu ḥaǧǧáǧ* "pn." and **Nagüelas** Ma. < *nawwála* "hut").

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[14] I.e, immediate contact with /ḍ/, /ṭ/, /ṣ/, /ḏ̣/, /q/, /ḫ/, /ġ/, /ʿ/ and /ḥ/, occasionally with emphaticised /ṛ/, /ḷ/ and /p/, and even /w/ on account of its labio-velar colour, which is communicated to the following or preceding vowels, a phenomenon called *tafḫīm* ("emphasizing") by native grammarians. The status of labiovelar /w/ appears to have been ambiguous, with an unpredictable distribution, e.g., DC 9a *guígib* "necessary", vs. Alc. *caçágua* "cruelty", *taguáleâ* "vantage points", *natcaguá ~ atcaguáit* "to gain strength", perhaps because of suprasegmental velarisation, extended to whole syllables, even words, in this case originated at distance by /q/ and /ṭ/.

[15] Most perceptible in the case of historically long /ā/ and characteristic of dialects representing some old layers of Arabic like, e.g., Sicilian and Ml. Arabic in the West and the *qəltu*-dialects of Iraq and Anatolia in the East. This is the reason beyond the selection in Aljamiado script of *alif* as grapheme of Cs. /**e**/, while /**a**/ is represented by *fatḥah*, and a likely explanation of the fact that Ibn Quzmān's *azǧāl* do not mix front and back consonants in *-áC* rhymes, as studied by J. Sánchez Ratia in his unpublished M.A. dissertation (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1984); however, this is insufficient evidence for positing phonemicisation of /e/ in AA, in the lack of minimal pairs and consistent differentiation. *Imālah* was dealt with in detail by Cantineau 1960:97 and was the subject of A. Levin's unpublished dissertation *Ha-imalah ba-diyaleqtim ha-ʿaraviyim*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1971.

1.1.1.2

AA *imālah* may happen in two degrees, a weaker first one (/a/ > [e]), and a stronger second one (/a/ > /i/), which abutts upon the neutralisation of the phonemic opposition between both vowels and emergence of the archiphoneme /I/. Second degree *imālah* used to be considered a late development, not occurring before the 13th c. and mostly affecting the Granadan kingdom during the Naṣrī period; however, the evidence from place names of Arabic origin,[16] loanwords[17] and hesitant spellings[18] from other areas and older dates imposes a revision of that notion and compels to admit its sporadic presence practically everywhere in Al-Andalus at any time, possibly as a substandard feature before the Naṣrī period, and as such repressed and banned from the higher registers for centuries. This is underscored by the fact that, even in Granadan AA, high register items borrowed directly from CA merely had first degree *imālah* (e.g., Alc. *yltifét* < CA *iltifāt* "consideration", *quitél* < CA *qitāl* "battle", and likewise most *maṣdar*s, i.e., verbal nouns, see 2.2.2.5.2), while some very common items, unyielding to corrections, exhibit invariable second degree *imālah*, like *wíld* "father", already ›*wild*‹ in VA and IQ, vs. CA *wālid*.

1.1.1.3

Some older idiolects of AA appear to have been free from *imālah*, as reflected by place and pns. of Arabic origin (e.g., **Azaña** To. < *assánya* "he noria", IM **Ablapaz** < *ab*[*u*]*l'abbás*, **Abulfeta** < *abulfidá*, **Iscam** < *hišám*) and early loanwords in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g., Cs. **mengano** "so-and-so" < SA *man kān*, **hasta** "until" < SA *ḥattà*,[19] **gañán**, Pt. **ganhão** = **alganame** "shephard" < *ġannám*). In other instances, this phenomenon appears to have been inhibited by some phonemic conditioning, like dissimilation in the vicinity of /i/ or /y/ (e.g., Cs. **arriaz** "handle of a sword" < AA *arriyás*, even Alc. *atiách* = *atyáǧ* "crowns") and, for some unclear reason, in

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[16] E.g., **Algimia** in Cs. and Va. < /alǧámiʿ/ "the mosque" and **Gimileón** in Lo. < /ǧámiʿ al'uyún/ "mosque of the springs".

[17] E.g., Ct. **sìnia** "noria" < *sánya* and Cs. **adoquín** "paving stone" < *addukkán*.

[18] E.g., VA ›*fā/īkyah*‹ "fruit" and ›*nisnā/īs*‹ "monster", ZM 94 ›*ibzā/īm*‹ "buckle". Cf. also unequivocal spellings, like IQ 35/7/4 ›ʿ*ulī*‹ "height" (rhyme-supported), LA 163 ›*ǧumādÍ*‹ "month of Ǧ.", MT 1008v6 ›*kÍlū*‹ "they measured", PES 1/0/1 ›*bidiyyah*‹ "beginning" and ›*nihiyyah*‹ "end", both rhyme-suported, Hv 99r20 ›*bīb*‹ "door", and ›*kÍn*‹ "it was", AC 433 ›*mi+mlāḥ*‹ "how beautiful", Urz 343 ›*alǧīmah*‹ "the community", Tg 708 **alatifi** "the rivet" (cf. Cs. **atifle**), etc., for SA ʿ*ūlà, ǧumādà, kālū, bidāyah, nihāyah, bāb, kān, mā amlaḥ, alǧāmiʿ* and *al'aṯāfī*.

[19] See, however, its peculiar evolution in Corriente 1983a, somewhat different from that of Pt. **até**; see other Rm. reflexes in Corriente 2008c: 201, s.v. **ata**.

the suffix {+*án*} or even that mere phonemic string, e.g., Cs. **fulano**, Pt. **foão** = **fulano** "so-and-so" < *fulán*,[20] the place name **Albuñán** Gr. < *albunyán* "the building". At times, however, no reason is visible for the lack of *imālah*, e.g., in Alc. *ḳalá* "desert", *galá* "expensiveness", *cafá* "neck", *nartamá ~ artamáyt* "to throw oneself", *anádir* "threshing floors", Z 473 ›*ahdā wahu yabdā*‹ "(he is told) to stop, but he starts", and loanwords like Cs., Ct. and Gl. **alcabala** = Pt. **alcab/vala** < SA *qabālah*. Contrariwise, the so-called *Umlaut-imālah*, i.e., induced by the vicinity of /i/ and already described by old native grammarians, since Sībawayhi (II, 279–294), may occur even in cases where the presence of velar or pharyngeal phonemes should prevent it, e.g., Alc. *cíhil*, for SA *sāḥil* "coast" and *matímir* = *maṭámir* "siloes", for SA *maṭāmīr*.

1.1.1.4

In some cases OA /a/ is reflected by AA as /i/ in spite of *imālah*-inhibiting contours, most likely as an ultra-correction triggered by the effects of velarisation on the usual features of cardinal /a/, which produces less low and intermediate allophones, eventually analyzed as some of the less high and fronted allophones of /i/, e.g., AA *ǵílla* "harvest" vs. SA *ǵallah*, *ḫilḥál* "bracelet" vs. SA *ḫalḫāl*, Alc. *cifrávy* "bilious" vs. SA *ṣafrāwī*. Obviously, such instances bear no relation to *imālah* proper, and the same applies to the slight palatalisation affecting /a/ in AA and many other Arabic dialects in the vicinity of consonants other than velar or pharyngeal, often transcribed by ›e‹ in Lt. script, e.g., Alc. *xéde* "fastening" = SA *šaddah*, *xéhgue* "appetite" = SA *šahwah*, or the many place names beginning with **Beni-** in Eastern Spain (often **Bini-** in the Balearic Islands), from AA *baní* "the sons of ..." (former settlements of tribal groups), e.g., **Benifairó** Va. < *baní ḫayrún* and **Benifaldó** Mj. < *baní ḫaldún*, **Biniaraix** Mj. < *baní a'ráǧ* "sons of the lame

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[20] However, Granadan AA had the expectable *fulín*, but only first-degree *imālah* in cases like *zeyét* "oil merchant" < *zayyát*, *quiéça* "slyness" < *kiyása*, or in pairs like *jelíl* pl. *gilél* = *ǧalíl* pl. *ǧilál* "heavy" and *cemín* pl. *cimén* = *samín* pl. *simán* "fat", possibly here in order to preserve a clear morphological distinction thereof between sg. and pl. An explanation for this behaviour of the ending *-ān* might be its particular frequency in South Arabian based dialects, more resistant to *imālah* than the North Arabian or *qaysī* type; as is known, the initially prevailing majority of "Yemenites" in Al-Andalus gradually faded away under the Cordovan Umayyad dinasty, by the time when AA had become standardised. From a diachronic perspective, since *imālah* was characteristic of the OA dialects of Naǧd, vs. those of Alḥiǧāz and Yemen, there could have been two tendencies, one favourable to preserving and fostering it, as a hallmark of Bedouinism, and another, cherishing the pronunciation of the holy cities of Islam, supported by the clergy and civil authorities (*riǧālu ddīn* and *riǧālu ddawlah*), contrary to it: this would explain its better fortune in areas free from such pressure, like Malta, Jewish and Christian *qəltu*-dialects in Iraq and Anatolia (see Blanc 1964:42–50), etc.

one", **Binigomar** Mj. < *baní ʿumár* "sons of the woman", etc. In the vicinity of some strongly palatalising phonemes, AA could have frankly substituted /i/ for OA /a/, e.g., VA ›*diğāğah*‹ "hen", AC ›*ğizzār*‹ "butcher", and Alc. *ḳarínja* "tree heath", for standard *ḫalanğ*, even at distance in this last case; the same is suggested for the reflexes of the Arabic definite article (ʾ)*al+* (see 2.1.6.2), assimilated to a following /š/ in some loan-words, e.g., Cs. **enjebe** "alum" < AA *iššább*, **exea** = Ct. **eixea** "scout" < AA *iššíʿa* "company", **eixaure**, "capacity", from a hybrid AA + Andalusi Rm. **iššabr+ÁR* "to span", **eixortí** "royal guard" < AA *iššurṭí* "policeman", Cs. **ejarbe** "a measure of water for irrigation" < AA *iššárb*, **enjalma**, "light pack-saddle", from a hybrid AA + Andalusi Rm. **iš+ŚÁLMA* < Lt. *sagma*, **enjeco** "bother", < AA *iš+šáh* "check (in chess)", Pt. and Gl. **enxoval** "trousseau", < AA *iš+šuwár*, Pt. **enxara** "scrub" < AA *iš+šáʿra*, **enxaravia** "kind of headgear" < AA *iš+šarabíyya*, **enxarope** "syrup" < AA *iš+šaráb*, **enxarrafa** "tassel" < AA *iš+šarrába*, **enxerga** "coarse fabric", from a hybrid AA + Andalusi Rm. **iš+ ŚÉRIQA*, Ct. **eixarich** and A **exarico** "Morisco sharecropper" < AA *iš+šarík* "partner", etc.[21]

1.1.1.5

By the same token, the presence of a velar or pharyngeal contour usually causes some backing and even rounding of /a/, and the emergence of allophones identifiable by native or foreign ears with the less high and round allophones of cardinal /o/ or even /u/, which explains, in the first instance, cases like LA ›*ḍurr*‹ for SA *ḍarr* "damage" and ›*ḫušāš*‹ "crawling insect" for SA *ḫašāš* or, in the second case, through ultra-correction, why the SA pn. *muḥammad* became **Mahoma** in Cs. and **Mafoma** in Pt.[22] The same result can be triggered by the presence of a labial contour, as reflected even by native items, e.g., IQ 11/8/2 *et passim*, other AA sources and most NA, ›*fumm*‹ < SA *fam* "mouth", VA ›*sumrah*‹ "lance", for SA *samrāʾ*, ›*armul*‹ = Alc. *ármula* "widow" for SA *armal(ah)* and Alc. *xúfe* = IQ 94/5/3 *šúffa* for SA *šafah* "lip", as well as by Rm. transcriptions in loanwords, like Pt. **alcaçova** vs. Cs. **alcazaba**, from SA *qaṣabah*, Pt. and Gl. **xarope** and Ct. **aixarop** "syrup" vs. Cs. **jarabe**

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[21]　It is, nevertheless, noteworthy than some of these loanwords have other reflexes lacking that phenomenon, e.g., Cs. **ajebe**, Ct. **aixovar** = Cs. **ajuar**, Ct. **aixarop**, A **acharique**, which might suggest that some idiolects did not share it.

[22]　On this particular item, see also fn. 109 and Granja 1968. The same result would be produced by merely velarised consonants, like /r̩/, e.g., Pt. **Marrocos** < *marṛākuš*. The transcription /wa/ as ›o‹ in the Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula is confirmed by the river names Pt. **Odiana, Odivarga**, and Cs. **Odiel** Hl., and the Gl. and Pt. loanword **osga** "gecko" < AA *wázġa*.

from SA *šarāb*, Cs. **alfombra**,[23] from AA *alḥánbal*, and **albórbola** < *alwál-wala* "trilling cry of joy", or place names like **Zocodover** To. < *súq addawwáb* "animal market", **Almodóvar** Cr. < *almudáwwar* "the round (place)", **Almohalla** Av., for which VA and Alc. have only *maḥálla* "encampment", like SA. Such diversity points to different degrees of intensity in this phenomenon with a presumably idiolectal distribution, indeed not excluding diachronic, diatopic and diastratic factors.

1.1.1.6

In a significant number of cases, AA exhibits /ay/ where SA had /ā/, e.g., VA ›*qaydūs*‹ "bucket of a water wheel" and ›*kaynūn*‹ "oven" for SA *qādūs* and *kānūn*, IQ 25/1/2 ›*daymūs*‹ "cellar" for SA *dāmūs*, etc. The likeliest explanation for this odd feature appears to be a phenomenon of ultra-correction, triggered by the wrong assumption of infra-correct monophthongisation of that diphthong (see 1.1.4.2) and its ensuing restoration,[24] with the subsequent innovation of a phonemic alternation between sg. and pl., along the lines of some types of broken plurals,[25] e.g., Alc. *caydúç* pl. *cavídiç* "bucket of a water wheel" and *caynún* pl. *caguínin* "oven", and VA ›*zaytūn*‹ pl. ›*zawātīn*‹ "olive", as well as between diminutive and non-diminutive nouns in cases like those mentioned in 2.1.3, fn. 123. This trend might also have been fostered in order to avoid {CīCūC} strings, with a vocalic sequence particularly frowned upon by Arabic phonaesthetics, but it spread later to other cases, like those of VA ›*ṭayḥāl*‹ pl. ›*ṭawāḥil*‹ "spleen" for OA *ṭiḥāl*, and Alc. *xáyra* pl. *xaguáir* "hamper" from Rm. *ŚÉRA*, *gífa* pl. *jeguéif* "carrion", for SA *ğīfah*, and *zif* pl. *azuif* "skirt", apparent outcome of OA *zāʾif "trailing (garment)".

1.1.2. /i/ (*High Front Unround Vowel*)

1.1.2.1

This phoneme had an allophone [ẹ], occurring in velar or velarised and pharyngealised contours, which Rm. speakers readily identified with their phoneme /e/, as reflected by the transcription of place names (e.g., **Albacete**

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[23] Vs. more conservative Pt. **alfâmbar**, Old Cs. **alfamar** and, with some semantic evolution, Cs. **arambel**, see Corriente 2008c: 100.

[24] This hypothesis is confirmed by spellings like VA ›*bābūnağ*‹ = *baybūnağ* for which Alc. has *beboníge* "camomile", ›*fānīd*‹ = ›*faynīd*‹, reflected in the Cs. loanword **alfeñique**, and by place names like **Ademuz** Co., for IQ 25/1/2 ›*aldaymūs*‹ "the cellar", from Gk. *dēmósion* "state jail".

[25] See 2.1.10.5.14.1. A similar alternation is witnessed in Mo. in the pl. *rwāfa* (also *ryāfa*) of *rīfī* "Riffian".

Ab. < AA *albasíṭ* "the plain", **Almadeque** So., < *almaḍíq* "the narrow place")
and loanwords (e.g., Cs. **talega**, Ct. and A **taleca**, Pt. **taeiga**, Gl. **t(al)eiga** "bag"
< *taʿlíqa*, and Cs. and Pt. **alcacer**, Gl. **alcacén** "green barley" < *alqaṣíl*). The
same reflex in Rm. transcriptions is often the outcome of AA /i/ in the peak
position of a closed syllable, then being lower than otherwise, as purported
by cases like Cs. and Pt. **metical** "currency unit" < AA *miṯqál* and Old Cs.
mozlemo "Muslim" < *muslím*.

1.1.2.2

At times, this allophone [ɛ] in velar or velarised and pharyngealised con-
tours became sufficiently central and low to enter the realm of the allo-
phones of /a/, so that their phonemic opposition was neutralised in the
archiphoneme /A/, as reflected not only by loanwords (e.g., Old Cs. **alcabtea**
"a certain sleeveless garment" < AA *alqibṭíyya*, lit., "the Coptic one", and Pt.
alcatrão, Gl. **alcatrán** "pitch" < *alqiṭrán*, vs. Cs. **alquitrán** and Ct. **alquitrà**)
and place names (e.g., **Guadalajara** Gu. < *wád alḥiǧára*, and **Aznalcázar** Se.
< *ḥíṣn alqáṣr* "fortress of the palace") but also by inner AA evidence, e.g.,
LA 191 ›ṣaḥáb‹ "companions" for SA ṣiḥáb, LA 188 and IH 336 ›ḥabálah‹ "net"
(vs. conservative VA ›ḥibálah‹), GL ›ḥazb‹ "heresy", for SA ḥizb "faction", and
the common AA *qaṭáʿ* "money" for SA *qiṭáʿ* "pieces".

1.1.2.3

Conversely, in labiovelar contours, the allophones of /i/ could, by backing
and rounding, enter the realm of those of /u/ (e.g., VA and GL ›ǧuwār‹ "near",
from SA ǧiwār, VA ›ġunā‹ "song", from SA ġinā', and Alc. *buní* "building",
from SA binā', which also underlies the Cs., Gl. and Pt. loanword **aduana**, Ct.
duana "customs", although AA witnesses only *diwán*.

1.1.3. /u/ (*High Back Round Vowel*)

1.1.3.1

This phoneme had an allophone [o], which occurred in velar or velarised
and pharyngealised contours. Rm. speakers readily identified it with their
phoneme /o/, as reflected by the transcription of place names (e.g., **Aloyón**
Te., < AA *alʿuyún* "the springs", **Algorfa** Ac., < AA *alġúrfa* "the storeroom")
and loanwords (e.g., Old Cs. **horro** "freeman" < AA *ḥúrr*, Cs., Gl. and Pt.
albogue "flute" < AA *albúq*, and Cs. and Gl. **algodón**, Pt. **algodão**, Ct. **cotó**
"cotton" < AA *alquṭún*). The same outcome in Rm. transcriptions is often
brought about by AA /u/ in the peak position of a closed syllable, then being
lower than otherwise, as reflected by cases like Cs., Gl. and Pt. **albornoz**
"burnous" < AA *alburnús* and Old Cs. **mozlemo** "Muslim" < *muslím*.

1.1.3.2

In some instances, an expectable /u/ appears fronted as /i/ in AA, either by contact assimilation (e.g., Pt. **algibe** vs. **aljube**, Cs. **aljibe** vs. Ct. **aljup**, although SA and AA only witness *ǧubb* "reservoir"), dissimilation (e.g., Alc. *quígua* and DC 15a *quéhua* "strength" vs. *qúwwa* in other AA sources, in agreement with OA *quwwah*) or just dialectal hesitation already frequent in OA dialects and eventually reaching their NA offspring.

1.1.4. *Diphthongs*

1.1.4.1

It has long been known that AA treatment of OA diphthongs is extremely conservative, as reflected by even late works like Alcalá's on the Granadan dialect, where monophthongisation, so common in most NA dialects, is extremely rare. Not only are /aw/ and /ay/ generally preserved, but there are occasional instances of an additional /iw/ (e.g., VA ›*istiwbār*‹ "hair-raising" and ›*istiwlā*‹ "overpowering"), unacceptable in CA, but tolerated in some Western Arabic dialects on account of their partially South Arabian ancestry.[26] Therefore, the current monophthongisation of loanwords, e.g., Cs., Ct. and Gl. **aldea**, Pt. **aldeia** "village" < AA *aḍḍáyʿa*, or Cs. **azote**, Ct. **assot** "scourge" < *assáwṭ*,[27] and place names of Arabic origin (e.g., **Alcalatén** Cl. < *alqalaʿatáyn* "the two castles", **Alcocéver** Cs. < *alquṣáyba* "the little castle", **Alloza** Te. < *alláwza* "the almond tree") in the Rm. languages of the Iberian Peninsula is mostly a mere consequence of their own phonetic rules, applied upon AA items after their adoption. As a matter of fact, such a phenomenon is not present in other cases (e.g., Cs. and Gl. **aceite**, Pt. **azeite** "oil" < AA *azzáyt*, and Old Cs. **alhaite** "trinket", L **alfeide** < *alḥáyṭ* "thread, string [of pearls]", **Aldaya** Va. < *aḍḍáyʿa* "the village", **Algaida** Ca., Ma. and Ml. < *alǵáyḍa* "the thicket", or **Almudaina** Am. < *almudáy(ya)na* "the little town", vs. **Almudena** Md.), because those inner Rm. rules were not in effect at the time or in the place where the borrowing took place.

1.1.4.2

However, AA is not entirely free of cases in which the OA diphthongs have become either contracted (i.e., /aw/ > /ō/ and /ay/ > /ē/, e.g., Alc. *gincén* "two kinds" < AA *ǧinsáyn*, and *çonóbra* = VA ›*ṣunubrah*‹ "pine kernel"

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[26] See on this Corriente 1989b, together with its counterpoint, Corriente 1999f.

[27] But Pt. **açou/ite** and Gl. **azouta/e** have reflected the diphthong, according to their own phonetic evolution, thus proving this point.

< SA *ṣanawbarah*), or even reduced to the vowel homogeneous with their last element, i.e, /aw/ > /ū/ and /ay/ > /ī/ (e.g., IQ 70/6/1 ›*biḥīr*‹ "well", and 107/8/2 ›*lūḥ*‹ "writing tablet", both in rhyme position, VA ›*dūlah*‹ "turn", and ›*ṣumʿah*‹ "belfry", and LA 185 ›*qīḥ*‹ "pus"‹, for SA *biḥayr, lawḥ, dawlah, ṣawmaʿah* and *qayḥ*). The contracted realizations must have been analyzed as allophonic, since apparently /ō/ and /ē/ never acquired phonemic status in AA, unlike the case in other NA dialects. Apparently, monophthongisation was also a license allowed in order to facilitate rhymes, e.g., in IQ 66/1/1 ›*hawīt*‹ for ›*hawayt*‹ "I loved", rhymed with ›*ǧīt*‹ "you came".

1.1.4.3
Conversely, there were also cases in which OA /ū/u/ and /ī/i/ are reflected in AA as /aw/ and /ay/, respectively (e.g., LA 93 ›*lawbān*‹ "olibanum", VA ›*ṯawm*‹ "garlic" and ›*ṣawf*‹ "wool", vs. SA *lubān, ṯūm* and *ṣūf*, and the Old Cs. loanword **alaules** "pearls" vs. SA *luʾluʾah*, cf. GL ›*lawluʾah*‹ and Ml. *lewluwwa*; VA ›*ṭiḥāl*‹ and ›*ṭayḥāl*‹ "spleen", and ›*bayʿah*‹ "church", for SA *bīʿah*), either because of the aforementioned partial South Arabian ancestry of this dialect bundle,[28] or as an ultra-correction triggered by reaction to monophthongisation in the allophones [ǫ] of /ū/ and [ę] of /ī/ in velar and pharyngeal contours (see 1.1.3.1 and 1.1.2.1).

1.1.4.4
There has been some talk of a different treatment of the so-called secondary diphthongs, i.e., those resulting from the decay of glides in cases like /aʾi/ > /ay/ and /awu/ or /awi/ > /aw/, which Steiger 1932:360 supposed had been more resistant to contraction within Rm., thus explaining the different solutions, e.g., in Cs. and Pt. **almez** "honey-barry", from SA *mays*, vs. Cs. **alcaide**, Ct. **alcayd/t** "governor", from SA *alqāʾid*, or Pt. **aceifa** "harvest", from SA *aṣṣāʾifah*. But there is plenty of evidence of non-differential treatment of this kind of diphthongs in AA materials, e.g., VA ›*ḥayṭ*‹ "wall", ›*ʿaylah*‹ "family" and ›*ṭaws*‹ "peacock" for SA *ḥāʾiṭ, ʿāʾilah* and ›*ṭāʾūs*‹, IQ ›*ǧid*‹ for SA *ǧayyid* "good", Z 511 ›*midatuh*‹ "his table", for SA *māʾidah* and, in Rm. transcriptions, Old Ct. **algueber** "runaway owner", from SA *alǧāʾib* "absent", with a Rm. agentive suffix {+ÁYR}, Pt **alcoveto** "procurer", from AA *alqawwád*, and Cs. **Cid**, from SA *sayyid* "lord".[29] The conclusion thereof

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[28] See Corriente 1989b: 95 and fn. 6, with both kinds of evidence.

[29] There have been some proposals for a quite different interpretation of this surname of the famous medieval Castilian warrior, which would rather reflect Arabic *sīd* "wolf; lion", on account of his deservedly bad reputation among his Muslim foes, to the point of being described as a "rabid wolf", *sabáʿ masʿúr*, in the "Elegy for Valencia" (see Corriente 1987b:

can only be that secondary diphthongs had been levelled with the primary ones in most instances, except perhaps in a few ones in which the bilingual Mozarabs, who introduced the bulk of Arabic items in Rm., were subjected to some morphological constraints, like preserving the characteristic morphemic pattern {**CāCiC**} of agentive participles like *qāʾid* or *ṣāʾifah*. For the same reason too, any speaker of AA would refrain from contracting the secondary diphthongs of broken plurals, e.g., in Alc. *baxáir* "good news", from SA *bašāʾir*, or *meléique* "angels", from SA *malāʾikah*, in order not to distort the characteristic pattern {**CaCāCiC**}, except in very rare instances of quite common items, like Granadan *haguéch*, side by side with *haguéix*, for *ḥawāʾiǧ* "things; needs".

1.2. Consonantism

1.2.1. /b/ (*Bilabial Voiced Stop*)

1.2.1.1
OA /b/ was generally so tense that it sounded to Hisp. Rm. ears closer to their /p/ that to their bilabial fricative allophone [ƀ], characteristic of syllable coda positions, and this explains the shapes of some loanwords (e.g., Pt. **acepipe** "appetizer", vs. Cs. **acebibe** and Ct. **atzebib** < OA *azzabīb* "raisins", and Ct. **ràpita** "oratory", vs. Cs. and Pt. **rábida**, from AA *rábiṭa*). In final position, the devoicing may have been caused by inner rules of the Ibero-Rm. languages in some periods, e.g., Cs. **arrope**, Ct. **arrop**, vs. Pt. **arrobe** "grape syrup", from AA *arrúbb*, Ct. **aixarop** "syrup", vs. Cs. **jarabe**, from SA *aššarāb*. In other instances, however, this phenomenon is likely connected with the tense feature implied by gemination or other circumstances, like Alc. *chupáḳa* = /čuppáḫa/ "sound produced with the mouth", spelled in VA as ›ǧubbāḫah‹ "soap bubble", possibly by contamination of devoicing to the whole consonantal skeleton.

335–336 and the text sample Nº 6, l. 10, of this work); nevertheless, both the historical evidence about his being called in Cs. **mío Cid** = AA *sídi* "milord" by his bilingual henchmen, and the linguistic fact that AA does not register that infrequent CA item force us to reject that hypothesis. However, *a posteriori*, the phonetic likeness, even identity in AA, between both words, must have offered an easy pun to learned Muslims: in fact, in that same text l. 16, Rodrigo is again alluded to as *alacet* "the lion" (< SA *al'asad*), it being known that wolves and lions were lexically confused in AA, in which ›*labu'ah* = *labwah* = *lawwah*‹ "lioness" is rendered by VA as Lt. *leena* (*sic*), *lupa*.

1.2.1.2

But several OA dialects used by some of the tribes that invaded the Iberian Peninsula, if not the Riffian Berbers, who could not avoid this feature,[30] probably already had that same bilabial spirant allophone [ḇ], characteristic of the local Rm. languages. In a first degree, this might have led to /f/ through devoicing, e.g., VA ›b/faysāra‹ "a dish of broad beans",[31] and HB 363 ›fīš‹ "in order to", for AA bá/Íš, spelled as *fix* in DC 11b,[32] and quite often in loanwords, e.g., Pt. **arrequife** "iron spike of a cotton gin", from SA *arrikāb* "stirrup", and Ct. **garrof/va** "carob", vs. Cs. **algarroba** and Pt. **alfarroba**, from SA *ḥarrūbah*. Eventually, by taking one more step, that allophone could easily become /w/ in some AA items, like VA ›lawwah‹ "lioness" for AA *lábwa*, ›a(b)wāb‹ "doors", and Alc. **cáucab** (= /qáwqab/) "clog", for SA *labu'ah*, *abwāb* and *qabqāb*, and even disappear, a phenomenon also witnessed by loanwords (e.g., Cs. **ataúd**, Pt. and Gl. **ataúde**, Ct. **ataüt** "coffin", from AA *attabút* and Gl. **amboa** "vat", from AA *anbúba*, for SA *tābūt* and *unbūbah*), and place names (e.g., **Azauchal** Bd., from AA *zabbúǧ* "wild olive tree", with the Rm. locative suffix {+ÁL}, and **Calatorao** Zg., from AA *qalá'at turáb* "mudbrick wall castle"). This weakening of /b/ to the point of total disappearance is particularly frequent in word codas, e.g., in IQ 90/6/1 ›ṣāḥī saw‹ "wicked man; devil", for SA *ṣāḥib*, and more often in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **zalmedina** "town prefect", from AA *ṣáḥb almadína*)[33] and place names (e.g., **Talará** Gr., from AA *ḥárat al'aráb* "the Arabs' quarter"), also under the effect of Rm. phonetic preferences, furthermore favoured by the weakness of the AA articulation. But this allowed other possibilities too, amidst the consonants tolerated by Rm. in codas, e.g, **Almuñécar** Gr. < *almunákkab* "deviated", **Zocodover** To. < *súq addawább* "animal market", **Calatayud** Zg., < *qalá'at ayyúb* "A.'s castle".

1.2.1.3

However, spirantisation of /b/ was repressed as substandard in AA, which could result in ultra-correct /b/ where SA had original /f/, or even /w/, e.g., VA ›itrāb‹ "being wealthy", for SA *itrāf*, ›karaf/bs‹ "celery", and ›burǧah‹

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[30] See Laoust 1939: xiii.

[31] From Cp. *pise arō* "bean coction", after Corriente 1997d: 77, reflected in Eg. Arabic as *bisāra* or *buṣāra*, and in Mo. as *bēṣāṛa*, a dish incidentally to which a mistaken Iranian origin is attributed in Premare 1993–1999: I 370.

[32] However, a parallel evolution of both conjunctions is not altogether unlikely; see 3.3.2.3.

[33] However, there is a variant **zabalmedina**, and the /b/ is also retained in A **çabalaquen**, Cs. **zabazala, zabazoque** and A **zabecequia** with the same first constituent (see Corriente 2008c: 468).

"opening", for SA *furǧah*; cf. also loanwords like Old Cs. **azoraba** "giraffe", for *zurāfah*, Old Pt. **alfobre** "ditch", for *alḥufrah*, loanwords (e.g., Cs. and Gl. **albacea**, Pt. **albaceia** "executor", and **albórbola** "trilling cry of joy" < SA *alwaṣiyyah* and *alwalwalah*, respectively), and place names like **Vegalatrave** Za., from Rm. ʙáʏᴋᴀ + AA *alaṭráf* "lowland on the borders",[34] and Alc. *rutfál* "hairnet", from Lt. *rētĭŏlu(m)*, through GL 433 ›*rutuwāl*‹, or **Jaraba** Zg., from the name of the Br. tribe of *ǧarāwah*.

1.2.1.4

On account of its partially "Yemenite" ancestry, AA shared the trend to inter-change /b/ and /m/, characteristic of ESA[35] and still common in Mod.Yem. dialects,[36] as witnessed, e.g., in VA ›*qinnab/m*‹ "hemp", ›*mulawlab/m*‹ "round", ›*m/barham*‹ "liniment", ›*baydām*‹ = ›*mindām*‹ "while", Alc. *menéf-sig* "violet", for SA *banafsaǧ*, AC 1621 ›*dawlām*‹ "water wheel", for SA *dawlāb*, and equally reflected by some loanwords, like Ct. **batafalua** = **matafaluga** and Cs. **matalahúva** "aniseed", from AA *ḥábbat ḥalúwwa*, lit. "the sweet grain", and Cs. **abismal** "clasp nail", for SA *mismār*. As Cs. substitutes /n/ for /m/ in syllable codas, the outcome of /b/ is /n/ in cases like **almotacén** vs. Old Ct. **almudaçaf** "market inspector",[37] from AA *almuḥtasáb*, and **alacrán** vs. Pt. **lacrau** and Ct. **arraclau** "scorpion", from AA *alʕaqráb*; however, this is no definite proof of a shift to /m/ in AA, but just a more congenial way to render foreign consonants rejected by Cs. in that position, as in the above case of /b/.

1.2.2. /p/ (*Bilabial Unvoiced Stop*)

1.2.2.1

There can be no doubt that, after the initial clash between the Rm. and OA phonemic systems, echoed by Arabic transcriptions with ›*f*‹ or ›*b*‹ of Rm. /p/, absent from the OA consonantal inventory (e.g., Lt. *Hispălis* > *išbílya* "Seville", and Lt. *porrīgĭne(m)* > AA *furrín* "dandruff"), AA emerged as one of the few NA dialects in which /p/ rose to the status of an, at least, marginal

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[34] The same hesitation is witnessed in other Western Arabic dialects with a strong Rm. substratum, cf. in JT *baṣṣāṣ* "qui péte souvant" vs. AA *faṣṣáṣa* (fem.), and Ml. *beža'* "he was scared", from {fz'}, vs. *dolf* "plane-tree" for SA *dulb*.

[35] See Corriente 1996a: 16 and fn. 1, and Höfner 1943:143–146 about the preposition *bn*.

[36] See P. Behnstedt, "Árabe Yemení", in Corriente & Vicente (eds.) 2008: 104.

[37] See other Rm. reflexes in Corriente 2008c: 160, suggesting inter-Rm. borrowing in some cases.

phoneme.[38] This assumption is borne out not only by Rm. transcriptions like those of Alc. for Granadan items of Lt. stock (e.g., *apríl* "April", and *píx* "penis"), at times even implying the presence of minimal pairs, like *quibáb* "chapels" vs. *quipáp* "cloaks", but also by loanwords transmitted through AA with preservation of a /*p*/ in the source language (e.g., Cs. **alcaparra** "caper" < AA *qapár* < Lt. *cappăris*, Cs. **alpatana** "utensil" < AA *alpaṭána* < Gk. *patánē* "dish", and **alpargata**, from the AA pl. *parǧát*, with ultra-correct /*p*/).[39] The less than full-fledged status of /*p*/ in AA is given away, however, by a number of hesitations (e.g., Alc. *bérchele* = *párchele* "garret"), and pseudo-correct solutions (e.g., in the late borrowings of Alc. infra-correct *cabarçón* "saddle cover", < Cs. **caparazón**, vs. the ultra-correct *lapát* "priest", < Cs. **el abad**).

1.2.2.2

In view of the symmetrical and compact structure of Arabic consonantism, one would expect that the addition of a new phoneme /*p*/ would have occurred precisely in an empty slot of that frame, which happened to exist in the "emphatic" position corresponding to the incomplete triad /*b*/—/*f*/—Ø.[40] Actually, we have more than hints that AA /*p*/ behaved most of the time as a "emphaticised" phoneme, resistant to *imālah* or palatalisation (e.g., Alc. *lapát* "priest" pl. *lapápit*, *cáppa* "cloak" pl. *quipáp*, and *cappón* "capon" pl. *capápin*, vs. the less frequent cases of the Rm. loanword *cappót* "cloak" pl. *capípit* and the genuine OA *zubb* "penis" pl. *zuppít*, presumable witnesses to some diachronic, diastratic or diatopic hesitation, possibly triggered by weakening or faulty reception of phonemic emphasis).

1.2.2.3

The fact that all the emphatic phonemes of Arabic are tense has generated a mental connection with gemination in AA. This situation surfaces in cases

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[38] On this, see Corriente 1978b. The same is noticeable in other peripheral NA dialects, such as Ml., Cypriot, Ir. and Central Asian, as a result of interference by Italian, Greek, Persian and Turkic.

[39] A common phenomenon in loanwords, as the initial etymon is a Rm. word akin to Bq. *abarka*. The common habit of wearing hemp sandals in the Iberian Peninsula is underscored by the substitution of Hisp. Lt. **taucia* for other Rm. or Arabic names of this plant in Al-Andalus (cf. AA *ṭáwča* in several sources, whence Cs. **atocha**), and by the anecdote of *Almuqtabis II-1* (see Corriente & Makki 2001:57 and fn. 93), in which the emir Alḥakam I reviles the mutinous populace as ESPARTÉÑOS in Rm., i.e., "hemp (sandal) shod". Subsequently, that word became better assimilated as *bulǧa* (*sic* in VA) and has survived in Mo. *bəlǧa* "slipper".

[40] See Cantineau 1960:27 and 294.

in which a geminated /b/, even of Arabic stock, has evolved into AA /p/; for instance, in Alc. *happát*, i.e., *happáṭ* "to put down", from SA *habbaṭa*, and the abovementioned *zuppít* "penises", not to speak of adopted Rm. items with preservation, but also with spontaneous gemination of /p/, like those reported in the preceding paragraph, with no other structural motivation. That connection is also evidenced by the choice in Aljamiado script of geminated ›b‹ as grapheme of Rm. /p/.

1.2.3. /f/ (*Labiodental Unvoiced Spirant*)

1.2.3.1

The assimilation of this consonant to a next /ṣ/ in SA *nu/iṣf* "half" is commonplace in several NA dialects, but AA has other additional cases of its assimilation before a sibilant, like *annássu* "himself", witnessed in VA, IQ and Alc., from SA *bi+nafsi+hī*,[41] plus the inverse case of Alc. *icél*, from SA *asfal* "below". However, the decay of this phoneme in some loanwords (e.g., Cs. **alazor**, Pt. **alaçor**, from SA *al'uṣfur* "bastard saffron", and Cs. **zaquizamí** "shack", from AA *sáqf fi ssamí* "a roof in the sky") and place names of Arabic origin (e.g., **Almansa** Ab. and **Almanza** Le., both from AA *almánṣaf* "the middle of the journey") is likelier to reflect the early evolution of /f/ into /h/ in Cs., and its rejection of either phoneme in syllable codas.

1.2.4. /m/ (*Bilabial Nasal*)

1.2.4.1

By inhibition of its labial occlusion, this phoneme may occasionally become /n/ at the end of words in AA, e.g., in VA ›ibzīn‹ "buckle" (accepted as SA by LA 16, unlike ›bazīm‹, which is Alc. *bizím*), and Alc. *cotán* "lanners", from SA *ibzīm* and *qaṭām*, and then propagate to other positions within paradigms, e.g., their pl. ›abzinah‹ and singulative *cotána*. However, a similar shift in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **gañán** "shepherd", from AA *ġannám*) and place names (e.g., **Alfamén** Zg., from AA [*búrǧ*] *alḥamám* "dovecote") is a mere consequence of the abhorrence of Cs. for final /m/, not shared by Pt. and Ct. In the case of some place names, apparently having lost a final /m/, this seems

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[41] See Corriente 1997d: 30 about this item, also reflected in Ml. *innifsu*. In his pioneering article, Colin 1960 suggested for this item the etymon *li+nafsi+hī*, less likely, as it is not used merely as a complement, direct or indirect, but as a reinforcement of the personal pronoun, equivalent of OA *bi+nafsi+hī*. Its evolution was: *huwa bi+nafsihī > *huwa+bnafsuh > *huwa+mnafsuh > *huwa+annafsuh > *hu annafsu*, etc.

attributable to the weak articulation of most final consonants, through loss of glottal tone, in some Rm. dialects (e.g., **Benamocarra** Ma., from AA (*a*)*ban mukárram*).[42]

1.2.5. */w/* (*Bilabial Semi-Consonant*)

1.2.5.1

Though it is well-known that the three Arabic, as well as Semitic semi-consonants /ʾ/, /w/ and /y/, can readily interchange in the appropriate contours, it is yet noticeable that some of these shifts in AA are unprecedented in OA, e.g., initial /w/ > /ʾ/, in IQ 130/5/3 and 146/4/1 ›*izārah*‹, for SA *wizārah* "ministry", and Alc. *iráċa* "heritage", for SA *wirāṯah*, /w/ > /y/, e.g., VA ›*faw/yḥah*‹ "smell", ›*ǧayʾān*‹ "hungry", for SA *fawḥah* and *ǧawʿān*, etc. The latter phenomenon may bear relation to the so-called "South Arabian lability",[43] i.e., spontaneous interchange of both phonemes, as just another witness to this genetic affinity of AA; however, in some instances, chances are that the /y/ has just been propagated from very common items of a stem originally containing /w/, but having substituted /y/ for it on account of some morphophonemic rules of OA, like Alc. *nidáy ~ dayéit = niḍayyí ~ ḍayyáyt* "to lighten", backformed on SA *ḍiyāʾ* "light" and not directly from {*ḍwʾ*}, *nicayám ~ cayámt = niqayyám ~ qayyámt* "to get goose flesh", backformed on SA *qiyāmah* "rising", and not directly from {*qwm*}, also likely in the case of ›*ǧayʿān*‹ "hungry" and VA ›*ǧayyaʿ*‹ next to regular ›*ǧawwaʿ*‹ "to make hungry", from its pl. *ǧiyāʿ*, and not directly from its root {*ǧwʿ*}.

1.2.6. */t/* (*Dental Unvoiced Stop*)

1.2.6.1

This phoneme is characterised in every NA dialect, included AA, by a morphophonemic alternation with Ø in the fem. morpheme {+*at*}, being dropped without leaving any phonetic trace, unless the noun so marked is head of a syntagm of annexation (e.g., AA *midínat almalík* "the king's town", but *midína* "a town"). In Arabic script, however, it is customary to maintain an ›*h*‹ surmounted by two dots (as if it were a ›*t*‹, the so-called *tāʾun*

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[42] This weakness was pointed out by Pocklington 1986; however, it is unlikely that the phenomena listed by him would have originated among the Arabic speakers of Andalusia.

[43] See Höfner 1943:26–27.

marbūṭah), reminiscent of the phoneme /h/, which was pronounced in the matching pausal forms of OA (i.e., *madīnah*).[44]

1.2.6.2

Otherwise, /t/ is very stable in AA, but for very rare cases of voicing (e.g., rhyme-supported *waqd+ak* "your time" in Z 1423, for {wqd}, Alc. *elteféd* "he visited", for SA *iltafata* "he looked [in]"), and more often of velarisation (e.g., IQ 18/2/4 ›*asṭ*‹ = Z 499 and 580 ›*a/isṭ/d*‹ "arse" for SA *ist*, 202 ›*ʿafrīṭ*‹ "demon" for OA *ʿifrīt*, IQ 95/4/3 ›*asṭaḥá*‹ "he was ashamed" for SA *istaḥà*, LA 281 ›*ṭaḫt*‹ "wardrobe" for the SA Iranism *taḫt*). The explanation for the latter case may be ultra-correction, as velarisation has not been easily maintained in the peripheral dialects of Arabic; as for voicing, in the case of the coarse *ist* "arse", it may be due to euphemism, but this would not be applicable to the remaining items.

1.2.7. /d/ (*Dental Voiced Stop*)

1.2.7.1

Although OA had and AA has preserved a phonemic opposition between /d/ and /ḏ/, supported by minimal pairs like VA ›*badalt*‹ "I changed" vs. ›*baḏált*‹ "I spent", Alc. *dí* "sickness" and *ḏí* "this", etc., the fact remains that their mere allophonic distribution in the Rm. substratum appears to have crept into the lower registers of AA and made that opposition precarious, as evidenced by their frequent confusions, e.g., in GL ›*muǧāḏalah*‹ "dispute", ›*ǧaḏwal*‹ "creek", VA ›*ḫafīḏ*‹ "nephew", ›*mawqūḏah*‹ "holocaust", HB 154.15 ›DIYAH D+alḥaḏḏ‹ "(day of) Sunday", Hv 991 ›*sīḏi*‹ "milord", etc., from OA {ǧdl}, {ǧdwl}, {ḫfd}, {wqd}, {ʾḥd} and {swd}.

1.2.7.2

We also come across AA spellings with indifferent /ḏ/ or /ḍ/, even /ḏ̣/, instead of the expectable /d/ (e.g., VA ›*ʿarrāḍah*‹ "catapult" from OA {ʿrd}, IQ 96/12/2 ›*yiʿarbaḍ*‹ "he quarrels", 90/14/2 ›*ʿarbaḍah*‹ "quarrel", all from {ʿrbd}, Z 1016 ›*ḍaybarān*‹ "wasps" vs. VA ›*daybarān*‹ and Alc. *d/ḍabór*, for

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[44] The absence of any phonetic equivalence of this grapheme in AA is given away by occasional substitutions of /ā/ for it (e.g., IA 286 ›al+ṣaḥfā‹ "the dish", 319 ›ḫālā‹ "aunt", LA 267 ›ḥulbā‹ "fenugreek", 201 ›azbā‹ "maiden", etc.), as well as by ungrammatical interchange, from the viewpoint of CA rules, with the two other fem. markers ›+à‹ and ›+ā̀‹ (e.g., VA ›unṭà = unṭah‹ "female", ›uḫrà = uḫrah‹ "another [fem.]", ›sawdah‹ "black [fem.]" for OA *sawdāʾ* and, conversely, ›naṣārah‹ for SA ›naṣārà‹ "Christians"). However, that /h/ must have been a phonemic reality, as it rhymes in CA poetry with any other kind of final /h/, and has occasionally survived in NA, e.g., in pausal forms of the dialect of Sanʿa (see Naïm 2009:24).

OA {*dbr*}, etc.) which, being invariably traceable to the lower registers, more prone to inhibit than to extend velarisation, would possibly point to phonemic and mere graphemic indifferentiation at some times and in some places and registers between all /d/, /ḏ/, /ḍ/ and /ṭ/.

1.2.7.3
Leaving aside frequent cases of transcription of AA /d/, eventually /ḏ/, as unvoiced in final positions, due to a taxemic rule of Ibero-Rm. languages, both in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **alcahuete**, Ct. **alcavot** and Pt. **alcoveto** "procurer", from AA *alqawwád*) and in place names (e.g., **Albalat** Va., from AA *albalád* "the town", **Alberite** Lo. and Zg., from AA *albaríd* "the relay"),[45] there is some evidence in AA materials pointing to switches between /d/ (or eventually an interchangeable /ḏ/) and /ṭ/ (e.g., VA ›*ġarrad/ṭ*‹ "he shouted", from {*ġrd*} ›*qunfud/ṭ*‹ "hedgehog", from {*qnfḏ*}, ›*ḍābid/ṭ*‹ "compasses", from {*ḏbṭ*} and Z 1890 ›*murṭ*‹ "ephebes", from SA {*mrd*}). Ultra-correction triggered by substandard loss of emphasis would be the likeliest explanation for such cases.

1.2.7.4
There are traces in AA of a very low register trend /d/ > /l/, also quite seldom extant in other NA dialects,[46] and witnessed, e.g., in the optional but rare shape of the relative pronoun AA /allí/ vs. commoner *alladí*, in VA ›*mulūliyyah*‹ "shanty" (a loanword from Gk. *melōdía*), and perhaps in VA ›*zullayǧ(ah)*‹ "glazed tile" (whence Cs. **azulejo**), if indeed it derives from {*zǧǧ*}, through a dissimilated *{*zdǧ*}.[47]

1.2.8. /ṭ/ (*Velarised Unvoiced Dental Stop*)

1.2.8.1
Rm. transcriptions of /ṭ/ in most loanwords (e.g., Cs. **albéitar**, Pt. **alveitar** < AA *albáyṭar* "blacksmith", and Pt. and Gl. **alfaiate**, Cs. **alfayate** from AA *alḥayyáṭ*) and place names (e.g., **Alcántara** Cc., < *alqánṭara* "the bridge", and **Rápita** Ta., < AA *rábiṭa* "outpost") are sufficient proof of its received unvoiced articulation in AA too, as mostly in NA. However, other instances of transcriptions with ›d‹ which cannot be attributed to intra-Rm. intervocalic voicing (e.g., VA ›*d/ṭunbuqah*‹ "boss", from {*ṭbq*}, matched by Alc.

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[45] Otherwise, the same final consonant may be reflected in Rm. by a sonorant (e.g., **Benamor** Mu. < *baní ḥammúd*), or simply disappear (e.g., **Benimodó** Va. < *baní mawdúd*), on account of phonaesthetic preferences, at times peculiar, of each language.

[46] Like Mo. *īla* for SA *iḏā* "when, if", and the generalized NA *illī* for the relative *alladí*.

[47] See 2.1.3.2, Corriente 1997d: 232 and fn. 1.

nidenbéq "I emboss", LA 118 ›*qubbayḏ*‹, for standard *qubbayṭ* "a certain sweetmeat", whence Old Cs. **alcotín**) would point to the survival of some idiolects continuing OA dialects which had a voiced variety of /ṭ/. This is incidentally the realization described by no other than Sībawayhi (II: 465) as received pronunciation, preserved in some other NA dialects.[48]

1.2.8.2

There are some hints of occasional develarisation of /ṭ/ in very low or late registers of AA, e.g., LA 297 ›*mantaqah*‹ "girdle" for SA *minṭaqah*, and MI 171–172 ›*yḥtwh*‹ "they give him", for AA *yaʿṭúh*, and ›*yhbtw*‹ "they go down", for AA *yahbáṭu*, etc. These exceptions to the rule of generally good preservation of the distinctive features of this phoneme can be due to the effect of the Rm. substratum during the processes of gradual acquisition or loss of Arabic.

1.2.9. /n/ (*Dental Nasal*)

1.2.9.1

There are some cases of final /n/ turning into /m/ (e.g., VA ›*ḥammam/n*‹ "he thought", ›*ḫalazūm/n*‹ "snails", Alc. *nileyém/n* = *nilayyám/n* "I soften"). In view of 1.2.4.1, this can be attributed to ultra-corrections eventually becoming established usage in some instances.

1.2.9.2

This phoneme had a certain tendency in AA towards assimilation and absorption when followed by a sibilant, alveolar or velar consonant,[49] e.g., Alc. *êerquecí* "sciatica", for NA *ʿirq annasā*, IQ 2/1/1 and 68/8/3 ›*at(ta)*‹ "you" for SA *anta*, Alc. *yquín* "if" = *ikkÍn*, from SA *in kān*, plus a host of similar instances in loanwords and place names of uncertain attribution, either to inner AA or Rm. phonetic trends upon borrowing (e.g., Pt. **alma[n]xar** = Cs. **almijar** "drying shed" < AA *almanšár*; **Masalcoreig** Ld. < *mánzal qurayš* "the inn of Qurayš", **Mazaleón** Te. < *mánzal alʿuyún* "inn of the springs", and several other "inns", in which that /n/ is systematically omitted in their Rm. transcription).

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[48] E.g., in Yemen; see Rossi 1937:236 and Behnstedt (in Corriente & Vicente 2008:99). It appears that, when the old lateral pronunciation of *ḍād* disappeared, replaced among Bedouins by /ḍ/, urban dwellers unable to articulate interdentals began to pronounce it as a voiced velarised dental stop, and in turn, this favoured the unvoiced articulation of /ṭ/, as it was very convenient for Qurʾānic readers to keep every phoneme apart and free from mergers.

[49] Which was uncommon in North Arabian, unlike the case in North and East Semitic, or even in ESA.

1.2.9.3

There was also a low register tendency in AA to drop /n/ in coda positions (e.g., Alc. *jonjolí* "sesame", for SA *ǧulǧulān*, and *çumí* "quails", vs. VA ›*summān*‹, IA 315 ›*ḥusay*‹, for the pn. Ḥusayn), above all in the segment *ayn* in final position (e.g., IQ 1/7/3 and 7/5/4 ›*ay*‹ "where", VA ›*lay*‹ "to what place", GL ›*ʿay+baqar*‹ "prunes", from NA *ʿayn baqar*, literally "cow eyes"; this is also frequent in duals, such as IQ 42/1/4 ›*ḥadday*‹ "cheeks", MT 315.2 ›*šaqīqay*‹ "two brothers", and 689.4 ›*ṭarafay*‹ "two sides", and regularly in Alc., for NA *ḥaddayn*, *šaqīqayn* and *ṭarafayn*). Chances are that this tendency started with an inherited South Arabian invariable dual morpheme {+*ay*},[50] then spread to other instances of final -*ayn*, and finally of -*īn*, which alternated with the former on account of widespread monophthongisation; in fact, there is no parallel in cases of final *ān* or *ūn*.

1.2.9.4

Sometimes /n/ may develop as a result of dissimilation of geminated consonants, or just as a parasitical sound, called repercussive by some linguists, e.g., IH 292 ›*kanbūš*‹ "veil", from Low Lt. *cap*[*p*]*uciu*(*m*), IA 749 ›*funqaʿ*‹ "mushrooms", from SA *fuqqāʿ*, VA ›*isbaranǧ*‹ "asparagus", from Gk. *aspáragos*. However, in many Rm. loanwords, the addition of a final /n/, or of a nasalised vowel, spelled as ›**m**‹ in Pt., (e.g., Cs. **albardín**, Pt. **albardim**, < AA *bardí* "papyrus") is a mere consequence of Rm. phonaesthetic preferences, contrasting with Ct., which instead tends to drop an original final /n/, e.g., **mesquí** "poor man" < AA *miskín*, vs. Cs. **mezquino**, Pt. **mesquinho**.

1.2.9.5

At times /n/ and /l/ interchange in AA, as is common in NA dialects, or even in OA and other linguistic families (e.g., VA ›*ziwān/l*‹ "darnel", and IH 321 ›*buǧǧūl*‹ "fig stalk", vs. Alc. *pochón* = *pučún*, from Low Lt. *pecciolus*, most likely through metanalysis of the Rm. augmentative suffix {+*ÓN*}, as in the case of parallel Cs. **pezón** "nipple").

1.2.9.6

In a few instances also, through loss of the nasal formant and relaxation of mouth articulation, /n/ could become /y/ (e.g., VA ›*ḥayš*‹ "snake", Alc.

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[50] See Belova 1996:94, where dual endings without nunation are registered for Minaean, Geʿez and Mh., Höfner 1943:124, for Minaean, and Bauer 1966:55–56, who reports the invariable ending -*hy* for the tens in the latter, matched by -*a* in Geʿez, diachronically descended from duals.

hayxía "common dragon", and the diminutive *huáyax* "little snake",[51] LA 86
and IH 170 ›*mayğam*‹ "mallet", for SA *minğam*, and LA 127 ›*kayf*‹ "traveler's
sack", for SA *kinf*).

<div style="text-align:center">

1.2.10. /r/ (*Alveolar Vibrant*)

</div>

1.2.10.1

The number of trills inherent to this phoneme may differ not only from one
language to another, but even within the same, depending on diachronic,
diatopic and diastratic factors, which explains anomalous geminations and
degeminations in cases like VA ›*surriyānī*‹ = GL ›*surrānī*‹ = Alc. *çurriáni*, for
SA *suryānī* "Syriac", LA 274 and other AA sources ›*zarrī˒ah*‹ "seed", for SA
zarī˒ah, LA 281 ›*ḍārah*‹ "concubine" for SA *ḍarrah*, Alc. *perrixín* "parsley",
from Lt. *pĕtrŏsĕlīun(m)*, not to speak of Rm. transcriptions of AA items, like
Alc. *guarráni* "hind", for NA *warānī*, *caránça* "spiked dog-collar", from Cs.
carranza, and loanwords (e.g., Cs. **ataharre**, Pt. and Gl. **atafal**, Ct. **tafarra**
"crupper" < AA *aṯṯafár*, Cs. and Ct. **garrama** "fine", from *ġaráma*, Pt. **alcorreta**
"talebearer", from *alḫuráyyaṭa* "little bag", etc.)

1.2.10.2

As in many other languages, AA /r/ could interchange with /l/ in some
instances (e.g., VA ›*bir/lsām*‹ "dumbness", ›*dirdāl/rah*‹ "ash tree", ›*zurzāl/r*‹
"throstle", ›*mar/lastān*‹ "hospital", LA 72 ›*qalasṭūn*‹ "scales", from Gk. *charis-
tíon*, through Sr. ›*q/krysṭūnā*‹, IH 301 ›*fitliyya*‹ for *fitríyya*, i.e., "one-span-long
nail", and IQ 83/8/3 ›*birbiliyyah*‹ "Br. language"), Alc. *ḳánjel* "fang", < SA
ḫanğar "dagger", not to mention other cases of lambdacism in loanwords,
attributable to target language preferences, in which the Rm. transcriptions
have ›l‹ for an expectable ›r‹ in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **añafil** "trumpet", from
SA *annafīr*, **alfolí** "barn", from AA *alhurí*), or place names (e.g., **Benaguacil**
Va., from AA *baní alwazír* "the ministers' sons", **Daragolefa** Gr., from AA *dár
alğuráyfa* "house of the little store-room", etc.).[52]

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[51] However, the SA shape also survived, in VA ›*ḫanš*‹, Alc. *hunáyxa* "lizard", and the place
name **Alanje** Bd., < *ḥiṣn alḥanš*, the Castrum Colubri of medieval sources, possibly here
because of a trend towards using higher registers in geographical names.

[52] However, in the case of codas in place names, we must take into account the poor
perception of consonants in that position by Rm. ears (see 1.2.4.1), e.g., **Almonacid** Cu., Gu.,
So., To., Va. and Zg., vs. **Almonaster** Hu., < AA *almunastír* "the monastery", or Cs. and Pt.
mudéjar "Muslim living under Christian rule" < *mudáğğan*, lit. "tame".

1.2.10.3

In a few cases /r/ lost its vibrant feature and became /y/ (e.g., VA ›*mīḥāḍ*‹ =
Alc. *miḥád* "water-closet" and *báizaḵ* "purgatory" for SA *mirḥāḍ* and *barzaḵ*,
the latter preserved in VA, and the imperfectives *níd ~ tíd*, etc., "I want ~ you
want", etc. for SA *nurīd, turīd*, etc.).[53]

1.2.10.4

Like many NA dialects, a velarised /r/ probably had phonemic status in AA,
as pointed by covert minimal pairs like Alc. *ybarrát barrát* = *baṛṛád* "to hail"
vs. *niberréd berrétt* = *barrád* "to cool", from {*brd*}, and *nibaxxár baxxárt* =
baššár "to announce glad tidings" vs. *nibexxér bexxért* = *baššár* "to brandish
(a weapon)", from {*bšr*}, *xárib* = *šáṛib* "drinker" vs. *xírib* = *šĺrib* "moustache",
from {*šrb*}, etc. That feature would explain the absence of *imālah* in Alc.
yráda = *iṛáda* or *morád* = *muṛád* "desire", *harrác* = *ḥaṛṛáṯ* "ploughman", etc.

1.2.11. /l/ (*Alveolar Lateral*)

1.2.11.1

Rhotacism of AA /l/ is common place in Rm. loanwords (e.g., Cs. **argolla**,
Pt. and Gl. **argola** "ring", from AA *alǵúlla*, Cs. **alcacel** "green barley", from
AA *alqaṣíl*, etc.) and place names (e.g., **Gibraltar**, from *ǵíb(a)l ṭáriq* "Tariq's
mountain"), on account of assimilations, dissimilations and other occur-
rences taking place in the course of adoption of Arabic items by Rm.
ears. But at times it might occur also within AA materials, e.g., in VA
›*ḥar/lazūnah*‹ "snail", ›*ḥir/lḥāl*‹ "bracelet", ›*rutayrah*‹ "spider", from {*rtl*},
Alc. *ḳarínja* "heath", for SA *ḵalanǵah*, and the very frequent *arcá* "he put"
from {*lqy*}, also witnessed by VA and AC.

1.2.11.2

There are also some parallel cases of the shift /l/ > /n/, very common in
Naf. NA dialects (e.g., VA ›*ḥankī*‹ "black", from {*ḥlk*}, ›*miql/nīn*‹ "linnet", from
Rm. *MÍL KOLORÍN*, lit., "one thousand colours", Alc. *natílla* "crab louse" vs.
›*laṭallah*‹ in VA, from Low Lt. *blatella*, etc.).

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[53] Confined to Granadan documents, like Alc., IZ, AC and PES 42*/6/3 (attributed by the
mss. to Aššuštarī, though undoubtedly authored by Ibn Alḵaṭīb: see Corriente 1988:179, fn.
1), but required also by the metre in IQ 51/5/2, 64/6/3 and 124/7/4, where they appear to
have been ultra-corrected by non-Andalusi copyists. This strange phenomenon could be
connected with the characteristic weakness of /r/ in Zanātī Br.: see Laoust 1939: xv and Ibáñez
1949: xxxii–iii. This case has a parallel in the Ml. imperfective *jaf* "he knows" of *għaraf* (see
Aquilina 1990 II: 974).

1.2.11.3

As in most NA dialects, a velarised /ḷ/ appears to have existed in AA; at least, in the name of God, this is the likeliest explanation for the strange Rm. transcription **atla**, i.e., [aḷḷá], in MI 146.[54]

1.2.12. /ṯ/ (*Interdental Unvoiced Spirant*)

1.2.12.1

The general preservation of interdentals is a hallmark of AA, characteristic of only the oldest layer of urban NA, and of Bedouin dialects of all times and places, while generally absent from more recent urban dialects, both Eastern and Western. This articulation is painstakingly described, e.g., by Alc. and, in the case of /ṯ/, implied by an array of spelling devices designed to convey a sound which was totally alien to the languages of the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the Islamic invasion, and would remain so for many centuries among speakers of Ibero-Rm. languages. Such was the purpose of using ›th‹, ›c‹, ›ç‹, ›z‹, ›s‹, with a considerable degree of hesitation, even an ambiguous ›t‹, e.g., in the astronomical technical terms of Tg 1925, **alieç/zi, algesi** and **elgehci** for *alǧāṯī* (*ʿalà rukbatayh*) "Alpha Herculi", **açoraya** and **athoraya** for SA *aṯṯurayyā* "the Pleiades", **almutalat** for (*raʾs*) *almuṯallaṯ* "Alpha Trianguli", and **Altephil** for *al'aṯāfī* "Alpha, Epsilon and Zeta Lyrae" (lit., "the trivet"), or in loanwords, like Old Cs. **açumbre** "a certain measure for liquids", from SA *aṯṯumn* "the eighth", Pt. **zirbo** "mesentery", from SA *ṯarb*.

1.2.12.2

However, some AA materials report a shift /ṯ/ > /t/, e.g., VA ›kaṭ/tūliqī‹ "Catholic", ›ʿuṯ/tnūn‹ "dewlap", *maštam* "resting-place of an animal", for SA *maǧtam*, GL ›taḥīn‹ "heavy", for SA *ṯaḥīn*, Alc. *corráta* "leek" for SA *kurrāṯah*, and *atífil* "trivet", for which IH 260 literally informs us that some speakers said ›atāfil‹ instead of SA *aṯāfī*, etc.; thus, we cannot forego the conclusion that in AA there was also a trend, probably substandard and repressed, towards substitution of the dental stop for the interdental spirant.

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[54] The whole oath formula, according to this text, was *Vitley Hautledi itle Itlehu Itle Atlá huaraph dich alquibla almohamadia*, i.e., an imperfect rendering of CA *wa+ḷḷāhi+ llaḏī lā ilāha illā+ ḷḷā*, "by God, the One who there is no god but God", with ultra-correct velarisation of every /l/, plus a dialectal addition, *huwa rabb ḏīk alqibla almuḥammadiyya* "He is the lord of that Mohammedan *qiblah*".

1.2.12.3

Quite exceptionally, as just another atempt to avoid a phoneme of difficult articulation, /*ṯ*/ was at times replaced by /*f*/ (e.g., in Alc. *fémme*, for SA *ṯamma* "there"),[55] or /*ḏ*/ (e.g., VA ›*ḏafar*‹ "crupper", usually in AA *ṯafár*), even by /*ṭ*/ (through an intermediate */t*/, e.g., VA ›*naššabbaṭ/t*‹ "I cling", from {*šbṯ*}, a case of emphasis and tenseness contamination, for which Alc. has *nachapát = naččappaṭ*).

1.2.13. /*ḏ*/ (*Interdental Voiced Spirant*)

1.2.13.1

Alc.'s painstaking description of this articulatory type in Granadan AA and the invention of the matching diacritics (his ›*ḏ*‹ vs. ›*dh*‹ in the Valencian DC) support the survival in this dialect bundle of the phonemic opposition between /*d*/ and /*ḏ*/, also proven by the presence of minimal pairs like VA ›*i'ādah*‹ "to repeat" and ›*i'āḏah*‹ "to defend". However, as said above in 1.2.7.1, during the initial and final phases of Rm.-Arabic bilingualism in the Iberian Peninsula, that distinction appears to have been blurred to a considerable extent, at least in the lower registers of AA, so that confusions are common, not only in loanwords and place names, or in transcriptions by relatively bilingual people, like those of Alc.'s, but also in materials using Arabic script and reflecting the lowest native registers, e.g., LA 261 ›*badlah*‹ "suit", for SA *biḏlah*, VA ›*ǧurd*‹ "rat", for SA *ǧuraḏ*, ›*muddāk*‹ "ever since", for SA *muḏ ḏāk*, IA 235 ›*yaddan*‹ "he calls to prayer", for SA *yu'aḏḏin*, and repeated instances in Alc., DC and MI 171, etc.

1.2.13.2

It follows thence (cf. 1.2.7.2 and 1.2.7.4) that AA /*ḏ*/ could also become /*l*/ at times (e.g., IH 170 ›*maylaq*‹ "touchstone", for standard *mīḏaq*, VA ›*ilá lam*‹ "when not", for SA *iḏā lam*), or be velarised (e.g., LA 154 ›*muwaḏḏaḥ*‹ "dirty", for SA *muwaḏḏah*, VA ›*ḥarḏūn*‹ "lizard", for SA *ḥirḏawn*, ›*ḏ/ḍaruwwah*‹ "mastic tree", etc.), although one must beware of merely graphical confusions between ›*d*‹, ›*ḏ*‹, ›*ḍ*‹ and ›*ḍ*‹, in the aftermath of phonemic mergers. It appears also that final /*ḏ*/ had decayed exclusively in the imperative /*ḥú*/ "take" of the verb *aḥáḏ* "he took", as in Alc. *ḳo alcófa* "take the basket".[56]

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[55] This shift was first noticed by Stumme 1896:174, and more recently by Zavadovski 1962:39; however, Singer 1984:102 restricts it to womanly speech. It was not alien to OA either, as reported by Fleisch 1961:75.

[56] This decay is more general in Ml. *ħa*, where the /*d*/ reappears only in the pl. of the imperfective and the passive participle (see Aquilina 1987 I: 41). This phenomenon has been

1.2.14. /ḍ/ and /ḏ/ (*Velarised Counterparts of /ḏ/ and /d/*)

1.2.14.1
Some of the Arab invaders of the Iberian Peninsula, namely, the so-called "Yemenites", i.e., the tribes of South Arabian stock, in all likelihood still had in their idiolects the old /ḍ/ described by Sībawayhi (II: 453), i.e., a lateralised velarised voiced alveolar stop,[57] which explains ›ld‹ reflexes in Rm. loanwords like Cs., Pt. and Gl. **alcalde** "mayor", vs. Ct. **alcadi**, from OA *alqāḍī*, **albayalde** "ceruse", vs. Ct. **albayat**, from OA *albayāḍ*, **aldea**, from OA *aḍḍayʿah*, Old Cs. **arrabalde** and Ct. **arraval** "suburb", from OA *arrabaḍ*, Nv. **alholde** "a land measure", from OA *alḥawḍ* "bed in the fields", and the matching place names **Alcalde**, To. and **Arrabalde**, Or. and Za.

1.2.14.2
However, by the time of the emergence of AA as a compact dialect bundle, most likely already under the Cordovan Umayyad rule, this phoneme had merged with /ḍ/, from which it was no longer different in sound, although very learned people could still differentiate them in writing.[58] Unlike the case of most urban NA, Eastern and Western, the interdental reflex prevailed in Al-Andalus together with /ṯ/ and /ḏ/, with an outcome parallel to that of Bedouin dialects, which is a hallmark of only the older layer of NA. No wonder then that ›ḍ‹ be also the prevailing grapheme in AA written materials, e.g., IQ ›ḍafāyir‹ "plaits", for SA *ḍafāʾir*, ›ḍāyiʿ‹ "lost", for SA *ḍāʾiʿ*, ›ḍuraysāt‹ "small teeth", from {ḍrs}, GL ›ġayḍah‹ "thicket", for SA *ġayḍah*, etc., although there are also a host of ultra-correct cases of the opposite sign, like GL 464 ›muwāḍabah‹ "endeavour", for standard *muwāḍabah*, and ›ūʿiḍ‹ "I warn", from {wʿḍ}. This matches well with the frequent transcription by Alc. of both old phonemes with ›ḍ‹ (i.e., his symbol for /ḍ/, e.g., *náḍir* "admiral", from {nḍr}, *ḍarf* "leather bottle", from {ḍrf}, *nahfiḍ* "I know by heart",

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also detected in Alepo and Cyprus (Kormakiti) by Borg 1985:30 and in JT by Cohen 1975:63 and 110. That AA imperative was apparently introduced as an interjection by Morisco muleteers in the low registers of Cs., in which **¡ho!** is already kown to Diego de Guadix, and has survived in them until this day, with an intricate history; see Corriente 2009:342, s.v. **jodo (petaca)**.

    [57]   Or rather an affricate; see Cantineau 1960:54–56. This type of articulation has survived only in the Modern South Arabian languages; see Johnstone 1975:7 and Steiner 1977:12. In some instances, this difficult phoneme has evolved into mere /l/, already in OA dialects (see Corriente 1978d), and the same inference must be drawn from cases like Alc. *nicayál ~ cayált* "to spend the summer", from SA and VA ›qayḍ‹ "summer", through the previous merger of /ḍ/ and /ḏ/.

    [58]   IQ 9/35/2 brags about this ability of his, apparently become scarce, as witnessed by frequent mistakes in most Arabic mss. of every age and country.

from {ḥfḍ}, next to ḍamánt "I guaranteed", from {ḍmn}, and narcúḍ "I kick", from {rkḍ}, among his frequent confusions between the graphemes ›d‹ and ›ḍ‹, devised by himself). The same inference can be drawn from Rm. transcriptions of /ḍ/ with ›c‹ or ›ç‹ in loanwords (e.g., Tg 686 **açafera** "plait", from SA aḍḍafīrah, and **azfar** "nails", from SA aḍfār), as well as from Alc.'s rendering of SA ʿarūḍ "Arabic metrics" as aâróċ, of ġáyḍ "hatred" as gaiċ, and of baʿūḍah "gnat" as baóċa, matched by VA ›baʿūṯ/ḍah‹, ›ḍ/ṭafar‹ "crupper" and ›raṯāṯ‹ "shower" for SA raḍāḍ, all of them pointing to devoicing of /ḍ/ and not always in coda position.

1.2.14.3

On the other hand, it stands to reason that, if there was an undeniable low register trend to merge /d/ and /ḍ/, this could not fail to affect /ḍ/, as velarisation was a feature prone to be inhibited in that same low register of AA. A velarised voiced dental stop as realization of /ḍ/, like the one current in most urban dialects of NA, may have been introduced already by some of the first Arab invaders or, more likely, by subsequent waves of Eastern immigrants of urban stock, or even just brought back home by pilgrims, scholars or half-learned traders, who imitated the prestigious pronunciation of the main Middle Eastern cities. Such a realization is supported by Rm. transcriptions with graphemes usually associated with stops in loanwords (e.g., DE 208 **atafera** "plait", for SA aḍḍafīrah, Tg 666 **atfareddib** "Zeta and Eta Draconis", for SA aḍfāru ḏḏiʾb "the wolf's claws", and place names, like **Arriate** Ma., from SA arriyāḍ "the gardens"). It has also been pointed out that Alc., so painstakingly describing the interdental articulation of /ṯ/ and /ḏ/, for which he even invented special diacritics, never bothered to differentiate those of /ḍ/ and /ḍ/, which he simply called dad and da (without imālah, however, thus implying at least residual velarisation); nor did he use any systematic diacritics that would suggest their spirant feature, whence we would gather than this was no longer perceived as distinctive in the Granadan dialect or, possibly, in even older registers of substandard AA as a whole.

1.2.14.4

As for the velarisation characteristic of both /ḍ/ and /ḍ/ in Arabic, reflected by the seeming opposition in VA of minimal pairs like ›iġmād‹ "to sheathe" vs. ›iġmāḍ‹ "to overlook", and ›ifādah‹ "to benefit" vs. ›ifāḍah‹ "to publicise", regardless of their eventual merger, and in spite of being counted by Alc. among those phonemes determining a velar contour which inhibited imālah, the fact remains that there are some proven instances of develarisation, probably substandard and/or Rm. based (e.g., VA ›tamdi‹ "you go",

from {*mḍy*}, ›*tamdaġ*‹ "you chew", from {*mḍġ*}, IQ 28/0/1 ›*ḍall*‹ "shade",
63/2/1 ›*tantaḏar*‹ "you wait", 63/6/3 ›*ʿiwad*‹ "instead of" < for *ḍál, tantaḍár*
and *ʿiwáḍ*, GL ›*maḫāḏah*‹ "ford", from {*ḫwḍ*}, ›*inʿāḏ*‹ "erection", from {*nʿḍ*},
etc.).

<div style="text-align:center">1.2.15. <i>/s/ (Alveolar Unvoiced Spirant Sibilant)</i></div>

1.2.15.1
There are some instances of interchange of this phoneme with its voiced
counterpart /z/, above all in final positions (e.g., VA ›*ḫāris/z*‹ "guard",
›*ʿukkās/z*‹ "staff", ›*dihlīs/z*‹ "corridor", ›*mihrās/z*‹ "mortar", IQ 17/7/4 ›*nurūs*‹
for *nurūz*, "New Year Feast", and 29/2/2 ›*maġrūs*‹ for ›*maġrūz*‹ "stuck"),
but also otherwise, e.g., VA ›*kas/zburah*‹ "coriander", ›*zabaj*‹ "jet" vs. con-
servative GL and IQ ›*sabaj*‹. Their likeliest explanation is ultra-correction
triggered by frequent Iberian devoicing of final consonants, acting as a sub-
stratal trend in all AA; in other instances, however, the reason would have
been voice assimilation in contact, or even at distance (e.g., VA ›*zuġzal*‹
"half-pike", from Br. *s+ugzal* "with a half-pike", ›*zaġnaz*‹ "clasp of a neck-
lace", from Br. *səġnəs* "needle", triggered by final /s/ > /z/).[59]

1.2.15.2
Many AA spellings suggest velarisation of /s/ (e.g., VA ›*s/ṣurrah*‹ "navel",
›*qāris/ṣ*‹ "bitter", ›*nāqūṣ*‹ "bell", IA 99 ›*ṣūr*‹ "wall", GL ›*ṣawārun*‹ "bracelet",
›*qaṣwah*‹ "cruelty", ›*ṣirw*‹ "terebinth", etc., for SA *siwār, qaswah* and *sarw*).
When this situation is analyzed together with the similar frequency of the
opposite phenomenon, one must conclude that this phonemic opposition,
already precarious in the East when the first treatises on grammar were
composed,[60] had disappeared from the low registers of AA, though main-
tained in higher registers with the expectable reaction in the form of ultra-
corrections.

1.2.15.3
AA materials contain a significant number of presumable confusions
between /s/ and /š/, which cannot always be dismissed as sheer copyists'
mistakes (e.g., SG lxxxvii, fn. 1, ›*š/sībiyā*‹ "cuttlefish", from Lt. *sēpǐa*, VA
›*ši/arsām*‹ "frenzy" for the NA Iranism *sarsām*, LA 113 ›*šaḏāniq*‹ and VA

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    [59] See Corriente 1981b: 29, where these two items were for the first time attributed to their
Br. etyma.
    [60] See Blau 1965:77, 1980:37–38, and the abundant witnesses of shifts in both senses
collected by Ibn Hišām Allaḫmī, in Pérez Lázaro 1990 I: 74–75.

›šūḏāniq‹ for SA ›sūḏāniq‹ "falcon", Alc. *xemebráx*, for SA *sāmmu abraṣ* "gecko", *dauxír* "oat grass", vs. *dáuçal* and VA ›dawṣal‹ "darnel", from P. *dō sar*, exhibiting also a previous shift /ṣ/ > /s/, etc.). Their explanation can be found in the Rm. substratum of the Iberian Peninsula, which had an unvoiced sibilant [Ś], perceived as /š/ by Arabic speakers, and as such bound to cause ultra-corrections, or otherwise, in other cases related to combinatory phonetics, such as assimilation, dissimilation, etc.

1.2.16. /z/ (*Alveolar Voiced Spirant Sibilant*)

1.2.16.1
Its occasional interchange with /s/ and /ṣ/ is dealt with under the respective headings. As for Rm. transcriptions of /z/ by ›g‹ and ›j‹ in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **jinete**, Pt. **ginete**, Ct. **genet**, but also **atzanet**, "rider", from SA *zanātī* "Zanātī, Riffian", Cs. **jara** "red-haired [fem.]", from SA *zaʿrāʾ*, and Pt. **ajoujo** "twin leash", from AA *azzáwǧ* "the pair", and **algeroz** "gutter", from SA *ǧarūz* "glutton"), they appear to have resulted from its sporadic merger with the dialectal allophone [ž] of /ǧ/; see 1.2.19.2.

1.2.17. /ṣ/ (*Velarised Alveolar Unvoiced Spirant Sibilant*)

1.2.17.1
As in the case of /s/, there are instances in AA materials suggesting an at times optional shift to a voiced articulation (e.g., VA ›qaṣ/zdīr‹ "tin", ›qafaṣ/z‹ "cage", ›ṣ/zaġā‹ "he listened", ›nizarrar‹ "I squeak", from {ṣrr}, and LA ›mazdaġah‹, for SA *miṣdaġah* "pillow"); most of them appear to be cases of voice assimilation in contact.[61]

1.2.17.2
As pointed out in 1.2.15.2 and for the reasons expounded there, many spellings in AA materials suggest develarisation of /ṣ/ and merger with /s/, often only optional (e.g., VA ›fursah‹ "chance", for SA *furṣah*, ›ṣ/sibānah‹

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[61] However, in some instances, like ›qafaṣ/z‹ and the aforementioned ›nizarrar‹ (see 1.2.15.1), we might have witnesses of the residual impact of the Br. substratum of AA in some areas and epochs, as the shift /ṣ/ > /z/ẓ/ is characteristic of Arabic loanwords in that language (cf. Kabyle *ẓẓall* "to pray" and *uẓum* "to fast", from {ṣlw} and {ṣwm}, in Dallet 1982:940 and 945). The same inference must be drawn from the anecdote attributed to ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, in the days of the Cordovan *fitnah*, who would have said with his Br. accent, upon killing Sulaymān Almustaʿīn: *lā yaqtul azzulṭān illā zulṭān* "only a king can kill a king"; this vitiated pronunciation would have operated that typically Br. shift on a previous *ṣulṭān*, a variant exhibiting suprasegmental velarisation of the whole word.

"nit", from {ṣ'b}, GL ›sarrārah‹ "cicada", from {ṣrr}, ›musāra'ah‹ vs. VA ›muṣāra'ah‹ "struggle", and ›safīq‹ "thick", vs. VA ›ṣafīq‹).

1.2.18. /š/ (*Prepalatal Unvoiced Hissing Spirant*)

1.2.18.1
Dissimilation of /š/ into /s/ in the vicinity of homorganic /ǧ/ is common-place in many NA dialects, and occurred also, above all in late AA (e.g., IA ›siǧār‹ "trees" and ›tisaǧǧa'‹ "you encourage", Alc. *çagéâ* "brave", *cijára* "fig-tree", IQ 87/23/1 ›siǧāǧ‹ "head injuries", and Alc. *cégge* "scar", from {šǧr}, {šǧ'} and {šǧǧ}, the latter being supported by the Ct. loanword **b/massetja** "sling", from AA **masáǧǧa*).[62] In other instances, some old Northwest Rm. transcriptions of Arabic /š/ by ›s‹, ›c‹ or ›ç‹ (e.g., Old Pt **serife** "sherif", from SA *šarīf*, **almosarife** "collector of the Royal Treasury", both from {šrf}, **alvíçara** "tip for good news",[63] from {bšr}, and **alfres** "bedspread", from SA *alfirāš*) cannot be easily accounted for, but assuming that some "Yemenite" invaders had also preserved a lateral /ṣ/, homologous to /ḍ/ (cf. 1.2.14.1), although it is somewhat striking that, unlike the former case, no result ›ls/x‹ has ever been presented.[64]

1.2.19. /ǧ/ (*Prepalatal Voiced Affricate*)

1.2.19.1
There is no doubt that some of the "Yemenite" invaders of the Iberian Peninsula brought along their characteristic non-affricate realization of *ǧīm*, i.e., the voiced velar stop /g/, which explains their early transcriptions with the grapheme ›ǧ‹ of local place names like Lt. *Tagus* > ›tāǧuh‹, *Gallaecia* > ›ǧillīqiyyah‹, *Turgalium* > ›turǧāluh‹, *Urganona* > ›arǧūnah‹, etc., as well as the transcription of Arabic words containing *ǧīm* by Rm. stops in early loanwords (e.g., Cs. **(h)ámago**, Pt. **âmago** and Ct. **àmec** "bitter substance found in honeycombs", from AA and OA *ḥamǧ* "moss", Pt. and Cs. **moganga**

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[62] About this isolated item, see Corriente 1992b.

[63] Cf. also Cs. **albricias** and Ct. **albíxeres**, for which Coromines 1954 already guessed the correct solution for its vocalic evolution, namely, palatalisation of /u/ in contact with /š/ in SA *bušrà*.

[64] With the partial exception of some place names like **Aljarafe** Se., from standard *aššaraf* "the highlands"; however, the frequent ultra-correct restitution of the /l/ of the Arabic article by Rm. speakers, who were aware of its basic shape /al+/, makes this interpretation of such cases highly doubtful. It is, however, remarkable that most of these items reappear in later dates with the expectable phonetic result of /š/, i.e., **xarife/o**, **almoxarife**, and Ct. **albíxeres**; see Corriente 2008c: 65.

"grimace; signals between lovers", < *muġānaǧah, from {ġnǧ}, Old Cs. **alco-faina** "washbasin", next to a younger **jofaina**, from SA ǧufaynah, L **zingaue** "squirrel fur", from SA sinǧāb, etc.). With some questionable exceptions (e.g., VA ›ǧ/qināwī‹ "Guinean", Alc. ninegéç "I soil" = nineqquéç "I cover with soot", from {nǧs}, if ›q‹ were there a reflex of /g/; see Corriente 1988a: 207), that idiolectal pronunciation disappeared with the emergence of standard AA,[65] or was cornered in areas where it had little significance.

1.2.19.2

A realization /ž/ (prepalatal voiced hissing spirant) of /ǧ/, characteristic of many Eastern and Naf. NA urban dialects, appears to have existed in AA too, as implied by its Rm. transcriptions with ›z‹ in some loanwords (e.g., Old Pt. **zirgelim** "sesame", next to a younger **gergelim**, from AA ǧulǧulān, Cs. and Pt. **zorra** "truck", from {ǧrr}) and place names (e.g., **Marzalcadi** To., from AA márǧ alqáḍi "the judge's meadow"). The little articulatory and acoustic difference between this [ž] and /z/ appears to have caused the occasional merger reported in 1.2.16.1.

1.2.19.3

As in other NA dialects, /ǧ/ could, at times optionally, dissimilate into /d/ in the vicinity of homorganic /š/, or even of /s/ (e.g., VA ›addaššā = aǧǧaššā‹ "he burped", from {ǧšʾ}, ›ǧ/dišār‹ "farmhouse", from {ǧšr}, ›niǧ/dassas‹ "I feel or grope", and ›daysūs‹ "spy", in Alc. deiçúç, from {ǧss}, LA ›dašīš‹ "bran", for standard ǧašīš, both from {ǧss}, etc.); cf. also some place names, like **Almedíxer** Cs., from AA almadĬšir "farmhouses", in old documents, however, **Almexixer** and **Almaiexer**.[66]

1.2.19.4

Devoicing of /ǧ/ in final positions, as often exhibited by some loanwords (e.g., Cs. **moharracho** = **mamarracho** "buffoon", from AA muharráǧ, and **almarcha** "village in the fields", from AA almárǧ) and place names borrowed from AA (e.g., **Borox** To., from standard burūǧ "towers", or **Alborache** Va., from standard alburayǧ "the little tower") is a mere result of interference by Rm. phonetics. But even AA materials in Arabic script contain some hints of a similar trend in lower registers, like the rhymes ›farš‹ "bed" with

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[65] As proven by the later matching Rm. reflexes with ›j‹ of those same place names, when they were in the areas which remained longer under Islamic rule, e.g., **Tajo**, **Trujillo** and **Arjona**, it being well-known that this grapheme had the same phonetic equivalence in Cs. than in English, Pt. or Ct. until the 17th century.

[66] See Barceló 1982:91.

›marš‹, for standard *marǧ* "meadow" in Z 1495, and of ›tāǧ‹ "crown" with ›qannāč‹ "basket" and ›qarḍāč‹ "thistle" in IQ 90/9/1–3. On the other hand, it is questionable whether this phoneme might have become /y/ occasionally by relaxation, in late low registers or among bilingual speakers, as shown by hesitations like MT I.138 ›uǧ/yāniyah‹ "pn.", for Rm. **Eugenia**, SG 270 ›rifūyuh‹ "shelter", from Cs. **refugio**, ›indulyānšiyaš‹ "indulgences", from Cs. **indulgencias**, and the transcription of place names like **Alboraya** Va. and **Alborea** Ab., both from AA *alburáyǧa* "the little tower".[67]

1.2.19.5
AA developed a marginal phoneme /č/, usually in loanwords from Rm. (e.g., Alc. *chicála* "cicada", from Lt. *cĭcāda*, *chipp* "pillory", from Lt. *cippus*, and *chírque* "gall oak", from Lt. *quercus*), but also as a result in Granadan of the evolution /st/ > /č/, which will be dealt with under the heading of assimilation.[68]

1.2.20. /y/ (*Prepalatal Semi-Consonant*)

1.2.20.1
Other than in the cases mentioned in 1.2.5.1, /y/ becomes /ʾ/ irregularly in the dual and diminutive of AA *yád* "hand", namely, optional VA ›īdīn‹ = IQ ›iddayn‹, and Alc. *udéide* = /udáyda/, not without parallels in other Semitic languages and NA dialects.[69]

1.2.21. /k/ (*Velar Unvoiced Stop*)

1.2.21.1
This phoneme was totally stable in AA, except if at all for very rare instances of spirantisation in syllable codas (e.g., MI 175 ›aḫtar‹ "more", for SA *aktar*, and ›uḫtubar‹ "October"), independently attributed by Singer 1981:320 and

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[67] Lenition of /ǧ/ in some positions is a conspicuous hallmark of some Ibero-Rm. languages (cf. Lt. [*frāter*] *germānus* > Cs. **hermano** and Pt. **irmão** "brother"), which together with the fact that most of these items are Rm., embedded in Arabic documents, clearly points to a feature of the Mozarabs' idiolects. But this trait might have survived among some communities after having forsaken Christianity, and even their Rm. language, as suggested by those place names.

[68] The phonemic status of /č/ was very pointedly stated by A. Alonso 1967, on the evidence of Andalusian place names transcribed in Cs. with ›ch‹, such as **Purchena** Am., **Archidona** Ma., **Pedroches** Co., etc. But it might not have been found in all registers, as there are hints of occasional replacement by /ǧ/, e.g., Alc. *dujánbir* "December", from Lt. *Dĕcember*, and *járra* "cleaned flax", from Lt. *cirrus*, vs. *chirr* "fetlock".

[69] Cf. Et. *əd*, Sr. *ʾīdā*, Ak. *idu*; see Brockelmann 1908 I: 333.

Corriente 1981:7 to Zanātī Br. interference. As for voicing in intervocalic positions and even decay in word codas in Rm. loanwords (e.g., Cs. **jábega** "dragnet", from AA *šábka*, and **almojaba** "window with a lattice work enclosure", from AA *almušábbak*), they obey to the rules of Rm. phon-aesthetics.[70]

1.2.22. /q/ (*Uvular Unvoiced Stop*)

1.2.22.1
Parallel to the case of /ṭ/ (see 1.2.8.1), the realization of /q/ posits the question of an eventual voiced allophone in some idiolects of AA, comparable to its characteristic /g/ realization in many, mostly Bedouin, NA dialects. In this case too, there is overwhelming evidence in favour of an unvoiced realization, both from loanwords (e.g., Cs. **alcázar**, Pt. **alcácer** and Ct. **alcàsser**, Cs., Pt. and Gl. **alcalde**, Ct. **alcadi**, and Cs. **alcoba**, Pt. and Ct. **alcova**, for SA *alqaṣr*, *alqāḍī* and *alqubbah*, etc.) and place names of Arabic origin (e.g., **Alcántara** Cc., **Alcocer** Gu. and **Alacuás** Va., from AA *alqánṭara* "the bridge", *alquṣáyyar* "the little castle", and *alaqwáṣ* "the arches"). However, and leaving aside cases of obviously intra-Rm. voicing in loanwords (e.g., Cs. **algodón**, Pt. **algodão**, vs. Ct. **cotó**, from AA *alquṭún*), and place names (e.g., **Alguibla** Mu., from AA *alqíbla* "the South"), there is a limited number of instances in late AA documents which can be construed as proof of a voiced allophone, substandard and repressed (e.g., Alc. *guitímira*, likely to be a mistake for **guitmíra*, "pine seed", from {qtmr}, *nalguí* "I let go", from {lqy}, and Hv 99r5–13-v40 ›*yaǵdar ~ naǵdar ~ taǵdar*‹ "you ~ I ~ he can", from {qdr}).[71] Otherwise, /g/ had existed as the standard realization of /ǧ/ among the "Yemenites" (see 1.2.19.1) and, to be sure, in the idiolects of bilinguals of Br. and Hisp. stock, who brought it over from their minority languages and could at times introduce it into their varieties of AA, and thence into Rm. loanwords, like Pt. and Gl. **tagra** "an old measure", from Br. *tagra(t)* "vessel", reflected in AA as *táqra*.

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[70] Other cases of loss of /k/ and /q/ in syllable codas in Cs. loanwords are **atabe, cebiche, tahúr** and **zabra**, and **Gibraltar** in a place name; see Corriente 2008c: 202–202.

[71] However, this voiced realization of /q/ appears to hark back to the very beginnings of the Islamic invasion, since Hisp. /g/ was often transcribed with ›q‹, e.g., *Igabrum* > ›*qabrah*‹, *Caesarea Augusta* > ›*saraqusṭah*‹, and *Gades* > ›*qādis*‹, whence **Cabra** Co., **Zaragoza** and **Cádiz**, vs. instances like ›*ǵarnāṭah*‹ for **Granada**, which is more recent, but supported by old transcriptions in the earliest Andalusi historians, like ›*ǵndlš*‹ "Vandals" and ›*ǵtyšh*‹ "Witiza", apparently pronounced **ǴÁNDALOŚ* and **ǴITÍŚA* (see Penelas 2001:48 and 135, Arabic text), comparable to Romancisms in AA like VA ›*ǵirrah*‹ from pan-Hisp. **guerra** "war", < WG *werra* "turmoil".

1.2.22.2

On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence that /q/ merged with /k/ in most registers, at least in some items, in spite of the grammarians' efforts to prevent it, as proven by many optional or aberrant spellings (e.g., IQ 32/3/2 ›*yalkaḥ*‹ "it grows", VA ›*salq/k*‹ "saltwort", ›*q/kafazt*‹ "I jumped", ›*maq/kṯāh*‹ "cucumber patch", ›*ḥuqq*‹ = ›*ḥukk*‹ "box", GL ›*wakīḥun*‹ "shameless", LA 132 ›*tarkuwah*‹ "clavicle", for SA *waqīḥ* and *tarquwah*, etc.).

1.2.23. /ḫ/ (*Uvular Unvoiced Spirant*)

1.2.23.1

In some cases, this phoneme, by assimilation in contact with a voiced one, could become /ġ/, which would then propagate to other positions (e.g., VA ›*maḫ/ġdūr*‹ "crippled", ›*anḫ/ġadar*‹ "he was crippled", but also ›*ġudrān*‹ "paralysis"). However, Rm. transcriptions with ›g‹, instead of the usual ›c‹ or ›qu‹, even ›f‹, are generally due to intra-Rm. assimilation or intervocalic voicing (e.g., Cs. **algarroba** "carob", from standard *ḫarrūbah*, Ct. **magatzem** "storage house", from standard *maḫzan*).

1.2.24. /ġ/ (*Uvular Voiced Spirant*)

1.2.24.1

As in most Arabic dialects, this phoneme may be devoiced in certain positions, such as in contact with unvoiced ones or in syllable codas, and the resulting /ḫ/ may analogically propagate to all the forms of a paradigm (e.g., Alc. *naḫtóç* ~ *ḫatazt* = *nagtóz* ~ *gatázt* "to dive", from {ġts}, *ḫácel* "washing", from {ġsl}, and *izdáḫ* "temple", from {ṣdġ}; cf. also VA ›*laġšiyyah*‹ "lye" vs. Alc. *leḫxía*, from Low Lt. *lexiviu(m)*, this being the usual solution to the proto-Rm. cluster /ks/, from Lt. ›*x*‹).

1.2.24.2

The shift /ġ/ > /ʿ/ in some AA items is a likely inheritance of the South Arabian stock of some groups of Arab invaders in cases like Alc. *jaârafía* "geography", perhaps also 315.10 *muztáfra* pl. *muztafraín* "fainted".[72] It is

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[72] Although *muztafrag* reappears in 101.8. Bauer 1966:37–38, with an obvious ESA example like ›*mʿrb*‹ "West", vs. Arabic *maġrib*, considers this a case of dissimilation with /r/ and so it might be in AA. This could explain some peculiar Rm. loanwords, in which /ġ/ is not reflected, like Cs. **almófar** = Pt. **almafre** "helmet" < AA *almaġfar*, **al(g)ara** "pellicle of the egg" < AA *alġilála* "shirt". Without assuming a total merger of /ʿ/ and /ġ/, as in Ml. and Et., some speakers of AA might have had a very weak articulation of the second phoneme, as reflected by Alc. *nognóga* pl. *nagániê* "goiter", from {nġnġ}, or the ultra-correct *gomq* "chiasm", from {ʿmq}.

uncertain whether Rm. transcriptions of Arabic /ʿ/ with ›g‹ (e.g., Cs. **algar-abía**, Pt. and Ct. **algaravia** "Arabic language", from SA *alʿarabiyyah*, Cs. **algar-rada** "catapult", from SA *alʿarrādah*, etc.) would reflect actual ultra-correct realizations of that phoneme as /ġ/, or are a simple makeshift device used by bilingual Mozarabs at a loss to somehow represent that phoneme graphically.

1.2.25. /ʿ/ (*Pharyngeal Voiced Spirant*)

1.2.25.1

As in other Arabic dialects, this phoneme was often devoiced by contact assimilation (e.g., IQ 18/2/3 and 50/6/1 ›maḥḥā‹ "with her" < *maʿ+hā*, Z 1393 and 1304 ›kaḥk(ah)‹ "a kind of pastry", from SA *kaʿkah*, Hv 99r8–13 ›taḥṭī ~ naḥṭī‹ "you ~ I give", from {ʿṭw}). The resulting /ḥ/ could eventually propagate to other positions, e.g., VA ›ḥuqlah‹ "slowness", from {ʿql}, and ›ḥafn‹ "putrefaction", from {ʿfn}, ›miškāḥ‹ "avaricious", from {škʿ}), etc.

1.2.25.2

In the low registers of AA, /ʿ/ could decay at times (e.g., LA ›qimā‹ "funnel", and ›naṭā‹ "leather spread", for SA *qim(a)ʿ* and *niṭʿ*, VA ›bawd‹ "gnats", and ›yarā‹ "flute", for SA *baʿūḍ* and *yarāʿ*, ›ʿanṣulah = anṣulah‹ "lump", from {ʿnṣl}, IQ 20/7/3 *et passim* ›al+sā‹ "now", for SA *assāʿah*, and ›matā‹ "of", for *matāʿ*, in many sources).[73] Possibly, as in the case of Ml., there was a previous phase of mere pharyngealisation of the immediate vowels, as given away by the emergence of secondary diphthongs, e.g., in the aforementioned case of VA ›bawd‹ "gnats" and the Pt. and Ct. loanword **nora** "water wheel", from standard *nāʿūrah*.

1.2.26. /ḥ/ (*Pharyngeal Unvoiced Spirant*)

1.2.26.1

There are some hints of voicing of this phoneme, always in syllable codas, e.g., VA ›quzquzaʿ‹ "rainbow", for SA *qawsu quzaḥ*, Alc. *yabróâ* "mandrake", for SA *yabrūḥ*, which suggests ultra-corrections triggered by the trend mentioned in 1.2.25.1.

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[73] This trend is pointed out by Höfner 1943:17–18 and Bauer 1966:36 for the Ḥaḍramī dialect of ESA, but has existed in many Semitic areas on account of substrata or by simple drift.

1.2.26.2

In the low registers of AA there were some cases of replacement of this phoneme by /h/ (suggested, e.g., by the Cs. transcription *fata* of Arabic *fatḥ* in the elegy attributed to the last king of Granada, Boabdil)[74] or, better documented /ḫ/ (e.g., LA 257 ›ašḫant‹, for SA *ḫaššantu ṣadrahū* "I angered", 292 ›luṭiḫa‹, for SA *luṭiḫa bišarr* "he committed evil", and 295 ›masīḫ‹, for SA *masīḫ* "Messiah").

1.2.27. /h/ (*Glottal Spirant*)

1.2.27.1

As is standard in NA, in AA this phoneme has been dropped at the end of the pausal form of the OA fem. marker {-at}, merely pronounced /-a/, which is proven by dialectal spellings (e.g., Z 1 ›qry‹ and ›ṣby‹, for *qaríyya* "village" and *ṣabíyya* "girl"). The same phenomenon has occurred in other positions, final (e.g., IQ 23/5/1 *et passim* ›faqī‹ "doctor of the Law", 21/13/1 ›yaʿṭī+k+alla+nnağā‹ "may God give you salvation", PES 69/4/4 ›in ḫālaf+alla+ḍḍunūn‹ "should God not meet the expectations", Alc. *nixebbé ~ xeb-béyt* "to fake", from {šbh} but inflected as if from *{šby}, *belé* "stupidity" and *eblé* "stupid", for SA *balah* and *ablah*, also witnessed by Alc. himself) or otherwise (e.g., VA ›fākiyah‹ "fruit", for SA *fākihah*, ›ṣawīl‹ "neigh", for SA *ṣahīl*, and Z 123 ›kīfān‹ "caves", which posits a sg. *kāf*, from standard *kahf*).[75] Otherwise, the /h/ 3rd person pronominal suffixes is assimilated by a next /s/ or /š/, e.g. *íssum* "they are not", *áššu* "what?"; see 3.4.1.5.

1.2.27.2

There is a single vouchsafed AA item exhibiting /h/ instead of an expectable /ḥ/, i.e., VA ›qahqahah‹ = ›qaḥqaḥah‹ "laughter"; however, being an onomatopoetic item, no clear conclusion can be drawn from it, although an identical shift has been registered in other NA dialects, like Ml.

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[74] See Corriente 2006:108–111.

[75] This trend is not absent from other Western NA dialects, like Mo., which has both *kāf* and its pl. *kīfān* (see fn. 174), *nāḍ* "he got up", from {nhḍ}, etc. A mute reflex of /h/ is the prevailing solution in Ml., and common in some morphemes of Jewish Naf. dialects; see Heath 2002:180–181. Fischer & Jastrow 1980:53 state that "Vielfach ist anlautendes *h* beim Personalpronomen, aber auch bei anderen Wortklassen ausgefallen".

1.2.28. /ʾ/ (Glottal Stop)

1.2.28.1

AA is no exception to the rule of general decay of this phoneme in NA dialects, except in absolute initial position,[76] and this in spite of conservative spellings (e.g., VA ›suʾāl‹ "question", ›raʾīs almalāʾikah‹ "archangel", Z 448 ›lā tasʾal‹ "do not ask", 511 ›muʾaddib‹ "instructor") which, if at all, could only have occasionally reflected the pronunciation of high registers. But even after an open juncture, initial /ʾ/ could be dropped together with either the following vowel or the final one of the preceding word (e.g., VA ›il+ayna‹ "where to", IQ 20/29/1 /ʿábdu+ná/ "I am his slave", 7/11/3 /qaṭáʿ albár+ aṭári/ "may the Creator cut my steps short", for AA albári, 9/4/4, ›w+anta‹ "and you", and 13/2/4 ›b+ay‹ "with which", Z 1210 ›f+umm+ī‹ "in my mother").[77] The decay of /ʾ/ in positions other than initial had different consequences according to the environments in which it occurred in OA, in agreement with the following rules:

1.2.28.1.1. Between two /a/ʾs, the usual NA solution was contraction into /ā/, which generally became /á/ in AA (e.g., badá and qará from SA badaʾa "he began" and qaraʾa "he read", but there are some instances of hesitation, like

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[76] In which we follow the usual convention of not transcribing it in writing, as dispensable, since Arabic will not admit syllables beginning with a vowel; furthermore, AA treated every initial *alif* as *alifu waṣl*, i.e., elidible in juncture after a preceding final vowel, except when metrical convenience required *alifu qaṭʿ*, in order to obtain the desired rhythm and number of syllables, cf., IQ 31/4/5 ›wa+ʾaǧri‹ "and run", vs. 40/4/2 ›alʿaqli ʾarrāǧiḥ‹ "the poised mind", and 176/2/1 ›qāḍī ʾalmuslimīn‹ "judge of the Muslims", with total disregard of the CA rules.

[77] This weakness of initial /ʾ/ in AA and other NA dialects generated a host of aphaeretic forms, like VA ›(a)ḫawāt‹ "sisters", IQ 2/8/3 ›(a)ḥad‹ "one", ›ruǧūn‹ "Aragon", Alc. ḳátt "I took", for OA aḫattu, something quite unusual in OA, although not entirely unknown, e.g., (u)nās "people", wayl+ummihī "poor his mother!", laymunu+ḷḷāhi "I swear by God", and other very few cases. Whenever the decay of that phoneme and the following vowel produced words beginning with a consonantal cluster, a disjunctive vowel, generally /i/, was inserted there, or a prosthetic /a/ or /i/ was introduced before the cluster, which accounts for the anomalous shape of many words (e.g., VA ›bizīn‹ and Alc. bizím "buckle", for standard ibzīm, VA and IQ 6/7/3 ›ahnāk‹ "there", Z 5 ›iḥmār+ak‹ "your donkey", 589 ›iksā+k‹ "your clothes", 925 ›imtāʿ+nā‹ "ours", and freakish broken plurals like VA ›iḍrās‹ "teeth", ›iṯmār‹ "fruits", ›iǧrā‹ "cubs", ›abnāt‹ "daughters", etc., for standard aḍrās, aṯmār, aǧrāʾ and banāt). That weakness is also responsible for the shape of some AA items (e.g., Z 658 ›bū šaqšaq‹ "stork"), Rm. loanwords (e.g., Cs. **buzaque** "drunkard", from AA bu+záqq "that of the wine-skin", **bo[j]alaga** "whitlow", from AA [a]bu+ḥaláqa "wearing a ring"), and place names (**Boquiñeni** Zg., from [a]bu+kináni "father of K., pn.", **Bolbaite** Va., from [a]bu+lbáyt "father of the house") with aphaeresis of SA abū "father of", or other items (e.g., **Magacela** Bd., from umm(a) ġazálah "mother of a gazelle, pn.", **Lecrín** Gr., from SA alʾiqlīm "the district", etc.).

LA 174 ›*mīḍa/āh*‹ for SA *mīḍa'ah* "lavatory", and one case, that of {*s'l*}, in which because of morphological constraints, the /'/ is preserved in many NA dialects, including AA, to judge from Alc.'s spellings like *ceélt* "I asked" (but IH 311 ›*saltu*‹). Likewise, for two /*u*/'s, the outcome seems to have been /*ú*/ (e.g., *rús* and *fús*, for SA *ru'ūs* "heads" and *fu'ūs* "hoes"). There are no recorded cases of results of /'/ between two /*i*/'s in AA, this being a sequence already scarce in OA.

1.2.28.1.2. Between other sequences of vowels, /'/ was replaced by /*w*/ if one of them was /*u*/, and by /*y*/, if one of them was /*i*/ (e.g., VA ›*muwallah*‹ "deified" for SA *mu'allah*, GL ›*uwaddibu*‹ "I instruct", VA ›*riyyah*‹ "lung" and ›*miyyah*‹ "one hundred",[78] for SA *u'addibu*, *ri'ah* and *mi'ah*, IA 158 ›*fāyit*‹ "passing away", for SA *fā'it*, etc.), but either semi-consonant could propagate to whole paradigms in positions other than the one having triggered this shift (e.g., *suwál*, for SA *su'āl* "question" has *aswílah* in the pl., and VA ›*niwallaf*‹ "I compile", for SA *nu'allif*, is matched in that very work by ›*tawlīf*‹ "compilation"). The model would be taken from the most used form of all paradigms, even a mere vowel (e.g., *ibṭ* "armpit" generates a pl. *aybáṭ*, whence a backformed sg. ›*yabṭ*‹ in VA, while SA *ṯu'lūlah* "wart" is likely to have generated the AA pl. ›*ṯawālīl*‹ in VA, in spite of the standard sg. in LA 265, ›*ṯālūlah*‹, which in turn developed an allomorph *ṯaylúla* in VA (on account of 1.1.1.6).

1.2.28.1.3. After a vowel at the end of a syllable, the long vowel equivalence characteristic of NA was matched in AA by just a stressed vowel (e.g., Alc. *ḵatá* "mistake", and *hamí* "mud", from SA *ḵaṭa'* and *ḥama'*); after a consonant, the decay was often compensated by its gemination (e.g., VA ›*ʿibb*‹ "load", for OA *ʿib'*, LAT 193 and LA 272 ›*ridd*‹ "helper", for OA *rid'*, Alc. *deff* "heating", for OA *daf'*). This would happen even before the fem. morpheme {*-a*} (e.g., VA ›*ḥiddah*‹ "kite", and Z 281 ›*alsawwah*‹ "the bad woman", for SA *ḥid'ah* and *assaw'ah*, LAT 292 ›*hāddah*‹ "quiet", for standard NA *hād*[*i*]*'ah*; this result could propagate paradigmatically, e.g., Alc. *fill* "omen", for SA *fa'l*, and thence *nifellél* "I prognosticate").

1.2.28.1.4. /'/ disappeared without any trace after a historically long vowel at the end of a word (e.g., VA ›*farrā*‹ "furrier" and ›*bannā*‹ "bricklayer", for SA *farrā'* and *bannā'*), as well as between a consonant and a following vowel

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[78] The gemination of /*y*/ in both cases was caused by the trend towards avoiding biconsonantal roots, together with the poor perception of gemination of spirants, commented below in 1.3.2.2 and fn. 87.

(e.g., Z 1175 ›*lis tasal*‹ "she does not ask"), but for cases of morphological constraints requiring a consonant in a given slot of a pattern (e.g., Alc. *ḳária* "dung", and *néxie* "forging", from {*ḥr'*} and {*nš'*}, both mended with /*y*/).

1.2.28.1.5. It appears that /'/ would in some very rare instances in AA become /ʿ/, rather than being lost (e.g., VA ›*nafqiʿ* ~ *faqaʿt*‹ "to pull the eyes", from SA {*fq'*}). At times also, an initial /'/ becomes /*y*/, possibly for the same purpose (e.g., VA ›*yābanūz*‹ "ebony" and ›*yafʿah*‹ "viper", for SA *abanūs* and *afʿà*).[79]

1.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

1.3.1. *Stress*

Evidence of several kinds, above all sociolinguistic, graphemic and prosodic, unequivocally proves that AA had not preserved the quantitative rhythm characteristic of OA, but had substituted suprasegmental intense stress for it.[80]

1.3.1.1

From the sociolinguistic viewpoint and in the light of what is presently known about creoles and pidgins, any other scenario would have been unbelievable, when due consideration is paid to the fact that a few million people, native inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, speakers of stress-rhythmed Proto-Rm. dialects, had to shift to the language of a few tens of thousands of Arabs, and this in most cases through the intermediation of superficially Arabicised Berbers, whose native language did not possess quantitative rhythm either.[81]

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[79] Both phenomena are old and known from other areas and epochs. The former, called *ʿanʿanah* by early Eastern grammarians, happened in some OA dialects, like those of the tribes of Tamīm and Qays (see Fleisch 1961:78); the latter is widely witnessed in NA and probably triggered by OA rules for the interchange of the three semi-consonants. But some cases are complex: e.g., VA ›*maybar*‹ "needle box" and IQ 5/3/2 ›*mayzar*‹ "tunic" appear to have inherited their /*y*/ from the NA evolution of OA *mi'bar* and *mi'zar*, Alc. *taymín* "guarantee", from the semantic and phonetic kinship between {*'mn*} and {*ymn*}, while in VA ›*maybanah*‹ "sodomy" and ›*maybūn*‹ "passive sodomite", from {*'bn*}, the reason could be a dissimilation of labial phonemes, in order to prevent a sequence /-*wb*(*u*)-/.

[80] The intense, i.e., expiratory character of AA stress cannot be questioned, as it brought about the decay of post-tonic vowels (e.g., VA ›*ṣunubrah*‹ "pine-tree", ›*ṣumʿah*‹ "belfry", IQ 64/4/2 ›*ṣaḥb aldayr*‹ "the man in the convent", Z 57 ›*wild+u*‹ "his father", 1236 ›*li+naḥyah*‹ "aside", for OA *ṣanawbarah*, *ṣawmaʿah*, *ṣāḥib*, *wālid* and *nāḥiyah*).

[81] This was already clearly stated by the towering Br. scholar A. Basset (1929: xxi): "Il n'y a pas lieu non plus de tenir compte de la quantité de la voyelle pleine, tout étrange

1.3.1.2

The graphemic proof of this hypothesis is that, inasmuch as CA orthography does not prevail on grounds of tradition and habit, every text aiming at reproducing the dialectal pronunciation of AA contains frequent aberrant spellings, above all the use of *matres lectionis* (i.e, graphemes traditionally assigned to OA long vowels) in the case of historically short vowels that are known to have been stressed (e.g., VA ›*muqāṣ*‹ "pair of scissors", from OA *miqaṣṣ*, ›*usqūf*‹ "bishop", from SA *usquf*, IQ 9/21/3 ›*taqā*‹ "they happen", 90/19/2 ›*naqīf*‹ "I stop", Z 43 ›*aǧtamā'ū*‹ "they meet", 89 ›*ḏanāb+u*‹ "his tail", etc., for OA *taqa'u, naqifu, iǧtama'ū* and *ḏanabu+hū*), in alternation sometimes with the grapheme of gemination, e.g., VA ›*usquff*‹, GL 9 ›*ṯiqqah*‹ "trust", and ›*ṣiffah*‹ "shape", for SA *ṣifah* and *ṯiqah*, LA 95 ›*akiffah*‹, pl. of SA *ikāf* "saddlebag", etc., matching AA *muqáṣ, usqúf, ta/iqá', naqíf, aǧtamá'u, ḏanábu, ṯíqa, ṣífa* and *akífa*. Contrariwise, in this dialectal orthography, historically long vowels that were not stressed are often represented without the regular *matres lectionis*, e.g., VA ›*ṣāfi*‹ "clear" = *ṣáfi*, GL 328 ›*firān*‹ "mice" = *firán*, IQ 12/5/1 ›*yuǧad*‹ "there is" = *yuǧád*, 9/31/1 ›*bi+saqayn*‹ "with two legs" = *bisaqáyn*, 41/8/1 ›*'am+awwal*‹ "last year", instead of (pausal) CA *ṣāfi, firān, yūǧad, sāqayn* and *'ām*.

1.3.1.3

The prosodical proof of phonemic stress in AA is not a total abandonment of Khalīlean metrics,[82] i.e., the OA and CA verse-making system based on

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que cela puisse paraître dans une langue où la quantité consonantique tient une si grande place". Incidentally, the same phenomenon had occurred some centuries before, when Hisp. populations adopted Lt.

    [82] As propounded in some of his works by the Spanish Arabist García Gómez, whose theory we accepted in Corriente 1976, only to discover subsequently that he had intuitively guessed the role of stress in the metrics of the two genres of Andalusi stanzaic poetry (*muwaššaḥ* and *zaǧal*), but missed its direct descent, through rhythmical transposition of the Khalīlean metres, and the key to their interconnection, which we expounded in Corriente 1997:70–121, having recanted that previous mistake already in our edition of IQ of 1980. The substitution of stress for syllabic quantity in the AA traditional pronunciation of CA had peculiar consequences for the recitation of poetry, classical or dialectal, namely, that in order to restore a measure of rhythm to the metres, stress might occasionally shift to syllables that were not tonic in ordinary speech, as expounded in Corriente 1980a: 22; thus, e.g., in IQ 8/0/1–2 ›*farḥ+ī*‹ "my joy" rhymes with ›*niḍaḥḥī*‹ "I sacrifice", suggesting ultima stress, against the rule of not shifting the stress to the possessive suffixes, and in 100/0/2 ›*al'ayn assū*‹ "evil eye" would impose ultima stress upon the refrains of other stanzas again ending in the possessive +(h)*u*, like ›*naḥs+u*‹ "his ill luck". Apparently, the many previous decades throughout which the local converted prosody (*'arūḍun muḥawwar*) had accustomed Andalusi ears to such distortions, allowed the same license in the composition and recitation of stanzaic poems, CA *muwaššaḥāt* or AA *azǧāl*.

the contrast between short and long syllables, embedded in the segments
called feet, which were sequences of fixed or optional syllable quantities,
but rather its conversion to sequences of unstressed and stressed, or at least
stressable syllables, distributed in arrangements closely mirroring those of
the Khalīlean metres.

1.3.1.4

The position of stress in AA follows rules which may differ considerably
from those of the modern received Eastern Arabic pronunciation of OA,
and are closer to those observed in Western Arabic, no doubt because stress
was not phonemic in OA, but often weak and always conditioned by the
sequence of syllable quantities in words. This allowed different solutions in
the various NA dialects, of which each one may have inherited either one
of those solutions solely, or an admixture of several, as studied by Birkeland
1954. The main rules for stress position in AA are as follows:

1.3.1.4.1. In OA strings with the shapes /CvCvC/ and /CvCv̄C/, AA always
stressed the last syllable, in which the vowel could be represented as long or
short, regardless of its historical quantity. This mark was redundant in such
sequences (e.g., IA 625 ›ḥabār‹ "news", PES 5/4/5 ›ḥuǧīb‹ "it was hidden",
LA 287 ›qiṭā'‹ "money", i.e., "pieces", St 74 ›kusur‹ "fragments" and ›ḥuṣun‹
"castles",[83] for OA ḥabar, ḥuǧib, qiṭa', kusūr and ḥuṣūn). Would-be cases of
stress on the first syllable of this string, suggested by Rm. transcriptions and
loanwords (e.g., Alc. gébel "mountain", gémal "camel" and çábaâ "lion", Cs.
acíbar "aloes" and Pt. **açófar** "brass") are not true exceptions to this rule,
since that second vowel was not phonemic in AA, even if it had existed in
OA, but mere disjunctive shewas (i.e., vocalic glides); therefore, the phone-
mic transcription of those items is ǧá/íbl, ǧáml, sáb', ṣíbr and ṣúfr, respec-
tively. However, some idiolects of AA had phonemicised those shewas as
full-fledged vowels in some cases, and did consequently stress them, e.g., in
Alc., homár "red [pl.]", xuhéb "grey [pl.]" for OA ḥumr and šuhb; this is cor-
roborated by some loanwords, e.g., Cs. **azahar** "orange flower" < AA zahár
< OA zahr "blossom", and Pt. **albafar** "spur dog" < AA kálb albáḥr, lit., "sea
dog".

1.3.1.4.2. In OA strings with the shape /Cv̄CvC/, AA always stressed the first
syllable, this being the only distinctive feature vis-à-vis the preceding group,

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[83] In the two last instances, the stressed vowel is often not marked with a *mater lectionis*,
which was dispensable, as there was no other stressing option in these sequences, and it
required no departure from standard CA orthography, which was avoided by most copyists
when unnecessary.

as length in stressed vowels had become merely redundant in this dialect bundle, as it is in Rm. (e.g, Alc. *cátil* "killer", *ḵátim* "seal" and *cárib* "boat", for SA *qātil*, *ḫātam* and *qārib*).

1.3.1.4.3. In OA strings with the shape /CvCCvC/, AA witnesses both types of stress, as reflected by Rm. loanwords like Cs. **almocadén**, Pt. **almocadém** "commander" vs. **almoádão**, Cs. **almuédano** "muezzin", from SA *muqaddam* and *muʾaḏḏin*, respectively. For /Cv̄Cv̄C/, Alc. again reflects both types (e.g., *álaf* "thousands", *nésut* "humanity", *léhut* "divinity", *dínar* "dinar" vs. *quirát* "karat" and *ḥanút* "shop", for SA *nāsūt*, *lāhūt*, *dīnār*, *qīrāṭ* and *ḫānūt*), but Rm. loanwords only exhibit ultima stress (e.g., Cs., Pt. and Gl. **quilate**, and Ct. **quirat**).[84] It has been suggested that penultima stress in these items would have been a prestigious Eastern importation; however, its frequency in /Cv̄Cv̄C/ strings, in open clash with Eastern usage,[85] points rather to different solutions already extant in the dialects of the first invaders, some of which probably had very weak stress, easily altered by contact with other dialects or even by an unavoidable strengthening process in the realizations of recently Arabicised people of Hisp. stock.

1.3.1.4.4. The stress patterns of AA were not affected by suffixation, except in the case of characteristically stressed suffixes, such as the inflexional ones marking the dual and regular pl., q.v., and the derivational ones, among which the so-called *nisbah*-suffix, {+*í*} (e.g., Alc. *axnabí* "stranger", *nahuí* "gram-marian", *batní* "big-bellied", for the OA pausal forms *aǧnab+ī̆*, *naḥw+ī̆* and *baṭn+ī̆*, in which {+*ī*} stands for {+*iyy*}). However, this suffix had a shortened OA allomorph without gemination, used in the very scarce, but very frequent items, *yamāni*(*n*) "Yemenite", *tihāmi*(*n*) "from Tihāmah", and *šaʾāmin* "Syrian", which has survived in NA, even in AA, and propagated to nouns with a similar prosodic structure (e.g., Alc. *yahúdi* "Jewish", *durúri* "necessary", DC 6a *encéni* "human", 4b *neceráni* "Christian", for standard *yahūdī*, *ḍarūrī*, *insānī* and *naṣrānī*, and in the case of loanwords, Cs. **baladí** "trivial", from AA *baladí* "local", vs. **barrio** "neighbourhood", from AA *bárri* "outer").[86]

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[84] The case of Cs. **albéitar**, Pt. **alveitar** "blacksmith" is not conclusive, because AA has transmitted both ›*bayṭar*‹ and ›*bayṭār*‹.

[85] E.g., in the broken pl. pattern {CaCāCīC}, which became {CaCāCiC} as a characteristic feature of the whole Western Arabic group (e.g., VA ›*ṣanādiq*‹ "boxes", ›*maṯāqil*‹ "gold coins" and ›*bawāsir*‹ "haemorrhoids", for SA *ṣanādīq*, *maṯāqīl* and *bawāsīr*).

[86] Alcalá's wording upon describing this situation (ed. Lagarde, p. 6: "los derivativos que descienden de primitivos que tienen el acento en la media sílaba, en aquella mesma lo conservan los derivativos") suggested to Steiger 1932:77–80 stress predictability in terms of

1.3.2. *Gemination*

1.3.2.1
Gemination plays a central role in Arabic morphophonemics, and this holds true also for AA, in spite of its Hisp. substratum, characteristically prone to inhibit it, together with vowel quantity. Its preservation is demonstrated, for instance, by Rm. loanwords, like Cs. **gañán** "shepherd", **falleba** "espagnolette" and **arrabal** "outskirts", from AA *ġannám*, *ḥallába* and *arrabáḍ*, which would have had different shapes were it not for the rendering of gemination.

1.3.2.2
However, leaving aside Rm. transcriptions usually produced by native speakers of languages with a very weak perception of this phonetic feature, or even by natives insufficiently acquainted with the niceties of Arabic script, such as the auxiliary signs marking gemination, absence of vocalization, etc., there are some more trustworthy pieces of evidence hinting at certain cases of infra-correct inhibition of that feature (e.g., VA ›*mar[ra]tayn*‹ "twice", ›*baqam*‹ pl. ›*buqūm*‹ "brazilwood", LA 94 ›*ḥimṣ*‹ "peas", and ›*maṣāf* +*uhum*‹ "their ranks", for standard ›*baqqam*‹, ›*ḥimmiṣ*‹ and ›*maṣāff* +*uhum*‹, cf. also Alc. *aḳíla* pl. *aḳáil* "pin", backformed on the standard *aḥillah*, pl. of *ḫilāl*, whence Cs. **alfiler**, also witnessed by Alc. *ḳilíl*). There are other instances as well, presumable ultra-corrections, of non-etymological gemination (e.g., VA ›*šurriyān*‹ "arteria", ›*ġayyūr*‹ "jealous", LA 272 ›*dawwār*‹ "dizziness", for standard *šaryān*, *ġayūr* and *duwār*).[87]

1.3.3. *Velarisation*

1.3.3.1
The preceding paragraphs 1.2.8/14/17, 1.2.10.4 and 1.2.11.3 have dealt with the survival of this OA suprasegmental in AA and its weakness in low and late registers, except partially in the case of the stop /ṭ/.

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syllable structure, whereby short syllables would be opposed to long ones. However, the very examples and many exceptions given by Alcalá prove him wrong, as often when he tried to describe grammatical and lexical facts, the truth being that unstressed *nisbah*-adjectives in AA are just the continuation of some of its OA ingredients. The same applies, by the way, to the case of the verbal pl. suffixes {+u} and {+na} which, having being long in OA, attract stress in AA when followed by a pronominal suffix, e.g., *qatalú+ni* "they killed me", *qatalnáhum* "we killed them"; see 2.1.11.2.1.2.

[87] In a survey of gemination and its inhibition in Corriente 1991:8–10, esp. 9, fn. 2, we pointed out the frequent hypercorrect gemination of sonorants, like /w/, /y/ and /r/, possibly on account of their being spirants, whose exact length might have been hard to perceive by speakers with a substratum prone to inhibit gemination.

1.4. Combinatory Phonetics

1.4.1. *Assimilation*

1.4.1.1

Contiguous assimilation of phonemes in order to ease their realization in contact is a linguistic universal, also present in OA and SA, although not consistently reflected by the standard orthography. In the case of AA consonants, leaving aside Rm. transcriptions that might have been influenced by their foreign phonetics, and merely reckoning data culled from materials in Arabic script or above that suspicion, in addition to what has been anticipated in the descriptions of the particular phonemes, it is worth mentioning the instances of /ǧz/ > /zz/, in VA ›ḥuzzah‹ "pleat", for SA ḥuǧzah, and the place name **Alzira** Va., for AA alǧizíra "the island", /r+l/ > /ll/ (e.g., IQ 28/3/1 ›ḍahal+lak‹ "it seemed to you", 89/12/4 ›yaḍhal+lī‹ "it seems to me", both from {ḍhr}), /n+y/ > /yy/ (e.g., IQ 38/30/3 ›kay+yafaǧǧar‹ "he would bleed", for SA kāna yufaǧǧir), /ǧh/ > /č/ (only in SA waǧh "face", which becomes wáč or [w]úč in the low registers of AA, cf. IA ›waǧǧ‹, Alc. guéch, IQ 42/1/5 et passim ›ūǧ/š‹, etc.), /ǧl/ > /ll/,[88] in VA ›nallas‹ "I sit down", next to ›naǧlas‹, the regular /td/ > /dd/, /tṭ/ > /ṭṭ/, /tḍ/ > /ḍḍ/, /tḏ/ > /ḏḏ/, /tǧ/ > /ǧǧ/, /tz/ > /zz/, /ts/ > /ss/ and /tṣ/ > /ṣṣ/ (e.g., VA ›yaddabbar‹ "it is arranged", ›yaṭṭarraq‹ "to be stricken", ›yaḍḍarras‹ "he has his teeth set on edge", ›yaḏḏakkar‹ "he remembers", ›yaǧǧarrab‹ "it is tried", ›yazzarrad‹ "it is swallowed", ›yassabban‹ "it is cleared of nits", ›yassaḥḥab‹ "it is clouded", etc., for *›yatdabbar‹, *›yatṭarraq‹, *›yat-ḍarras‹, *›yatḏakkar‹, *yatzarrad, *yatṣabban and *yatsaḥḥab), and the frequent shift, above all in late or low registers, /st/, /ṣṭ/ or /št/ > /č/, spelled with ›ǧ‹ or ›š‹, usually geminated (e.g., Z 203 ›aššam‹ "it was smelt", for *ištamm, IA 444 ›ṭuǧūn‹ vs. Z 1051 ›ṭuštūn‹ "toast", from Lt. tostus, with the Rm. augmentative suffix {+ÓN}, DE 23 ›bišnāqah‹ "wild carrot", from Lt. pastīnāca, AC 551 ›aǧǧarī‹ "he bought", i.e., ačarí, for SA ištarà),[89] or conversely /st/ > /s(ṣ)/ and /ṣṭ/ > /ṣ(ṣ)/ (e.g., VA ›tist‹ and ›ṭass‹ "bowl", Z 963

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[88] This assimilation must have operated on an occlusive pronunciation of /ǧ/ and can be connected with Mod.Yem. forms in which, however, the decay affects /l/ (see Behnstedt 1992:202); also OA lawn "colour", apparently borrowed from Ph. gōn, through Sr. gawnā, would be the outcome of a parallel evolution of *al+gawn; see, however, the alternative possibility of an Egyptian etymon in Corriente 1997d: 488. Incidentally, this item is also reflected, without this phenomenon, by AA ǧáwn pl. aǧwán "humour, mood".

[89] There are also some cases of apparent /ǧt/ > /č/ (e.g., Alc. nechehéd "I endeavour", for SA naǧtahid, from {ǧhd}, and nachárr "I ruminate", for naǧtarr, from {ǧrr}), but they have been obviously preceded by /ǧt/ > /št/, as proven in IQ 82/9/4 ›yuštar‹ "it is ruminated".

›*assiǧah*‹ "the town of **Écija**" Se., formerly *Astigi*, VA ›*ṣaqṣayt*‹ "I asked", for SA *istaqṣaytu*,[90] ›*ṣabal*‹ and ›*iṣṭabl*‹ "stable", from Lt. *stăbŭlu*(*m*), as well as unquestionable AA loanwords in Rm., like Cs. **zaguán** "hall", from AA *istiwán*, **almáciga**, from SA *maṣṭakā*, etc.).

1.4.1.2

As for the characteristic assimilation of /*l*/ in the Arabic article /*al*+/ to a next dental or alveolar consonant, the so-called "solar letters", AA is one of the NA dialects having extended this rule to /*ǧ*/, at least in low and late registers, as pointed by the transcriptions in Alc. 29.10 *agímiê* "the church", for standard *alǧamiʿ*, 36.29 *agiráh* "the wounds", for SA *alǧirāḥ*, and DC 13a *agecediín* "the corporal ones", for *alǧasadiyyīn*. Most Rm. loanwords and place names, however, do not exhibit this feature (e.g., Cs., Pt. and Ct. **aljama** "Muslim or Jewish community", for SA *alǧamāʿah*, **Algeciras** Ca., for SA *alǧazīrah* "the island", vs. Cs. **ajonjolí** "sesame", for SA *alǧulǧulān*, and **Ajufía** Mu., for SA *alǧawfiyyah* "the northern one").

1.4.1.3

Distant assimilation of consonants which do not abut upon each other happens occasionally in AA, for instance, between nasals (e.g., Alc. *nimándaq* "I take a bow", from *bunduqiyyah*, NA name of Venice, and *menéfsige* "violet", from the SA Iranism *banafsaǧah*); such are also the cases of progressive or regressive propagation of velarisation (e.g., VA ›*infiṭ/ṭāq*‹ "to rip", ›*ǧaras/ṣ*‹ "bell", on account of a velarised /*r̠*/, ›*ṣaṭal*‹ "bucket", for standard *saṭl*, and the aforementioned ›*ṣaqṣayt*‹ "I asked").

1.4.1.4

Assimilation of the semi-consonants /*w*/ and /*y*/ to a next vowel in the onset of words, at least in the low registers of AA, is hinted at by the transcriptions of some loanwords (e.g., Cs. **aluquete** "lighter", from AA *alwaqída*, Gl. and Pt. **osga** "gecko", from *wázǧa*), and might have prompted certain spellings with those graphemes of mere initial vowels (e.g., AB ›*yn*‹ for AA *ínna* "indeed", and ›*ylā*‹ for *ílla* "but"), as well as transcriptions of Rm. names in Arabic script (e.g., MT 183.8 ›*wrāqh*‹, for **Urraca** 416.9 ›*wlybh*‹, for **Oliva**, 156.1 ›*ylskš*‹, for **Illescas**, etc.).

1.4.1.5

Concerning vowel assimilation, and in addition to the cases reported above, upon describing the changes undergone by every vocalic phoneme in a

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[90] With regressive propagation of velarisation.

given consonantal contour, it is noteworthy that AA was prone to apply vowel harmony in both native words and borrowed items (e.g., VA ›*itfiya*‹ "trivet" for SA *uṭfiyyah*, Alc. *birrína* "drill", from proto-Rm. *ʙᴀʀᴇ́ɴᴀ*, GL ›*ṭurbūnah*‹ "tribune", from Low Lt. *tribuna*, VA, IH 293 and IQ ›*šuqūr*‹ "axe", from Lt. *sĕcūris*, IH 105 ›*kiṯīr*‹ "much" vs. ›*kaṯīr*‹ in other sources, for OA *kaṯūr*, IH 207 ›*ḥazānah*‹ and GL ›*ḥazānatun*‹ "closet", whence Cs. **alacena**, for SA *ḥizānah*, etc.). The application of this principle, however, was very haphazard, and had many conspicuous exceptions, not always easy to explain. In some instances, CA rules for vowel assimilation were rejected, as in the case of the 3rd person pronominal suffixes containing /u/ and attached to words ending in /i/ or /y/ (cf. IQ 6/2 ›*fī+hum ... yaǧī+hum ... mašī+hum*‹ "in them ... comes to them ... their walk", which is also the rule in the whole NA),[91] and that of the names of quadriconsonantal patterns, in which AA avoided the harmonised shapes of CA, as we shall see under the appropriate heading.

1.4.2. *Dissimilation*

1.4.2.1

Cases of apparent dissimilation of a sequence of identical vowels, or of vowels followed by homorganic semi-consonants are no more frequent in AA than in the rest of NA, or even CA and OA. Instances like VA ›*na/iṣrānī*‹, GL ›*niṣrāniyun*‹ and Alc. *niçráni* "Christian", LA 160 ›*zirāfah*‹, whence Cs. **jirafa**, Pt. and Ct. **girafa**, Alc. *ticrár* "repetition", for SA *zarāfah* and *takrār*, would continue an OA preference for the sequence /iCā/, while other kinds of items, like Alc. *quígua* "strength", and *ciguár* "images", for SA *quwwah* and *ṣuwar*, and *quiguár* "balls", for NA *kuwar*, or even like Alc. *aliém* "today", and AC ›*zāǧ*‹ "two", for SA *alyawm* and *zawǧ*,[92] an anomalous solution for the diphthong /aw/, appear to be rather original developments in the late low registers of AA.

1.4.2.2

Dissimilation of geminated consonants into a sonorant (i.e., /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/ or /y/) has been frequent in the whole Semitic group, not only in Arabic,[93] so that such cases in AA constitute a mere continuation of that trend, e.g., in

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[91] Fleisch (1979:15 and fn. 1) reports Sībawayhi's information (II 321) about the failure to observe this rule among the people of Alḥiǧāz in the old days, their modern descendants in Medina and other present-day dialects.

[92] See Corriente & Bouzineb 1994:12, fn. 1 about this strange item.

[93] See Brockelmann 1908: I 243–247.

VA ›ṣif/rṣāf‹ "willow", for standard ṣafṣāf, ›faḍ/rḍaḥt‹ "I split", ›ṭunbūqah‹ "boss", for *ṭubbūqah, from {ṭbq}, ›daybarānah‹ "wasp", from {dbr}, Alc. *caymón* "cumin", for SA *kammūn*, VA ›birbir/lī‹ "Berber".

1.4.2.3

Haplological dissimilation, i.e., elimination of one of two successive similar phonetic units or sequences, happens at times in AA, e.g., VA ›šunūǧah‹ "synagogue", from Lt. *sy̆năgōga*, Alc. *ḳanzáir* "swineherd", from AA *ḫanzír* + the Rm. agentive suffix {+ÁYR}, *âale yadlimúna* "to those who wrong us", for AA *ʿala+ll[aḏ]í yaḏlimú+na*, the latter case being common in NA, and LA ›qalsuwah‹ "rounded cap", from SA *qalansuwah*, on account of the similarity between sonorants. At times, AA appears to go along with CA, rather than with NA, in the haplological elimination of a radical final /ī/ in front of the masc. pl. suffix {+īn}, e.g., IQ 9/28/3 ›mudall+īn‹ "dropping (pl.)", from {dlw}, and 84/17/4 ›mukārīn‹ "muleteers", from {kry}, to the point of even extending this rule to *nisbah*-adjectives (see 2.1.5.1), against OA and NA rules, e.g., MT 1003.5 ›sinhāǧīn‹ "men from the Br. tribe of Ṣinhāǧah", and GL 158 ›mādīn‹, "Medes", but the opposite case seems to have been more frequent, e.g., IH 212 *mukāriyyīn*, Alc. *mudélli* pl. *mudelliín*, and *muqtarí* = *muktarí* pl. *muqtariín* "lessee", *rómi* pl. *romiín* "Roman", *aâjamí* pl. *aâjamiín* "barbarian".

1.4.3. *Metathesis*

1.4.3.1

As a particularly though not exclusively characteristic feature of creoles, metathesis has operated quite often in AA (e.g., VA ›nilaṭṭam‹ "I knead", from {ṭlm}, ›natnāʿad‹ "I argue", from {ʿnd}, ›tarbazīn‹ "pike", for the NA Iranism *ṭabarzīn*, ›kust‹ "heap", for SA *kuds*, ›raʿʿādah‹ "catapult", from {ʿrd}, ›ʿafṣ‹ and ›ʿaṣf‹ "gallnut", from {fṣ}, ›wabāʾ‹ = ›bawāʾ‹ "pestilence", from {wbʾ}, IQ 68/5/3 ›yazhū‹ "he mocks", from {hzʾ}, IA 565 ›awǧī‹ "let him go astray", from {ǵwy}, etc.). Metathesis was also responsible for the change of Proto-Rm. MATRÍČE "spring, source" into AA *maǵríṭ*, whence **Madrid**, capital city of Spain and place name relatively frequent in this country in several variants; see Corriente 1990a.

1.4.4. *Junctures*

1.4.4.1

The transitions between free or bound morphemes are subject to certain rules in all languages, with at times merely prosodic effects, and in other

instances with alterations of the segmental phonemes occurring in them. Most Semitic languages forbid consonant clusters immediately after or before a final juncture, which implies ruling out words either beginning or ending with two consecutive consonants. Such is the case of OA and of AA, and following are the ensuing consequences in the latter case.

1.4.4.1.1. Consonant clusters after a final juncture would happen in OA only in a few exceptional nouns,[94] and regularly in the perfectives and imperatives of the verbal stems {12v3}, {n1v2v3}, {1tv2v3}, {12a/ā33}, {stv12v3}, {12aw2v3}, {12awwv3}, {12an3v3/4}, {12an3v̄} and {12a3v44}. They are avoided with a euphonic prefix {ʾi~u+}, for which it is characteristic of AA to have {ʾa~u+}. However, the adoption of foreign loanwords and, in some idiolects, the decay of the vowel in initial syllables of the type /Cv/ could generate initial consonant clusters, which were immediately mended with a prosthetic {ʾv+} (e.g., VA ›ablantāyin‹ "plantain", from Low Lt. *plantagine*[*m*], ›iqrištah‹ "crest", from Lt. *crista*, Alc. *ufrúta* "fleet", from Pt. **frota**, LA 253 ›idrāǧ‹ "steps of a staircase", for SA *adrāǧ*, 259 ›anṣāb‹ "handle", for SA *niṣāb*, VA ›iḏraʿayn‹ for SA *ḏirāʿayn* "two arms", Z 925 ›imtāʿna‹ "ours", for NA *matāʿnā*, 1018 ›aġdā‹ "tomorrow", for pausal SA *ġadā*, etc.).

1.4.4.1.2. As explained in 1.3.1.4.1, codas with the phonemic shape /vCC/ were avoided by inserting a non-phonemic vocalic glide[95] between both consonants, except when the first was a sonorant or sibilant (e.g., IQ 7/5/2 ›aššaṭranǧ‹ "the chess game", 74/1/2 ›aššams‹ "the sun", 67/13/4 ›alḥubz‹ "the bread", VA ›ḥabs‹ "jail", ›band‹ "banner", ›ḥamd‹ "praise", ›barq‹ "lightning", ›milk‹ "possession", ›ḫawf‹ "fear" and ›ḫayl‹ "horses", in Alc. *bend*, *barq*, *milq*, *ḳáuf*, *ḳáil* and *hábç*). However, those disjunctive vowels could be phonemicised in some idiolects, which might entail the stress shift to them, as proven by some rhymes, like IQ 38/19/1–3, where ›šuhad‹ "honey" rhymes with ›ašadd‹ "stronger" and ›aḥad‹ "one", 38/38/1–3, where ›naʿaš‹ "stretcher" rhymes with ›ṭāš‹ "it went around" and ›yuʿāš‹ "one lives", and 40/7/1–3 where ›sahal‹ "easy" rhymes with ›ġazal‹ "generous" and ›ʿamal‹ "he did". It is noteworthy that, when that same string ended in a geminated consonant, there was an idiolectal choice, put to use by poets in order to obtain the necessary metrical rhythm, between the standard treatment (e.g., IQ 4/4/4 ›tibarri yamīn‹ "she honours her oath", Alc. *núce rátal = núṣṣi ráṭl*

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[94] See Wright 1964: I 20.
[95] Generally [*a*], but with exceptions like *zanǧafúr*, from the SA Iranism *zunjufr* "cinnabar".

"half-a-pound"), and degemination of that consonant (e.g., IQ 11/8/1 ›lā bud
luh‹ "he has no escape", Alc. nertéd lal ḳáir, for /nartádd/, "I change for the
better").

1.4.4.1.3. Those same strings in an open juncture, i.e., followed by another
word, also call for a disjunctive vowel, generally /i/, but /a/ in pharyngeo-
laryngeal contours (e.g., IQ 16/2/2 ›bi+alfi miṯqāl‹ "for 1000 dinars", VA ›kulli+
yawm‹ "every day", ›bi+fardi+yad‹ "one-handed", ›sabʿa+miʾah‹ "seven hun-
dred", ›farḫi ḥalāl‹ "legitimate child", IQ 89/10/1 ›ṭabʿa fīkum‹ "natural in
you", Alc. 33.25 cúlli niçráni "every Christian", MI 180 ›raḥlā bidal‹ "the ham-
let of Vidal", 181 ›raḥla ʾlrukā‹ "the hamlet of Roca", etc.).[96] This disjunc-
tive vowel, the phonemic status of which is dubious, is not needed when
the first consonant is a sonorant (e.g., IQ 93/3/2 ›ǧins min‹ "kind of"). It is
noticeable that the disjunctive vowel is occasionally used in cases in which
it is not strictly necessary, like PES 56/3/2 ›takrīri ʿahdu‹ "the renewal of
his covenant", 59/5/5 ›ġayri anna‹ "however", perhaps for metrical conve-
nience; however, this would not be the reason in Alc. 43.30 fi toli daguámi
adeguém "for ever", 344.8 guazti dár "courtyard", MI 375.7v ›biḫayrī‹ "well",
etc.

1.4.4.1.4. The inhibition of the glottal tone in anticipation of external open
junctures, which caused the pausal phenomena of OA, might eventually
have caused very particular treatments at the end of AA words, e.g., VA
›aṯāfil‹ "trivet", for standard aṯāfī, Z 68 ›taktafil‹ "you have enough", for
standard taktafī, Alc. zonbóâ, for *istanbúd "an unidentified citrus".[97]

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[96] This rule applies also to the pronominal suffixes attached to verbs or nouns (e.g.,
IQ 34/0/1 ›mall+a+nī‹ "he got tired of me", /2 ›yaḏall+a+nī‹ "he humiliates me"), although
the disjunctive vowel follows peculiar rules detailed in the related section.

[97] Apparently, a kind of grapefruit, to judge from its Old Cs. reflex, **azamboa**; see Corriente
2008c: 50. Some of these shapes provide the necessary link to understand Eg. yūsif afandi "tan-
gerines", through yus(t)afandi, which reflects imperfect bookish transmission of P. bostān
buy, combined with the scene of Qurʾān XII-31. As is well known, Islamic tradition purports
that the fruit given by Putiphar's wife in the banquet she offered to gossiping women was a
citrus: when Joseph was introduced to them, they were so bedazzled by his beauty that they
cut their fingers instead of the fruit. Which should have exculpated Zalīḫah or Zulayḫah, as
she is called by Muslims, from her weakness.

MORPHOLOGY

2.1. The Noun

2.1.1. *Noun Patterns*

The derivational system of noun patterns: as is characteristic of all types of Arabic, and generally of every Semitic language,[98] AA nouns necessarily fit into one of the diverse derivational patterns resulting from the interdigitation of a consonantal root morpheme, which conveys a basic semanteme, with other additional morphemic derivational elements, as categorial determinants of meaning. These additions may consist of intercalated vowels, consonantal gemination, or vowel lengthening, prefixes, infixes and suffixes,[99] often in discontinuous but strictly ordered and fixed sequences. This morphological constraint determines the existence for both noun and verb, as we shall see in the related sections, of a closed pattern inventory, to which all Arabic nouns and verbs must conform, and any foreign stock must adjust prior to full-fledged morphological integration in this language.[100]

2.1.2.

In the case of NA and, most particularly, in that of AA, that rather hypertrophied system had shrunk considerably, so that the most common patterns

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[98] See on this Brockelmann 1908:329–402, Moscati 1964:75–84 and Diakonoff 1988: 42–56, the OA system being described, e.g., by Wright 1859:110–177, Fischer 1972:35–41 and SK 74, fn. 108.

[99] Their comprehensive catalogue is laid out in Corriente 1996a: 26–33; however, many of the schemes attested in OA are no longer used in NA or AA.

[100] There might be some question about whether or not the speakers' awareness of this morphological constraint is equally strong in peripheral dialects like AA, Ml., Central Asian and Cypriot Arabic, where Rm., Turkic, P and Gk. interference, and more or less unrestrained borrowing of foreign "amorphous" lexical items, are likely to have blurred that notion. However, the basic survival of such characteristic morphological devices as the broken pls. of nouns and the derived verbal stems would demonstrate its considerable residual vitality and efficiency, in spite of a large measure of tolerance for unassimilated sequences, characteristic of all creolised languages, possibly as mere instances of code-shift or code-mixing, in the terms of the by now classical Apple & Muysken 1987.

still in frequent use are only those continuing OA (and generally retaining their characteristic logematic and semantic functions) {1v23} (substantives and verbal nouns, e.g., *šárṭ* "condition", *rízq* "livelihood" and *ǧúrd* "rat; mole"), {1a2v3} (substantives, adjectives and some verbal nouns, e.g., *ḏaháb* "gold", *raǧúl* "man", *ḥašín* "rough" and *fazáʿ* "scare"), {1i/u2a3} (verbal nouns, e.g., IQ 94/6/1 *ṯiqál* "gravity", 58/1/4 *hudá* "right path"), {1ā2i3} (agentive participles, e.g., *qátil* "killer"), {1ā2a3} (few substantives, e.g., *ʿálam* "world; people"), {1ā2ū3} (utensils, e.g., IH 374 ›*ʿāmūd*‹ "column"), {1u2ay3} (see 2.1.3), {1ay/w2a3} (substantives, e.g., *ṣáyqal* "polisher" and *qáwqab* "clog"), {1a2ū/ī3} (adjectives, eventually substantivised, e.g., *ḥarúf* "lamb" and *ṣaǵír* "little"), {1a/i2ā3} (mostly substantives, e.g., *ǧarád* "locusts" and *ḥimār* "donkey"), {1u2ā3} (nouns for ailments and parts detached of some substance, e.g., *suʿár* "rabies" and *burád* "filings"), {1u2ū3} (verbal nouns of movement, e.g., *ḥurúǧ* "exit"), {1a22ā3} (adjectives of intensity and nouns for professionals, e.g., *bawwá/Íl* "often making water" and *naǧǧár* "carpenter"), {a12a3} (adjectives of colour or physical qualities, e.g., *azráq* "blue" and *abkám* "mute"), {ma12a/i3} (nouns for places where an action is usually performed, e.g., *maḥzán* "store" and *mašríq* "East"), {ma12ū3} (non-agentive participles, e.g., *mamlúk* "slave", lit., "possessed"), {mi12ā3} (nouns of instruments and intensive adjectives, e.g., *mismár* "nail", *miḍrár* "harmful"), {1v23ā} or {1v23à} (substantives, e.g., *šáʿra* "brushwood", *dífla* "rosebay" and IH 308 ›*suʿdà*‹ "galingale"), {1v23ān} (adjectives and some verbal nouns, e.g., *ka/islán* "lazy" and *ḥusrán* "loss"), {1a23a4} (substantives, e.g., *ḥándaq* "ditch"), {1i23i4} (substantives, e.g., VA ›*ḥinṣir*‹ "little finger"), {1u23u4} (substantives, e.g. IQ 67/6/2 ›*bulbul*‹ "nightingale"), {1a23ī/ū4} (substantives, e.g., *ḥaršúf* "artichokes" and *qandíl* "oil lamp") and {1u2ay3i4} (see 2.1.3), eventually extended with the few suffixes listed below. Some of them call for the following notes:

2.1.2.1

The final consonantal cluster of {1v23} was often avoided by inserting a non-phonemic vowel [a], which could eventually be phonemicised and therefore stressed, either becoming the standard shape of some words (e.g., *ḥumár* "red [pl.]", see 2.1.2.6 and 2.1.10.5.11) or merely generating allophonic alternation, as shown by the scansions and rhymes of some AA poems (e.g., *šákl = šakál* "grace").[101]

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[101] Thus, e.g., IQ 16/5/1 successively has *azzaǧál záǧli* "this *z.* is my *z.*", 56/10/2 *aššakál* "the grace", but 126/4/5 *šáklu* "his shape", both in rhyme positions. Even native speakers were aware of this feature of AA, e.g., Azzubaydī (LA 203), who ascribes it only to pausal positions,

2.1.2.2

There are a host of cases in which AA has {1a23(a)} for OA {1i23(ah)}, e.g., VA ›bant‹ "daughter", ›ast‹ "arse",[102] ›zaft‹ "tar", Alc. *rájel* "column", *dálaâ* "rib", LA 183 ›tabn‹ "straw", 136 ›sakkah‹ "ploughshare", LA 49 ›salʿah‹ "merchandise", etc., for SA *bint, ist, zift, riǧl, ḏilʿ, tibn, sikkah* and *silʿah*: This is the effect of the so-called Philippi's law, which causes the shift /í/ > /á/ in closed syllables in several Semitic languages.[103] As is usual when an innovated linguistic feature clashes with the standard usage, there are some ultra-correct reactions to this, e.g., LA 184 ›zind‹ "arm", 285 ›firq‹ "difference", LA 116 ›qisʿah‹ "porringer" etc., for SA *zand, farq* and *qasʿah*;[104] on the other hand, the same trend has affected the noun pattern {1i23v4}, e.g., in VA ›darham‹ "dirham", ›ḥasram‹ "verjuice", ›ḫarnaq‹ "leveret", Alc. *ḫánçar* "little finger" and *bánçar* "ring finger", for SA *dirham, ḥiṣrim. ḫirniq, ḫinṣir* and *binṣir*.

2.1.2.3

The already OA allomorphic alternation {1u2(u)3}, e.g., in the partitive numerals and as a broken pl. pattern, has left some traces in AA, which has *rúbʿ* "fourth" and *ṯúmn* "eighth" (whence Cs. **arroba** and **azumbre** as

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like *amar, qasar, ramal, ḏikir* and *fiṭir*, for *amr* "matter", *qasr* "palace", *raml* "sand", *ḏikr* "mention" and *fiṭr* "fast breaking", but the surviving graphical witnesses attest their general use in eventually any position.

[102] This item, however, is questionable here, since AA usually has /a/ instead of /i/ as vocalisation of OA *hamzatu lwaṣl* (cf. VA ›abant‹ "daughter", together with the standard Rm. reflex **aben** of SA *ibn*, and the prefixes of every derived stem of the verb, as shall be seen), in agreement with Et. and many Mod.Yem. dialects, according to Behnstedt (see Corriente & Vicente 2008:132), all of which points to a shared isogloss with the South Arabian area.

[103] Brockelmann 1908 I: 147–148 reacted against Philippi's hypothesis of this law being a PS general principle, with the argument of its absence in OA and Ak. Apparently, he was not aware of its occasional effectiveness in whole paradigms of the Et. verb conjugation (e.g., *läbsä ~ läbäskä*, parallel to Hb. *lābēš ~ lābaštā*, vs. conservative OA *labisa ~ labista* "he wore ~ you wore"), not to speak of AA, in which, as in the rest of Western NA, it did away with most of the vocalic alternations marking verbal aspects. We first pointed to the occasional effectiveness of Philippi's law on AA items in Corriente 1981–1982:35, and as soon as in 1989b: 101, we suggested that this feature appears to have been a shared isogloss of Et., ESA and Western Arabic dialects of "Yemenite" stock, i.e., spoken by tribes more or less recently shifted from South Arabian languages to North Arabian, and affected by that substratum.

[104] However, most of these substandard allomorphs are not confirmed by other sources, and appear to have had only limited diachronic, diatopic and diastratic validity. This feature explains cases like the place name **Alquézar** Hs. (abbreviation of *qiṣr bani ḫaláf*, pn. of a local family), pointing to an unusual ultra-correct **qíṣr*, instead of regular AA *qáṣr*, reflected everywhere else as **Alcázar** in place names and the loanwords Cs. **alcázar**, Pt. **alcácer** and Ct. **alcásser**. Incidentally, similar cases are witnessed in other NA dialects, cf. Ml. *sider* and Eg. *ṣi/adr* "breast" vs. SA *ṣadr*.

names of certain weights and measures, cf. Alc. *róbaâ* and *ċúmen*, with non-phonemic disjunctive vowels, from OA *rubʿ* and *ṯumn*), vs. Alc. *ûxúr* "tithe" and *ċulúċ* "third", from OA *ʿušur* and *ṯuluṯ*; cf. otherwise Alc. *dubúr* "anus" and VA ›*quṭūn*‹ "cotton" (whence Cs. **algodón** and Ct. **cotó**), for OA *dub(u)r* and *quṭ(u)n*.[105]

2.1.2.4

The pattern {1a2a3} was consistently stressed on the last syllable in AA (see 1.3.1.4.1), as proven by an overwhelming majority of loanwords (e.g., Cs. **albarazo** "vitiligo", **azabache** and Ct. **atzabeja** "jet", Ct. **raval** = Cs. **arrabal** and Pt. **arrabade** "suburb", Cs. **ataharre** and Pt. **atafal** "crupper", from SA *baraṣ, sabaǧ, rabaḍ* and *ṯafar*, etc.), transcriptions of place names (e.g., **Alarave** Mu., < AA *alʿaráb* "the Arabs", **Cenete** Gr., < AA *sanád* "slope", **Benicalaf** Va., < AA *bani ḫaláf* "Ḫ.'s sons", etc.), and peculiar spellings with *matres lectionis* in dialectal writings, about which see 1.3.1.4.1. As said there, however, there are a host of cases in which {1a2a3} is reflected in AA as {1a23}, some as conspicuous as LA 66 ›*ramk*‹ "mares" 281 ›*ṭarf*‹ "side", VR ›*ǧamlah*‹ "she-camel", IQ 9/14/3 ›*baqrah*‹ "cow", required by the rhyme, or the place name **Alanje** Bd., < AA *alḥanš* "the snake", vs. OA *ḥanaš* (see fn. 51). Some of these instances may continue the variegated OA dialects introduced by the conquerors, and some may have originated through ultra-correction of the trend described in 2.1.2.1.

2.1.2.5

AA belonged to the group of dialects, already attested in OA and widely represented in NA, in which {1a2i3} became {1a/i23},[106] e.g., LA 80 ›*salf*‹ "ancestor", VA ›*kat(a/i)f*‹ "shoulder", ›*faḫd*‹ "thigh", GL ›*kabdun*‹ "liver", etc., for SA *salif, katif, faḫ(i)d* and *kabid*.

2.1.2.6

The OA pattern {a12a3}, characteristic of adjectives for colours and physical qualities is regularly reflected in AA as {a12á3} (cf. MT 210.4 ›*aḥwāl*‹ "cross-eyed", with a stress marking *mater lectionis*, parallel to Alc. *ahmár* "red", *azráq* "blue", *ebquém* "mute" and *ahdéb* "hunchback", for SA *aḥwal, aḥmar*,

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[105] As for the matching broken pl. pattern, cf. the place name **Algodor** Cc., Co. and To., from AA *alǧudúr* "the ponds", and the curious instance of AA *rúsl* "messenger", a depluralised reflex of OA *rus(u)l*, pl. of *rasūl* (cf. Cs. **rehén**, Pt. **refém** "hostage", also derived from AA *rihán*, pl. of *ráhn*; in both cases, the depluralisation was triggered by the fact that messengers and hostages where usually more than one on each occasion).

[106] See Sībawayhi II/277.

azraq and *aḥdab*). In the pl., however, there was a considerable degree of hesitation between preservation of SA {**1u23**} (e.g., Alc. *hómar*, *zorq*, *húdeb*, for SA *ḥumr*, *zurq* and *ḥudb*) and an allophonic {**1u2á3**}, with a phonemicised disjunctive vowel (e.g., Alc. *buquém*, *humár*, *huguél*, VA ›*bukam*‹, ›*šuqar*‹ "blond [pl.]", etc.). This alternation appears to reflect subdialectal differences within AA.[107]

2.1.2.7

The CA distribution of {*mv+*} prefixes appears to have been the result of a successive series of innovations starting in the PS stage, and still incomplete at the time of the great Islamic expansion, which explains considerable divergences between OA and NA dialects.[108] The assignment of labialised {*mu+*} to all participles, except the non-agentive {**ma12ū3**} of G stems, shared by Ak. and Ug., but not by Et., and therefore most likely by ESA, might have been an early attempt to differentiate among too wide an array of semantic functions, while the functional segregation of {*ma+*} as *nomen loci* vs. {*mi+*} as *nomen instrumenti*, possibly triggered by the dissimilation, initially characteristic only of {**mi12ā3**}, is a rather recent, incomplete and partially artificial development, fostered by grammarians fond of such categorial classifications, but never altogether integrated in the living language reflected by NA dialects.

2.1.2.7.1. In AA, as by and large in NA, most *nomina loci* and *nomina instrumenti* share the prefix {*ma+*} (e.g., VA ›*maǧlis*‹ "assembly room" and ›*mabrad*‹ "file"), except in the second case when OA had {**mi12ā3**}, which has been generally preserved (e.g., VA ›*miḥrāṯ*‹ "plough" and ›*minšār*‹ "saw"), unless labialisation prevails (e.g., VA ›*muftāḥ*‹ "key", ›*muḥaddah*‹ "pillow" and ›*muqāṣ*‹ "scissors", as *nomina instrumenti*, and GL ›*muṣārah*‹ "recreation ground" (whence **Almozara** Zg.) and Cs. **almofalla** "camp", from AA *muḥalla, as *nomina loci*, for SA *masārah* and *maḥallah*).

2.1.2.7.2. In a few instances, we come across some participles of derived measures prefixed with {*ma+*} (e.g., LA 112 = IA 180 ›*maqʿad*‹ "cripple", LA 149 = IH 173 ›*mašrab*‹ "intense [colour]", and ›*maṣmat*‹ "solid", for SA *muqʿad*, *mušrab* and *muṣmat*, even the very revered name of the Prophet

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[107] There are some other oddities in this type of adjectives, like the quasi-regular masc. pl. *ceudín* in Alc. and ›*sūdān*‹ in VA for *aswád* "black" (see fn. 174), and the fem. pls. *beqmít* "dumb women" in Alc. and ›*sawdānāt*‹ "black women", in VA and LA 278. As for the elative {**a12a3**}, see 2.1.4.

[108] On this, see Corriente 1979.

Muhammad, reflected in IH 181 as ›*maḥammad*‹, whence Cs. **Mahoma** and
Pt. **Mafamede**).[109]

2.1.2.7.3. The unusual frequency of the pattern {mi12ā3} in AA intensive
adjectives (e.g., VA ›*midrār*‹ "flowing copiously", ›*midwār*‹ "short [gar-
ment]", ›*midyān*‹ "heavily indebted", ›*miryāḥ*‹ "windy", ›*mišrār*‹ "quarrel-
some", ›*miškāḥ*‹ "avaricious", ›*miḍrār*‹ "harmful", ›*miḍrās*‹ "having large
uneven teeth", ›*miʿyān*‹ "having a powerful evil eye", ›*miḵṯār*‹ "loquacious",
›*mikyād*‹ "tricky", ›*milsān*‹ "talkative", ›*mimrāḍ*‹ "sickly", ›*mihḏār*‹ "glib",
›*mihwāl*‹ "terrible", Alc. *miçrár* "cute", GL ›*miḥyāl*‹ "crafty", Z 1573 ›*mislāl*‹
"consumptive", IQ 21/3/4 ›*miṣwāb*‹ "felicitous", 87/1/2 ›*miktāf*‹ "sturdy" and
147/6/5 ›*miṭyār*‹ "ominous"), compared to its relative scarcity in OA, to-
gether with the fact that many of them are AA lexical innovations, points
to a hypertrophic development, since most of them share an unequivocal
superlative nuance.[110]

2.1.2.8
The vocalisation of quadriconsonantal nouns in OA, and more widely speak-
ing, their structure in the whole Semitic family, is one of the subjects for
which information has always been and remains scarce.[111] But even a quick

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[109] We are inclined to attribute this feature again to the South Arabian substratum of AA,
on account of similar instances such as the late Et. reflexes of OA *muzāḥim* "constraining",
muslim "Muslim", *muḥammad* "pn.", *muʿāwiyah* "pn.", *muštarī* "Jupi-ter", *muʿallaqah* "the
Suspended Church of Old Cairo", and other participles with a {mä+} prefix (characteristic
of Et. derived measures; see Dillmann 1865: 1305, 1401, 323, 1410, 1411 and 1400), which must
necessarily have been transmitted by Arabs of South Arabian stock.

[110] As for the origin of this pattern, there is no agreement among Semitic scholars like
Brockelmann 1908 I: 379 or Wright 1959 I: 138, on the one hand, usually reflecting Cas-
pari's views, who considered it a metaphorical extension of *nomina instrumenti*, and Fleisch
1961:425 and 433–434, who follows Nyberg in his assumption of a prefixation of {mv+} to pre-
existing adjectives. Without prejudging this diachronic point, the fact that some of those
adjectives in AA are not so clearly superlative, and that many of them semantically stand
rather close to verbal participles, opens a third complementary way to solve the riddle and
explain such abundance in AA: namely, that those superlatives may have been easily con-
taminated by participles of the IX–XI verbal measure, characteristically frequent in Western
Arabic (see Fischer & Jastrow 1980:264). Thus, e.g., it is easy to imagine that a participle
ma/uslāl (cf. Mo. *məslāl* "qui a engendré beaucoup", Premare 1993–1999 VI: 170) would easily
become *mislāl*, through the same dissimilatory phenomenon observed in the corresponding
type of *nomina instrumenti*. The same would apply to cases like LA 129 ›*mibtāʿ*‹ "buyer" and
›*miḥtāl*‹ "shrewd", coinciding in appearance with the aforementioned adjectives, although
in fact they are participles of Gt stems.

[111] Fleisch 1961:501–502 gives as proof of this assertion the fact that even Brockelmann
in his still impressive *Grundriss* could only write 15 lines on this issue, but neither his own
five pages, nor Grande's eleven (Grande 1998:51–63) dealing with it can presently be deemed
sufficient.

glance at a comprehensive list of allowed combinations reveals the pervasiveness of harmonised vowel sequences, i.e., {1a23a4}, {1i23i4} and {1u23u4}, with some degree of tolerance of *u/i-a* sequences, i.e., {1u/i23a4}, and less so in the case of *u-a-i*, found only in some diminutive patterns,[112] which makes it obvious that the harmonising trend is a recent development, fostered by grammarians already under the aegis of Islam.[113] AA does not reflect that late preference in many instances, invariably having {1a23ú/í4} for SA {1u23ū4} and {1i23ī4} (e.g., VA ›*ḫanzīr*‹ "pig" and ›*ʿaṣfūr*‹ "bird", for SA *ḫinzīr* and *ʿuṣfūr*) and, most of the time, {1ú23a4} or {1í23a4} when the second vowel was not long (e.g., LA 156 ›*diftar*‹ "writing pad", GL ›*binṣar*‹ "ring-finger", VA ›*fundaq*‹ "stable", ›*fulfalah*‹ "pepper", for SA *daftar, binṣir, funduq* and *fulfulah*).[114] At times, however, AA exhibits some harmonised quadriconsonantal nouns, e.g., VA and most sources ›*ḫuršūfah*‹ "artichoke" and Alc. *borcóqua* "prune"; however, the matching Cs., Gl. and Pt. loanwords **alcachofa**, Ct. **carxofa**, and Cs. and Gl. **albaricoque**, Ct. **albercoc** reflect non-harmonised shapes.

2.1.2.9

The abandonment by AA of the less common OA derivational noun patterns, mentioned in 2.1.2, is purported by substitutions of simpler shapes for rarer ones, e.g., Z 693 ›*naššāb*‹ "arrows", LA 177 ›*durʿah*‹ "shirt", 271 ›*darrāǧ*‹ "francolin", 298 ›*nuʿrah*‹ "gadfly", and ›*nafīsah*‹ "woman in labour", for SA *nuššāb, durrāʿah, durrāǧ, nuʿarah* and *nufasāʾ*.

2.1.2.10

Weak root morphemes, i.e., those containing a semi-consonant (namely, {ʾ/w/y23}, {1ʾ/w/y3} and {12ʾ/w/y}), as well as those initially having less than three consonants and subsequently standardised (most often by repeating the second consonant of biconsonantal roots and assuming the appearance of {122}), often receive special treatment in the various Semitic languages, which may differ not only one from another, but even within the dialects of the same. In the case of AA, and by comparison with SA, some of the solutions are rather peculiar and shall be listed next.

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[112] See Fischer 1972:36 ("Nominale Stammbildungsmorpheme 4-rad. Wurzeln").

[113] See on this Corriente 1976, although the phonaesthetic considerations beyond their attitudes and criteria of correctness are at times difficult to apprehend.

[114] It is a moot question whether these non-harmonised items continue dialectal pronunciations more faithful to older shapes (e.g., ›*diftar*‹, from Gk. *difthéra*, ›*fulfalah*‹, from Sk. *pippalī*), which might have been the case at times, or simply apply a favoured pattern, as evidenced by cases in which the etyma do not match the AA pronunciation, e.g., ›*fundaq*‹, from Gk. *pandokeíon*, or VA ›*dustar*‹ "wedge", from P *dastār*.

2.1.2.10.1. Former biconsonantal root morphemes are often adjusted to tri-consonantal standards by supplying a third element in ways at times different from those recorded for SA; e.g., gemination of the second consonant (e.g., LA 273 ›*riyyah*‹ "lung", VA ›*ḫirr*‹ "vulva", Z 621 ›*damm*‹ "blood", 1458 ›*yadd*‹ "hand", and rhyme-supported IQ 5/8/3 ›*famm*‹ "mouth", for SA *riʾah*, *ḫir*, *dam*, *yad* and *fam*, which had remained biconsonantal, unlike the case in most areas of NA. In some cases in which OA had lengthened the vocalic case endings in order to provide the appearance of a triconsonantal root, but only in *status constructus*, i.e., as head of a syntagm of rection or annexation, this restriction has disappeared in AA, e.g., VA ›*ḥamū*‹ "father-in-law" and ›*aḫū*‹ "brother"; besides, that vowel is not dropped, unlike the case in SA, in annexation with the 1st person sg. possessive pronoun, e.g., Alc. 59.23 *aḵóy* "my brother", vs. CA *aḫī*. However, and again unlike SA, either by ultra-correction or by survival of OA dialects, that same vowel often disappears in annexation with proper names, e.g., IQ 37/6/2 ›*ab ğaʿfar*‹ and 65/8/1 ›*ab ʿāmir*‹, and in Old Lt. and Rm. transcriptions like **Abaiub**, < *ab ayyūb*, **Abia-far**, < *ab ğaʿfar*, etc.[115]

2.1.2.10.2. The treatment of {1ʾ/w/y3} roots in AA is most of the time parallel to the solutions of NA; thus, for instance, the pattern {1a2ī3} of {rʾs} has generated IA 635 ›*rayyis*‹ for SA *raʾīs* "head of an institution", cf. Cs. **arráez**, Pt. and Ct. **arrais** "skipper", while in the case of "hollow" roots, i.e., {1w/y3}, the same pattern could eventually exhibit simplification of the secondary diphthong (e.g., GL ›*laynun*‹ "soft", vs. a conservative ›*layyin*‹ in other sources, Alc. *héyn* "easy", vs. standard ›*hayyin*‹ elsewhere, and *áyl* "deer", vs. VA ›*ayyil*‹). In two very frequent words, SA *sayyid* "lord" and *ğayyid* "good", that diphthong was reduced to a mere high vowel, i.e., AA *síd* and *ğíd*, as proven by rhymes in IQ 40/8/4 and 74/6/4, the first item being common in other NA areas as well, though not excluding the survival of a semantically differentiated higher register shape, which is also witnessed to in AA, e.g., Alc. *céid* "master", VA, IQ 69/3/1 and AC 547 ›*sayyid*‹ (cf. English 'master' vs. 'mister' or French '*seigneur*' vs. '*sieur*').

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[115] See Terés 1990:135. This is also the reason for the present shape of the name of the Madridian quarter of **(L)avapiés** < *ab ʿabbās*, for the SA pn. *abū ʿabbās*. This phenomenon might have originated in OA dialects with the invariable shapes *abā* and *aḫā*, in which the last vowel disappeared phonetically in front of the article or of any elidible *alif* (see Corriente 1976:92 and 2.1.7).

2.1.2.10.3. The treatment of {12w/y} roots in AA is also in most cases parallel to NA morphology, but not without some peculiar solutions, either closer to SA, or to some OA dialects, or at times wholly unprecedented.

2.1.2.10.3.1. Thus, for instance, the pattern {1v23} generates {1v2ú/í} (e.g., VA ›ǧarū‹ = Alc. *jarú* "cub", VA ›falū‹ = Alc. *felú* "colt", VA ›ǧidī‹ = Alc. *gidí* "buck", VA ›hurī‹ = Alc. *hurí* "granary", etc., for SA *ǧirw*, *falw*, *ǧady* and *hury*);[116] however, this final vowel being no mere allophone of the semi-consonant, but the full-fledged equivalent of **/uw(w)/*, it recovered this shape before suffixes (e.g., IQ 1/4/3 ›ḥuluwwah‹ "sweet [fem.]", 20/5/3 ›ʿaduwwah‹ "female foe" and VA ›ḍaruwwah‹ "one lentisk tree", for SA *ḥulwah* and *ḍirwah*).[117]

2.1.2.10.3.2. On the other hand, the pattern {1a22ā3} in these roots generated a rather conservative {1a22á}, in agreement with the rules for the treatment of *hamz* (see 1.2.28.1.4, e.g., VA ›saqqā‹ = Alc. *çacá* "water-carrier", whence Pt. **açacal** and Cs. **azacán**, and VA ›bannā‹ = Alc. *benní* "bricklayer", with 2nd degree *imālah*, whence Cs. **albañil** vs. Pt. **alvanel**). There were also some occasional shifts to {122ā2}, e.g., VA ›fassās‹ "noiseless farter", ›ḫarrār‹ = Alc. *ḫarrír* "shitter", for SA *fassāʾ* and *ḫarrāʾ*.

2.1.2.10.3.3. At the end of words, any string /2(i)yah/ became in AA /2íyya/, e.g., VA ›qariyyah‹ "village", whence Cs. **alquería**, Ct. **alqueria** and Pt. **alcaria**, GL ›tasmiyyatun‹ "naming", IQ 24/1/4 ›muštariyyah‹ "bought" and 2/4 ›mustawiyyah‹ "straight", all of them in evidential rhyme positions, for SA *qaryah*, *muštariyah* and *mustawiyah*, and IQ 42/1/5 ›amriyya‹ "mirrors", a broken pl. pattern {a12i3ah}.[118]

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[116] But attention should be paid to the fact that their pausal forms in OA were actually pronounced as *ǧirū*, *falū*, *ǧidī* and *hurī*, different in the traditional pronunciation of Arabic (*taǧwīd*) from their AA counterparts merely in the ultima stress position of the latter, not without precedents in OA dialects either.

[117] There are also cases suggesting preservation of the SA solution, e.g., VA ›ḥašw‹ "filling", ›ḥabw‹ "crawling", Alc. *náhu* "grammar" and *néfiǧ* "exile", for SA *naḥw* and *nafy*, as well as curious spellings like those of GL ›naḥʾu‹ and ›ʿaḍʾu‹ for SA *ʿuḍw* "member", likely aimed at the same pronunciation; however, they appear to be either printing mistakes in the case of Alc., or prestigious classicisms introduced by scholars who knew CA, or even perhaps pilgrims who learned them in the East and tried, upon their return, to show off in front of their countrymen, with the usually short-lived success of most linguistic fads.

[118] There are also exceptions to this rule, e.g., IA 26 ›laḥyah‹ = Alc. *láḥya*, for SA *liḥyah*, VA ›isfannāriyah‹ "carrot", from Gk. *staphylînos ágrios*, IQ 78/6/1 ›išbilya‹ = Alc. *Yxbília*, "Seville", etc. and, conversely, extensions thereof to similar situations, e.g., IQ 42/0/1 ›biyya‹, for SA *bī* or *biya*; however, see 1.3.2.2 and fn. 87 about frequent spontaneous gemination of sonorants in AA.

2.1.2.10.3.4. The loss of the semi-consonant in {12w/y} root morphemes in some patterns such as {1ā2i3} and {1awā2i3}, already allowed in OA pausal forms, is characteristic of some AA items, e.g., VR ›wād‹ "river", ›bāz‹ "falcon", ›ǧawār‹ "maids", ›ward alzawān‹ "mallow", lit. "whores' roses", for SA wādī, bāzī, ǧawārī and zawānī (cf. Alc. guíd, biç, jaguár and guard zaguín, with parallels in other Western Arabic dialects, e.g., Mo. wād, bāz = Ml. wied, bies).[119]

2.1.2.10.4. In many instances, the peculiar treatment in AA of weak root morphemes can be accounted for in terms of metanalysis, i.e., of erroneous attribution of lexical items to a kind of weak root which is not truly its own, because of an infra-correct restitution of the weak consonant or of gemination of a phoneme from members of the paradigms that had lost either one of both. Such are, e.g., the cases of VA ›astāk‹ "to polish one's teeth", with an anomalous maṣdar ›istikāk‹, as if from *{skk}, ›aštām‹ "to smell", as if from *{šwm}, instead of diachronically correct {šmm}, ›ḍāyad‹ "to oppose", as if from *{ḍyd}, instead of correct {ḍdd}, the plurals ›mawādd‹ "tables" and ›makākin‹ "places" of ›māʾidah‹ and ›makān‹, as if from *{mdd} and *{mkn}, instead of {myd} and {kwn}, IQ 89/6/3 ›maḥāyiǧ‹ "streets", pl. of ›maḥaǧǧah‹,[120] Alc. nilúm lemémt "to blame", as if from *{lmm}, and diminutives like çucáica "little market" (whence **Azuqueca** Gu.), and vdéyed "little river", as if from *{sqq} and *{wdd}, instead of {lwm}, {swq} and {wdy} respectively. These instances, much more frequent in AA than in any other NA dialect, have been favoured by the phonemic status of stress, which caused the analysis of /asták/, /aštám/, /ḍíd(d)/, /lúm/, /sáq/ and /wád/ as */astákk/, */aštámm/, */lumm/, */sáqq/ and */wádd/ and played havoc with the SA features of consonant gemination and vowel length, as bases of recognition of root morphemes also in the rest of cases.

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[119] As for instances of decay of final /ā/, e.g., in VA ›mūs‹ "razor" and ›mawl‹ "owner", for SA mūsà and mawlà, they are likelier to have originated through the kind of metanalysis called wrong-parsing, before the article (cf. English 'apron', 'otter', etc.).

[120] Cf. also Alc. maḳáda "pillow" pl. maḳáid, and its diminutive ›muḥayyadah‹ in VA, with a type of metanalysis curiously reappearing in Mo. pls., e.g., mḥažža ~ mḥāyəž "avenue", mḥadda ~ mḥāyəd "pillow", mṛəmma ~ mṛāym "loom" and qməžža ~ qmāyəž "shirt" (see Corriente 1971:50 about the strong possibility of this phenomenon being due in Naf. dialects to borrowing from AA). As for suqáyqa "little market", from sūq, it had been already documented by Dz I 706, then ignored by subsequent etymologists like Asín 1940, which caused our mistake in SK fn. 20.

2.1.3. *The Diminutive*

The OA noun patterns {1u2ay3} and {CuCayCiC}, characteristic markers of the diminutives of triconsonantal and quadriconsonantal stems, respectively, exhibit in AA the slightly modified shapes {1u2áyya3} and {CuCáyCaC},[121] e.g., GL ›*buwayyatun*‹ "little house", ›*ḫuǧayyarun*‹ "pebbles", IQ 8/3/3 ›*ruwayyas*‹ "little head" (= Alc. *ruáyas*), 9/26/3 ›*usayyam*‹ "little name", Alc. *cuáyas* = *quwáyyas* "little arch", GL ›*muǧayšarun*‹ "small farm", ›*muḫayda'un*‹ "shortcut", IQ 1/5/1 ›*ušayqar*‹ "little blond one", 149/5/4 ›*usaywad*‹ "little black one", Alc. *uquéilel* "little crown" and *conáidal* "little lamp", from AA *báyt*, *ḥaǧár*, *rás*, *ísm*, *qáws*, *maǧšár*, *maḫdá'*, *ašqár*, *aswád*, *aklíl* and *qandíl*. However, the OA shape was kept unaltered in the case of nouns with the fem. suffix (e.g., GL ›*ṣuḥayfatun*‹ "small page", IQ 2/7/3 ›*qubaylah*‹ "little kiss", Alc. *bugáyla* "little mule", even in items like Alc. *dugéyja* "little hen" and *mucéyle* "little question", from *digíja* and *mecéle*, in which the underlying SA shapes *daǧāǧah* and *mas'alah* should have generated, according to the rules for the evolution of AA, **duǧáyyaǧa* and **musáyyala*),[122] as well as those triconsonantal ones with a root morpheme {12w/y}, e.g., IQ 27/0/1 ›*ḫulay*‹ "little sweet one", 27/3/4 ›*ṣubay*‹ "little boy", Alc. *oḳái* "little brother", and *muráy* "little mirror".[123]

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[121] Apparently, a case of preference of the quadriconsonantal type, applied to both quadriconsonantal root morphemes and triconsonantal ones with a prefix. The same situation prevails in Naf. dialects, except in those of the Bedouins, according to Brockelmann 1908 I: 353 and Zavadovski 1962:94. It is noteworthy that AA belongs, together with Naf. and Bedouin dialects, to a group of Arabic dialects in which this kind of internal diminutive pattern has remained in frequent productive usage, and even developed new variants, unlike the case of their urban Eastern counterparts, in which their usage has often dwindled to a great extent to the point of nearly surviving in mere lexicalised items.

[122] The same situation obtains in triconsonantal stems with the *nisbah*-suffix (see 2.1.5.1), to judge from instances like Alc. *curáyci* "small chair", from *curcí*, and *ḳudéimi* "little knife", from *ḳidmí*; by the same token, the place name **Almudena**, in 1.1.4.1, may simply reflect **almudáyna*, as if from {mdn}. On the other hand, and as in the case of other NA and even OA dialects, some AA unmarked fem. nouns received the characteristic suffix {+a[t]} upon adopting the diminutive pattern, e.g., IQ 87/2/1 ›*nufaysatī*‹ "my little soul" and 63/7/4 ›*duwayrah*‹ "little house", from SA *nafs* and *dār*, even *quláyba* "little heart", in Alc. and AC, although *qálb* is masc.

[123] In the case of root morphemes {12w}, the peculiar AA tolerance for /y/iw/ sequences (see 1.1.4.1) allowed items like Alc. *huláygua* = *ḥuláywa* "little sweetness", which have propagated to stems containing /w/ or /ú/ in medial position, e.g., *duáyguara* = *duwáywara* "little disk", from *daguára* = *dawwára*, and *ûujáygueza* "little old lady", from *aâjúze* = *'aǧúza*, and even to other stems, e.g., *poláyguat* "little porridge", from *puliát* = *pulyát*, and *tubáyvara* "small jar", from *tabáyra* = *ṭabáyra*, which points to the emergence of a morphological alternation between diminutive and non-diminutive items, as in the case of the broken pl. pattern {1awá2i3} for {1ay2v3} sgs., about which see 1.1.1.6.

2.1.3.1

Some AA adjectives with triconsonantal bases, nevertheless, use a geminated quadriconsonantal diminutive pattern {**CuCáyCaC**}, e.g., Alc. *cubáybar* "rather great", *ċucáycal* "rather heavy", *buréyred* "slightly cold", *rutáitab* "slightly tender", from *kibír*, *ṯaqíl*, *bárid* and *ráṯb*. In all likelihood, this innovation was generated by the alternation of adjectives of the OA patterns {1a2ī3} and {1i22ī3}, the latter with an intensive nuance often lost; later on, the innovated pattern was extended to other adjectives of different stems.[124]

2.1.3.2

There is at least one clear instance of "shortened" diminutive[125] in AA, namely, *duéiri* from *midrí*, < SA *miḏrà* "winnowing fork", which allows us to surmise that also VA ›*zullayǧ(ah)*‹ "glazed tile", whence Cs. **azulejo**, is a similar case, derived from SA *muzaǧǧaǧ* "glazed" (through the steps described in 1.2.7.4 and 1.2.19.3).

2.1.4. *The Elative*

The OA elative pattern {a12a3} for adjectives, which confers them comparative or superlative connotations, remained alive and quite productive in AA, e.g. VA ›*aḥlá*‹ "sweeter", ›*ashal*‹ "easier", IA 5 ›*aṯqal*‹ "heavier", 1 ›*ašhar*‹ "more famous", 12 ›*azlaṭ*‹ "poorer", 22 ›*aqall*‹ "less" (with substitution of {a1a22} for {a12a3}, in agreement with 2.2.3.2), Alc. *ahyén* "easier", *ahcén* "better", *azgár* "smaller", *afuét* "later" (formed on *fawát* "late", originally a *maṣdar*, used as an adjective and an adverb, parallel to *malá* "full"), DC 9a *ecthér* "more", 12a *elequél* "the least", etc., all of them easily linked with their SA matches in the roots {ḥlw}, {shl}, {ṯql}, {šhr}, {zlṭ}, {qll}, {hwn}, {ḥsn}, {ṣǧr,}, {fwt} and {kṯr}. In contrast with the scarcity of this idiom in other NA dialects, these items are often used in their exclamative function, preceded by *mā*, like in OA, e.g., Z 1356 ›*mā ashal*‹ "how easy!", 142 ›*m+ašqā*‹ "how miserable!", IQ 13/2/1 ›*mā aḥlā wamā amarru*‹ "how sweet and how bitter he is!", 16/0/2 ›*mā abyaḍuh ʿindī wamā ašraqu*‹ "how white it is to me and how bright!",[126] 94/14/4 ›*mā aswad fī ʿaynu ḏāk alṣabāḥ*‹ "how black that morning

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[124] See Brockelmann 1908 I: 362–363. This innovation is shared by some Naf. dialects, probably introduced in them, as many other features, by the successive waves of Andalusi immigrants. That coincidence led some scholars to believe that it was due to the Br. substratum of Western Arabic, but nothing in that language would support such a hypothesis.

[125] I.e., *taṣǧīru ttarḫīm* (see Fleisch 1961:389).

[126] As reported in LA 251–252 in the case of *mā abyaḍ*, this line violates two rules of CA

was in his eyes!”.[127] However, certain constructions point to the beginning of the decay of this inflexion and its replacement by an analytical idiom introduced with *akṯár* “more”, e.g., IQ 96/7/4 ›*akṯar dafí*‹ “warmer”, 99/14/2 ›*akṯar raqīq*‹ “thinner”, 119/4/4 ›*akṯar muliḥ*‹ “more insistent”, and 111/7/4 ›*akṯar … ṣayyādah*‹ “more skillful at fishing”, and Alc. 47.26 *céum gáli aqċar aâdím min alledí quin yazuí* “a much higher price than it cost”, 29–30 *bicéum raḳíç min alledí qui yazví* “for a price lower than its value”, 308.18–29 *aqċár abiád ~ aqhál ~ aḳdár ~ azráq ~ ahmár ~ azfár* “whiter; blacker; greener; bluer; redder; yellower”, 51.20 *aḍenb al águil gua alquibír = aḍḍánb aláwil walkibír* “the first and biggest sin”.[128]

2.1.5. *Derivational Suffixes*

The nominal system of derivational suffixes in Semitic and, more particularly, in OA is very poor, and has not been significantly expanded in any NA dialect, AA included. Leaving aside the markers of gender and number, better dealt with as inflexional morphemes, the whole Semitic family merely counts the *nisbah*-suffixes and those including a nasal consonant, above all {+*ān*},[129] plus a few foreign suffixes;[130] the same situation basically prevails in AA.

2.1.5.1
The *nisbah*-suffix in AA has retained and even increased its frequency in comparison with OA, and appears with two allomorphs, {+*í*} and {+*i*},

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forbidding the elative pattern in adjectives already having the shape {a12a3} like those meaning colour and physical qualities, as well as in bases counting more than three consonants, which is the case of the participle *mušriq* “bright”; however, such violations were common in NA, and not exceptional even in OA. IQ 173/2/4 even has an isolated ›*mā zandaqu*‹ “what a heretic!”, irregularly derived from a quadriconsonantal root.

[127] To this we could add the innovated and standardised *ahyár* and *ašárr*, for SA *hayr* and *šarr*, present in other areas of NA, e.g., IQ 96/5/3 ›*ahyar*‹ “better” and GL ›*ašarru*‹ “worse”, Ax 37.21 ›*ašarruhum*‹ “the worst of them” and Z 29 ›*azzuqāq ahyar min dāruh*‹ “the street is better than his home”.

[128] As for the superlative, AA clearly preferred analytical expressions including certain semantically apt auxiliary adjectives or substantives, e.g., IQ 86/8/2 ›*šaǧíʿ katīr*‹ “very brave”, 87/20/1 ›*šayyan ʿaḍīm*‹ “a great deal”, and 105/7/4 ›*ǧíd … saraf*‹ “very good”.

[129] Characteristic of some adjectives and *maṣdar*s, as in OA, and having the only peculiarity of its resistance to *imālah* (cf. VA ›*kaslān*‹ “lazy”, whence Gl. **lacazán**, **bardān* “brazen-faced”, whence Cs. **albardán**; see 1.1.1.3). These adjectives, however, appear to have been less frequent in standard AA, as pointed to by the substitution by *fáriḥ* and *hazín* for such common items in SA as *farhān* “glad” and *haznān* “sad”.

[130] See Brockelmann 1908: I 388–404 and Fleisch 1961:434–469.

distributed according to the diachronic principle laid out in 1.3.1.4.4.[131] Un-
like the case in strict CA, but in agreement with NA, it could be attached to
broken pls., e.g., IQ 48/7/4 ›*mulūkī*‹ "royal prince", VA ›*nisāwī*‹ = Alc. *nicígui*
"womanly", *rigíli* "manly", from SA *mulūk* "kings", *nisāʾ* "women" and *riǧāl*
"men", which provided a frequent pattern of derivation for nouns for people
having a trade or habit,[132] e.g., Z 672 ›*ʿaǧāyibī*‹ "juggler", Alc. *naguaquicí* "bell-
man", *maâginí* "druggist", *yaguaquití* "dealer in gems", *baguatilí* "cheat",
from SA *ʿaǧāʾib* "marvels; tricks", *nawāqīṣ* "bells", *maʿāǧīn* "electuaries",
yawāqīt "jewels" and *bawāṭil* "lies". No less often it was attached to collec-
tive ethnic adjectives (e.g., VA ›*ʿarab*‹ "Arabs", Alc. *aâgém* "non-Arabs" and
hadár = *ḥaḍar* "citizens"), in order to generate singulatives (i.e., VA ›*ʿarabī*‹
"Arab", Alc. *aâjamí* "non-Arab", *hadarí* "citizen"), from which occasionally
a pl. might be obtained, without again any semantic nuance differentiating
it from that historically collective item (e.g., VA ›*ʿarabiyīn*‹, Alc. *aâjamiyín*
and *hadariyín*).[133]

2.1.5.2

In view of the scarcity of OA suffixes, it is little wonder that AA has adopted
some Rm. ones, although only a few of them appear to have retained their
functionality and productiveness, like the augmentative {+*ÓN*} and per-
haps {+*ÓT*} (e.g., VA ›*raqadūn*‹ "sleepyhead", IQ ›*ǧurrūn*‹ "big jar", Z 1461
›*manḫarūṭ*‹ "big nosed", from AA *ráqid* "sleeping", *ǧárra* "jar", and *mánḫar*
"nose"), the diminutive {+*ÉL*} (e.g., IQ 19/0/1 and 119/4/4 ›*marqaṭāl*‹ "old-
clothes market", Alc. *zingíl* "bad-smelling juice oozing from heaped olives" <
Andalusi Rm. *niǧs+*ÉL*, with metathesis; cf. also Cs. **tarabilla** "mill-clapper"
< Andalusi Rm. *ṭaráb+*ÉLLA* "little music"), and the instrumental and agen-
tive {+*ÁYR*} (e.g., VA ›*ǧawabayr*‹ "saucy", ›*zallayr*‹ "whoremonger", Alc.

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[131]   However, the fem. suffix levelled this difference in favour of the stressed allomorph, e.g.,
Alc. *nicígui* "womanly (masc.)" vs. *niciguía* (fem.), and *itálij* "Italian" (masc.) vs. *italía* (fem.),
and the same applies to the regular pl. suffix, e.g., *italiín* "Italians", and *yfránci* "French (sg.)"
vs. *yfranciín* (pl.). As in other NA dialects, the peculiar solutions for the use of the nisbah-
suffix in root morphemes {12w/y} (e.g., VA ›*qanawī*‹ "maker of canals", IQ 12/3/1 ›*qarawī*‹
"villager"), have generated an extended allomorph {+*awî*}, which has propagated to other
instances, e.g., Alc. *ḍanaví* = *ḍanawí* "related to sheep", from OA {*ḍaʾn*}. In the case of Geʿez,
this innovated shape has become standard (see Brockelmann 1908 I: 397), while an extended
-*ānī*, extant in Arabic also, prevailed in ESA (see Bauer 1966:45).

[132]   The same situation obtains in Naf. Arabic, according to Zavadovski 1962:93, with exam-
ples like *qzādri* "plumber", *dḫāḫni* "tobacconist", *krārsi* "cart driver", etc.

[133]   As for Alc. *búri* "barbel", pl. *bur, semantically anomalous, this may well have been
one of his many brazen fabrications, since VA has a pl. ›*būriyāt*‹, plus a *bawārī* recorded by
Dz I 126, both more in agreement with this word's status as a loanword, from Cp. *bōrē*.

ḫanzáir "swineheard", and *jabáyra* "purse", whence Pt. **algibeira**, from AA *ǧawáb* "answer", *zálla* "slip", *ḫanzír* "pig" and *ǧáyb* "pocket", the last two items being shortened by haplology and dissimilation, respectively).[134]

2.1.6. *Inflexional Morphemes*

2.1.6.1. *Definiteness and Indefiniteness*
Markers of definiteness and indefiniteness.

2.1.6.2
Unlike the case in OA, the definite article in AA had the constant shape {ʾal+}, which only dropped its initial *hamz* when preceded by the mono-consonantal prepositions *bi+*, *li+* and *fi+*, with loss of their final vowel in the open juncture, e.g., Alc. 9.30 *naâtí al ḳobz* "I give bread", *mi alhayé* "brandy", but 10.21 *lal focahá* "to the priests", VA ›*b+al+ḥarà*‹ "hardly", Alc. 27.32 *falgórfa* "in the room";[135] the same is suggested by pns. like **Abualfaqui** and **Abualhucey** (< *abu alfaqíh* and *abú alḥusáy*[*n*]: see Mateu y Llopis 1962:328 ff.), and place names like **Benialfaquí** "the legist's sons", in Ac., and **Binialmara** Mj., "the woman's sons", for which most NA dialects would have **bani+lfaqīh* and **bani+lmarah*.

2.1.6.3
The tight prosodic connection, called proclisis, between the definite article and the noun following it, and possibly also the incomplete awareness on the part of creole speakers during a number of generations of the morphological boundary between both,[136] have generated a few cases of metanalysis (or wrong-parsing), like VA ›*labbār*‹ "needle maker", ›*laǧūrah*‹ "brick", and GM ›(*l*)*aṣaf*‹ "caper", for SA *abbār*, *aǧurrah* and (*l*)*aṣaf*. Contrariwise, in some Rm. loanwords beginning with /al/, this segment has been

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[134] See on this topic Corriente 1983b, listing 24 such suffixes, although in most cases de-functionalised and integrated in items no longer analyzable by AA speakers.

[135] This is also the vocalisation of all prosthetic *alif*s in AA, except in the *maṣdar*s, borrowed from CA, in spite of the freak items of RC 41 ›*aymān*‹ "faith", ›*abrār*‹ "discharge", ›*aḥyā*‹ "resurrection", ›*arādah*‹ "will" and ›*aʿṭā*‹ "giving"; see 2.2.2.5.2. It is true that Alc. also lists *bil* and *fil* in 10.2, next to *fal* and *bal*, and has *lil* in 9.29, but these are sheer high register shapes elicited from his learned native informants, also found in the text of the Christian prayers included in his *Arte*, otherwise full of pseudo-corrections both in CA and AA. However, instances like Alc. *dil haçá* "lithiasis", *dil cullí* "rein disease", *dil amr* "this matter" and *dil yéum* "this day", < *dāʾ alḥaṣà*, *dāʾ alkulā*, *ḏā l'amr* and *ḏā lyawm*, respectively, could perhaps reflect a different rule in cases of word composition of probably imported items.

[136] On this issue, see Corriente 2008: lxiv–lxxi.

metanalyzed as the Arabic article and dropped, e.g. MT 103.5 ›*almaṭāqil al+funšiyyah*‹ "the coins struck by King Alphonse", and 801.5 ›*al+barǧariyyah al+maʕlūmah*‹ "the said inn" (from Cs. **alberguería**).[137]

2.1.6.4

There is a number of place names of Arabic origin beginning with **Am-**, instead of the expectable **Al-**, e.g., **Amocadén**, in Ja., **Ambercoque** in Am. (< *almuqaddám* "the chief" and *albarqúq* "the plum [trees]", respectively), and the pns. **Ambaxir, Amfathon, Ambuney(a)** and **Ambattax**, in Eastern Spain,[138] for which the possibility has been suggested of their being reflexes of the Old Yemenite shape of the article /*am+*/.[139] In spite of the absence of other related witnesses in Western Arabic, considering the abundance of "Yemenite" features in AA, this possibility cannot be altogether discarded in some instances.[140]

2.1.6.5

The OA marker of indefiniteness called *tanwīn*, i.e., the addition of /*n*/ after the final case vowels characteristic of the noun, has disappeared from all NA but for two kinds of traces, namely, the quite common adverbial ending {+*an*},[141] and the rather archaistic connective {+*an*}.

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[137] These cases should not be mixed up with those in which a Rm. loanword has entered AA with an agglutinated Rm. article, e.g., VA ›*labarkah*‹ "boat", ›*lašamaš*‹ "mortar", Alc. *lapát* "prebendary", *lapório* "unicorn", *lazcóna* "dart", etc., the etyma of which appear in Corriente 1997d. Some of these cases are obscured by frequent exchanges of /*r*/ and /*l*/ (rhotacisms and lambdacisms), e.g., Alc. *lóbra* "pandora, a kind of fish" < Lt. *rubra* "the red one" (still in Lerchundi 1932:146, no longer in Premare and Iraqui Sinaceur), vs. VA ›*rumiškal*‹ "rorqual" < Rm **LO MÁŠKL(O)* "the male", as it was supposed to be the male whale, whence Ct. **romesco**, name of a certain sauce formerly once used with some kinds of fish, now with other uses as well.

[138] See Mateu y Llopis 1942:316 and ff. In most of these cases, **Am-** appears to be a reflex of SA *ibn* = AA *ab(a)n* "son (of)", e.g., **Ambaxir** < *ibn bašīr*, **Amfathon** < *ibn fatḥūn* (also **Abenfathon**), **Ambuneya** < *ibn umayyah*, etc.

[139] As in the case of Eg. *imbāriḥ* "yesterday", in which the preservation of this anomaly has been helped by the next homorganic consonant. As for Mod.Yem. dialects, the shapes of the definite article with /*m*/ are characteristic of wide areas of the country, as expounded by Jastrow in Fischer & Jastrow 1980:121, and more recently by Behnstedt, in Corriente & Vicente 2008:111.

[140] See Corriente 1989b and 2008a: 178–179, in which this shape of the Arabic article is at the basis of the very etymon of Al-Andalus, from Cp. *ament e rēs* "the South West (of Europe)", with common voicing of /*t*/ and lambdacism, plus ultra-correct restitution of {*ʔal+*}.

[141] Evolved from the frequent use of the indefinite accusative as a marker of manner and circumstance. But see 2.3.3 about its frequent phonetic evolution.

2.1.6.5.1. In spite of some high register incrustations (e.g., Alc. 25 *méxien* "walking", *ráquiden* "lying down", *géhiden* "denying", 41.18 *cáylen* "saying", etc.; cf. fn. 252), it appears that the adverbial ending {+*an*} was no longer productively used in AA, but merely had currency in certain stereotyped idioms (e.g., VA ›*ġadan*‹ "tomorrow", ›*ahlan wasahlan*‹ and its near equivalent ›*marḥaban*‹ "welcome", IH 261 ›*awwalan*‹ = Alc. *ávilen* "firstly"). It appears also that the truly, though residual dialectal shape of this marker was its pausal allomorph, i.e., without the final nasal, e.g., IQ 4/3/1 ›*abadā*‹ "never", 49/9/1 ›*ḥaqqā*‹ "truly", 88/8/1 ›*marḥabā*‹, 57/5/5 ›*ṭawʿā*‹ "on his own will", 126/3/3 ›*ʿamdā*‹ "on purpose", 9/28/3 ›*raslā*‹ "slowly", 38/25/1 ›*ğamīʿā*‹ "together", GL ›*aydā*‹ "too",[142] Alc. *ḱáça*(*ta*) "especially" and, obviously, without observing CA morphosyntactic rules in cases like IQ 4/3/2 ›*liġadā*‹ "for tomorrow" and 102/8/3 ›*ilá ġadā*‹ "until tomorrow".[143]

2.1.6.5.2. The connective *tanwīn* will be dealt with in the appropriate section on syntax (3.1.1.1.1).

2.1.6.5.3. AA shares with some Naf. Arabic dialects, which have probably inherited this feature from the former, the innovation of an indefinite article, *wáḥ*(*i*)*d* (*al*)+, mostly invariable, but at times with a fem. *wáḥda*+, e.g., IQ 70/7/1 ›*waḥd alfaras*‹ "a horse", 74/3/1 ›*waḥd alnahār*‹ "a day", 140/0/1 ›*waḥd alṣubāy*‹ "a little boy", PES 47/6/1 ›*waḥd almaḥārah*‹ "a shell", Hv 100v5 ›*waḥda buṭizzah … waḥda furayma min ṣukar*‹ "a bottle … a small sugar loaf". Its relative scarcity points to a very low and possibly late register. As for its origin, Blau 1965:193, fn. 1, thought that this strange item could have developed from a former connective *tanwīn*, i.e., +*an*+; in our view, however, the need for a mark of indefiniteness, once the *tanwīn* with this function had

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[142] It was formerly believed that this item had a low register allomorph *yáḍḍa*, found in several sources, such as IQ, Alc., AC, etc.; however, we have been inclined to consider it an evolution of Lt. *ad hae* since Corriente 1983a, though not excluding the possibility of a blend or contamination, of which there is at least another case of a functional, namely, *ʿasī* "perhaps; may, would that", diachronically a reflex of OA *ʿasà*, but also continuing the functions of Rm. **así**, as can be seen in examples of Corriente 1997d: 353. As for IQ ›*d/ḏābā*‹ "now" and other reflexes in AA and Naf. Arabic, which used to be considered a semantic evolution of OA *daʾban* "usually" (e.g., in Dz I 419), the frequency of reflexes with an interdental /ḏ/ and even semantic affinities point rather to an origin in the dialectal OA *iḏā ba*+*h* "and all of a sudden he …", if not just in AA *awwaḏá bah* "here it ~ he is".

[143] On the other hand, there were also some cases of agglutination of that /n/ into the root morpheme, e.g., Alc. 38.27 and DC 6a *cúlli xéin* "everything" (cf. Mo. *āšə̣nhuwwa ~ āšə̣nhiyya* "which one" < OA *ayyu šayʾin huwa ~ hiya* (masc. ~ fem.). This phenomenon had some OA precedents, e.g., {*hdʾ*} = {*hdn*}, etc.

been forsaken by NA, was probably enhanced by the Rm. substratum, which contributed its own solution (i.e., the numeral **un** ~ **una** "one", nearly a linguistic universal in similar instances) with an Arabic rendering of this item, while the attached defunctionalised Arabic article was already characteristic of the Br. majority of the invaders, who identified it with their native class markers *a+* (for the masc.) and *tʋ+* (for the fem.), thus generating a syntactic calque of Br. (Tašelḥit) *ya+lkas* "a glass", *yat+ləbhimt* "a beast of burden".[144]

2.1.7. *Case*

Case inflexion no longer exists in AA, in total agreement on this point with other NA dialects, since the OA vocalic case endings of fully inflected nouns had either been dropped or turned into invariable interfixes before the pronominal suffixes in order to avoid consonantal clusters (see 2.1.11.2.1.2), while the old partially inflected dual and regular plural endings had been levelled in favour of the oblique case (see 2.1.9.1 and 2.1.10.1). However, there are some defunctionalised traces thereof, e.g., in the former accusatives of VA ›fãh‹ "mouth",[145] and the inflected forms of *ab(ū)* which at times pop up integrated in pns., e.g., IQ 60/4/3 ›abn abī zayd‹ "A.Z.'s son", 69/8/1 ›aban abī alḫiṣāl‹ "A. Ḫ.'s son", Z 806 ›ḥanīn abī zurayq‹ "A.Z.'s compassion", 1090 ›burǧ abī dānis‹ "A.D.'s castle" (presently **Alcacer do Sal**), at times infra-correctly, as can be expected, e.g., Z 503 ›ḥimārat abā šarāḥīl‹ "A. Š.'s she-ass".

2.1.8. *Gender*

As for gender inflexion, the only productive fem. marker in AA is {+a(t)},[146] in which /t/ is only realized before a dual marker or in annexation to a following noun or pronoun, as is the rule in the whole NA, e.g., IQ 4/3/2 ›qiṣṣat+ī‹ "my story", 87/13/4 ›qiṣṣatayn‹ "two stories", 87/2/1 ›nufaysat+ī‹ "my little person". As for the other two fem. markers of OA, {+āʾ} and {+à}, in spite of their frequent traditional orthographic preservation (e.g.,

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[144] This would also be the actual explanation for the regular presence of the Arabic article in the nouns borrowed by Rm., unlike the case of adjectives (see Corriente 2008: lxiv–lxxiii).

[145] Possibly traceable back to OA dialects in which *abā* "father" and *aḫā* "brother" had become indeclinable (see Corriente 1976:92 and fn. 115).

[146] It is well known that this marker had several other functions in OA, and therefore is sometimes attached to masc. nouns which, in the case of rationals has no semantic effects, in spite of the application of identical morphological constraints (e.g., Alc. *ḵalífat Bagdád* "the Caliph of Bagdad"); as for irrationals so marked, they have been fully integrated in the grammatical category of fem.

IQ 12/5/2 ›*bayḍā*‹ "white [fem.]", 24/0/2 ›*ḫaḍrā*‹ "green [fem.]", 3/1/1 ›*dunyā*‹ "this world"), the very fact that they often exhibit a parasitical final /t/ in annexation proves their morphological merger with {+a(t)}, extended to other cases of words in which a final /ā/ was not even a fem. marker, e.g., IQ 146/6/4 ›*zarqat alyamāmah*‹ "the blue (woman) from A.", MT 754.3 ›*arr.ḫātayn*‹ "the two mills", 710.8 ›*iḥdat+hā*‹ "one (fem.) of them", Z 2048 ›*ʿaṣātu*‹ "his stick", IA 402 ›*dawat+uh*‹ "his remedy", from SA *raḥá*, *iḥdà*, *ʿaṣā* and *dawāʾ*.[147]

2.1.8.1

At times, however, this merger appears to have generated some infra-correct syntagms, either with a parasitical final /t/ out of annexation (e.g., VA ›*ḥabbat ḥuluwwah*‹ "aniseed", lit., "sweet grain" whence Ct. **batafalua**, Pt. **batafaluga** and Cs. **matalahúva**, ›*ḥabbat sawdā*‹ "black cumin", IA 156 ›*alʿašat alṭayyiba*‹ "the good dinner", Alc. 39.5 *al hayét a déima* "the eternal life", 39.13 *almarrat alaḳiría* "the last time")[148] or, contrariwise, without that required addition in annexation (e.g., Alc. 56.8 *ficáha al focahá* "the priests' ordination", *nutúna almâaç* "smell of goats", DC 8b *jamââ açalehín* "the congregation of the Saints", and occasional place names, like **Cantaral-cadi**, in Gr., apparently < *qánṭarat alqáḍi* "the judge's bridge"). However, most of the examples supporting this case are objectable, either because of the imperfect mastery of AA by the authors of the witnessing works,[149] or the haphazard transmission of many place names at the hands of monolingual scribes and notaries.

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[147] As a matter of fact, AA materials do not witness any fem. adjective of the pattern {1a23à}, for which {1a23ānah} had been substituted, e.g., LA 162 ›*sakrānah*‹ "drunk (fem.)" for SA *sakrà*, nor any vernacular fem. elatives of the pattern {1u23à}.

[148] Ultra-correction is a likelier explanation of these cases than continuation of OA dialects keeping that sound in all positions, about which see Cantineau 1960:33 and Corriente 1976:84.

[149] See on this Corriente 2008d. Incidentally, some of the witnesses brought up in SK 87 can no longer be accounted as *loci probantes*; e.g., IQ 97/0/1 ›*m.rā alislām*‹ "mirror of Islam" appears now to contain the frequent variant AA *mirá* of SA *mirʾāh = AA mirá(t)*, and 100/4/2 is presently read as a collective *qúbli ḫáddak* "kisses on your cheek", without the fem. singulative marker; while in **Calaceite** Te. < AA *qaláʿat Zayd* "Zayd's castle", Romance ›**c**‹ is an acceptable equivalence of /t+z/, and **Genalguacil** Ma. and **Generalife** Gr. are likelier reflexes of *ǧinán*, a pl. of *ǧánna(t)*, which is often depluralised in AA and other NA dialects, as can be checked in Corriente 1997d: 105. Therefore, Latham 1967 was right upon advising caution in admitting these exceptions to the general rule of NA, although the decay of that /t/ remains a distinct possibility in very low and late registers, as suggested by doublets like Alc. 11 *corá(t)na* "our villages", for SA *qurā+nā*.

2.1.9. *Number*

AA, like most NA dialects has preserved the OA dichotomy of the category of number, according to which countable distinctly individualised nouns distinguish singular, dual and plural, the two latter characterised by certain suffixes or by the adoption of special patterns or templates, while usually uncountable or invidualised nouns, like those usually considered as collective entities, in principle and most of the time merely distinguish the individuals from the collective by adding the fem. morpheme in the first case with the semantic function of a singulative; only then can the latter receive the markers of dual and plural, e.g., OA *kitābun* "a book", *kitāb+āni* "two books", *kutubun* "books", or *muslimun* "Muslim", *muslim+āni* "two Muslims", *muslim+ūna* "Muslims", vs. *namlun* "ants (generically speaking)", *naml+atun* "one ant", *naml+at+āni* "two ants", *namal+ātun* or *nimālun* "some ants (in a given number)". The most conspicuous syntactic difference between that system and its continuation in NA, including AA, is that collective nouns are usually considered mere plurals, and the matching singulatives, as ordinary singulars.[150]

2.1.9.1. *Dual*

AA used the dual marker {+*áyn*}, with an allomorph {+*ín*} in an insufficiently surveyed distribution, though pointing to lower registers for the latter, rather than to idiolects, e.g., VA ›*abawayn*‹ "parents", ›*ḫaddayn*‹ "two cheeks", ›*sāqayn*‹ "two legs", but ›*ʿaynīn*‹ "two eyes", and ›*idīn*‹ "two hands"; though the Granadan dialect clearly preferred {+*áy*}, e.g., *huildéy* "parents", *leiletéy* "two nights", *çacái* "two legs", etc. Unlike the case in SA, the final nasal is not dropped in annexation, e.g., IQ 113/2/2 ›*biʿ+aynayn ġazāl*‹, 93/2/4 ›*šuffatayn annās*‹ "the people's lips", MT 279.8 ›*ṯulṯayn almabī*‹ "two thirds of the sale", except before the pronominal suffixes, e.g. IQ 13/4/3 ›*f+uḏnay+ya*‹ "in my ears", 9/34/3 ›*b+idday+h*‹ "in his hands", 90/13/4

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[150] This situation is obvious in late AA, as purported by agreements as common in Alc. as, e.g., *hamíma beitía* "domestic pidgeon", pl. *hamím beitiín*, while VA still suggests a distinction between collective and pl., in cases like ›*baṭṭīḥah ~ baṭṭīḥ ~ baṭāṭīḥ*‹ "melon(s)" and ›*rummānah ~ rummān ~ ramāmīn*‹ "pomegranate(s)", although one must always discount occasional classicising trends in such half-learned works. At times, this confusion of involved semantic categories has generated singulatives obtained from broken pls. like, in AA, the cases of LA 19 ›*ṣiʾbānah*‹ "one louse" and 31 ›*ḏubbānah*‹ "one fly", vs. *ṣiʾbān* "lice", *ḏubbān* "lies", which were in fact the pls. of OA *ṣuʾāb* and *ḏubāb*, two substantives which did not generate singulatives; likewise, cf. GL ›*ǧurḏānah*‹ "rat", LA 157 ›*muṣrānah*‹ "intestine", and Alc. *čimára* "fruit-tree", from the OA pls. *ǧirḏān*, *muṣrān* and *ṯimār*, of *ǧuraḏ*, *maṣīr* and *ṯamarah*, respectively.

›sāqay+hā‹ "her legs", 143/1/2 ›riǧl+īnā‹ "our feet", Z 1640 ›riǧlī+k‹ "your feet", Alc. 45.14 *fi ydéiq* "in your hands".[151]

2.1.9.2

However, as in many NA dialects, it appears that the dual markers were seldom used, only in substantives, above all names of weights and measures, and other items usually coming in pairs, e.g., IQ 0/5/2 ›raṭlayn‹ "two pounds", 65/9/4 ›ašqarayn‹ "two gold pieces", Z 184 ›dirhamayn‹ "two dirhems". In other instances, and even in those same cases, the analytical expression through the numeral "two" was often preferred, e.g., IQ 20/19/1 ›zawǧ kāǧad‹ "two sheets of paper", 119/3/3 ›bi+zawǧ aydī‹ "with both hands", 121/2/3 ›azzawǧ riḫāḫ‹ "both towers", MT 1014.24 ›zawǧ qumuṣ‹ "two shirts", Alc. *zéuch arrúç* "two heads", *leunéy = zéuch alguín* "two colours", *rajuléi = zéuch min arigíl* "two men",[152] etc.

2.1.9.3

On the other hand, as exemplified by some of the previous witnesses, dual marking was often a mere variety of pl., the so-called pseudo-dual by Blanc 1970, used with items usually coming in pairs, even when there was more than just one pair of them, e.g., IQ 143/5/4 ›taftaḥū ʿaynīkum‹ "you (pl.) shall open your eyes", IA 689 ›yiǧū ʿalà sāqayhum‹ "they come back on their feet", Z 939 ›isṭīna‹ "our behinds", 1869 ›sinnīn+an ḫušš‹ "smiling teeth", RC 45 ›fī yaday almuḏnibīn‹ "in the hands of the sinners". For some names of double parts of the body, the pseudo-dual has been formed on a previous plural, e.g., VA ›ṣudġ ~ a/iṣdāġ ~ iṣdaġayn‹ "temple(s)", ›ḏirā‹ ~ x[153] ~ iḏraʿayn‹ "arms", Z 976 ›alaydīn‹ "the hands", 1621, 1340 and 2143 ›ḍars ~ aḍrās ~ iḍrasayn‹ "tooth ~ teeth".

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[151] An exception to this rule is Alc. *utnéi alcádi = uḏnáy alqāḍi* "the judge's ears", name of a kind of pastry (see Dz I 16, with a witness from Almaqqarī; see also Marín 2007:107–108), to be sure an imported designation, already lexicalized, to judge from its plural *adíni*; on the other hand, there are witnesses of dual endings without final nasal in other ages and areas, e.g., IQ 42/1/4 ›ḥadday‹ "two cheeks", DC 10a *huildey* "parents". In SK fn. 45 we suggested that this might have been just another "Yemenism" in AA; see Corriente 1989b and fn. 50.

[152] This item had two allomorphs, *záw* (e.g., in IM 236.11, now confirmed in Corriente 2005:105, for Granada, and *záǧ*, e.g., in AC 827 ›zāǧ mitā rrūs‹ "two heads",1417 ›bazzāǧ sāqay‹ "with both legs", and Alc. *zazcálaâ* pl. *zevçcalaít* "tongs; pincers" < *zá(w)ǧ qalláʿ). The latter is also reflected in Cs. **zascandil** "gossiper", from AA *zāǧ qandíl*, clearly alluded to in IQ 18/2/3 ›qandīl bifummayn‹ "oil lamp with two mouths", an obvious metaphor for unnecessary spending and officiousness.

[153] VA and other sources have only *aḍruʿ* here, but *aḍrā* must also have existed, to judge from its parallels and the frequency of the broken pl. pattern {a12ā3} in AA (see 2.1.10.5.1).

2.1.10. *Plural*

As in the rest of NA, AA has preserved the OA morphological feature of hav-
ing two marking systems for the pl., namely, by suffixation and by adoption
of a "broken" pl. pattern or template, i.e., shifting from the sg. pattern to
another, characteristic of pl. items. The semantic difference between them,
namely, individualisation vs. collectivisation, had begun to blur in OA, and
had completely disappeared in NA but, from the viewpoint of morphologi-
cal choice, it was still true that the regular pl., i.e., marked by suffixation, was
the rule for participles and many adjectives, while substantives and some
kinds of adjectives usually had broken pls.[154]

2.1.10.1. *Regular Plural*

The regular masc. pl. marker in AA is {+*ín*} which, following the prevail-
ing trends in NA was indeclinable for case, did not lose its final nasal in
annexation[155] and had encroached on areas formerly dominated by bro-
ken pls. and other markers, as is the case of some kinds of adjectives, e.g.,
IA 454 ›*almuntafín al'aḏnÍb*‹ "tail-plucked (pl.)", Alc. *dalimín nufúçuhum*
"simoniacal" (pl., lit., "those who prejudice themselves"), *latifín aḍunún* "sus-
picious" (pl., lit., "having a bad opinion"), *huluín allicín* "soft-spoken" (pl., lit.,
"tongue sweet"), VA ›*'arīq(īn)*‹ "ancient", ›*'azīz(īn)*‹ "glorious", ›*danī/ūq(īn)*‹
"gluttonous", ›*ašall(īn)*‹ "cripple", Alc. *çááb(ín)* "difficult", even substantives,
e.g., VA ›*ustāḏ(īn)*‹ "teacher(s)", and MT 1025.18 ›*q.ssīn*‹ and 1168.2 ›*q.sīsīn*‹
"priests".[156] As in other NA dialects, the masc. pl. ending was often extended
to the fem. in the case of participles, adjectives and some substantives, e.g.,
Alc. *çoquía ~ çoquín* "market woman", *ḵamría ~ ḵamriín* "brunette", and Ax
68.6 ›*rākibīn*‹ "riding" and ›*malbūsīn*‹ "wearing" (referred to the Amazons).[157]

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[154] Cf. Alc.'s rule in 8.12: "todos los nombres verbales y departicipios forman el plural
añadiendo *ín* al número singular".

[155] Cf. IA 427 ›*zabbālīn iḫšāriš*‹ "the dustmen of Alixares". For the case of pronominal
suffixes, IQ 88/26/3 has ›*banī+k*‹ "your sons" which, despite the lack of other corroborating
examples, does not look like just another classicism of his. PES 46/4/1 has *muridíni* "my
followers" and 65/1/4, *muḥibbínak* "you lovers", unlikely to be due to Naf. contaminations.

[156] However, no attention should be paid to many strange instances of regular masc. pl.
in Alc., for words like *majarád* "scraper", *bezíz* "bedpan", *mubára* "warrant", etc. (see SK fn.
130), mere witnesses to his brazen expeditiousness in linguistic matters, about which, see
Corriente 1988a: iii–iv.

[157] This was also the case of some broken pls., cf. Z 563 where *aḫtín* can only mean
"daughters-in-law"; however, other instances heretofore brought forward are highly ques-
tionable, e.g., Alc. *guaquíla ~ vquelé* "manageress", *bauiba ~ bauibín* "janitress" and *nabía ~
anbía* "prophetess", even VA *ḫarūfah ~ ḫirfān* "female lamb", while Alc. *oḵt ~ iḵva* is altogether
to be rejected, as other sources provide the expectable true form, *(a)ḫawāt*.

2.1.10.2

The regular fem. pl. marker in AA is {+*át*}, with *imālah* in the appropriate contours and predictable degrees, and without insertion of any anaptyctic vowel,[158] except in occasional cases of interference by CA, e.g., IQ 33/3/3 ›*raḏlāt*‹ "licentious women", 129/6/3 ›*ǧarḥāt*‹ "wounds", PES 4/4/5 ›*ḥarkātī*‹ "my motions", Alc. *quédbe ~ quedbít* "lie", but VA ›*waǧnah ~ waǧ(a)nāt*‹ "cheek(s)" and Alc. *ráhma ~ rahamét* "clemency". As in OA and NA, this marker was also used for unassimilated foreign substantives (e.g., VA ›*ṭistany ~ āt*‹ "helmet", Alc. *piztícal ~ ít* "fillip on the head", and MT 126.10 ›*nibšāriyuh ~ nibšāriyāt*‹ "memorial service"),[159] *maṣdar*s (e.g., Alc. *rofóô ~ ít* "letter of appeal", *çuél ~ ít* "request"), all kind of diminutives, not even excluding rational males, against the rule in CA (e.g., Alc. *rujáyjal ~ ít* "little man", *vléyed ~ít* "little son" and *oḳái ~ oḳayít* "little brother", vs. CA *ruǧaylūna, wulaydūna* and *uḫayyūna*), as well as some other unclassifiable items, at times as a free option with broken pls. (e.g., VA ›*maṣarr ~ āt*‹ = Alc. *maçárr ~ ít* "purse", *zubb ~ zuppít/zubúb* "penis", and *ḳóff ~ ít/aḳfféf* "slipper").[160]

2.1.10.3. *Collectives and Singulatives*

In addition to the characteristic markers of the masc. and fem. regular pls., AA had preserved the collective marker {+*a(t)*} used with some classes of adjectives and substantives for homogeneous groups of people already in OA,[161] in nearly the same contexts, e.g., 108/7/2 ›*raqqādah*‹ "sleepyheads", IA 37 ›*qammārah*‹ "gamblers", 478 ›*qaṣṣārah*‹ "washers", Z 1356 ›*naḍḍārah*‹ "onlookers", Alc. *guaguár(a) = ġawwár(a)* "raider(s)", *moôtazíl(a)* "heretic(s)", etc.

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[158] About this, see Wright 1967 I: 192–194.

[159] But in the case of rational males, AA appears to prefer {+*ín*}, e.g., VA ›*ustāḏ(īn)*‹ "teacher(s)", MT 1013.3 ›*kunf.raṭriyyīn*‹ "brethren", 177.1 ›*farāyirīn*‹ "friars", and Alc. *xucr(iín)* "father(s)-in-law".

[160] As in OA, there were also in AA some minor deviations, whether inherited or innovated, from the rules of strict regular pl., the so-called by native grammarians *šibhu sālim*, i.e., quasi-regular pl., e.g., for the fem., VA ›*uḫt ~ (a)ḫawāt*‹ "sister(s)", and ›*ṯiqah ~ ṯaqawāt*‹ "reliable person(s)", and for the masc., VA ›*ibn ~ banīn*‹ "son(s)".

[161] Cf. Wright 1967: I 233, with examples like *aṣṣūfiyyah* "the Sufis", *sābilah* "travellers", *raǧǧālah* "pedestrians" and *naḍḍārah* "onlookers". This feature is also common in NA, e.g., Mo. *ḥəmmār(a)* "donkey driver(s)", *bənnāy(a)* "bricklayer(s)", and most nouns for professionals and collectives, Eg. *ḥarāmi(yya)* "thief ~ thieves", Ml. *nies giddieba* "lying people", *parrukier(a)* "barber(s)", Ir. (Muslim Baghdadi) *'arabanči(yya)* "coachma~en", etc.

2.1.10.4

In periods and areas of common bilingual practice, AA could occasionally use the Rm. pl. suffix {+Ś}, even with items of Arabic stock, e.g., IQ 12/3/4 ›quḥaybaš‹ "little whores", MT 237.8 ›nifšāriyuš‹ "memorial services", Alc. *xúlo(ç)* "head-shepherd(s)" and *capelo(s)* "cardinal's hat(s)".

2.1.10.5. *Broken Plurals*

The highly hypertrophic OA system of broken pls. had shrunk considerably in AA, as in the rest of NA, nearly cutting by half the number of attested patterns.[162] The most frequent ones remaining in use are the following:

2.1.10.5.1. {a12á3}, extremely favoured in AA and often extended to items which have other kinds of pl. in OA, SA and even other NA dialects,[163] e.g., VA ›ǧināḥ ~ aǧnāḥ‹ "wing(s)", ›malak ~ amlāk‹ "angel(s)", ›mā ~ amyā‹ "water(s)", GL ›ašrāk‹ "associates", MT 58.3 ›awrāṯ‹ "heirs", 1168.18 ›aqbār‹ "tombs", Alc. *aâmúd ~ aâméd* "column(s)", Alc. *rúçl ~ arcél* "messenger(s)" (= VA ›rusul ~ arsāl‹), *fiç ~ avfíç* "hoe(s)", *biç ~ avbíç* "falcon(s)",[164] even more or less late Rm. loanwords like *gáncho ~ agnách* "hook" and HB 176 ›ašlād‹ "sols" (cf. Cs. and Pt. **gancho** = Ct. **ganxo**, Pt. **soldo** = Cs. **sueldo** = Ct. **sou**), etc.

2.1.10.5.2. {a12ú3} is also more frequent in AA than the average, though not as much as {a12á3}, and often appears extended to items which have other kinds of pl. in OA, SA and even other NA dialects,[165] e.g., VA ›rikāb ~ arkub‹ "stirrup(s)", Alc. *náála ~ anúûl* "shoe(s)", *çátal ~ aztól* "bucket(s)", *gadír ~ agdór* "pond(s)", next to cases of preservation of OA usage in cases like *licín ~ alçún* "tongue(s)", MT 452.6 ›arǧūl‹ "feet", etc.

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[162] As for the distinction between pls. of paucity and pls. of abundance (see Wright 1967: I 234, and Corriente 1980d: 84), already often forsaken in OA itself, it has disappeared from AA, as in the whole NA. Both in OA and in NA the broken pl. patterns have propagated from some nouns to others after considerations of morphological similarity (between items of the same pattern in sg.) and semantic affinity (between items belonging to the same semantic fields); the reasons beyond the choice of broken pl. patterns were surveyed in Corriente 1971:83–88.

[163] Apparently, another "Yemenism" of AA, considering the prevalence of this pattern in ESA and Geʿez (up to 24,5% of the total in the latter case, double the rate of Arabic; see Corriente 1989b: 42).

[164] The metathesis in these two cases reflects the continuation of OA instances like *bi'r ~ ābār* "well", *ma'q ~ āmāq* "inner corner(s) of the eye", with a result *aw < ā*.

[165] Possibly, again a "Yemenism", considering the frequency of this pattern in SAE and Et. (Geʿez and Tigre, see Corriente 1971:14, 19–21 and 42, and Corriente 1996:39 and fn. 4).

2.1.10.5.3. {a12í3a} has an allomorph {a1á22a} generated by application of Philippi's law, in root morphemes {122}, e.g., VA ›*zuqāq ~ azaqqah*‹ "lane(s)", ›*qasīs ~ aqassah*‹ "priest(s)", ›*sarīr ~ asarrah*‹ "bed(s)", ›*ğannah ~ ağannah*‹ "garden(s)", PES 40/5/1–2 ›*adallah*‹ "guides" and ›*aḍallah*‹ "the vile", vs. conservative Alc. *cirír ~ acérre*, *ymém ~ aímme* "priest(s)", VA ›*ālihah*‹ "gods". As an additional consequence of the merger of all fem. markers, OA {a12i3ā'} appears to have been absorbed by this pattern,[166] e.g., Alc. *tabíb ~ atíbbe* "physician(s)" and *guelí ~ avlía* "curator(s)", still ›*aṭibbā*‹ and ›*awliyā*‹ in VA, at least graphically, but there are some conservative exceptions, like VA ›*ṣafī ~ aṣfiyā*‹ "friend(s)", GL and Z 1134 ›*aṣdiqā*‹ "friends" and Alc. *ganí ~ agnié* "rich".

2.1.10.5.4. {1u2ú3} is, because of the prosodic rules of AA, the common reflex of both OA {1u2u3} and {1u2ū3}, e.g., VA ›*barūd ~ burūd*‹ "postma~en", IQ 17/4/4 ›*usūs*‹ "foundations", Alc. *quitíb ~ cutúb* "book(s)", *cáçer ~ coçór* "castle(s)" and *cíquit ~ çucút* "silent", with some encroachments in cases like VA ›*'atabah ~ 'utub*‹ = Alc. *aâtébe ~ ûutúb* "threshold(s)", and VA ›*zanīmī ~ zunūm*‹ = Alc. *zeními ~ zunúm* "bastard(s)". It has some variants, e.g., a) {1ú3} for some root morphemes {1w/'3}, e.g., VA ›*fās ~ fūs*‹ "hoe(s)", AC ›*rās ~ rūs*‹ "head(s)" and Alc. *náqua ~ núq* "she-camel(s)", b) a curious geminated {1u22ú3} for some adjectives and participles,[167] e.g., VA ›*qāsiḥ ~ qussūḥ*‹ "hard", ›*fāriġ ~ furrūġ*‹ "empty", and IQ 84/20/3 ›*ḫurrūǧ*‹ "protruding", and c) an extended {1u2ú3a}, with the fem. marker, e.g., VA ›*ḫu'ūlah*‹ "maternal uncles", and Alc. *ḍacár ~ ḍucóra* "male(s)". Both a) and c), unlike b) have OA parallels or, at least, can be explained within phonetic trends stretching from OA down to NA.

2.1.10.5.5. {1i2á3} is again, because of the prosodic rules of AA, the common reflex of both OA {1i2a3} and {1i2ā3}, e.g., VA ›*sal'ah ~ sila'*‹ "merchandise(s)", ›*sarī' ~ sirā'*‹ "fast", ›*ğummah ~ ğimam*‹ "head(s) of hair", ›*laṭmah ~ liṭām*‹ "slap(s)", Alc. *íbra ~ ybár* "needle(s)", *çélle ~ çillél* "basket(s)", *ċéub ~ ċiéb* "cloth(es)", *ḳafíf ~ ḳiféf* "light", *rámal ~ rimíl* "sand(s)", with 2nd degree *imālah*, and the Rm. loanword *cáppa ~ quipáp* "cloak". It is noteworthy that, in the case of root morphemes {1w3}, because of the dissimilatory trend described in 1.4.2.1, we get Alc. *ciguár* "images" and *quiguár* "balls", for SA *ṣūrah ~ ṣuwar* (*sic* in VA) and NA *kūrah ~ kuwar* (VA ›*ki/uwar*‹). The

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[166] Of which it was an allomorph from the start, according to Fleisch 1961:482.

[167] This strange gemination is reminiscent of the same phenomenon underlying the diminutive pattern {1u2áy2a3} of some adjectives (see 2.1.3.1).

infrequent OA variant of this pattern with addition of the fem. morpheme {+at} has disappeared entirely from AA and, generally speaking, from NA, unless VA ›ǧuḥr ~ ǧaḥirah‹ were a mistake for OA ǧiḥarah, as is most likely.

2.1.10.5.6. {1u2á3}, AA reflex of OA {1u2a3}, stands in close relation with {1i2a3}, as both are not historically true cases of broken pls. with internal flexion, but the mere outcome of insertion of /a/ for prosodic reasons between the two last consonants in items resulting from an analogical reversion of the process generating singulatives from collectives.[168] Most instances of this pattern in AA do not call for any comment, e.g., VA ›ġurfah ~ ġuraf‹ "garret(s)", ›luqmah ~ luqam‹ "morsel(s)", Alc. çórba ~ çoráb "wing(s) of an army", except for some unexpected increase of the sgs. with this pl. pattern, some old, like Alc. caría ~ corá "village(s)", or recent, like VA ›ḍarṭah ~ ḍurāṭ‹ "fart(s)", in fact, a case of reuse of the OA deteriorative pattern {1u2ā3}. On the other hand, {1u2á3} is generally the AA reflex of OA {1u23} (see 2.1.10.5.11).

2.1.10.5.7. {1a2í3} continues OA {1a2ī3}, a pl. pattern found in very few items, but these are very frequent in the Arabic usage, namely VA ›ʿabd ~ ʿabīd‹ "slave(s)" and ›ḥimār ~ ḥamīr‹ "donkey(s)", matched by Alc. aâbd ~ aâbíd and himár ~ hamír, respectively, as well as other sources of AA lexicon.

2.1.10.5.8. {1a2á3a} is the continuation of OA {1a2a3ah}, not only often retaining its old sphere of usage, e.g., Z 661 ›waraṯah‹ "heirs", 730 ›ṭalabah‹ "students", Alc. quéhin ~ quehéna "soothsayer(s)", cid ~ céde "lord(s)" (in a root {1w3}), etc., but having at times encroached on semantically close fields, e.g., VA ›šayḫ ~ šāḫah‹ "old ma~en" (in a root {1y3}), Alc. gehéle "gentiles", guazír ~ guazára "constable(s)", zímir ~ zamára "flute player(s)"; otherwise and expectably, in spite of graphemic appearances, it has absorbed the OA patterns {1a2ā3à/ā}, e.g., Alc. adrá ~ adára "maid(s)", VA ›radī ~ radāyā‹ "wicked", ›zawāyā‹ "angles", IQ 28/1/2 ›ṣabāyā‹ "girls" and Alc. ḳatáye "faults" and the rather infrequent {1i2a3ah} for names of animals, e.g., VA ›dubb ~ dababah‹ = Alc. dubb ~ debébe "bear(s)", and IH 219 ›fayalatun‹ "elephants" (but VA still has OA ›fiyalah‹), even adopted by a Rm. loanword in VA ›lubb ~ lababah‹ "wolf ~ wolves" (cf. Cs. and Pt. **lobo** = Ct. **llop**). It has two variants, an old one {1a2á3}, a continuation of OA {1a2a3}, with only one true case in AA, VA ›ḫādim ~ ḫadam‹ "female slave(s)",[169] and

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[168] See Corriente 1971:10–11.

[169] In Corriente 1971:39 this patterns is registered as one of the least common in Arabic. Other examples often quoted, e.g., Alc. caçába ~ caçáb "fortress(es)", ḳaxébe ~ ḳaxéb

an innovated {1a22á3a}, e.g., VA ›*faqqārah*‹ "paupers", ›*rakkābah*‹ "riders" and ›*saḥḥārah*‹ "wizards", parallel to {1u22ú3} (see 2.3.4.4.4), if not triggered by sgs. of the pattern {1a22ā3}, with the collective suffix {+*ah*} (see 2.1.10.3).

2.1.10.5.9. {1u2a3á} is the continuation of OA {1u2a3ā'}, not calling for special comments [e.g., VA ›*amīr ~ umarā*‹ "commander(s)", ›*ra'īs = rāyis ~ ru'/w/yasā*‹ "chief(s)", Alc. *acír ~ vçará* "prisoner(s)", *aâríf ~ vûrefé/í* "builder" with both degrees of *imālah*], but for some encroachments in cases like Alc. *aâzíz ~ vûzezí* "glorious", *équil ~ vquelé* "eater", etc. However, some spellings like VA ›*uǧārah = uǧārà*‹ "female slave", ›*sukārā*‹ "drunkards", IQ 6/11/2 ›*usārā*‹ "captives", and PES *3*/3/1 ›*fuqārā*‹ "paupers" suggest a quasi-merger in AA of OA {1u2a3ā'} and the rather infrequent {1u2ārà}, which would have become mere prosodic variants, ultima and penultima stressed, respectively, of one single pattern. Some cases, like VA ›*ġarīb ~ ġurbah*‹ "stranger(s)" and IQ 104/3/2 ›*rufqah*‹ "companions" suggest the emergence of a shortened variant {1u23ah} of this pattern.[170]

2.1.10.5.10. {1u22á3} is the continuation of OA {1u22ā/a3}, not calling for particular comments [e.g., VA ›*ḥākim ~ ḥukkām*‹ "judge(s)", ›*sāriq ~ surrāq*‹ "thief ~ thieves", Alc. *fíciq ~ fuçáq* "lecher(s)"], but for some encroachments, like RC 47 ›*quḥḥāb*‹ "whores", Alc. *ḳúnče ~ ḳuníć* "hermafrodite(s)", *léin ~ luyín* "soft" and *guíciê ~ guçaâ* "wide". As in OA, it had the matching reflex of its allomorph {1u2āh} in root morphemes {12w/y}, e.g., VA ›*qāḍī ~ quḍā*‹ "judge(s)", ›*ṭārī ~ ṭurā*‹ "gipsy musician(s)",[171] Alc. *rámi ~ romá* "archer(s)", *çiâi ~ çoáâ* "beggar(s)" and *uéli ~ gulét* "prince" (this /t/ reflecting a high register interference, absent from VA, which has the expectable ›*wulāh*‹).

2.1.10.5.11. {1u23}, when not a mere prosodic variant of {1u2u3} (see 2.1.10.5.4), was in OA the characteristic broken pl. pattern of the adjectives of colour and physical qualities belonging to the sg. pattern {a12a3}. In AA, however, because of the trend described in 2.1.2.1, that basic shape was preserved in only some cases, e.g., VA ›*aḥras ~ ḥurs*‹ "mute", ›*ablah ~ bulh*‹ "stupid", ›*azraq ~ zurq*‹ = Alc. *azráq ~ zorq* "blue", IQ 9/28/4 ›*'urǧ*‹ "lame (pl.)", as the cluster with a sonorant in the second consonantal slot was

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"beam(s)", are historically descended from collectives, from which a singulative has been obtained in the manner expounded in 2.1.10.5.6. As for VA ›*daflah ~ dafal*‹ "rosebay", from OA *daflà*, the levelling of fem. markers (see 2.1.8) has triggered an identical process.

[170] Cf. Mo. *ṭāləb ~ ṭolba* "student(s)" and *šrīf ~ šorfa* "sherif(s)".

[171] Actually, from OA {*tr'*}, see Corriente 1997d: 326 and 2008:266–267, s.v. **cimitarra**.

easily tolerated, as well as in the cases of some weak roots upon which that trend did not act; however, the phonetic result was otherwise quite peculiar, e.g., VA ›*abyaḍ ~ bīḍ*‹ = Alc. *abiád ~ bid* "white", *aâmí ~ ûmí* = VA ›*aʿmà ~ ʿumy/ī*‹ "blind".[172] To this we can add some "freak" cases, like Alc. *latíf ~ lotf* "bad", *raḳç ~ roḳç* "tender", and *taríq ~ torq*, cf. GL *ṭurqun*, but also *toróq*, cf. VA *ṭuruq*, "ways". Otherwise, most OA broken pls. of this pattern appear in AA as {1u2á3}, e.g., VA ›*aḥmar ~ ḥumar*‹ = Alc. *ahmár ~ ho/umár* "red", VA ›*aʿwar ~ ʿuwar*‹ = Alc. *aâguár ~ ûuár* "one-eyed", VA ›*aḥwal ~ ḥuwal*‹ = Alc. *ahguél ~ huguél* "squint-eyed".[173]

2.1.10.5.12. OA {1a23à} is preserved in AA with a similar low frequency in some very common items, e.g., VA ›*mayyit ~ mawtà*‹ = Alc. *méit ~ mavté/í* "dead", VA ›*marīḍ ~ marḍā*‹ = Alc. *maríd ~ mardá* "sick", *daaâíf ~ daâfí* "poor", and even the innovation of Alc. *hárij ~ harjá* "angry", from {ḥrǧ}.

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[172] The peculiarity in this case lies in the fact that, against the rule in OA morphology, the root has prevailed over the pattern, which would have imposed /uy/ > /ū/, and /iw/ > /ī/, e.g., **quyila > qīla* "it was said", and **iwṣāl > īṣāl* "receipt". As stated by Brockelmann 1908 I: 372, this would confirm that the development of this type of adjectives, unknown in other Semitic tongues, is a relatively recent development in Arabic, in a period when those rules were no longer effective, as in the case of non-agentive participles like *mabyūʿ* for *mabīʿ* "sold" in NA; see 2.2.3.4. Fleisch 1961:411–415 has reviewed the diverse hypotheses on the origin of this Arabic innovation; however, all of them have missed the affinity of Arabic elatives with the causative stem of the Semitic verb, proven by the functional identity of Ak. {šu+prus} (e.g., *šurbûm* "gewaltig gross", in Ugnad-Matouš 1964:44), with residual cases of **sv+* in OA (e.g., *surḥūb* "tall [person]", *sirdāḥ* "highbred camel", *sarṭam* "eloquent speaker", *sarhabah* "slender delicate woman", *samlaq* "plain without vegetation", etc.; see other examples in Grande 1963:54–55). What we would have here is a PS idiom, preserved only by peripheral Akk. and Arabic, but much better in the latter, which has retained witnesses of the successive stages: 1) causative verb with any appropriate prefix, {š/h/ʾ+} (e.g., the exclamative *mā akbara+hu* [*Allāh*] "how big he is = God made him big", or imperative *akbir bihī* "declare him big"), 2) elative adjective (e.g., *huwa akbaru* "he is bigger", *akbaru malikin* "the greatest king", comparable to Ak. *šurbûm*), adjective of permanent qualities (*aḥmaru* "red", i.e., "closest to the colour of mud", *abyaḍu* "white", i.e., "closest to the colour of eggs", etc.). In the case of physical defects, the evolution might possibly have been direct from *aʿmā+hu llāh* "God made him blind" to *huwa aʿmà* "he is blind"; at any rate, these qualities kept being perceived so absolute that an elative made no sense in these adjectives and, in principle, one could not say in correct OA *aʿmá minhu* "blinder than him", or *aḥmaru mina ddami* "redder than blood".

[173] At times, there is no coincidence between the data of VA and Alc., or other lexical sources, (e,g VA ›*abkam ~ bukam*‹ vs. Alc. *ebquém ~ búquem* "dumb", VA ›*aḫḍar ~ ḫuḍar*‹ vs. Alc. *aḳdar ~ ḳódar* "green", etc.), which could point to a gradual and incomplete process with diachronic and/or diatopic differences; however, the known fact that stress marks in Alc. cannot be totally trusted, because of the printers' lack of typographical skills, complicates a survey of this phenomenon, also present in Naf. dialects.

2.1.10.5.13. OA {1u/i23ān} have been retained in AA with more or less the same frequency in several quite common items, e.g., VA ›fāris ~ fursān‹ = Alc. fíriç ~ furcín "knight(s)", ríquib ~ ruqbín "rider(s)", VA ›ʿuqāb ~ ʿiqbān‹ = Alc. ûcáb ~ êiqbé/in "eagle(s)", VA ›ḫarūf ~ ḫirfān‹ = Alc. ḳaróf ~ ḳirfín "lamb(s)", çabí ~ çubién "boy(s)", vs. ›ṣibyān‹ in other sources, while VA ›maraq ~ murqān‹ "broth(s)" and FJ 258.18 ›sarab ~ surbān‹ "sewer(s)" are strange innovations.[174] The allomorph {1i23ah} of {1i23ān} has disappeared, except in VA ›aḫ(ū) ~ iḫwah‹ = Alc. aḳó ~ íḳva "brother(s)", though apparent contractions like LA 161 ›dīkah‹ "roosters" and ›fīlah‹ "elephants", for OA diyakah and fiyalah, preserved in VA, may be counted as new members of this group.

2.1.10.5.14. Out of the three OA broken pl. patterns for quadriconsonantal singulars, {CaCāCi/īC} and {CaCāCiCah}, AA and the remaining Western Arabic dialects have lost the variety with a third long vowel, because of the trend described in 1.3.1.4.3, e.g., VA ›ṣundūq ~ ṣanādiq‹ = Alc. çundúq ~ çaná/ídiq "box(es)", with the same morphological treatment as VA ›fundaq ~ fanādiq‹ = Alc. fóndaq ~ faná/ídiq "inn(s)", while {CaCāCiCah} is generally restricted to high register items [e.g., VA ›uskūf = uskuff ~ asākifah‹ = Alc. azcúf ~ açáquifa "bishop(s)", VA ›ʿimlāq ~ ʿamāliqah‹ = Alc. aîmláq ~ aâmáliqua "giant(s)", and VA ›faylasūf ~ falāsifah‹ = Alc. fayleçúf ~ felécife "philosopher(s)"].

2.1.10.5.14.1. The quadriconsonantal pl. pattern has been much favoured in Arabic since OA days down to NA, and this trend has only increased in AA, which has adopted it in some sgs. with the mere excuse of real or even supposed vocalic or consonantal quantity, or by simple root metanalysis, e.g., VA ›ʿādah ~ ʿawāʾid‹ = Alc. âáda ~ aguáid "habit(s)", already OA, but then Alc. gífa ~ jeguéif "carrion(s)", VA ›makān ~ makākin‹ "place(s)", ›kaʿb ~ kawāʿib‹ "heel(s)", ›ṭašūr ~ ṭawāšir‹ "coat(s)", ›naqīr ~ nawāqīr‹ "channel(s)", etc. In the case of tri-consonantal items with the fem. marker {+ah}, its merger with {+à} has allowed the addition of a broken pl. pattern {1a2ā3ī},

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[174] Perhaps connectable with the expansion in Western Arabic of the plural suffix {+ān}, starting from cases like OA nār ~ nīrān "fire", not only in the characteristic pairs of Naf. bāb ~ bībān "door(s)", wād ~ wīdān "river(s)", kās ~ kīsān "glass" (cf. VA ›bāz ~ bīzān‹ Alc. bíç ~ biçén "falcon", IZ 11/5/3 ›widān‹ "rivers", Z 123 ›kīfān‹ "caves"; see fn. 75), etc., but also as an additional marker, like in Alc. acuéd ~ ceudín "black", VA ›sawdānāt‹ "black women"; see fn. 107. The connection with South Arabian is again strong: as we mentioned in Corriente 1971:115, Landberg declared {1u23ān} as the normal pl. pattern of every adjective of the pattern {a12a3} in the North Arabian dialects of Southern Arabia.

still rare in AA, but characteristic of all Western Arabic,[175] e.g., GL 53 ›*sahlah ~ sahālī*‹ "field(s)", after the model of VA ›*masqā ~ masāqī* = Alc. *mázca = mazcà ~ maçáqui* "drinking trough(s)". There are also some isolated cases of extension of this pattern to quinqueconsonantal items, e.g., Alc. *izquirfich ~ azcarífich* "rasp",[176] and the alternation /*y ~ w*/ has become an additional marker of number in cases like, e.g., VA ›*tayfūr ~ tay/wāfir*‹ "Moorish low table(s)", MT 756, 57, 77, *et passim* ›*mayšūn ~ mawāšīn*‹ "inn(s)", Alc. *xáyra ~ xaguáir* "frail(s)" (see 1.1.1.6), even ›*šībyā ~ šawābī*‹ "cuttlefish" in Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:41.

2.1.10.6

The logical possibility of different degrees and concepts of pl. in most languages, e.g., "a pair of scissors" vs. "a dozen scissors", may bring about depluralisation, i.e., the neutralisation of plural marking and eventual need of developing additional markers in order to guarantee the perception of larger numbers. This is the case in AA, e.g., in IQ 148/1/3 ›*arriyāḍ*‹ "the garden", in fact the pl. of SA *rawḍah*, VA and other sources ›*ǧinān*‹ "garden", in fact the pl. of SA *ǧannah*, LA 98 ›*azrār ~ azirrah*‹ "button", for SA ›*zirr ~ azrār*‹, 212 ›*āniyah*‹ = Alc. *ínia* "vessel", diachronic pl. of SA *ināʾ*, LAT 194 ›*firāʾ*‹ "fur", in fact the pl. of SA *farw*, etc. At times, what we might have are just doubly marked plurals, e.g., MT 378.2 ›*qasāwisīn*‹ "priests", 941.19 ›*ḥubūsāt*‹ "religious bequests", Alc. *carm ~ curmít* "vineyards", for SA *karm ~ kurūm*, *madárich ~ madarigít* "stairs", from SA *madāriǧ* "steps", IQ 87/7/4 ›*ašyāt*‹ "things", in which SA *ašyāʾ* has been extended with the regular fem. pl. morpheme, also documented in many other sources of AA, etc.

2.1.11. *Special Nouns*

Special nouns, on account of either their inflexional or semantic peculiarities, were the numerals, which express the infinite series or arithmetical values, and the pronouns, which are surrogates of regular, common or proper nouns.

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[175] Cf. Mo. *qahwa ~ qhāwī* "coffee", *ḥənša ~ ḫnāšī* "sack(s)", or Ml. *darba ~ drabi* "stroke", *ǧerḥa ~ ġrieḥi* "wound(s)", with and without *imālah*.

[176] In Eastern dialects, there are also cases like Sy. *salāṭaʿīn* "crabs" and *šamāʿadīn* "coat hangers" (the second one in Barthélemy 1936 II: 408, which has only the sg. in p. 443, but it is registered in Dz II 674, and in our personal observation).

2.1.11.1. *Numerals*

2.1.11.1.1. The AA cardinal numerals had lost the OA distinction of gender, but for *wáḥid(a)* "one", when not used as described in 2.1.6.5.3, because historically masc. and fem. shapes up to ten had acquired a peculiar distribution, characteristic of NA, thereby former masc. forms were used in the absolute state (i.e., when not followed by the numerated item, namely, *iṯnáyn, ṯaláṯa, arbáʿa, ḫámsa, sítta, sábʿa, ṯamá/Ínya, tísʿa* and *ʿášra*), while the former fem. forms (i.e., *ṯalát, arbáʿ, ḫáms, sítt, sábʿ, ṯamán, tisʿ* and *ʿašár*) were used in the construct state, unless the following noun began with a vowel, which allowed the use from three to ten of the masc. form with an interfix /+at+/ (e.g., IQ 163/3/1 ›*faḍílatayn iṯnayn*‹ "two virtues", 82/0/2 ›*arbaʿ ayyām*‹ "four days", 88/6/4 ›*tisʿ ašbār*‹ "nine spans", 122/8/1 ›*ṯalāṯ+at+ašyā*‹ "three things", HH 25 ›*ḫams ašhur*‹ "five months", ClC 57 ›*iṯnayn waḥamsīn daraǧah*‹ "fifty two degrees"). Cardinals from 11 to 19 had the invariable shapes *ḥidá(ʿ)šar, iṯná ʿšar, ṯalattá(ʿ)šar, arbaʿtá(ʿ)šar, ḫamistá(ʿ)šar, sittá(ʿ)šar, sabʿatá(ʿ)šar, ṯa-mantá(ʿ)šar* and *tisʿatá(ʿ)šar*, with two phenomena characteristic of some NA dialects, namely, the possible substitution of velarisation of the interfix /+at+/ for the /ʿ/ of *ʿašar*, e.g., IQ 97/10/4 ›*ṯalaṭṭaʿšar*‹ "thirteen" (with merely orthographic *ʿayn*), and occasional decay of final /-ar/, e.g., IA 791 ›*arbatʿaš*‹ "fourteen".[177] The tens are *ʿišrín, ṯala/Iṯín, arbaʿín, ḫamsín, sittín, sabʿín, ṯama/Inín* and *tisʿín*; the hundreds, *míyya, mitáy(n), ṯalaṯmíyya, arbaʿmíyya, ḫamsumíyya, sittumíyya, sabʿamíyya, ṯamInmíyya* and *tisʿamíyya*,[178] and the thousands, *álf, alfáy(n), ṯalát álaf, arbáʿ álaf*, etc.

2.1.11.1.2. The ordinals from 2 to 10 in AA are a continuation of OA, i.e., *ṯáni, ṯáliṯ, rábiʿ, ḫámis, sádis, sábiʿ, ṯámin, tásiʿ* and *ʿášir*, with occasional *imālah* of first or second degree, when not inhibited in higher registers,[179] while the OA former elative *awwalu* "first" has been analogically reshaped as *áwil*, i.e., adopting the pattern {1ā2i3}. There is also in DC a very curious parallel series with *nisbah*-suffixes, reminiscent of Hb. and Et., e.g., *awilí, ṯaliṯí, arbaʿí, ḫamsí, sabʿí, ṯaminí, tisʿí* and *ʿaširí*.

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[177] See Fischer & Jastrow 1980:98–99.

[178] Note the absence of pl. in the second constituent, already OA and SA, as in English for 'hundred', 'thousand' and 'million', all of them cases of "morphological economy". Unlike other branches of NA, the labialisation of the vowel before that second constituent is restricted to *ḫamsumíyya* and *sittumíyya*.

[179] This was also apparently the case of the few cases of ordinals above ten.

2.1.11.2. *Pronouns*

2.1.11.2.1. *Personal Pronouns.* Personal pronouns in AA, as in the rest of NA have retained the OA morphosyntactic distinction between independent subject pronouns and suffixed enclitic pronouns in the functions of object, possessive or marginal complements, even subjects under special conditions. Both series differentiated the three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd), number (only sg. and pl.)[180] and gender (only in the 3rd person sg.).[181]

2.1.11.2.1.1. The independent personal pronouns were: 1st sg. *aná/í*,[182] 2nd sg. *ánt(a)*, *átt(a)*,[183] 3rd sg. masc. *hú(wa(t))*, 3rd sg. fem. *hí(ya(t))*, 1st pl. *ḥínat*, *aḥín*, *(a)ḥán*, *íḥna*,[184] 2nd pl. *ántum*, 3rd pl. masc. *húm(a(t))*, 3rd pl. fem. *húnnat*.[185] In Alc. the demonstrative *ḏÍk* and its pl. *háwlin(k)* often substitute for the 3rd person independent personal pronouns,[186] but the opposite is also witnessed by some sources, like VA ›hu+lwaqt‹ "at that time", LA 252 ›*huwa almakān*‹ "this place" (also IH 65), and ›*hiyya al'ayyām*‹ "these days", and MT 762.5 ›*huwa alkarm*‹ "this vineyard".

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[180] As is characteristic of all NA. It has been pointedly suggested that the dual in OA pronouns and verbs would only have been developed as a case of analogical hypertrophy.

[181] As is characteristic in the 3rd person for all urban NA, unlike the case of most Bedouin dialects, which keep this distinction in the 3rd and 2nd persons, sg. and pl.

[182] The second shape, with strong *imālah*, is older and more widespread than its frequency in Granadan would suggest, as it is also witnessed, side by side with ›*anā*‹ in VA 362, as the equivalent of Lt. *ego*.

[183] The final vowel and the assimilation of /n/ appear to have had a free allomorphic distribution, e.g., VA ›ant(a)‹, IQ 9/18/1 ›anta‹, 2/1/1 ›at‹ and 68/8/3 ›atta‹, but in later days, Granadan and Valencian only had *ánta*. About the lack of gender distinction in this person, see 5.1.1.2.

[184] Only found in Alc. 36.7 and PES 35/2/1, and therefore suspect of being Eastern allomorphs, imitated in AA occasionally because of their higher prestige. The same applies to CA *naḥnu* in Alc. 13.4 and HH 205. There were still other variants of this pronoun, like *niḥín(at)*, *nuḥun*, *naḥán*, and *níḥna*.

[185] However, this fem. pl. in 228.29, is a hapax in Alc.'s whole work, isolated in the entire corpus of AA data, and perhaps just a printing mistake for *húmet*. The optional addition of /+at/ to the 3rd persons, connected with ESA since Brockelmann's days (see Corriente 1989b: 100 and fns. 35–36), probably had a diastratic or diachronic, more than diatopic, distribution, as it is witnessed rarely in IQ (›huwat‹ in 49/4/2, and **húmat*, required by the metre in 89/6/2 and probably ultra-corrected by the copyists), commonly in Granadan (e.g., Alc., and occasionally in PES 35/4/2) and Valencian documents (according to MI 187). Some spellings with *alif* cannot grant ultima stress in these items, but perhaps merely the weakening of stress in late AA, hinted at in Corriente 1998a. As for *húma* (e.g., ›humā‹ in Ax 33.10), also attested in North Africa, Cairo and Mecca (see Fischer & Jastrow 1980:80), this addition is likely to have propagated from the sgs. *huwa* and *hiya*, with some help from vague recollections of the dual *humā* in OA.

[186] In fact, he lists them as homologous of *aní*, *énte* and their pls. in 12.45 and 13.20.

2.1.11.2.1.2. The suffixed personal pronouns were: 1st sg. +*i(yya)*,[187] but +*(a)ni* for verb objects; 1st pl. +*(a/i)na*;[188] 2nd sg. +*(a)k*;[189] 2nd pl. +*(u)kum*; 3rd sg. masc. +*u* after consonants, but +*h* after vowels; 3rd sg. fem. +*(h)a*;[190] 3rd pl. +*(u)hum*, in all of which, but in the case of the 1st person sg., the bracketed vowels are disjunctive, designed to avoid consonantal clusters not allowed by AA phonotactic rules.[191] The addition of these suffixes to verbs with subject suffixes ending in a vowel, i.e., +*u* and +*na*, caused stress shift to this, e.g., Alc. 52.2 *yamdahúq* "they praise you" 56.20 *yamdahúh* "praise (pl.) him", IA 403 ›*daẖẖalnÍ+hum*‹ "we introduced them", etc.

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[187] The extended allomorph was used after a final /i/ or /y/, e.g., Alc. 14.26 *léye* "to me", HH 22 ›*biyyah*‹ "with me", and ›*fiyyah*‹ "in me", IQ 89/8/3 ›*uẖayya*‹ "my little brother", 135/6/1 ›*idayya*‹ "my hands", IA 227 ›*riǧlayya*‹ > "my feet", and 401 ›*liyya*‹ "to me". But, unlike CA, in juncture with final /a/ and /u/, the result would be a diphthong, e.g., Alc. 61.18 *nidéi* "my call", 59.23 *aḳóy* "my brother" and PES 21*/4/4 ›*ǧináy*‹ "my wealth"; however, IQ 2/1/2 has the classical solution in ›*aẖī*‹, and inserts *hamz* in cases like 24/11/3 ›*siwāʾī*‹ "other than me" and 127/2/5 ›*dunyāʾī*‹ "my world".

[188] At times, the disjunctive vowel is clearly /+i+/, e.g., DC 5a *huíldine* "our father", possibly 5b *rábena* "our Lord", but harmonized /+a+/ is regular in IQ, e.g., 83/0/1 ›*ṣabranā*‹ "our patience", cf. also Alc. 31.15 *ḳóbzane* "our bread" (but the language of prayers in his books is interspersed with CA). This matter requires further research.

[189] There was apparently an allomorph +*ka*, first described in Corriente 1980a: 33 and fn. 83 (e.g., IQ 9/28/1 ›*minka*‹ "because of you", 9/41/1 ›*sa+namdaẖk anā*‹ "I shall praise you" and 28/5/3 ›*nūr+ka*‹ "your light") and PES (e.g., 65/5/4 again ›*minka*‹ and 68/2/4 ›*iẖbārka*‹ "your account"), used only when required by metrical convenience. We are inclined to consider it an old dialectalism, rather than a mere CA borrowing, since these are extremely rare in *zaǧǧāl*s, included IQ, as shown in Corriente 1980a: 67, less so in PES, on account of the vogue of *taznīm*, i.e., the admixture of CA and AA, in these poems in later times.

[190] The distribution of both allomorphs does not strictly follow the phonotactic rule of its masc. counterpart, as we have, e.g., Z 98 ›*nirušš+a*‹ "I sprinkle her", IA 798 ›*qāl+a*‹ "he said it", Alc. 44.31 *gueléd+a* "her son", but also IA 263 ›*qāl+hā*‹, 339 ›*rukkāb+hā*‹ "their riders", Z 97 ›*nibaẖẖar+hā*‹ "I perfume her", 96 ›*niṭallaq+hā*‹ "I divorce her", cf. Alc. *ménnah = minhé* "from her".

[191] At times, the solutions given to junctural problems run counter to regular expectations; e.g., the preposition *li+* "to" with +*u* becomes *lu* and only exceptionally *lahú*, as in GL s.v. "cuius" and IQ ›*lahu*‹, DC 6b *leu* and Alc. 36.30 *léhu*, likely to reflect a high register; in the same case, *bi+* "with" usually generates *bíh*, e.g., in IQ 1/2/1 ›*bīh*‹, but there is also a peculiar ›*bāh*‹, of a Bedouin or "Yemenite" strain. Precisely this *bāh*, specialised in the meaning of "there" in VA and IQ 53/2/2 (though the latter author has other instances of ›*bāh*‹ "with him" in 29/2/2 and even ›*bāhā*‹ "with her" in 23/6/2, etc.), is at the origin of Western Arabic *ḏābā* "now", as explained in fn. 142. As for those disjunctive vowels, there is some hesitation in their quality (e.g., in Alc. 13 *ménecum* "from you", *lé/úcum* "for you", and *ménina* "from us") and certain requisites for their insertion (e.g., Alc. 35.5 *dunúbuhum* "their sins", unnecessary, but 14.25 *nehíbhum* "I love them", 14.22 *yehibcum* "he loves you", vs. 12.29 *nehíbbuc/hum* "I love you / them", in which gemination may be inhibited in order to avoid the consonantal cluster.

2.1.11.2.2. *Demonstrative Pronouns.* The demonstrative pronouns (also functioning as adjectives, when used as qualifiers in the appropriate syntagms, preceding substantives with the definite article or following them as appositions) of AA come in two series for the two deictic degrees, i.e., near and far objects, as in the case of OA and most NA dialects. Their shapes are, for near objects, *háḏa* or *ḏá/Í* "this", sg., and *háwl(a(y))* = *háwlin* "these", pl., and, for far objects, *ḏá/Ík* "that", sg., and *háwlak* "those", pl., apparently without gender distinction,[192] possibly ruined by the effect of strong *imālah* on the OA marking, based on the opposition /ā ≠ ī/. As for the presence of an intermediate degree of deixis,[193] like in Cs. **ese** and Mo. *hādāk*, expressed by *haḏák*, sg., and *hawlínk*, pl., it is not easy to prove its functionality and opposition to the series for far objects, in spite of our statements in Corriente 1992a: 95 and matching fn. 89.

2.1.11.2.3. *Relative Pronouns.* The relative pronoun in AA has the main invariable shape *allaḏí*, characteristic of the oldest layers of NA,[194] e.g., IQ 7/8/4 ›*allaḏī yaksab faḏāyil*‹ "the one who gains merits", 9/24/3 ›*allaḏī aqbalū*‹ "those who came", 142/0/1 ›*allaḏī ğārū*‹ "those who were unjust", Alc. 48.28 *almundáriba alleḏí quínat* "the war that took place", 36.29 *a tabíb aleḏí ydaguí* "the physician who treats", MI 189 ›*alqisma alaḏi*‹ "the partition which", etc. The distinction of gender in sg. at times appears in high register, e.g., IQ 135/10/3 ›*alḫiṣāl allatī*‹ "the qualities which", while in lower and later registers the variants *a/iddí*, *a/iḏḏí* and finally *allí* prevailed, e.g., IQ 58/2/4 ›*ḏāk aḏḏī yantanī*‹ "the one who struts", 95/3/1 ›*subḥān aḏḏī ʿaṭāk*‹ "praise the Lord, who gave you", Alc. 41.22 *allé cunt tecól* "which you were saying", 42.14 *allé yanfáâ* "what is useful". As for the full inflexion described in Alc. 14.5–6, sg. masc. *alleḏí*, pl. *alleḏína*, sg. fem. *alletí*, pl. **alletína*, it is a mere pedantic admixture of CA borrowings, alien to AA usage, and sheer analog-

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[192] Cf. not only the late instances in Alc. 34.19 *dil amr* "this commendment", DC 9b *dic al ayém* "those days", 11a *diq a xéi* "that thing", but those older in VA 495 s.v. "nuper" ›*ḏā/Ík allaylah*‹ "that night", IQ 38/1/1 ›*ḏā al'ayyām*‹ "these days", 10/1/4 ›*ḏā alnuǧaymah*‹ "this little melody", 9/41/2 ›*ḏā al'azğāl*‹ "these *zajal*s" and 146/2/4 ›*hāḏāk almanāmah*‹ "that dream". At times one comes across high register allomorphs, like IQ 9/15/2 ›*hāḏihi al'illah*‹ "this disease", Alc. *ḏéliq* "that", matched by Z 570 and other sources, as well as, in the opposite direction, even infra-correct number agreement in cases like Urz 343.1 ›*hāḏā al'āmirīn*‹ "these settlers".

[193] Fleisch 1979:44–46 surveys the old grammarians' views favourable to the distinction of three *marātib*, i.e., degrees of deixis, and reaches the conclusion, supported by old dialectal evidence, that it was a mere hypothesis of some of them, merely resulting from their rearrangement of variants belonging to different speakers, labelled as "those of Alḥiǧāz" and "those of Tamīm and the other Arabs".

[194] See Blau 1965:53, 87–88 and 132.

ical fabrications, like that fem. pl. *alletína*, and its equivalent *all(at)iyāt* in MT 449.4, 458.2, 1089.2 and 368.3.[195] Finally, at times there was also functional confusion between personal and relative pronouns, as in the above mentioned case of the demonstratives (see 2.1.11.2.1.1), e.g., in MT 66.5 ›*kull qarʿah hiya balḥawmah almaḏkūrah*‹ "every share that is in the said quarter", 931.5 ›*bi'arḍ hiya kān ġarsan*‹ "in grounds that were cultivated", etc.[196]

2.1.11.2.4. *Other Pronouns.* OA has yet another set of pronouns (and some semantically homologous adverbs) simultaneously serving as interrogative, indefinite, correlative and even relative, and generally well preserved in AA, with the main members *mán* "who", eventually "which, that", *má* "what", often renewed as *áš(hu)*, *(w)áššu* or *áššanhu*,[197] and *áyy* "which; what", *matá/Í* "when", *ká(y)f* = *kíf* "how", *áyn* "where", *kám* "how much", often renewed as *ašḥál*, and derived shapes, like Alc. *aymín* "whoever", *ášma* "whatever" in several sources, IQ 99/20/2 ›*ašummā*‹ "whatever", 18/3/4 and 61/3/3 *láš(šu)* "why", 99/0/2 ʿ*aláš* "why", 36/1/3 *ḥattáš* "up to where", etc. Some examples of their different uses are, e.g., adjectival relative *mán*, in Alc. 45.27 *mará men tecún caríbateq* "a woman who would be your relative", Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:7 ›*umm.humā man t.haww.dhumā*‹ "leur mère qui les accompagne", adjectival relative *má* in IQ 8/0/2 ›*kabši mā naḍaḥḥī*‹ "a ram which I shall sacrifice", Alc. 160.30 *guáqt me yucún* "whenever", indirect interrogative *áy(y)*, like Z 566 ›*ay ṣanāʿah tišakkal+lak*‹ "which business suits you", but exclamative in IQ 1/6/2 ›*ay ḥabs*‹ "what a prison!", interrogative

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[195] Probably devised by the Mozarab notaries who drew up these deeds and had a vague recollection of CA rules, but could no longer produce the correct items; see about this Ferrando 1995:59 and fn. 2. Alc.'s predicament was similar, not excluding either the possibility of pranks played on him by his not altogether voluntary Muslim auxiliaries, of which there are other hints (see Corriente 1989c: 446, fn. 121). However, *allatína* surfaces again in the *Kitābu lmuḥāḍarah walmuḏākarah* by Abrāhām b. ʿEzra (see PES 28, fn. 44), which could point to a certain currency of this ultra-correct item in half-learned circles.

[196] These two examples also illustrate the abandonment of the CA rule requiring definite antecedents for every relative, and forbidding its use in case of indefiniteness, of which there are more obvious examples in MT 520.14 ›ʿ*alà ṭayifa allatī astamsakat linafsah*‹ "on a portion which she retained for herself", Alc. 33.31 *tabíb aleḍí ydaguí* "a physician who treats" and 41.24 *axiít alleḍína ix quinu muçahahín* "things that were not ascertained", etc. On the other hand, the frequent sequence *ḏā(li)k allaḏí* is a probable calque from Rm. (cf. Cs. **aquel que** = Pt. **aquele que**, Ct. **aquell que**), e.g., HH 17 ›ʿ*arūḍ ḏāk allaḏī labn quzmān*‹ "that composition which is IQ's", MT 981.9 ›*aldār almaḏkūrah allatī tilka labnhā*‹ "the said house which was her son's", 1045v3 > *allaḏī ḏālik ... huwa biqaryat ...* "which is in the village of ...".

[197] Reflexes of OA *ayyu šay'in (huwa)*, shared in different shapes by all NA dialects from quite early times (see Corriente 1975:53, with quotes from the *Kitābu l'aġānī*, authored in the 10th c.).

áš in IA 80 ›*aš barṭāl*‹ "what is a bird?", but exclamative (*w*)*áššu* with complete loss of the copulative connotation in IQ 26/1/4 ›*yā waššu naʿmal birūḥī*‹ "what would I do to myself!", correlative *ášma* in IQ 18/6/4 ›*ašmā yuqūl+lī*‹ "whatever he tells me". Out of these uses, the relative *áš* exhibits the peculiarity of allowing a construction after prepositions and without a pronominal suffix of reference (i.e., the *ḍamīrun ʿāʾid* of CA; see 3.1.1.1.3.1), e.g., IQ 35/3/4 ›*aṭlub šurrāfah ʿalaš taʿtalī*‹ "look for a merlon from which you hurl yourself", 118/3/2 ›*qaṣriyyah fāš yakūn ḏā alšaḥm*‹ "a plate on which this fat can be put", IA 147 ›*allah yaʿṭīnā rizq wayaʿṭīnā fāš naǧʿalūh*‹ "may God give us sustenance and something to put it on", which was at the origin of AA and Naf. *bāš* "= Ml. *biex* in order to".

2.1.11.2.4.1. Such functional variegation is not found in the substantives most commonly used as indefinite pronouns, namely, (*a*)*ḥád*(*a*) "one" ("none" in negative phrases),[198] and *šáy* or *ší* "(some)thing" ("nothing" in negative phrases).[199] At times, however, these items appear integrated in idioms like Alc. 322.14 *gualehád* "none" and 11 *gualexáy* "nothing", where the copulative is defunctionalised, as in the abovementioned case of *wášš*.

2.2. The Verb

2.2.1. *Verbal Measures*

The AA verb could, like in OA, derivationally stem from a triconsonantal, less often quadriconsonantal root morpheme, expressing a basic semanteme, which could either remain plain or be modified by adding prefixes or infixes attaching some semantic nuances to it. Western grammars of Arabic have traditionally identified the ensuing patterns or measures with Roman figures, i.e., I, II, III, IV, etc., unlike the native system of simply interdigitating the modifying markers with the consonantal skeleton {f⁽ˡ⁾(l)}, i.e., {faʿal}, {faʿʿal}, {fāʿal}, {ʾafʿal}, etc.; the latter system is less practical in the case of speakers of Western languages, who cannot easily distinguish by ear the

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[198] The extended allomorph with final /a/ appears sporadically in several texts, from IQ 20/14/2 ›*lā+ḥadanā*‹ "none of us", down to Alc. 46.6 *aháde*, as can be seen in Corriente 1977d: 5. This feature was studied by Blau 1965:131–132 and 171–172, where he spoke first of substitution of fem. *iḥdà* for the masc. *aḥad*, and then of a residual *tanwīn*, which is likelier to be true, regardless of the spelling with ›*ā*‹ or ›*à*‹. However, in Alc. 46.22 *énne ahád qui yméyeç aháde* "that a man would know a woman", both shapes appear to serve as masc. and fem. respectively, which is confirmed by 46.6 *mará aháde* "some woman".

[199] Cf. PES 34/0/1 ›*šay amārah*‹ "any signal" and 11*/1/2 ›*ši biḍāʿah*‹ "some merchandise", syntactically reminiscent of Mo. *šī*, as we commented in our edition.

gemination of /ʿ/, nor, in many cases, vowel quantity.[200] The layout of the AA verbal measures derived from triconsonantal or quadriconsonantal root morphemes,[201] the latter being distinguished with a superscript 4, i.e., x⁴, and all of them given in their basic shape, looks like this:

I   (plain triconsonantal root, with lexical selection of 2nd vowel, with no particular semantic nuance; either transitive or intransitive):[202] {faʿv́l}.
II   (triconsonantal root, with gemination of 2nd consonant): {faʿʿál}, usually with an intensive or causative connotation in AA,[203] or II⁴ (plain quadriconsonantal root): {faʿlál}, with no particular semantic nuance.

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[200] Some Semitic scholars, above all those concerned with older languages, like Ak. and Ug., have introduced another notational system representing I as G (ground stem or *Grundform*), II as D (double second radical), III as L (lengthened vowel after first radical), {1212}, i.e., reduplicated biconsonantal radical morphemes as R, etc., and attaching the other markers to them in low case, e.g., Gt, tD, etc., which allows a better distinction between internal and external flexion, but is less transparent than the native system and less widely used than the Roman figures.

[201] Most quadriconsonantal Arabic verbs derive from triconsonantal roots by adopting the patterns {1233}, {1w/y23}, {12r3}, {123n}, {m123}, etc., from biconsonantal roots by simple repetition (R stems), or from foreign items, which holds good for AA also e.g., VA ›*muqaʿdad*‹ "mature", ›*nirawḥan = natrawḥan*‹ "I stroll", ›*niṭarnan*‹ "I rejoice madly", ›*nifarsan = natfarsan*‹ "I become a knight", Alc. *nimatráq* "I hammer", PES 99/1/2 ›*nidaqdaq*‹ "I knock", Alc. ›*nifalsáf = natfalsáf*‹ "I philosophise".

[202] The selection of that vowel in OA usually retained some functional value, as {faʿal} most of the time included object-focused verbs, e.g., *qatala* "he killed (someone else)", while {faʿil} expressed subject-focusing, e.g., *fariḥa* "he was glad", and {faʿul} marked stative verbs, actual conjugated adjectives, e.g., *kabura* "he was (or grew) big", similar to the East Semitic stative. However, the difference between the two first classes became blurred when their opposition was replaced by transitiveness, and speakers lost awareness of the former cleavage, since both *qatala* and *šariba* "he drank" or *labisa* "he wore" could have and often had a direct object ("he killed someone", "he drank water", "he wore a gown"), it becoming indifferent that the action basically affects its subject and nobody else in the two last instances. In NA, {faʿal} vs. {faʿil} is a matter of mere lexical option, while the old stative verbs (cf. Eg. *kibir = kubur ~ yikbar* "to be big") still retain some morphological and semantic peculiarities.

[203] The substitution of II for IV is a hallmark of all NA, possibly triggered by the insufficient markedness of imperfectives of the IV measure, in which any causative prefix other than reflexes of PS /š/ disappeared, since their residual vocalisation with /u/, shared with all nonagentive imperfectives, did not even obtain in many dialects. However, the ultimate reason for the selection of II as a substitute of IV probably lies in the presence of dialects, especially those of South Arabian stock, with geminated imperfectives; this would have allowed what Rundgren 1959 called "reuse" of that gemination as the new marker of the causative stem, which appears to be one of the basic semantic axes of Semitic conjugation. As a matter of fact, we have detected both in CA and diverse NA dialects many instances of verbs in which the II stem is not semantically different from I (see Corriente 2004d). Otherwise, it is well known that the II stem was also characteristically used for coining denominal verbs, e.g., VA ›*niḥammar*‹ = Alc. *nihammár ~ hammárt* "to redden", from SA *aḥmar* "red", particularly in the case of foreign items, like VA ›*nibaqqaṭ ~ baqqaṭṭ*‹ = Alc. *nipaqquát paqquátt* "to glue", from Lt. *pĭcātus* "stuck with pitch", *nixappí ~ xappéit* "to crucify", from Goth. *haspa*.

III   (triconsonantal root, with lengthening of 1st vowel, synchronically amount-
         ing to stress in AA, with a conative connotation) {fáʕal}.[204]
IV   (triconsonantal root, with the prefix {ʾa+}, with a causative connotation,
         uncommon in NA and mostly replaced by II):[205] {afʕál}.
V   (triconsonantal root, with gemination of 2nd consonant) or V[4] (just a
         quadriconsonantal root, both with the prefix {at+}, with a reflexive conno-
         tation added to the meaning expressed by II): {atfaʕʕál} or {atfaʕlál}.[206]
VI   (triconsonantal root, with lengthening of 1st vowel, synchronically amount-
         ing to stress in AA, and the prefix {at+}, with a reciprocal connotation added
         to the meaning expressed by III): {atfáʕal}.[207]
VII   (triconsonantal root, with the prefix {an+}, with a passive connotation,
         more common in NA than in OA, as a surrogate of internal non-agentive
         voice): {anfaʕál}.[208]

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[204] I.e., action focused on another person, less often an object, e.g., OA *qātal* "to fight
someone", *fāraq* "to abandon somebody or something". There are in AA some cases of
optional substitution of II for III, e.g., VA ›*niḥāda* = *niḥadda*‹ "I deceive", ›*niʕānaq* = *niʕannaq*‹
"I embrace", ›*niʕāfī* = *niʕaffī*‹ "I defend", ›*niqāsī* = *niqassī*‹ "I suffer", etc.; see a longer list in
Corriente 1977:103, fn. 160. The reason behind this shift might have been the insufficient
markedness of the stressed (formerly long) first vowel of the stem, which disappeared with
consonantal suffixes (cf. Alc. *nicátel ~ catélt* "to fight", *niháqued haguédt* "to keep company",
etc.), together with a certain principle of AA phonemics, by which the lost quantity (or stress)
of a vowel could be compensated by gemination of an immediate consonant, and viceversa
(see 1.3.1.2).

[205] The earliest Eastern grammarians were already aware of the frequent morphological
confusion and ensuing merger of IV and I, of which there is plenty of evidence in AA, e.g.,
VA ›*ḥaṣayt* = *aḥṣayt*‹ "I castrated", ›*hadayt* = *ahdayt*‹ "I guided", Alc. *nazbáh ~ azbáht* "to be
in the morning", *axmaât ~ nazmíê* "to gather for a review", etc.; see a longer list in Corriente
1977:103, fn. 161. However, the OA and CA opposition subsisted in some cases in AA, like the
pair VA ›*naḥruǧ ~ ḥaraǧt*‹ = Alc. *nakurúx ~ ḵaráxt* "to go out" vs. VA › *naḥriǧ ~ aḥraǧt*‹ =
Alc. *nakaríx ~ akaráxt* "to put out", VA ›*nadḥul ~ daḥalt*‹ = Alc. *nadḵól ~ daḵált* "to go in"
vs. VA ›*nadḥil ~ adḥalt*‹ = Alc. *nadḵíl ~ adḵá/ílt* "to put in", with optional contamination of
the imperfective vocalisation, also in *naucíl ~ aucílt* "to join"; otherwise, there are totally CA
high register shapes, like VA ›*nubriz ~ abrazt*‹ "to bring out", ›*nuṯbit ~ aṯbatt*‹ "to confirm",
which also happened in the cases of II and III, though less commonly and more suspect of
being mere classicisms, possibly inserted by learned scribes or Eastern copyists e.g., IQ 1/2/4
›*yuzakkī*‹ "he gives alms", and 5/7/3 ›*tunāfiq*‹ "you are a hypocrite", for AA *yizakkí* and *tináfaq*.

[206] The peculiar shape of the prefix, vs. OA and CA {ta+} in V and VI, is a continuation of
OA dialects, which had {it+} (see Wright 1967:38 and 40), with application of the AA rule for
vocalisation of prosthetic *alif*'s (see 2.1.6.2). Otherwise, that prefix underwent assimilation in
the cases described in 1.4.1.1.

[207] The penultima stress is ensured by systematic transcriptions in Alc., like *natbáraz* "I
battle", *natḵáçam* "I dispute", etc., although it should have shifted to the next syllable with
consonantic suffixes, as in III. In the VI stem also, there are instances of shift towards V, e.g.,
VA ›*atlaššā*‹ "it was annihilated", vs. SA *talāšà*.

[208] The stress and vocalisation of this measure appears established on the basis of many
witnesses, e.g., VA ›*anṣalaḥ*‹ "it was repaired", IQ 38/29/1 ›*yanṭabaq*‹ "he grieves", Alc. *anfecédt*

VIII   (triconsonantal root, with the infix {+ta+}, inserted after the first consonant, with a reflexive connotation, more common in OA than in NA): {**afta⟨ál**}.[209]

IX–XI   (triconsonantal root, with the infix {+ā+}, inserted after the second consonant, restricted to semantemes related to colour or physical traits, characteristic of Western Arabic): {**af⟨ál**}.[210]

X   (triconsonantal root, with the prefix {asta+}, with an array of mostly lexicalised connotations): {**astaf⟨ál**}.

2.2.2. *Verbal Inflexions*

These plain or derived stems or measures of the AA verb are inflected for aspect or tense (perfective vs. imperfective),[211] mood (imperative vs.

"I had an indigestion", etc. However, instances with penultima stress like Alc. *nandárab* "I fight" and 20.6 *nançáraâ* "I struggle" may point to a hybrid III+VII measure, while a hybrid II+VII appears to be reflected by VA ›*nanǧarrā ~ anǧarrayt*‹ "to dare"; see Corriente 2004d: 37, fn. 17 and 18, about these hybrid measures (*Kreuzungen* in Brockelmann's technical language).

[209] This measure was no longer productive in AA or, for that matter, in NA as a whole, though surviving in some very common items. Its stress and vocalisation are established by instances like IQ 95/8/1 ›*naḫtalaf*‹ "I frequent", Alc. *nahtarám ~ ahtarámt* "to respect", and *neltehém ~ eltehémt* "to remember"; at times we come across high register vocalisations, like Alc. *naftaquír ~ aftacárt* "to become poor", *naktabír ~ aktabárt* "to test", and Z 1234 ›*yašta⟨if*‹ "he takes warning", vs. rhyme-supported IQ 105/4/4 ›*yašta⟨af*‹. The poor functional integration of this measure in the morphological structure of AA is given away also by cases of metanalysis, like Alc. *naqtúç ~ aqtázt* "to pay as compensation", *naktár ~ katárt* "to choose", *maktúr* "chosen", *kítra* "choice", *nehtem ~ ehtémt* "to suspect", Z 706 ›*tahamnī*‹ "he accused me", Alc. *mamtúd* "stretched", etc.

[210] OA had two practically synonymous measures, IX {if⟨all} and XI {if⟨āll}, of which Western NA has a unique reflex {f⟨āl}, with no traces of gemination, which was difficult to perceive in final junctures, although at least graphically or traditionally reflected in some AA sources, like VA ›*aṣfarr*‹ "he grew pale" and its *maṣdar* ›*iṣfirār*‹, ›*aḥmarr*‹ "to turn red" and its *maṣdar* ›*iḥmirār*‹, etc. However, in some other sources we get shapes closer to those of Naf. dialects, e.g., IQ 67/1/1 ›*naṣfār*‹ "I grow pale", RC 17 ›*musqām*‹ "sick", ›*aḍlāmat*‹ "she became dark", suggesting that, but for CA borrowings like those *maṣdar*s, this stem was perceived by native ears as {af⟨ál}, and probably identified with a semantically peculiar sub-class of IV, the latter being no longer productive nor frequent in its original function as a causative stem.

[211] OA had a basically grammaticalised system of verbal aspects, opposing complete processes (perfective) to incomplete processes (imperfective), of which tense connotations were no part, being merely secondary and context-conditioned, as described in Corriente 1980d: 148; however, a shift towards a tense system, based on the subjective opposition past ≠ non-past time, had started very early, and has come to reign supreme in NA, certainly including AA. Nevertheless, the survival in it of the traditional usage in some optative and conditional structures, makes it advisable to retain the labels of that aspectual system. It is remarkable that the fact, otherwise logical and expectable, that a very high rate of perfectives express actions that were completed in subjective time, i.e., in the past, and the weight of previous

non-imperative), voice (agentive vs. non-agentive), person (first, second and third), number (sg. vs. pl.), and gender (masc. vs. fem., which are differentiated only in 3rd sg. persons). Those logemes were marked by means of internal flexion, always in the cases of voice, and those of aspect and the imperative mood of only I stems, and by mean of suffixes only in the perfectives, while the imperfectives always require person prefixes and suffixes for the pl. The conjugation of AA verbs therefore includes imperative, perfective and imperfective paradigms, the latter two admitting the aforementioned voice diathesis, with the three persons, sg. and pl., of which only the 3rd sg. differentiates the two genders; in addition to this, there were three non-finite forms, namely, the agentive and non-agentive participles and the *maṣdar* (= verbal noun), which is often a mere borrowing from CA. Of these, the participles behave like adjectival nouns, inflected as such for gender and number,[212] while *maṣdar*s are substantives, occasionally admitting the markers of *nomen unitatis* and fem. pl.[213]

2.2.2.1. *Perfective*

The basic stems of 2.2.1 provide the agentive perfective of any AA verb with the mere addition of the personal subject suffixes, which are, in the

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grammatical traditions (basically Greek and Syriac) made native Arab grammarians accept the label *māḍī* "past" for the perfective paradigm, while they called the imperfective *muḍāriʿ*, i.e., "look-alike", because it could express any subjective time, depending on the context. Western grammarians of Arabic have often approached this issue under the same prejudice or at least echoed it, and therefore have preferred the labels "perfect" and "imperfect", overlooking the basic aspectual axis of OA conjugation in favour of a tense-focused description (e.g., Wright 1967 I: 51, who speaks of tenses, though denying reference to the temporal relations of the speakers, or Fischer 1972:90, who describes the system as being based on the aspectual opposition of perfective and imperfective, but labels them simply as "Verbalformen"), with some exceptions like Blachère & Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1952:36, who speak clearly of aspects, though using the confusing labels, on which French scholars are so keen, of "accompli" vs. "inaccompli". However, facts are stubborn, and resurface at every opportunity, as reflected in the treatment of this issue by Grande 1963:152–157, himself a speaker of a language with an aspectual verb system, who declares himself in favour of the label "tense" for the Arabic verbal forms, though instinctively calling these two paradigms "perfective tense" and "imperfective tense". Finally, Fleisch 1979:169–206 put the matter straight by saying that "C'est en effect l'aspect qui est à la base de l'organisation du verb en arabe, le temps est exprimé subsidiairement".

[212] Admitting of both regular and broken pls., e.g., Alc. *équil* "eater", pl. *ín/vquelé*.

[213] E.g., Alc. *équel* "eating", *éqle* pl. *ít* "meal", *tabiíḍ* "whitening", n.un. *tabiíḍa*. But in cases of strong substantivisation, broken pls. were also possible, like VA ›tārīḫ‹, originally "dating", but subsequently "history", with the pl. ›tawārīḫ‹, ›tālīf‹ "composition, treatise", pl. ›tawālīf‹ = Alc. *taulíf* pl. *tavílif*, Alc. *tabḳír* pl. *tabáḳir* "perfuming with incense", ›tarǧamah‹ "index", pl. ›tarāǧim‹ = Alc. *tárjama* pl. *tarágim*, etc., vs. VA ›mubārah‹ "divorce", pl.+āt.

sg. 3rd person masc., Ø, fem. +*at*,[214] 2nd and 1st person, +*t*,[215] and in the pl., 3rd person, +*u*, 2nd person, +*tum*,[216] and 1st person, +*na*. E.g., *šaráb* "he drank", *šarábat* "she drank", *šarábt* "you (sg.) / I drank", *šarábu* "they drank", *šarábtum* "you (pl.) drank", *šarábna* "we drank";[217] with a different stem vowel, *kabúr* "he grew", *kabúrat* "she grew", *kabúrt* "you (sg.) / I grew", *kabúru* "they grew", *kabúrtum* "you (pl.) grew", *kabúrna* "we grew".

2.2.2.2. *Imperative*

The imperative, exclusively agentive and affirmative as in every kind of Arabic, with only 2nd persons, sg. and pl., without gender distinction in AA, is the simplest paradigm of the verb, identical to the basic stems laid out in 2.2.1, except in the case of the I stem, which receives a euphonic prefix *a*+ and adopts the imperfective stem with the shape {12v3}. In this shape, the vowel, /a/ or /u/, may be different from that of the basic stem in that same position;[218] a similar option between /a/ and /i/ exists for

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[214] There are some cases, above all in PES, of decay of the second vowel of these stems before vocalic personal subject suffixes, e.g., 13/0/2 ›laʿbat‹ "she played", and 13/4/2 ›raqṣū‹ "they danced" (see PES 29, fn. 47), which must be attributed to the interference of Naf. dialects with Aššuštarī's idiom, on account of his travels and long stay in those countries, rather than to preservation in AA of OA dialects with that feature.

[215] At times, in the *azǧāl*, we come across the allomorphs +*ta* for the 2nd person sg. and +*tu* for the 1st sg., as often in IQ, e.g., 1/1/1 ›ašaqtu‹ "I fell in love", 6/5/1 ›qulta‹ "you said", PES 1/0/1 ›raytu‹ "I saw", and ›ʿudtu‹ "I came back" vs. ›ǧīt‹ "I came", etc., which appear to be high register forms, alien to the standards of low registers, but required for metrical reasons, because of the scarcity in AA of short syllables, demanded by the Khalīlean metres (see Corriente 1980a: 39, fn. 110–111, and Corriente 1988b: 28).

[216] The shape of this suffix was extended, as in OA, into +*tumú*, before pronominal object suffixes, e.g., IQ 89/5/1–3 ›šayyabtumū+nī … waǧadtumū+nī‹ "you made my hair turn grey … you killed me … you found me" (see Corriente 1980a: 39, fn. 113).

[217] But 2nd degree *imālah* could operate on this suffix, when stressed, e.g., IA 484 ›waǧadnī+hā‹ "we found her", 403 ›daḥḥalnÍ+hum‹ "we introduced them", AC 674 ›ḍannabnÍ+h‹ "we condemned him", 1070 ›ʿallamnÍh‹ "we taught him", even unstressed in Z 771 ›ʿamalnÍ‹ "we made".

[218] This alternation was a characteristic feature of OA, inherited from PS, thereby active imperfectives of the {fʿu/il} type had perfectives with the vocalisation {1a2a3}, and intransitive imperfectives of the {fʿal} type had perfectives with the vocalisation {1a2i3}, while stative verbs and most other verbs with a pharyngeal or laryngeal 2nd or 3rd radical consonant had no alternation, and kept /u/ vocalisation in the first case, and /a/ in the second, throughout perfective and imperfective stems, e.g., OA *qatala ~ yaqtulu* "to kill", *ḍaraba ~ yaḍribu* "to strike", *šariba ~ yašrabu* "to drink", *ḥasuna ~ yaḥsunu* "to be good", *ḍahaba ~ yaḍhabu* "to go". However, in NA, the differences between OA dialects on this point have generated many divergences from the CA rules, and in the particular case of Western Arabic, the effect of Philippi's law, which changed every stressed /i/ in a closed syllable into /a/, put an end to any alternation between /a/ and /i/; in the case of AA, only the alternation /a/ ~ /u/ survived, e.g., VA ›naktub ~ katabt‹ "to write", but ›naḍrab ~ ḍarabt‹ "to strike", ›nalbas

measure IV also. The plurals differ from the sg. by the addition of a suffix {+*u*}, resulting in this layout:

I   {**afʿↄ́l**}, e.g., *ašrúb* "drink", pl. *ašrúbu*, and *aǧsál* "wash", pl. *aǧsálu*.
II   {**faʿʿál**}, e.g., *qabbál* "kiss", pl. *qabbálu*, and II⁴: {**faʿlal**}, e.g., *tarǧám* "translate", pl. *tarǧámu*.
III   {**fáʿal**}, e.g., *sáfar* "travel", pl. *sáfaru*.
IV   {**afʿí/ál**}, e.g., *adḥíl* "introduce", pl. *adḥílu*, vs. *atláf* "lead astray", pl. *atláfu*.
V   {**atfaʿʿál**}, e.g., *atqaddám* "advance", pl. *atqaddámu*, or V⁴ {**atfaʿlal**}, e.g., *atbarbár* "speak Br.", pl. *atbarbáru*.
VI   {**atfáʿal**}, e.g., *atháwad* "consent", pl. *atháwadu*.
VII   {**anfaʿál**}, e.g., *anṭabáq* "get angry", pl. *anṭabáqu*.
VIII   {**aftaʿál**}, e.g., *altahám* "remember", pl. *altahámu*.
IX–XI   {**afʿāl**}, e.g., *aṣfár* "grow pale", pl. *aṣfáru*.
X   {**astafʿál**}, e.g., *astaʿḍár* "excuse yourself", pl. *astaʿḍáru*.

2.2.2.3. *Imperfective*

The shapes of the stems, as eventually modified for the imperative, provide also the inflexions of the agentive imperfective, by attaching the personal subject prefixes, which are, for the sg., in the 3rd person masc. *ya+*, fem. *ta+*, 2nd, *ta+*, and 1st *na+*, except in II and III, in which the prefixes are vocalized in genuine AA with /i/. The matching pls. receive the suffix +*u*, but there is no gender distinction in the 3rd person, which generates the following layout:

I   {**y~t~nafʿú/ál(u)**}, e.g., *yašrúb* "he drinks", *tašrúb* "you (sg.) drink; she drinks", *našrúb* "I drink", pl. *yašrúbu* "they drink", *tašrúbu* "you (pl.) drink", *našrúbu* "we drink"; with a different stem vowel, *yaǧsál* "he washes", *taǧsál* "she washes", *taǧsál* "you (sg.) wash", *naǧsál* "I wash", pl. *yaǧsálu* "they wash", *taǧsálu* "you (pl.) wash", *naǧsálu* "we wash".
II   {**y~t~nifaʿʿál(u)**}, e.g., *yiqabbál* "he kisses", *tiqabbál* "you (sg.) kiss; she kisses", *niqabbál* "I kiss", pl. *yiqabbálu* "they kiss", *tiqabbálu* "you (pl.) kiss", *niqabbálu* "we kiss" and, for II⁴, {**y/t/nifaʿlál(u)**}, e.g., *yitarǧám* "he translates", etc.

~ *labast‹* "to wear", etc. (see Corriente 1981–1982). In other cases, the witnessed alternation is not a continuation of the OA situation, because of analogies, assimilations, etc., e.g., VA ›*yaḥruš ~ ḥaruš*‹ "to be rough", an extension of the stative vocalisation, at the expense of OA ›*yaḥrašu ~ ḥariša*‹, of which there are other examples in SK, fn. 158, ›*našrub ~ šarabt*‹ "to drink", rhyme-supported IQ 22/4/1 ›*yadrub*‹ "he is trained", both possibly caused by labialisation in contact with /*b*/, etc. It is remarkable that these stative verbs, in the dialect of Sanaa (Yemen) have been described by Naïm 2009:90 in these terms: "Le théme /-*u*-/ s'est maintenu et s'est spécialisé dans l'encodage des énoncés a-subjectaux"; she provides a list of 14 such items in p. 56, out of which 8 ({*brd*}, {*bʿd*}, {*ṣǧr*}, {*ṭlʿ*}, {*ǧlḍ*}, {*qrb*}, {*kbr*} and {*mrḍ*}) are also witnessed in AA.

III {y~t~nifáʿal}, e.g., *yisáfar* "he travels", *tisáfar* "you (sg.) travel; she travels", *nisáfar* "I travel", pl. *yisáfaru* "they travel", *tisáfaru* "you (pl.) travel", *nisáfaru* "we travel".

IV {y~t~nafʿí/ál}, e.g., (with vowel alternation) *yadḫíl* "he introduces", *tadḫíl* "you (sg.) introduce; she introduces", *nadḫíl* "I introduce", pl. *yadḫílu* "they introduce", *tadḫílu* "you (pl.) introduce", *nadḫílu* "we introduce", vs. (without vocalic alternation and therefore undistinguishable from I) *yatláf* "he leads astray", *tatláf* "you (sg.) lead astray; she leads astray", *natláf* "I lead astray", pl. *yatláfu* "they lead astray", *tatláfu* "you (pl.) lead astray", *natláfu* "we lead astray".

V {y~t~natfaʿʿál}, e.g., *yatqaddám* "he advances", *tatqaddám* "you (sg.) advance: she advances", *natqaddám* "I advance", pl. *yatqaddámu* "they advance", *tatqaddámu* "you (pl.) advance", and *natqaddámu* "we advance", or V⁴ {y~t~natfaʿlal}, e.g., *yatbarbár* "he speaks Br.", *tatbarbár* "you (sg.) speak Br.; she speaks Br.", *natbarbár* "I speak Br.", pl. *yatbarbáru* "they speak Br.", *tatbarbáru* "you (pl.) speak Br." and *natbarbáru* "we speak Br.".

VI {y~t~natfáʿal}, e.g., *yatháwad* "he consents", *tatháwad* "you (sg.) consent; she consents", *natháwad* "I consent", pl. *yatháwadu* "they consent", *tatháwadu* "you (pl.) consent", and *natháwadu* "we consent".

VII {y~t~nanfaʿál}, e.g., *yanṭabáq* "he gets angry", *tanṭabáq* "you (sg.) get angry; she gets angry", *nanṭabáq* "I get angry", pl. *yanṭabáqu* "they get angry", *tanṭabáqu* "you (pl.) get angry", *nanṭabáqu* "we get angry".

VIII {y~t~naftaʿál}, e.g., *yaltahám* "he remembers", *taltahám* "you (sg.) remember; she remembers", *naltahám* "I remember", pl. *yaltahámu* "they remember", *taltahámu* "you (pl.) remember", *naltahámu* "we remember".

IX–XI {y~t~nafʿāl}, e.g., *yaṣfár* "he grows pale", *taṣfár* "you (sg.) grow pale; she grows pale", *naṣfár* "I grow pale", pl. *yaṣfáru* "they grow pale", *taṣfáru* "you (pl.) grow pale", *naṣfáru* "we grow pale".

X {y~t~nastafʿál}, e.g., *yastaʿḏár* "he excuses himself", *tastaʿḏár* "you excuse yourself; she excuses herself", *nastaʿḏár* "I excuse myself", pl. *yastaʿḏáru* "they excuse themselves", *tastaʿḏáru* "you excuse yourselves", *nastaʿḏáru* "we excuse ourselves".

2.2.2.4. *Non-agentive Voice*

AA is apparently the most conservative NA dialect concerning its preservation of the OA distinction of two voices in the finite verbs: agentive, used when the subject is known, and non-agentive, in the opposite case. The marking of such diathesis is obtained through internal flexion, by vocalising the non-agentive perfective stems with /i/ in their last syllable, and every other preceding vowel slot with /u/ and, in the case of imperfective stems, with /u/ in the personal subject prefix and /a/ in every other following vowel slot, e.g., *ḏabáḥ* "he slew" vs. *ḏubíḥ* "he was slain", *yaḏbáḥ* "he slays" vs. *yuḏbáḥ* "he is slain", *tarǧám* "he translated" vs. *turǧím* "it was translated", *yitarǧám* "he translates" vs. *yutarǧám* "it is translated", *aḥtamál* "he suffered" vs. *uḥtumíl* "it was suffered", *yaḥtamál* "he suffers" vs. *yuḥtamál* "it is

suffered". However, there are some sporadic hints of replacement of {1u2i3} by {1a2i3}, like RC 26–27 ›walidt‹ "I was born", ›mallikt‹ "I was owned", ›yaqbal‹ "he is accepted", ›yabʿaṯ‹ "he is sent <", and then of mere substitution of an agentive stem for a non-agentive one, e.g., VA ›ʿanayt ~ naʿná‹ "to toil", and LA 255 ›ʾstahtara‹ "he acted shamelessly" and ›ʾstaḍḥaka‹ "he was forced to laugh" for CA ustuhtira and ustuḍḥika, respectively, and pan-NA ›yatwaffā ~ atwaffā‹ "to pass away", reflected by VA and other sources.

2.2.2.5. *Non-finite forms: participles and* maṣdar

2.2.2.5.1. AA has also preserved the OA sets of agentive and non-agentive participles, and their marking system, by prefixing {mu+} to the non-agentive imperfective stems, and generalising /i/ as the last stem vowel besides, in the case of agentive imperfectives, except for the I stem, which had the special patterns {1á2i3} for the agentive vs. {ma12ú3} for the non-agentive, e.g., *kátib* "writer" ~ *maktúb* "written", *mutárǧim* "translator" ~ *mutarǧám* "translated", *mustaʿmíl* "user" ~ *mustaʿmál* "used", etc. However, in many instances, there are hints at neutralisation of the voice opposition, and mere survival of the non-agentive shape, with lexical determination of voice, e.g., VA ›mubarsan‹ "accuser", rhyme-supported IQ 2/1/2 ›muʿallam‹ "master" and 176/0/1 ›muḥtasab‹ = Alc. *muhtecéb* "market inspector", IQ 93/4/4 ›muʾaḏḏan‹ = Alc. *muéden* "muezzin", rhyme-supported IQ 96/1/3 ›muʿtadal‹ "moderate", 118/0/1 ›muḥtafal‹ "celebrating", Alc. *muçlamín* "Muslims", even some loanwords like Cs. **almogávar** vs. Alc. *mogáguir*, while an urban Eastern stress type is often reflected in Alc. *muçámmar* "decorated with tacks", *mulébbeç* "wearing shoes", *mufétten* "agitator", *múdlim* "dark", *múmkin* "possible", *múxiriq* "brigh", *muquéddem* "captain" (but also *muqueddém*, matched by Cs. **almocadén**), *mudnáçar* "convert to Christianity", *muztécreh* "loathsome", DC 16a *mugédded* "renewed", and even in some Rm. loanwords, e.g., Cs. **almuédano** = Pt. **almoádão** "muezzin".

2.2.2.5.2. The *maṣdar*, simultaneously an infinitive and a verbal noun, is often an item borrowed from CA and scarcely used in the true low registers of AA or, for that matter, the whole of NA, although given the sociolinguistic peculiarities of the Arabic speaking societies, one can come by a *maṣdar* rather often in AA texts (see 3.3.2.1). Its shape for the I stem is not morphologically predictable, being lexically selected from an array of multiple possibilities in CA, of which some are still frequent in AA.[219] For the

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[219] Wright 1967:110 ff. lists more than 40 patterns, of which only five would be really

remaining stems, however, the shapes of *maṣdar*s are predictable within narrow margins of optionality, in this manner:

I⁴ {**fáʿlalah**}, e.g., *tárǧama* "translation; to translate", *párçana* "accusation".
II {**tafʿíl(a)**}, e.g., *tafríǧ* "emptying; to empty", or *tanqíyya* "cleaning; to clean" (with application of 2.1.2.10.3.3).
III {**fiʿál**} or {**mufáʿala**}, e.g., *ǧidál* = *muǧádala* "dispute; to dispute".
IV {**ifʿál**}, e.g., *infáq* "expenditure; to spend".
V {**tafaʿʿúl**}, e.g., *taqarrúb* "coming near; to come near", V⁴: {**tafaʿlúl**}, e.g., *tadardúb* "rolling down; to roll down".
VI {**tafáʿul**}, e.g., *taʿášuq* "falling in love together; to fall in love together".
VII {**infiʿál**}, e.g., *inṭiláq* "departure; to depart".
VIII {**iftiʿál**}, e.g., *intiqál* "being carried away; to be carried away".
IX–XI {**ifʿilál**}, e.g., *iḥmirár* "turning red; to turn red", *iṣfirár* "turning yellow; to turn yellow", apparently, higher register borrowings than average.
X {**istifʿál**}, e.g., *istirqád* "falling asleep; to fall asleep".

2.2.3. *Weak Verbs*

The "weak" verbs of Arabic are those having /ʾ/, /w/ or /y/ in any of the slots of their triconsonantal roots, and those biconsonantal roots having geminated the 2nd radical consonant in order to complete the minimum of three, required by the paradigms of the Arabic conjugation. In both instances, the juncture of such radical morphemes with the derivational and inflexional ones may require peculiar solutions, which are not true individual irregularities, but special rules affecting each one of those kinds of weak verbs en bloc. The technical terms for these verbs are *hamzata* (i.e., *primae h.* {ʾ23}, *secundae h.* {1ʾ3} or *tertiae h.* {12ʾ}), geminate or "deaf" (i.e., {122}), "assimilated" ({w23} or {y23}), "hollow" (i.e., {1w3} or {1y3}), and "defective" verbs ({12w} or {12y}). AA shares many of the features of these verbs in SA, including the general preservation of the vowel alternation characteristic of perfective and imperfective paradigms in the derived measures, above all IV, VII, VIII and X,[220] but differs from its solutions in some cases, as follows.

2.2.3.1. hamzata
The conjugation of *hamzata* is merely conditioned by the application of the rules for the treatment of /ʾ/ in AA (see 1.2.28.1–5), i.e., this weak phoneme

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frequent, namely, {1a23} (e.g., VA ›labs‹ "wearing"), {1a2a3} (e.g., VA ›faza‹ "being scared, scare"), {1a2ā3ah} (e.g., VA ›razānah‹ "staidness"), {1u2ū3} (e.g., VA ›ḫurūǧ‹ "going out, exit"), and {1u2ū3ah} (e.g., VA ›ḫurūšah‹ "being harsh, harshness"), and these are the ones current in NA and AA also, with some sporadic additions.

[220] Which have /i/ in the last vowel slot of the imperfectives; see 2.3.3.5.2.

may be: a) retained (e.g., VA ›*anant ~ ni'ann*‹ "to moan", ›*nas'al ~ sa'alt*‹ "to ask", VA ›*ni'assas*‹ = Alc. *nieçéç ecéçt* "to lay the foundations", possibly a higher register than other cases of decay, like IQ 93/4/4 ›*yaḏḏan*‹ "he calls to prayer" = Alc. *nadén adént* (for OA *aḏḏana ~ yu'aḏḏinu*), IQ 6/2/3 ›*tasal*‹ "you ask", Z 72 ›*takul*‹ "you eat", IA 390 ›*yukal*‹ "it is eaten" (for OA *tas'alu, ta'kulu, yu'kalu*), b) dropped with or without compensating gemination of the immediate consonant, e.g., VA ›*naḥḥuḏ*‹ "I take", ›*nakkul*‹ "I eat", VA ›*attaḥaḏ ~ yattaḥaḏ*‹ "to adopt", vs. the above reported cases of decay, plus others of aphaeresis, like IQ 118/4/1 ›*ḥadtu*‹ "I took", DC 6a *ḥad* "he took", IA 79 ›*kalnā*‹ "we ate", or otherwise, e.g., VA ›*naḏī*‹ "I harm", Z 1711 ›*rat*‹ "she saw", 1551 ›*naqraw*‹ "we read", and c) turned into /w/, /y/ or a virtual /:/, i.e., historical vowel length, reflected by stress in AA only when prosodic rules allowed it, e.g., IA 81 ›*qarayt*‹ "I read", Z 335 ›*mawḥūḏ*‹ "taken", VA ›*niwakkad ~ wakkadt*‹ "to hasten", ›*niwaḥḥar*‹ "I postpone", ›*nirayyas*‹ "I start", VA ›*naqrā*‹ = /*naqrá*/ "I read", ›*maqrū*‹ = /*maqrú*/ "read", and Z 657 ›*yiʿabbī*‹ = /*yiʿabbí*/ "he carries away". Any of these solutions, however, may propagate to other positions paradigmatically or by analogy. At any rate, {12'} verbs behave exactly like {12w/y}, but without thematic alternation, while there is no such an assimilation to hollow roots in the case of {1'3} verbs, and only exceptionally to assimilated verbs in the case of {'23}.

2.2.3.2. *Germinate Verbs*

The most conspicuous feature of AA geminate verbs, is the frequency of strong, i.e., uncontracted forms, reminiscent of SAE and Et., in comparison with SA, in which, before any vocalic suffix, /2v2/ becomes /22v/, and /2v2/ becomes /v22/, the latter only optionally if there is no suffix attached to the stem. Instead, in AA we have shapes such as VA ›*niǧānan = natǧānan*‹ "I contend", RC 29 ›*yataḥābabū*‹ "they love each other", Alc. *naztahbéb* "I make myself loved", LA 301 ›*yataqārarūn*‹ "they agree with each other", and Alc. *habéb* pl. *habébu* "love"; some other times, the roots are treated as biconsonantal by metanalysis or haplology, as in some OA dialects, e.g., VA ›*nanšarr ~ anšart*‹ "to quarrel", ›*astaġall ~ astaġalt*‹ "to exploit", IQ 107/4/4 *far* "flee", Alc. *naztaház ~ açtaházt* "to spy", *naztaháq ~ aztaháqt* "to deserve", *rutt* "I gave back", HH 32 ›*šamtu*‹ "I smelt", RC 28 ›*mastu*‹ "I touched", especially in the stems VII, VIII and X, above all in the *maṣdar*s, e.g., *insád* "occlusion", *irtád* "conversion" and *istiḥám* "bathing", from {*šrr*}, {*ġll*}, {*frr*}, {*ḥss*}, {*ḥqq*}, {*rdd*}, {*šmm*}, {*mss*}, {*sdd*}, {*rdd*} and {*ḥmm*}, although the regular CA shapes can also occur, e.g., *muḍádda* "opposition", *inḥiṭáṭ* "lowering", *iḥtiǧáǧ* "protest" and *istiqrár* "settling", from {*ḍdd*}, {*ḥṭṭ*}, {*ḥǧǧ*} and {*qrr*}.

Unlike most NA dialects, there is no dissimilatory substitution of /22ay+/ for /2a2+/ before consonantal suffixes, e.g., VA ›ḍanant‹ "I was stingy", ›hazazt‹ "I shook", Alc. *mecézt* "I touched", etc.[221]

2.2.3.3. *Assimilated Verbs*

The conjugation of "assimilated" verbs of AA partly follows the CA rules, and partly differs from them, in ways already known in OA dialects or innovated by AA, especially in the I stem, while the others do not call for much comment, but for the preservation of /w/ instead of its assimilation before the infix {+t+} of VIII, e.g., VA ›awtaṯaq‹ "it was firm", IQ 117/3/2 ›yawtaqad‹ "it burns", and the frequent acceptance of a diphthong /iw/ in some *maṣdar*s, e.g., *iwtár* "annoying", *istiwǧáb* "response" (see 1.1.4.1). Unlike most NA dialects, but in agreement with CA, the weak radical /w/ is dropped in many imperfectives and the matching imperatives, e.g., VA ›naṯiq‹ "I trust", ›naṣil‹ "I arrive", Alc. *naquíf ~ guacáft* "to stop", etc.[222] although quite often with peculiar vocalisation of both the prefix and the stem, or at least one of these, e.g., VA ›nihab‹ "I give", ›ṯiqt‹ "I trusted", IQ 19/2/1 ›nazan‹ "I weigh or pay", 4/4/2 ›naǧad‹ "I find", Alc. *niçál ~ guaçált* "to arrive" and *niréč ~ guaráčt* "to inherit", with the imperatives *çál* and *réč*.[223] In other instances, however, /w/ is retained, against the CA usage, e.g., VA ›nawṯab‹ "I jump", ›nawʿid‹ "I promise" and, all in all, analogy and metanalysis[224] have brought about unpredictable results, like Alc. *negéd agédt* "to find", with /w/ > /ʾ/, *nifár ~ fart* "to grow", *nizén ~ zent* "to weigh", and VA ›niḍar ~ ḍart‹ "to let (do)", with loss of /w/ in the perfective also, the imperatives *aquíf* "stop" and *ycáâ* "fall", with a prosthetic syllable, IQ 80/4/4 ›nahībak‹ "I give you", along with other "regular" inflexions of {whb}, as well as the reflex /a(:)/ of /aw/ in Alc. *naztacáâ ~ aztaquáât* "to covet", IQ 114/4/4 ›maqāʿ‹ "occasion", both from {wqʿ}, and in VA ›mawsūq = māsūq‹ "carried away".

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[221] This matter and its OA precedents are discussed in Corriente 1976:85.

[222] Even in one case of a {y23} root, unlike CA *yaybasu*, e.g., VA ›yibas ~ yabas‹ = Alc. *nibéç ~ yebéçt*, imperative *ybéç* "to be dry".

[223] The peculiar shapes of these imperfectives are the combined result of the application of Barth's and Philippi's laws, the first introducing /i/ in the imperfective prefixes, followed by stems shortened into {2a3}, e.g., *yihab* for *yahab* "he gives", while the second substituted /a/ for /i/ in stressed {2i3} stems, e.g., *yiǧad* for *yvǧid*. However, none of these rules were consistently applied, because of diachronic, diatopic or diastratic distributions, which determined the reported variegation in AA materials.

[224] Confusions with the treatment of "hollow" roots are a consequence of the loss of vowel length in AA, and subsequent identification of stress with quantity, which brought about the analysis of *naṭíq* as **naṭīq*, from *{ṭyq}, therefore generating the perfective *ṯíqt*, whence the complete conjugation of *tāq ~ itēq* "to trust" in Mo. (see Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:2).

2.2.3.4. *Hollow Verbs*

The "hollow" verbs of AA follow most of the CA rules, but for certain peculiarities, namely: a) the imperfective prefixes may exhibit any vocalisation, /a/ in higher registers, /u/ by harmony with the stem vowel, and /i/ by effect of Barth's law, but these vocalic results have often propagated to other situations, e.g., VA ›*naḫāf*‹ vs. Alc. *niḳáf* "I fear", VA ›*nanām*‹ vs. Alc. *niném* "I sleep", VA ›*numūt*‹ vs. Alc. *nimút* "I die", VA ›*nibīt*‹ = Alc. *nibít* "I stay overnight"; b) At times, we come across strong forms which do not exhibit the characteristic treatment of these verbs in SA, though not entirely absent from OA, e.g., VA ›*naḥwağ ~ aḥwağt*‹ "to need", ›*yaḥtawal ~ aḥtawalt*‹ "to be changed" (both recorded already in CA dictionaries), ›*nastaṯyar ~ astaṯyart*‹ "to draw an omen", Alc. *nahguél ~ ahguélt* "to cause loss of one eye", *nezuéch ~ azuécht* "to marry", *naḳteyél ~ aḳteyélt* "to fancy", *naztaâguéd ~ aztaâguétt* "to accustom", VA ›*maġyūm*‹ "clouded", ›*maḥyūṭ*‹ "sewn", Alc. *macióh* "called", from {ṣyḥ} etc., vs. standard VA ›*mazīd*‹ "added", but Alc. *maziúd = muzíd*, and VA ›*mabī̃*‹ = *mabyū*‹ "sold"; c) Out of the three subtypes of hollow verbs in CA ({1ā3 ~ ya1ū3}, {1ā3 ~ ya2ī3} and {1ā3 ~ ya1ā3}), AA appears to have gone one step further towards the merger of the last two, as VA has both ›*yaġā/īr*‹ "he is jealous" and ›*nahā/īb*‹ "I revere", in addition to other cases in which CA already has both allomorphs. Otherwise, the characteristic thematic vowel alternation of OA is normal in AA also in IV (e.g., VA ›*niġīṯ ~ aġaṯṯ*‹ = Alc. *niguíċ ~ agáċt* "to succour", VA ›*niʿīr ~ aʿart*‹ = Alc. *naâír ~ âárt* "to lend"), and occasionally witnessed in X (e.g., ›*nastaʿī/ār ~ astaʿart*‹ "to borrow", and ›*nastašīr ~ astašart*‹, but Alc. only *naztaxár ~ aztaxárt* "to consult", VA ›*nastaṭāl ~ astaṭalt*‹ "to speak insolently"), and there are cases of (reciprocal) metanalysis with the assimilated verbs, e.g., VA ›*yastawmat ~ astawmat*‹ = Alc. *neztevmét ~ eztevmétt* "to faint", Alc. *mavcúl = macól* "said", with metathesis, even with the *primae hamzata* {'23} in the non-agentive perfectives of Z 62 *et passim* and IQ 62/3/4 ›*uqīl*‹ "it was said", and LA 204 ›*uḫīf*‹ "he was scared" and ›*ubī̃*‹ "it was sold",[225] while the reason beyond the striking absence of compensatory fem. marker in some *maṣdar*s of IV and X (e.g., IQ 88/2/2 ›*iʿād*‹ "visiting", Alc. *ihát* "comprehending", *yztiráh* "rest", *iztigáċ* "succour", VA ›*istiğāb(ah)*‹ "obeying", NQ 73 ›*istiṭāʿī*‹ "my capacity", and Ax 8.18 ›*istiqām*‹ "righteousness", from {ʿwd}, {ḥwṭ}m {rwḥ}, {ġyṯ} and {qwm},

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[225] This is also the likeliest explanation for forms like VA ›*nattāḥal ~ attaḥalt*‹ "to be replaced", and DC 15a *tatacal* "are said", from {ḥwl} and {qwl}, respectively, perhaps at the root of the characteristic Naf. reflexives with double /t/ marking.

respectively), appears to be that they were metanalyzed as derived in the IV stem from {w23} and in the VIII from *{srḥ}, *{sġṯ}, *{sǧb} *{sṭʕ} and *{sqm}.

2.2.3.5. Defective Verbs

The conjugation of AA "defective" verbs is peculiar in several respects, by comparison with SA. Like the rest of NA, out of the three sub-types of defective verbs in CA ({1a2á ~ ya12ī}, {1a2iya ~ ya12á} and {1a2ā ~ ya12ū}), AA appears to have gone one step further than CA, where the last type had survived only in the I stem, and merged with the others in all the derived measures; otherwise, the second sub-type has evolved into {1a2á ~ ya12á},[226] e.g., VA ›baqā ~ baqayt ~ nabqá‹ = Alc. ›yabcá bacá‹ "to remain", nancí ~ necéit "to forgive", nardá ~ raḍáyt, IA 418 ›raḍā‹ "to accept", Z 389 ›kasaynā‹ "we covered" and 1086 ›yaksī‹ "he covers", from {ksw}, LA 98 ›taḫṭī+k‹ "it goes to you", from {ḫṭw}, but for some isolated high-register items, e.g., VA ›ṣadiya ~ yaṣdá‹ "to rust", ›fasā ~ yafsū‹ "to break wind without noise", the peculiar ›naʕlū ~ ʕalaw/yt‹ "to be above", ›nasmū ~ samaw/yt‹ "to rise", ›naġzū ~ ġazaw/yt‹ "to raid", all of them with optional results in the perfective, IQ 21/13/3 ›raǧawt+ak‹ "I begged you", Alc. nahzú ~ hazéit "to mock", a peculiar evolution of OA haziʔ ~ yahzaʔ, etc.

2.2.3.5.1. As for the juncture of "defective" stems ending in /í/ (from historical /iw+/ or /iy+/) with the pl. suffix +u, their solutions range from total decay (e.g., in Z 584 ›tastaġnū‹ "you dispense", 898 ›ḫallū‹ "leave", 1923 ›yusammū‹ "they call", IA 484 ›niḫallū+hā‹ "we leave her", and Alc. yjú "they come", from OA yaǧīʔūna, with regular NA elimination of /ʔ/), to tolerance of the diphthong /íw/ (see 1.1.4.1), e.g., IA 324 ›nastaġnīw‹ "we dispense", 689 ›yaǧíʔū‹ "they come", even a ultra-correct MT 790v.8 ›radiwū+h‹ "they accepted it": as it is unlikely that both treatments might have coexisted within the same dialect or register, it stands to reason that this difference must have correlated with diachronic, diatopic or diastratic factors.

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[226] The peculiar decay of the sequence /iy/ before a vocalic suffix, characteristic of the OA dialect of the Ṭayyiʔ tribe (after Sībawayhi II: 316; see also Corriente 1976:80, fn. 3), has a further consequence in the non-agentive 3rd person sg. of the perfective, e.g., IQ 62/0/1 ›ʕuṭat+nī‹ "she was given to me", PES 30/3/3 ›hudat‹ "she was guided", 43/2/4 ›ǧunat‹ "it was harvested", instead of SA uʕṭiyat, hudiyat and ǧuniyat. It is remarkable that this suffix is always spelled ›āt‹, which is not a mere stress-conveying spelling device, as also Naf. dialects have a long vowel there, preserved from the masc., i.e., ḫallā "he left" vs. ḫallāt "she left", as in Z 917 and, likewise, IQ 76/7/2–3 ›ǧannāt‹ "she sang" and ›sammāt‹ "she named", 115/5/3 ›kafāt+u‹ "they sufficed him", etc.

2.2.3.5.2. The stems II, III, IV, VII, VIII and X of "defective" verbs in prin-
ciple preserve the vocalic alternation, characteristic of SA, between per-
fective and imperfective (see 2.2.3), e.g., VA ›niḫabbī ~ ḫabbayt‹ "to hide",
Alc. *nicací ~ cacéit* = VA ›niqāsī‹ "to suffer", ›narḍī ~ arḍayt‹ "to satisfy",
›yaḫtaṣī ~ aḫtaṣā‹ "to castrate oneself", IQ 37/7/3 and 19/10/4 ›yanqarā =
yanqarī‹ "to be readable", VA ›naḥtamī ~ aḥtamayt‹ "to protect oneself", and
›nastaḫfī ~ astaḫfā‹ "to hide oneself"; however, this distinction is often lost
in VII, VIII and X, by contamination with the strong verb, e.g., VA ›yanʿaṭā
~ anʿaṭā‹ "to be given", ›yamtaḥā ~ amtaḥā‹ "to be erased", Alc. *naztaḫbá ~
aztaḫbéit* "to hide oneself". The frequent merger of I and IV in NA has gener-
ated in AA a peculiar pattern for the non-agentive participle of I, {mu12í},
e.g., VA ›mušwī‹ "roasted", ›murmī‹ "thrown", ›munfī‹ "exiled" (whence Cs.
monfí "highwayman"). Finally, the analogy with *tertiae hamzata* (i.e., {12'})
and strong verbs has generated some *maṣdar*s with the pattern {ta1a22ú}
or {ta1á2u}, instead of expected {ta1a22ī} or {ta1ā2ī}, in cases like Alc.
temenú "wish", PES *50/1/4 /tabáhu/ and the pseudo-quadriconsonantal Alc.
taçaqçú "inquiry", a peculiar evolution of SA *istaqṣà*, shared by Naf. and Ml.

2.3. Functionals

The uninflected constituents of the phrase are functionals, i.e., items devoid
of meaning, unlike verbs and nouns, but endowed with the capacity of
expressing the logical functions and relations between those grammatical
categories. This is what in the clearest traditional grammatical terms were
called prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs.

2.3.1. *Prepositions*

OA had a very scanty and inefficient system of proper prepositions, roughly
a dozen,[227] which had to be complemented with other idioms, mostly sub-
stantives semantically apt to express the fine nuances of space, time, mood,
etc. They became so strongly functionalised that they are hardly recognised
anymore as such substantives, and not easily distinguished from the older,

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[227] See Corriente 1980d: 205–206. Even some of these can be recognised as worn out shapes
of nouns which have survived (e.g., *bayna* "between" < *bāʾin* "clearly separated", *ladà = ladun*
"at" < *li+yaday(n)* "at hand of", *ʿinda* "close to" < *ʿāmida* "standing near", *fī* "inside" < *bi+fī* "in
the mouth of", etc.). But the average native speaker has not been aware of this for centuries,
unlike the case of items functionalised more recently.

diachronically true prepositions. Most of these have survived unscathed in AA, in spite of the frequent merger of the dative marker /li+/, and allative /ilà/, almost a linguistic universal, the disappearance of some scarcely used items, like *ka+* "like", and the important innovation of the genitive preposition *matāʿ* "of", shared by most Naf. dialects,[228] and beyond, as a hallmark of the significant shift from more to less synthetic syntactic patterns. As for improper prepositions, there have been some innovations (e.g., *qádd* "about, around"), modifications (e.g., the shortened shapes of *bi+* "with", *li+* "to" and *fī* "in", dropping their vowel before the definite article) and abandonment of old rare items (e.g., *ladun* "near").

2.3.2. *Conjunctions*

OA had developed a rather complex system of conjunctions, coordinative or subordinative (e.g., temporal, conditional, modal, nominal, etc.), often synonymous, and likely to reflect mostly dialectal variants. Such a system naturally had to shrink in NA, and even more so in the particular dialects. For AA, this will be expounded in detail in the matching chapters of syntax.

2.3.3. *Adverbs*

AA adverbs and adverbial idioms have departed considerably from OA, through: a) phonetic evolution, such as the prevalence of the pausal form of adverbs formed with the old indefinite accusative, described in 2.1.6.5.1, or the optional use in context of other pausal forms, like IQ 9/4/2 and 41/5/3 ›*laʿal*‹ "perhaps"; b) innovation of new adverbs, either by reshaping OA items, e.g., IQ 1/1/3 *et passim* ›*ḏāb(a)*‹ "now",[229] 11/9/2 ›*lamām*‹ "from now on" < *ilà amām*, 41/8/1 ›*amawwal*‹ < *ʿāman awwala* "last year", VA ›*ʿawwal*‹ "perhaps" (a curious abbreviation of SA *ʿawwil ʿalayya bimā šiʾta* "rely on me for whatever you want"), Alc. 49.6 *adúnia* "much; a lot", or by adoption of Rm. items, e.g., *yá* "already" (cf. Cs. **ya**, Pt. **já** and Ct. **ja**), *makkár* (cf. Old Cs. and Old Pt. **maguer**) "even",[230] and *yáḍḍa* "also";[231] c) the fall into oblivion of old items, e.g., *bukratan* "in the morning", *alhuwaynā* "slowly", etc.

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[228] See Fischer & Jastrow 1980:93.

[229] See fn. 142.

[230] See Corriente 1997d: 507 and Griffin 1961:160 about this item and its Gk. etymon. Its frequency in Naf. Arabic, e.g., Mo. *mqqār* (Premare 1993–1999 XI: 231), and Br., e.g., Kabyle, *maqqaṛ* (Dallet 1982:510), Tašǝlḥit, *mqqar* (Aspinion 1953:323), etc. is just another witness of the strong linguistic influence of Andalusi immigration in Western North Africa.

[231] See fn. 142 about its Lt. etymon.

2.3.4. *Fragments and Introductors*

Fragments and introductors are sub-predicative segments, merely designed to attract the attention of hearers or to convey certain emotions, like vocatives, oaths and imprecations, interjections and onomatopoeias. Their case in AA, all in all, is similar to that of the adverbs, as some OA items have fallen into disuse and new ones have been introduced.

2.3.4.1. *The Vocative*

Vocatives can be marked, as in CA, with a prefixed *yá*, eg., IQ 1/8/3 ›*yā mawlà almilāḥ*‹ "O lord of the beautiful", 2/1/1 ›*yā man taqtul annās*‹ "O you, killer of people", but also with *á+*, e.g., e.g., 11/8/3 ›*a+ḥabībī*‹ "O my dear", 33/0/1 ›*ā+qalbī*‹ "O my heart", Z 157 ›*a+man haddadnī*‹ "O, you who are threatening me", or the definite article, e.g., IQ 77/7/1 ›*alwazīr abū bakr*‹ "O vizier A.B.", and 80/0/1 ›*alqamḥ alǧadīd*‹ "O new wheat"; at times, though, no mark is used but the mere intonation, e.g., IQ 31/0/1 ›*man naḥibbuh*‹ "O, you whom I love", and 86/0/1 ›*man banà ʿalà alǧihād*‹ "O, you who are determined to wage holy war".

2.3.4.2. *Oaths, Imprecations and Exclamations*

Oaths and imprecations and other exclamations are rather conservative in AA and NA as a whole, e.g., IQ 2/1/3 and 4/2/3 ›*wallah(i)*‹, 2/2/3 ›*ballah*‹ "by God", 9/18/3 ›*waḥaqq allah*‹ "by God's right", 11/0/2 ›*bannabī*‹ "by the Prophet", 66/4/4 ›*biḥayātak*‹ "please", 49/3/1 ›*ya asafī*‹ "pity!", and a quasi-CA ›*liʿamrī*‹ "by my life!" in 4/5/4, while some items are relative innovations, e.g., IQ 8/7/1 ›*bayāḍī*‹ "lucky me!", 1/6/1 ›*sawād man yuġušš*‹ "poor swindlers!", 6/2/1 ›*lā kānū min ṣibyān*‹ "bloody boys!", and 9/8/1 ›*yā ʿalay mazwadan malā biḏahab*‹ "would that I had a haversack full of gold!", IA 268 ›*yā ʿalay biǧildī kinnaḫluṣ*‹ "would that I just could save my skin!".

2.3.4.3. *Interjections*

As for interjections and onomatopoeias, some OA ones have decayed, e.g., *baḫḫ*(*in*) "bravo!", *ṣah* "hush!", while others have survived, e.g., IQ 1/2/3 ›*ayyāk*‹ "beware!",[232] 7/4/3 ›*hayhāt*‹ "how preposterous!", 11/6/4 ›*hayya*‹ "hey!", and some appear to have been innovated, like IQ 20/20/3 and 137/11/3 ›*ṭa/āqa*‹ "onomatopoeia for knocking on a door", 5/5/2 ›*ġāq*‹ "ouch!", 62/3/4 ›*hāḫ*‹ "hop it!", while some Rm. items were adopted, e.g., 11/6/4 ›*ayya*‹ "hey!" (< Lt. *ēiă*), 12/7/2 ›*asab*‹ "shoo!" (cf. Cs. **zape**), 66/1/5 and 96/5/2 ›*arra* (*baʿad*)‹ "come on, then", and Z 505 and 516 ›*ušt* = *uǧǧ*‹ "hop it!" (cf. Cs. **oxte**).

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[232] Its survival in old A was studied by Steiger 1951.

SYNTAX

3.1. Types of Sentences

As in the case of OA, AA sentences may be either nominal or verbal, depending on the nature of the predicate providing the commentary about a topic or subject, both of them integrating the complete logical structure called sentence, e.g., *alwalád ǧáhil* "the boy [is] ignorant" (nominal) and *alwalád waṣál* "the boy arrived" (verbal).

3.1.1. *Nominal Sentences*

Nominal sentences are integrated by two noun phrases (e.g., *alwalád alǧáhil* [*húwa*] *ṣadíqi* "the ignorant boy [is] my friend"), or by a noun phrase and a marginal phrase (e.g., *alwalád alǧáhil* [*húwa*] *falbáyt* "the ignorant boy [is] in the house"), of which the first constituent is the topic or subject and the second one is the predicate or commentary about that subject, with the possibility, but not necessity in Arabic or AA syntax of a copulative element linking both as a marker of their logical relation.

3.1.1.1. *Noun Phrases*
Noun phrases are sub-predicative nominal syntagms merely containing substantives eventually extended by adjectives (e.g., *alwalád alǧáhil* "the ignorant boy") or other governed nouns, either pronouns or substantives (e.g., *ṣadíq+i* "my friend", i.e., "the friend of mine", or *báyt almuʿallám* "the teacher's house"), and without any finite verb, unless it is nominalised by a relative construction (e.g., *alwalád alladí waṣál* "the boy who arrived", semantic equivalent of a qualifying extension, like an adjective) or an appropriate subordinative conjunction (e.g., *alqalám baš naktúb alkitáb* "the pen with which I would write the letter"). The inventory of noun phrases in AA includes qualifying syntagms, annexation or rection syntagms, relative and marginal syntagms, all of which can be used as either subjects or predicates of a nominal sentence.

3.1.1.1.1. *The Qualifying Syntagm.* The simplest qualifying syntagm in AA consist of a substantive followed usually[233] by a qualifying adjective, both being subjected to gender and number agreement (see 3.2.1) and marked for definiteness, with the article *al+*, e.g., *al+walád al+ǧáhil* "the ignorant boy", or for indefiniteness, with the connective *tanwīn* {+*an*}, e.g., *walád(+an) ǧáhil* "an ignorant boy"; however, as in the rest of NA, this second marker was gradually abandonned and replaced by a syntactic Ø in late phases of the language,[234] but for some lexicalised syntagms or in old-fashioned style, e.g., VA *marrat an uḫrá = martanuḫra* "another time". So, we still find it most of the time in VA, e.g., ›*zamān+an āḫar*‹ "another epoch", ›ʿ*ayš+an ḍank*‹ "miserable life", ›*qaws+an ifranǧī*‹ "Frankish bow, i.e., crossbow", ›*murrat an ṣafrā*‹ "yellow gall", etc., quite often in IQ, e.g., 4/5/4 ›*šayy+an ʿaḏīm*‹ "a good deal", 4/7/2 ›*šawq+an šadīd*‹ "a strong desire", 12/7/2 ›*kalb+an abyaḍ*‹ "a white dog", and 27/9/2 ›*maṣāyib+an ʿiḏ̣ām*‹ "great disgraces", but it is missing in 13/0/1 ›*maʿšūq šāṭ*‹ "a tall lover", 87/7/2 ›*arāmil milāḥ*‹ "beautiful widows", and 116/1/3 ›*ḫudaydāt ḥumar*‹ "red little cheeks", and it appears very sporadically in Alc., e.g., 45.20 *díbbat anóḳra* "another beast", 282.38 *quédden guáhid* "of the same age", 306.15 *yed aniamín* "right hand", 332.28 *marratan oḳra* "another time",[235] vs. 40.31 *nahár muméyeç* "a certain day", 44.32 *rajúl áḳar* "another man", etc.

3.1.1.1.2. *The Annexation Syntagm.* The annexation or rection syntagm has a substantive as head, governing another substantive as tail in simple jux-taposition, which has the syntactic equivalence of the English preposition 'of', e.g., *béit alláh* "the house of God", or of the so-called "Saxon geni-tive" marked with ''s' with inversion of head and tail, i.e., "God's house", e.g., *kitáb almuʿallám* "the teacher's book"; of course, the tail can be a personal pronoun also, with the connotation of possession, e.g., *kitáb+na* "our

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[233] CA admits of some adjectives preceding substantives, but the construction is then formally one of annexation, e.g., ʿ*azīzu kitābika* "your appreciated letter", *awwalu yawmin* "the first day"; however, this is alien to NA syntax, except in some common borrowings form CA like *āḫir(u) sāʿah* "last hour"; such is also the case in AA, e.g., Hv 99r1 ›*alkarīm kitābuka*‹ "your gracious letter" (see closing text samples).

[234] We provided some statistic observations about this evolution in PES 30 and fn. 51.

[235] Some of these examples are synchronically questionable, as the connective *tanwīn* appears to have been lexically agglutinated in *anáḫar*, fem. *anúḫra* "another" while, next to *yed aniamín* "right hand", there is a *yed aximíl* "left hand", with a definite article, similar to some cases of definite qualifying syntagms without article in the head. As for the isolated *tanwīn* of IQ 87/28/1 in the distributive idiom ›*baytan bayt*‹ "verse by verse", and in spite of a supporting VA ›*irbā irb*‹ "piece by piece", these cases appear to be mere classicisms (cf. Alc. *aráb aráb* "limb by limb", with simple repetition).

book", *muʿallamín+kum* "your teachers". The SA rule, followed by AA too, establishes that the whole syntagm will be definite if the tail is so, by the presence of the article, by being in its own turn head of another definite tail,[236] or by being inherently determined, in the case of all proper names and pronouns, e.g., *kitáb almuʿallám* "the teacher's book", *kitáb muʿallám almadrása* "the school teacher's book", *kitáb muḥammád* "Muḥammad's book", and *kitáb+na* "our book"; otherwise, the whole syntagm will be indefinite, e.g., *kitáb muʿallám* "a teacher's book", *kitáb muʿallám madrása* "a school teacher's book".

3.1.1.1.2.1. *Analytical Annexation Markers.* AA is no exception to the general NA trend towards developping analytical rection or genitive markers, quasi-prepositions, substituting for the OA mere synthetic juxtaposition (*iḍāfah*), except in the above mentioned cases of lexical quasi-integration.[237] The most frequent and universal such innovated analytical marker is *matá(ʿ)*, diachronic reflex of OA *matāʿ* "property (of)", used in the AA of every time and area,[238] e.g., IQ 38/38/3 ›*alḫayl matàʿ assūs*‹ "the cavalry of S.", 87/23/1 ›*aṭṭubayyab matà assiǧāǧ*‹ "the healer of head injuries = the quack" 142/1/5 ›*alqulūb matāʿ nuḍḍāru*‹ "the hearts of those who see him", also as a possessive adjective or pronoun before suffixed pronouns, e.g., IQ 90/10/4 ›*alrağul matāʿhā*‹ "her husband", IA 16 ›*iḍā rayt liḥyat ǧārak tuntaf aǧʿal matāʿak faldibāǧ*‹ "when you see your neighbour's beard beng plucked out, put yours in soakage", Alc. 52.16 *alkaláiq míta dáraq* "the people of your household", 273.39 *hanút mítal haddíd* "a blacksmith's shop", DC *ḥobzena matá culliém* "our everyday bread". There are some instances of

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[236] Chain annexation is theoretically unlimited in the number of the so linked substantives, but it is uncommon and akward to exceed of three items for obvious practical reasons.

[237] On this issue, see Harning 1980.

[238] The same applies to the whole NA, especially in North African dialects, Egyptian included (*bitāʿ*), and Ml. (*taʾ*), with the strong competence of *ḏ(yāl)* in Mo., apparently of "Yemenite" stock and absolutely unrelated to Rm. **de** "of". This is true also in IQ 48/3/2 ›*alaḥbāḥ ḏi+marrah*‹ "the late beloved", in spite of its Cs. reflex **de marras**, see Corriente 1985:142 and 2008:369 about the origin and South Arabian connection of this idiom. The evolution of the relative towards a genitive marker, surveyed for Himyaritic by Belova 1966:111–115, is absolutely clear in Mehri, as stated by Jahn 1905:69: "Der Genitiv wird durch Vorsetzung des Relativpronomens *da, de, di*, pl. *la, le* ... vor das Beziehungswort gebildet, z.B. *ḥabrît da dóulet* "die Tochter des Königs' ... *wayûten la fáraṯ* 'Dattelkörbe'", to which he attaches a footnote alluding to similar instances of *d* in Sabaic, and *zä* in Geʿez. Particularly in the latter there is no shortage of cases like *ḥaqlä zä+wälädki* "your son's field", *ṣəllat əllä əbn* "stone tablets", and *mängəstä ziʾahu* "his kingdom", etc., equivalent of Mo. *əlfəddān d+wuld+ək* and *əlməmlāka dyāluh*.

replacement of this item by the preposition *min* "from" and the relative idiom *allaḏí min* in documents strongly influenced by Rm., e.g., Urz 339 ›*biriyūr min al-ušbiṭāl*‹ "prior of the hospital", MT 1168.7 ›*alquss min kanīsat šant yaʿqūb*‹ "the priest of the church of St. Jacob", 290.6 ›*šahr yunayr allaḏī min sanat 237*‹ "the month of January of 237".[239]

3.1.1.1.2.2. Both head and tail of an annexation syntagm may receive qualifying adjectives, which calls for no special rules in the second case, e.g., *báyt almuʿallám alʿarabí* "the Arab teacher's house", but the OA rule forbidding the interruption of the annexation by any other word remains in effect in NA and, since the loss of case inflexions would cause ambiguity if the adjective were postponed, as is customary in SA, the commonest solution in AA is the use of the analytical genitive marker, e.g., *albáyt alkibír matáʿ almuʿallám alʿarabí* "the Arab teacher's big house".

3.1.1.1.2.3. AA agrees with the rest of NA in generally preserving the OA structures of qualifying and annexation syntagms, as well as in infringing some of their rules, above all those concerning taxemes and the use of the definite article. As for taxemes, some of their most strict rules in OA were relaxed already in early times and so they are quite often in NA, on account of a different syntactic conception of some phrases, and this is what happens in cases like VA ›*alʿašr kalimāt*‹ = DC 8 *al aâxara omór* "the ten commandments", Alc. 35.28 *alḵámce haguéç* "the five senses", 39.34 *alávil amr* "the first commandment", and MT 1168.9 ›*alʿašar maṯāqil*‹ "the ten gold pieces";[240] at times, however, these aberrant syntactical arrangements appear to merely betray poor translations from Rm., which is certain, e.g., in DC 4 *almuquéddez açáleb* "the holy cross", 12 *ohar axiét* "other things", Urz 340 ›*almaḏkūrah aǧǧamāʿah*‹ "the mentioned community".[241]

3.1.1.1.2.4. As for the use of the definite article, for instance, the rule forbidding it in the head of a definite annexation syntagm is often infringed in AA, above all but not necessarily, in cases of lexical quasi-integration, e.g., IQ 86/9/4 ›*alwalad zinā*‹ "the whore's son", Z 1711 ›*ḏāk alḥabb almulūk*‹ "those cherries" (lit. "king's grains"), Alc. 9.22 *almoftáh a dár* "the key of the

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[239] Cf. also MT 191.1 ›*alburǧayn allaḏīn lalḥamām*‹ "the two dovecots", with a classicising infra-correct, but nevertheless inflected relative. As for some reported cases of supposedly borrowed **d(i)* (Rm. **de**), it is doubtful that they are more than instances of code mixing, e.g., MT 318.1 ›*aršidiyāqun di wādī lḥaǧārah*‹ "archdeacon of Guadalajara", Hb 359 ›*sitra ḏi alʿarš*‹ "the canopy of the throne" (in a Morisco text), etc.

[240] For strict CA *alkalimātu lʿašr, alʾawāmiru lʿašaratu, alḥawāssu lḫamsu, alʾamru lʾawwalu, almaṯāqīlu lʿašaratu*.

[241] Instead of CA *aṣṣalību lmuqaddasu, ašyāʾu uḫrà, alǧamāʿatu lmaḏkūratu*.

house", 53.14 *alcalb al incén* "the man's heart", 60.24 *aziára almardá* "the visit to the sick", and 43.8 *alayím axunút* "the holidays", lit. "the Saints' days", but next also a regular *ayím axunút*;[242] contrariwise, the second article may at times be dispensed with, above all, in cases of tight semantic integration between head and tail of an annexation syntagm, e.g., MT 169v5 ›*alʿayn mā*‹ "the water spring" and 226.2 ›*alburǧ ḥamām*‹ "the dovecot", as well as in cases of a definite qualifying syntagm, e.g., IQ 12/6/1 ›*alšuwayyaḥ mabḥūr*‹ "the foul-breathed oldman", Alc. 52.23 *al axiít rauhánin* "the spiritual things", DC 12 *fel hueqt mohárram* "at the forbidden time", and 15 *almeé mouáreq* "the holy water". Otherwise, the fact that both annexation and qualification imply semantic completion of the syntagm head may have induced some confusion between their constructions, as suggested by frequent cases of qualifying syntagms without the article in the head, e.g., IQ 10/3/3 ›*masǧid alaḥḍar*‹ "the Green Mosque", Z 572 ›*bāz alʿaǧūz*‹ "the old falcon", Alc. *çalá alquibíra* "the main prayer", 47.24 *çunúx almucaribín* "false weights", DC 6 *yaum athelithi* "the third day", RM 264 ›*riḥā alǧadīd*‹ "the new mill", even in Rm. transcriptions of geographical items, e.g., **Guadalquivir** < *wád alkibír* "the great river", **Guadalimar** < *wád alaḥmár* "the red river", etc.[243]

3.1.1.1.3. *The Relative Syntagm.* The relative syntagm is a mere semantic variant of the qualifying one, in which a nominalised verbal sentence takes the place of an adjective, e.g., *alḥáyṭ allaḏí duhín* "the wall that has been

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[242] Some of these "mistakes" have originated in already OA constructions, which became syntactically ambiguous upon the decay of case endings. Thus, e.g., both *ka'su fiḍḍatin* "a silver cup" (rection) and *ka'sun fiḍḍatun* (apposition) are correct OA, but in later phases of the language have caused the perception of nouns of species and genus as adjectives, which explains phrases like MT 1014v15 ›*alkās alṣaǧīr alfiḍḍah*‹ "the little silver cup" vs. 1044.12 ›*alkās fiḍḍah*‹.

[243] See Terés 1986:373–376 and 399–402. The interference of annexation in what should be a qualifying syntagm is given away in examples in fem. by the insertion of the {+*t*} marker, e.g., VA ›*ḥabbat ḥuluwwah*‹ "aniseed", lit. "sweet grain", ›*alḥabbat alsawdā*‹ "black cumin", Z 1796 ›*qaḥbat manḥūs*‹ "an accursed whore", Alc. 56.15 *tarbiat aháde* "one chid" (but next in 56.17 *tarbía aháde*), etc. There is also a residual number of syntactically aberrant cases of doubtful attribution to the effect of the Rm. substrat or of the continuation of pseudo-corrections in old dialects without an article, as were probably those of the invaders of South Arabian stock, e.g., absence of the expectable article in VA ›*ḥadīṯ ʿahd bi+*‹ "new at", ›*baʿḍ ayyām*‹ "some days", Alc. *báád mirár* "sometimes", *mélli min giráh* "full of wounds", or its anomalous presence in cases like MT 334v6 ›*almawlānā*‹ "our lord", 412.1 ›*biliʿtirāfuh*‹ "with his acknowledgment". As for interruptions of annexation syntagms, some are already characteristic of the whole NA, e.g., cases with more than one head like MT 433.3 ›*aḥwāz wa+aʿmāl madīnat ṭulayṭulah*‹ "the districts and areas of Toledo city", presently considered acceptable SA instead of the purists' *aḥwāzu madīnati ṭulayṭulata wa+'aʿmāluhā*, while others are clearly due to unskilled translation from Rm., e.g., MT 184.4 ›*ǧamīʿ ayḍan alniṣf*‹ "the whole half also".

painted", instead of just *alḥáyṭ almadhún* "the painted wall". This transformation usually requires a nominalising marker, like a relative pronoun ('that' in the example above); however, the Arabic relative *al+laḏī* contains the article and, because of the rule requiring agreement in the definiteness or indefiniteness of both consitituents of a qualifying syntagm, cannot be used unless the antecedent, i.e., the head of the relative syntagm, is also definite, e.g., in IQ 142/0/1 ›*almilāḥ … allaḏī ǧārū*‹ "the beautiful boys who were unfair", and Alc. 53.22 *al ḳáir alleḍí aâmélt* "the good deed which you had done". This means that in the case of indefinite antecedents, the nominalising marker must be Ø in SA, e.g., *alwaladu llaḏī waṣal* "the boy who came", vs. *waladun waṣal* "a boy who came". Early NA, which has lost not only the case endings, but most of the time also the morpheme of indefiniteness {+n}, had kept this exceptionally and under the invariable old shape of the accusative, i.e., {+an}, the so-called connective *tanwīn*, as link between an indefinite substantive and the following qualifier (see 3.1.1.1.1), and logically did the same in the case of relative syntagms, which is reflected by early AA, e.g., in IQ 35/8/4 ›*šukran qad balī*‹ "a gratitude which is already old", 51/5/1 ›*maḥāsinan … lis tuʿád*‹ "excellences … that cannot be counted", IA 62 ›*yawman tibīʿ*‹ "any day you sell", MT 1080.7 ›*šayyan yubtāʿ*‹ "a thing which can be bought".

3.1.1.1.3.1. However, AA at times infringes some of the SA rules for relative syntagms, by a) often supressing the pronoun of reference to the antecedent (*ḍamīrun ʿāʾid*), e.g., IQ 18/7/4 ›*alfatá allaḏī sammayt*‹ "the youth you have mentioned", and Alc. 50.35 *aḍunúb alledína aâmélt* "the sins you have committed", for *sammayt+uh* and *aâmélt+a* (see other cases in Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:7); b) by allowing the use of prepositions in front of the relative pronoun, instead of doing that before the pronoun of reference at the end of the phrase, e.g., Alc. 57.23 *azéit almubáreq balleḍí yudhénu almardá* "the holy oil with which the sick are anointed", for **yudhénu báh*, and c) occasionally using the relative pronoun with an indefinite antecedent, e.g., Alc. 38.5 *ḳobç cemeguí allaḍí yaâtí haié* "heavenly bread which gives life".

3.1.1.1.4. *The Marginal Syntagm.* Marginal syntagms are those introduced by a preposition followed by the substantive governed by it, most of the time providing the circumstancial or indirect complements characteristic of verbal sentences, but at times serving also as extensions of a noun phrase, semantically similar to a qualifying or relative phrase, e.g., *alkitáb ʿalá lmáyda* "the book on the table" = *alkitáb allaḏī ʿalá lmáyda* "which is on the table". In AA their treatment is the same as for those, which includes the use of connective *tanwīn* in early days, e.g., IQ 42/0/1 ›*waḥšat+an biyya*‹ "a sorrow which

I have", 6/7/3 ›*wāḥid+an minhum*‹ "one among them". Of course, the same function can be performed by an adverb, e.g., IQ 19/1/1–4 ›*ṯawban rafīʕ … ʕād biduṛǧuh ṭarī*‹ "a high-quality garment … still fresh in his drawer".[244]

3.1.2. *Subject, Predicate and Copula*

A nominal sentence is obtained by combining two nominal phrases of any of the aforementioned types, which will function as subject and predicate, respectively. A copulative link, usually an independent pronoun, called anaphoric, i.e., transitional, between both may be optional or even necessary in some cases, for instance, when both the subject and the predicate are definite, e.g., AA *alwalád alašqár húwa ábnak* "the blond boy is your son", or *alwalád alašqár húwa alladí waṣál* "the blond boy is that who arrived", etc. From the texts: IQ 1/7/3 ›*anā hu anā*‹ "I am I", vs. 7/12/4 ›*ʕulāk šāfiʕ fī ġayr mušaffaʕ*‹ "your greatness intercedes even for those who have no advocates", DC 5 *rábbena hu máâq* "our Lord is with thee", *énte fe cemehuét* "Thou art in heavens", Alc. *cúlli niçráni áv niçranía húmet matlobín* "every Christian, man or woman, is required …", with some variants for semantic nuances, such as negation (see 3.4.1), e.g., IQ 6/2/4 ›*allah lassan+hu ġāfil*‹ "God is not neglectful", 6/7/3 ›*ḏīk … lassan+hu ahnāk*‹ "that one is not there", as well as changes in word order for interrogation, emphasising, etc., e.g., IQ 9/32/2 ›*wahu ḫaṭṭī qawī*‹ "and lo, my handwriting is firm", 2/4/4 ›*lassu ḏā ʕār ʕalayya*‹ "this is no shame on me", Alc. 40.17 *âíndaq hu muçháf* "do you have a copy of the Qurʔān?", etc.[245]

3.1.2.1. *Nominal Sentences with Marginal Predicates*

Nominal sentences with a marginal predicate being an adverb or introduced with a preposition can generate in all kinds of Arabic a peculiar type of sentence expressing existence, possession, capacity, right, obligation, etc., usually requiring verbs in other languages. AA is no exception to this, e.g., IQ 68/7/1 ›*yā baʕad las māʕi quṣṣah*‹ "I have no forelock anymore", 22/6/4

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[244] OA *ʕāda* "to turn or come back" was a verb which, since PS, had a strong tendency to become an adverb, like in Hb. *ʕod* "again" and Arabic *baʕdu* "still" (with agglutination of the preposition *bi+*, whence the whole root {bʕd}), and as such its descendant *ʕād* survives in some dialects of NA, among which AA.

[245] There are also in AA some appearances of the originally emphasising *rá*, often followed by pronominal suffixes (= and lo = see me / you / him, etc.), e.g., IQ 54/2/2 ›*rānī šaqfah bayn idayh*‹ "I am indeed like a shattered potsherd in his hands", 2/6/4 ›*wara ḏā faḫḫi*‹ "and this is a trap for sure", Z 357 ›*rānī mā rānī*‹ "I am only what I am", 986 ›*rāhi zubd*‹ "butter is indeed", not yet a simple copula marker, as in some Modern North African dialects, like Algerian and Tunisian.

›*ṯamma allah*‹ "there is God", Z 758 ›*ṯamma asraʿ min albarq*‹ "is there something faster than lightning?", in which the adverb *ṯam(ma)*, acting as a marginal, provides the predicate; cf. also with prepositions, IQ 6/7/1 ›*maʿī anā maʿšūq*‹ "I have a lover", 45/11/4 ›*širā ḥawāyiǧ ʿalayya*‹ "I must buy some things", 137/9/1 ›*aš ʿalaynā min ḏāk*‹ "how can that concern us?", MT 200.10 ›*luh hāḏā albāyiʿ*‹ "this seller has …", IQ 78/7/4 ›*luh an yumūt*‹ "he must die", IA 465 ›*man lu yasʿà yasʿà*‹ "those who have to beg, let them beg", DC 15 *adoââ alledí léhe tetacál* "the prayer which must be said", etc.[246] As in other areas of NA, in the case of some interrogative adverbs, the subject of a marginal predicate of this kind can exceptionally be a suffixed pronoun, e.g., IQ 12/3/3 ›*ayna+kum*‹ "where are you?", AC 205 *áynu* "where he is".

3.2. Verbal Sentences

Verbal sentences are integrated by a noun phrase as subject and a verbal phrase as predicate, which may include only a finite verbal form[247] in agreement with the subject, or be extended by a direct object and/or one or more complements, indirect or circumstancial of the same kinds seen above for the marginal phrases usable as predicate of a nominal sentence, e.g., AA *alwalád alašqár yakkúl* "the blond boy eats", *waládna yakkúl* "our boy eats", *alwalád allaḏí taʿráfu yakkúl* "the boy whom you know eats", *alwalád falġúrfa yakkúl* "the boy in the room eats", *alwalád ṯámma yakkúl* "the boy there eats", *alwalád yakkúl tuffáḥa* "the boy eats an apple", *alwalád yakkúl fi báytu* "the boy eats at home", *alwalád yaḥkí+li qíṣṣa* "the boy tells me a story", etc.

3.2.1. *Agreement*

Agreement is the necessary coincidence in gender and number between substantives and their qualifying adjectives, as well as between subjects and their verbal predicates. In NA, agreement tends to be natural i.e., matching equal genders and numbers with each others, in the characteristic manner

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[246]   This last use of *li-*, as expression of an obligation, which in SA requires *ʿalà*, is absolutely characteristic of AA, probably generated by the Rm. substract (cf. Cs. **tener que**, Pt. **ter que**, Ct. **haver de**).

[247]   Non-finite forms of the verb can only generate nominal phrases, even nominal predicates, e.g., IQ 98/2/4 ›*anā balqabāṭī muġrà*‹ "I love sleeveless garments", 86/17/1 ›*zawǧī ḫāriǧ baʿd alʿišā lalmazād*‹ "my husbands uses to go out to the oratory after dusk", 7/0/1 ›*alsalaf mardūd*‹ "every loan must be returned", etc.

of modern European languages; however, in every dialect of NA, including AA, there are many traces of the OA peculiar set of agreement rules, heir to a primitive class system,[248] thereby irrational pls. are considered fem. sgs., e.g., IQ 1/4/3 ›*ruqāq ḥuluwwah*‹ "sweet waffles", 6/6/3 ›*alaḫlāq alsukkariyyah*‹ "the sugary manners", 38/1/2 ›*tiǧī aʿwām*‹ "years will come", Alc. 38.16 *elquelimét almucádece* "the blessed words", 318.14 *mirár quicíra* "many times", DC 4 *táâlim neçeranía* "Christian tenets", vs. the natural agreement in IQ 15/2/1 ›*aḫlāqan ṣiʿāb*‹ "difficult tempers", 94/22/2 ›*alkutub al-ʿiẓām*‹ "the big books", 5/5/4 ›*assaḥāb ... yusāqū*‹ "the clouds ... are carried", Alc. 33.11 *axiít ... yuḍcáru* "things ... are mentioned", DC 16 *alquellemét al muqueddecín* "the blessed words", etc. Collective and dual substantives also hesitate between pl. and fem. sg. agreement, e.g., IQ 20/0/2 ›*aṭṭayr tiwalwal*‹ "the birds chirp", Z 974 ›*raǧaʿat alǧanam laldār*‹ "the herd returned home" vs. Z 362 ›*albaqar yathammarū balǧazzārīn*‹ "the cows laugh at the slaughtermen", IQ 56/10/3 ›*ʿaynayn šuhal*‹ "blue eyes", 2/5/2 ›*marātayn raʾawh*‹ "two women saw him", vs. 73/1/2 ›*qālat ... ʿaynayn*‹ "two eyes ... said", Z 904 ›*ḫubzatayn takfīnī*‹ "two loaves suffice me", MT 78.2 ›*alkarmayn almaʿlūmah*‹ "the two known vineyards".[249]

3.2.2. *Complements*

The extensions of verbal predicates, direct objects and complements, indirect or circumstancial, do not call in principle for special comments, as they are nominal or marginal phrases with the same structures described for the subjects and predicates of nominal sentences. However, AA shares with some other NA dialects[250] the feature of introducing the direct object

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[248] See Brockelmann 1908 I: 404 and Corriente 1971:55–64.

[249] However, violations of any conceivable rule of agreement do happen frequently because of an admixture of grammatical ignorance and desire to exhibit competence, together with the influence of either the Rm. substratum or the CA syntax. In which, for instance, verbal predicates in front of pl. rational subjects remain in the sg., and are even dispensed of gender agreement when separated from those subjects by another word, as happens in IQ 17/13/4 ›*maḍá ʿalayya sinīn*‹ "years have passed by me", 38/6/3 ›*ʿumil+lak ḏunūb*‹ "faults have been committed against you", 96/13/4 ›*mā ǧāb liʿuššahā ḷuṭṭāf*‹ "what swallowes bring to their nests, i.e., droppings" (with a necessary correction to the mss. and all editions), etc.

[250] See Borg 1985:138, with allusions to Baghdadi and Ml., and cf. the Sy. Arabic idioms of the type *šuftu ləmḥammad* "I saw M.", a doubly marked construction, parallel to *kitābu ləmḥammad* "M.'s book", reminiscent of Sr., but even OA has a peculiar usage of *li+* for a direct object which has become the second complement of a *maṣdar*, e.g., *qatluka liʾinsānin* "your killing of a man", i.e., "that you kill a man", and for specifications, e.g., *qāla qtuli lkāfira lilmalik* "he said: 'kill the unbeliever', meaning the king", which might have been at the start

at times with the preposition *li*+, e.g., IQ 4/3/2 ›*lā niwaḫḫar liqiṣṣatī*‹ "I shall not delay my story", 14/3/1 ›*aštum liwildī*‹ "insult my father", 27/2/2 ›*taqtul liman yiḥibbak*‹ "you kill those who love you", 28/5/4 ›*raʾá hārūt liʿaynayk*‹ "H. has seen your eyes", DC 14 *tihueddéb lalledí yaḥtá* "you shall correct those who are wrong", etc. However, most of the time this preposition introduces indirect objects, which are enclitic when they are pronominal suffixes, e.g., IQ 5/8/3 ›*nuqūl+lak*‹ "I tell you", 91/0/1 ›*abdal+lī ḥālah*‹ "change the situation for me", Alc. 33.12 *nicóllucum* "I tell you", 51.6 *aâmeltilu* "you did to him", 51.25 *yaḵteyéleq* "it seems to you", Hv 99.11r ›*arsalti-lī*‹ "you sent to me", 99r3 ›*yaktub-lak*‹ "he writes to you", etc.[251] A peculiar variety of the indirect object is the *dativus commodi*, focusing the hearer's attention on the action, and implying that he is particularly concerned with it, difficult to translate into English, though common in Cs., e.g., in IQ 53/1/2 ›*qabbaltu lak falšufayfāt*‹ "I kissed him in the lips, you see" (Cs. **te lo besé en los labios**), and 133/4/4 ›*rakab lak farasuh*‹ "he rode his horse, you see" (Cs. **se te montó a caballo**); at times, this idiom is a surrogate of the possessive pronoun, e.g., 45/11/2 ›*laldār maḍaytu lak*‹ "I went to your house", 2/8/2 ›*lak nirīd an naqabbal albanān*‹ "I want to kiss your fingers".

3.2.2.1

Among the diverse types of direct objects in AA, there are somewhat peculiar cases like the paronomastic objects expressed with the *maṣdar* of the finite verb in the predicate and semantically emphasised (e.g., IQ 9/38/4 ›*laqad raqamtuh raqam*‹ "I have truly embroidered it", 73/3/2 ›*yunqar lak albāb naqran mustawī*‹ "your door is being knocked at continuously", and 105/1/1 ›*ṭawānī … ṭayy al-kitāb*‹ "it has folded me like a book", all of them apparent classicisms), and the reflexive objects expressed with idioms including *rúḥ*+ and *nafs*+, or its dialectal shape *annass*+, lit., "spirit, person", followed by personal suffixes, e.g., IQ 98/0/2 ›*annassī naḍlam*‹ "I wrong myself", Z 640 ›*yarmī alaḡrāf ʿalà rūḥu*‹ "he throws rocks on himself", 1302 ›*yarà rūḥuh fāriḥ*‹ "he counts himself happy", 1229 ›*alfuḡl yaḥḍam nafsuh*‹

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of such constructions, certainly fostered by Aramaic and Hispanic substrata. As a matter of fact neither OA nor Rm. languages, nor for that thing English, observe a strict distinction between the logemes of dative and accusative, as shown by the OA option *aʿṭā+nī = aʿṭā lī* "he gave me", continued by AA, e.g., in IQ 24/7/1 ›*ʿaṭā+hā+lī*‹ "he gave her to me", but 1/4/1 ›*ʿaṭā+k*‹ "he gave you", 38/32/1 ›*waʿadka*‹ "he promised you".

[251] This enclisis, common in NA, is given away by spelling without separating spaces. There are also clear cases of confusion of the functions of accusative and dative, like IQ 27/6/4 ›*karam ḏāk al'anāmil kasab+ka ḏā ttunay*‹ "the generosity of those fingers has gained you this little praise", and AC 1006 ›*yaksabak alḥāḡah*‹ "he gets you a jewel".

"radishes digest themselves", Alc. 11 *almaâllem yehíb róhu* "the teacher loves himself", pl. *almaaâlemín yahíbbu arguáhum*.

3.2.2.2

As for circumstancial complements, other than direct or indirect and marginal phrases, special mention is due to the cases called in CA grammar *tamyīz* and *ḥāl*, i.e., specifications and circumstances, which were in OA indefinite nouns with accusative markers, allowing their immediate recognition as extensions of the verbal predicate, or even equivalents of a marginal phrase in any position. Upon the decay of case markers,[252] these complements lost that markedness, but remained analytically identifiable by their position and function in the sentence, e.g., IQ 17/1/4 ›*bitt anā ʿarūs*‹ "I spent the night like a bridegroom", 4/4/6 ›*ǧī ʿuryān*‹ "come naked", 7/1/1 ›*dawlat alḥirmān tatimm ḍarūrah*‹ "the days of misery will end by necessity", 7/12/3 ›*ǧīt ilayk qāṣid an tanḍur liḥālī*‹ "I have come to you with intent to have you consider my situation", 38/39/2 ›*kān ṣaḥbuh sinīn*‹ "he was his companion for years", IA 276 ›*yabītū allayl muʿannaqīn*‹ "they spend the night in an embrace", Alc. 34.36 *le tahléf … hániċ* "do not swear falsely", etc. The same result can obtain with the circumstancial *wāwu ḥāl*, e.g., IQ 44/2/4 ›*kittarà alǧazīra walbalā fīhā maṣbūb*‹, "you would see disaster spread all over the Peninsula". At times, such expresions might be lexicalised, as in the case of *ḥúrma fi* "on account of, for the sake of", which has become a mere prepositional idiom, e.g., Z 490 ›*hadam alḥayṭ ḥurmah fī ṭīna*‹ "he knocked the wall down for one fig".

3.2.3. *Word Order*

Word order: Arabic, NA and AA roughly coincide in using the same kind of lineal syntax, characteristic of Modern Rm. languages, in which determiners follow their determinata, i.e., subjects precede predicates, nominal or verbal, and all kinds of qualifiers and complements follow the items semantically extended by them, as has been seen in the previous sections. However,

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[252] But for some high register incrustations, like Alc. 41.18 *haléft … cáylen izm alláh* "did you swear … saying by God?", or 50.8–9 *cáilen li guahid min al áḳar* "carrying gossip from one to another", about which he says in p. 25: "Hallamos enel Arauia comun (avn que pocas vezes) el gerundio segundo … Exemplo dezimos por encender *neuquéd*, … el gerundio dize *éuquiden*, et asi delos otros semejantes, ut *méxien*, *ráquiden*": his mistake in the very first example, which shoud be **múquiden* "burning", as this verb is a IV measure, gives away that he is merely repeating a poorly learned lesson from his informants about a feature alien to the spoken dialect; see SK 85–86.

there is a certain measure of freedom in word order, bigger in AA than in SA, for the purpose of emphasising some words or phrases of the sentence by advancing them with respect to their expectable position, e.g., IQ 1/7/1 ›*alsiḥr nuqūl*‹ "I say magic", 1/0/1 ›*waliḫawf annušbah nabkī*‹ "and I cry for fear of the net", 18/2/4 ›*mā šqà min asṭu man yaḫriǧ alzayt*‹ "poor the one who has to pay for the oil (lit. to extract the oil from his arse)!", Alc. 42.17 *harám hu* "it is forbidden", 267.29 *albárd hu* "it is cold", .31 *alhárr hu* "it is hot", Z 1058 ›*zawǧ ummak nukūn*‹ "I am your mother's husband", Z 991 ›*raḫīṣ kasr alḫābyah biʿaqr alfār*‹ "breaking the jar is a cheap price for killing the mouse", etc. At times, these anacolutha, i.e., constructions violating the "logical" order, are mended with pronominal suffixes of the 3rd person, as in CA, e.g., IQ 3/4/4 ›*alʿišqi walmawt alsawm fī+hā sawā*‹ "the price is the same for loving and dying", 5/4/4 ›*ʿayšuh ṭāb man qabbal niṭāq+u*‹ "he lives well who kisses his belt".

3.2.4. *Modifiers of Predication*

Modifiers of predication: predicates, both nominal and verbal can acquire additional connotations of subjective or objective time, certainty, possibility, inchoation, etc., by means of the insertion of auxiliary particles and verbs apt to make up for the dearth of Arabic verbal inflexions.

3.2.4.1
OA used to prefix the marker *qad* before the perfective and imperfective paradigms in order to enhance their aspectual values, while the prefix *sa+* or *sawfa* gave the imperfective a connotation of future. This latter value is approximately preserved in AA, e.g., IQ 19/2/4 ›*sa+nuqullak*‹ "I shall tell you", 18/3/1 et passim ›*sa+tarà*‹ "you will see", Z 13 ›*sawf tadrī*‹ "you will know", PES 46/1/2 ›*sa+yalqà*‹ "he will find", 79/2/2 ›*sa+taḥyā*‹ "you will live", and NQ 84 ›*sawf tarà*‹ "you will see".[253] As for *qad*, however, it has become a positive emphasising marker of both perfective and imperfective, as well

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[253] This item is otherwise witnessed only in Ml. (e.g., *sa iġi Malta* "he will come to Malta"); however, some scholars derive this shape from a synonymous *sejjer* (< Arabic *sāʾir* "going to"), and the fact that its AA match is sometimes spelled as ›*sā*‹ (e.g., in IQ 31/9/1 ›*sā+tatʿaǧǧab* "you will be amazed", 84/4/4 ›*sā+nuqullak*‹ "I shall tell you", and 137/3/4 ›*sā+tiǧīkum*‹ "it will come to you") might suggest that this item would not be a survival of OA *sa+*, but the result of *assāʿa(ta)* "now", through decay of the final /a/, metanalyzed as a case marker, and of /ʿ/ after 1.2.25.2. This possibility is reinforced by the relative frequency of ›*alsā*‹ "now" in IQ (see Corriente 1993a: 80) and parallels in other areas of NA, some as conspicuous as Egyptian *lissa* "still" < *ilà ssāʿa(ti)* "until this moment".

as of nominal predicates, often even reinforced with a prefixed *la+*, an obvious classicism, e.g., Z 1928 ›*qad ṣār ḫall*‹ "it has become vinegar already", IQ 2/10/1 ›*qad tamamt azzuǧayyal*‹ "I have finished the *zaǧal* already", but also, in front of imperfectives and nominal predicates, without implying any doubt or restriction, e.g., in 105/7/3 ›*qad tadrī att*‹ "you certainly know", 21/14/4 ›*laqad niḫāf alʿiqāb*‹ "I am much afraid of the watchdog", 41/8/2 ›*qad māʾak man taʾammal*‹ "you already have someone to hope", 9/3/3 ›*laqad anā maḍlūm*‹ "I am indeed wronged", and 37/0/1 ›*qad kin+nifīq*‹ "I would indeed recover".

3.2.4.2
As for auxiliary verbs, of which OA possessed a wide array expressing temporal nuances of being and becoming,[254] inchoation and possibility, it is a common feature of NA to have forsaken most of them, using simple adverbs instead, and AA is no exception to this general development. Only *kāna* "to be", to a lesser extent *ṣāra* "to become", *badaʾa = ibtadaʾa* "to begin" and a few other items have reflexes recurrently used in AA.

3.2.4.2.1. Inflected *kāna* retained the already OA function of marking past and future of nominal predicates, e.g., IQ 51/3/1 ›*kunnā fityān*‹ "we were young", 50/2/3 ›*kin+nukūn ġulāmak*‹ "I would be your slave", Alc. 44.3 *cunt lehum mazlót* "were you disobedient to them?", and 40.22 *jáid yucún* "he will be good". As for inflected or uninflected *ká/Ín*, there are some examples continuing the SA usage of having it precede the imperfective in order to express the imperfect, i.e., durative or iterative past, e.g., Alc. 42.6 *énte cunt tedrí ... énne quin yahléf fal bátil* "and you were aware that he was perjuring", IQ 94/10/2 ›*kin+nabtalaʿhā kibār*‹ "I used to swallow large glasses (of wine)", and 104/1/3 ›*kit+tuqullī*‹ "you were telling me", but in most cases it has become the usual marker of eventual, even subjunctive predication, e.g., IQ 9/29/1 ›*kin+nuzūrak wa-innamā ṯam ʿilal*‹ "I would visit you, but there are reasons (preventing it)", 41/3/4 ›*balqatli kin+nuhaddad*‹ "I was being threatened with killing", 75/5/3 ›*naštahī kin+narāk*‹ "I wish I could see you", Z 65 ›*aš kit+taʿmal law kunt sulṭān*‹ "what would you do, if you were a sultan?", Alc. 46.19 *arcáit aháde énne qui icún caguéd* "did you make

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[254] Among which a set of verbs precising the time of the day in which actions are performed or situations occur, e.g., *aṣbaḥa ≠ aḍḥà ≠ ḍalla ≠ amsà ≠ bāta marīḍan* "he was ill at dawn ≠ noon ≠ in the early afternoon ≠ at sunset ≠ night". Some Rm. scholars thought that this scheme would have been imitated by Cs. **amanecer** and **anochecer** in a semantic calque; however, the absence of parallels in AA proves that hypothesis wrong (see Corriente 2008: lvvviii).

anybody become a pimp?", 54.24 *equélt mirár hatí qui atcayéit* "did you eat sometimes till you threw up?", 58.34 *fayde qui tixequéq fi xéi* "and if you have doubts about something", and Ax 63.14 ›*ḥattà kin+numūt*‹ "until I die". For some not altogether clear reason, this idiom has occasionally acquired the meaning of a present tense, e.g., IQ 72/15/2 ›*ḏahab kin+nirīd*‹ "I want gold", and 88/26/1 ›*kin+nasʾal allah an yubqīk*‹ "I pray God to lengthen you life".[255]

3.2.4.2.2. The same *ká/Ín* preceding the perfective in order to express the pluperfect, as in SA, appears to have some examples in AA, e.g., in IQ 13/5/1 ›*las kān daraytuh*‹ "I had not known it", 87/5/1 ›*kān akrayt duwayra*‹ "I had rented a little house", inflected in 88/6/1–2 ›*ay kunt samaʿtu … qultu*‹ "when I had heard it … I said", IZ, e.g., 2/1/1 ›*ka+starāḥ*‹ "he has rested", 8/6/4 ›*ka+šʿalū*‹ "it has set it afire",11/4/1 ›*alqulūb qad kin qasaḥat*‹ "hearts had become hardened", and 11/4/2 ›*almasākin ka+ftaḍaḥat*‹ "the homes had been violated"; however, in Z 960 ›*ḏĺb kin atnabbahat ǧaddatī*‹ "(only) now my grandmother has remembered", the nuance is merely of perfect.

3.2.4.2.3. Other auxiliary verbs are used as in SA, generally followed by imperfectives, preceded or not with *an*, or by predicatives or marginal phrases, e.g., NG 66 ›*ṣār … yaskun kaḏā fīh kull aḥad*‹ "so each one came to dwell there", IQ 94/3/2 ›*ṣīrū ḫullāʾ*‹ "become drunkards!", 38/15/1 ›*ṣārat almiḥnah māʿuh*‹ "mishap became his companion", 13/7/2 ›*kin+ nirīd tarǧaʿ taktub*‹ "I would like that you start writing", 71/1/1 ›*yaḥtāǧ alinsān yarǧaʿ ḫalī*‹ "one has to become a drunkard", 15/9/4 ›*las nardà nuqūl*‹ "I do not want to say", 73/3/3 ›*las naqdar nasmaʿ bukāh*‹ "I cannot suffer hearing him cry", 119/4/2 ›*las naʿṭī an yartafad*‹ "I do not allow him to rest"; IQ 7/3/3 ›*badayt an nuqūl*‹ "I began to say", vs. 82/7/3 ›*nabtadī namlaḥ*‹ "I begin my toilet"

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[255] The same idiom is characteristic of Mo., but with a variety of dialectal alternatives to *ka+*, like *ta+*, *la+*, etc. (see Heath 2002:209–211), requiring more than one hypothesis. To our extense comments on this issue in our review of that book, Corriente 2003:154–156, we could now add, first that, as far as the etymological origin is concerned, the peculiar status of marked 1st and 2nd persons vs. unmarked 3rd persons in the Semitic verb (about which, see Fleisch 1979:20), favours the generalization of their innovations to the 3rd persons, and second that, since mutual borrowing between AA and Mo. on this point can be ruled out and, in both instances, we seem to be in front of a common evolution from the durative nuance to the present tense. Therefore, it might be wise to look for the functional explanation of this phenomenon in the Br. substratum of both dialect bundles, as it is characteristic of the latter the inclusion of the present tense among the functions of the "forme d'habitude ou duratif" (see Laoust 1939:141: "une forme d'habitude … peut toujours exprimer une idée de fréquence, d'intensité ou d'*actualité* (italicized by us) dans l'action ou l'état"). This hypothesis tallies well with the absence of this feature in other North African dialects (in Algeria, Tunisia and Lybia) in which the Br. impact is reputedly less strong.

and 1/1/3 ›*nabtadīk naʿmal nikāyah*‹ "I begin to hurt you"; PES 43/4/2 ›*aǧʿal liʿaynayya an narāk*‹ "let my eyes see you", IQ 7/13/1 ›*ǧaʿalk allah tarānī*‹ "God made you see me", 38/1/3 ›*ǧaʿalhum salāṭīn*‹ "he made them sultans", 133/0/1 ›*man daʿānī nafnī anā ʿumrī*‹ "who induced me to waste my life?", 126/3/2 ›*aʿmal an tabdalhā*‹ "endeavour to change it"; 42/5/1 ›*qāmat tiǧannī*‹ "she started singing"; 24/7/3 ›*waš ʿasá nuqūl*‹ "and what could I say?", 74/8/1 ›*mā ʿasá an tirīd*‹ "what may you want?", IZ 4/4/3 ›*mā ʿasÍ nuqūl*‹ "what could I say?", AC 1475 ›*ʿasá iš nuqūlū*‹ "lest we say", 1640 ›*ʿasī an yifūz*‹ "in case he succeeds".[256]

3.3. Coordination and Subordination

Coordination (= parataxis) and subordination (= hypotaxis) of sentences occur when a sequence of them, usually only two, are linked by markers implying equal rank (compound sentences, e.g., AA *ǧá waǧalás* "he came in and sat down"), or the ancillary condition of one to another (complex sentences, e.g., AA *ǧá baš yaḫṭúb* "he came in order to make a speech").

3.3.1. *Compound Sentences*

Compound sentences may be copulative, disjunctive or adversative, depending on whether the relation between them is one of addition, option or contrast.[257]

3.3.1.1. *Copulative Sentences*

Copulative sentences are most of the time marked with the ubiquitous *wa+*,[258] e.g., IQ 1/9/2 ›*rajaʿ kull aḥad faras wa+ḥamḥam*‹ "everybody has

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[256] Uninflected auxiliary verbs tend naturally to be felt as adverbs; as for the peculiar semantic evolution of *ʿasà*, see 3.4.3.1.

[257] Markers of all kinds of compound sentences may also be used to link the nominal constituents of noun phrases, e.g., AA *alwalád walbánt daḫálu* "the boy and the girl came in", *qaráyt kitáb aw záwǧ* "I read a book or two", etc.; however, these cases could also be analyzed as result of the deletion in deep structure of every repeated item in the entire sentences "the boy came in and the girl came in", "I read a book or I read two", etc.

[258] However, attention should be paid to the fact the this item was multifunctional in OA, and has kept in AA functions other than the copulative one, above all in higher registers, as marker of oaths (see 2.3.4.2), marker of circumstancial phrases (*wāwu ḥāl*, see 3.2.2.2), of proximity (*wāwun maʿiyyah*), e.g., NQ 89 ›*man hu maǧduh wassuhā*‹, "whose glory is as high as the star A.", and even exclamative, as will be expounded in 3.4.3, not to speak of its expletive intrusion in the idioms *inkān wa+* (e.g., Ax 65.3 ›*in kān wa+anta tirīd*‹ "if you want"), *iḏ wa+* (e.g., MT 900.18 ›*iḏ wa+kānat marhūnah biyadhā*‹ "since it was pawned by her"), *muḏ wa+* (e.g., MT 960v11 ›*muḏ +wa+ǧābat*‹ "as she was absent"), etc.

become a horse and neighs", while *fa+*, with its peculiar ordering and consecutive nuance, as most often in NA, appear to have shifted to higher registers, e.g., IQ 1/1/1–2 ›*ašaqtu ... fa+qāllī*‹ "I loved him ... and he said to me", 5/7/3–4 ›*lā tunāfiq f+alġurāb qutil binifāqu*‹ "do not play the hypocrit, for the crow was killed because of his hypocrisy", PES 32/1/3 ›*nanḍur lalašyā fa+narà luṭfak*‹ "I look into things and see your benevolence", Alc. 34.26–27 *le tahléf ... fa aleḍí yahléf* "do not swear ... for those who swear ...". This is even more obvious in the case of OA *ṯúmma* "and then", which makes only rare appearances, like IQ 6/5/2–3 ›*yurūġ lak almaḫḏūl ... waṯumma yaḍḥak*‹ "the rascal eludes you ... and then laughs", and 9/0/1 ›*baʿdi mā qāllī āhā ṯummā nadam*‹ "after having said yes to me, then he repented", while *ḥattá* retains a more vernacular status, e.g., 7/10/1–2 ›*mahhad alislām ... ḥattà qām addīn ... ʿalà sāq*‹ "he paved the way for Islam ... until religion was firmly established".

3.3.1.2. *Disjunctive Sentences*
Disjunctive sentences are usually and rather conservatively marked with *aw*, e.g., IQ 7/4/1 ›*aš taʿmal aw ay ḫīlah māʿak*‹ "what can you do or which ruse do you have?", at times by *ímma ... (wa)ímma/aw* "either ... or", e.g., Z 246 ›*immā yuqarrab alḥiml wa+immā yuqarrab alǧaml*‹ "either the load is brought closer or the camel is", IQ 70/6/3–4 ›*immā kalāmuh ǧawhar yaṣīr aw alǧawāhir taṣīr kalām*‹ "either his words become pearls or these become words".[259] There are some cases in which, disjunction may be expressed with *wa+*, e.g., IQ 84/6/2 ›*ǧur wa-anṣif*‹ "be unfair or be fair".

3.3.1.3. *Adversative Sentences*
The adversative sentences, as in all kinds of Arabic, are marked mostly with *(wa)lákin*, e.g., IQ 28/3/3 ›*almuʿassal aʿlà alalwān walākin lassāqah yurfaʿ*‹ "the honey sweetmeat is the best dish, but is reserved for the end",[260] Alc. 32.2 *le totḫílna a tajárib léquin negíne min a xarr* "do not let us succomb to

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[259] There are hints at the development of two other disjunctive markers in Alc., 433.12 *amdí amidí* "one or another", heretofore a hapax, from OA *am*, and 53.13–27, 54.7–8 and 57.6–14 *céu* "or", clearly used as a conjunction, backformed on SA *sawāʾ* "the same thing", as if dropping a final *tanwīn* in pause, which appears also in IQ, but not yet functionalised, e.g., 24/7/3 ›*sawā hu qultu šay aw kuntu sākit*‹ "it was the same whether I said something or stood silent", and 43/3/3 ›*sawā yuqāl aw yuʿammà*‹ "whether it is said or hushed up". This item retains its original meaning in Mo., e.g., *swa ja swa mā ja* "it is the same whether he comes or not" (Premare 1995:247); a similar item, derived from OA *siwà* "except", has evolved in Ml. to the meaning of "just", e.g., *sewwa/sew ḥames sinin* "just five years" (Aquilina 1990:1301).

[260] However, the final vocalisation of this item in IQ 31/11/3, ›*lakinna madḥa ḫātim ʿindī arǧaḥ*‹ "but praising H. is preferable to me", appears to be a classicism required by the metre.

temptations, but save us from evil"; occasionally with *illá*, e.g., HH 209 ›*anā natūb ʿan alšarāb illā iḏā šāb alġurāb*‹ "I shall repent from drinking, but only by the time crows grow grey hair", and with the classicising *innamá*, rather frequent in IQ, e.g., 24/1/3 ›*innamā nirīd raqīqah*‹ "but I want a fine one", 67/11/1 ›*las yurà biyadduh miṯqāl innamā yā minnuh yunfaq*‹ "no gold piece is seen in his hand, but being already given away". An AA innovation in this realm is *naʿam* (*wa*), which makes a shy appearance in IQ 51/4/4 ›*yaṣīr lī mā ṣār naʿam wa+nandamaǧ*‹ "I have the qualities I have, but I let myself be pushed around?", but is more often and clearly used as an adversative marker in Alc. 37.24 *al guadó me yeqdér yagcél gáir al codóra míta gecéd náâm al confessar ... ynaquí al cadáyer alleḍí húmet fal calb* "ablutions cannot clean but the filth of the body, but confession cleanses the filth which is at the heart", 38.25 *me teqdér tefhému ûucúl al îibéd nam yegíb tazdícu* "human minds cannot understand it, but it must be believed", 39.2–3 *mít ba roh náâm aleḍi hu yaḳód héḍe al curbén al mucáddeç ... yedréq al hayét a déyma* "he died in spirit, but whoever takes this holy host shall attain eternal life", and 43.2–3 *guígib aâlíq én tezuéja, nam teqdér tatḳól fal monesterio* "you must marry her, but you can (instead) enter a monastery".[261]

3.3.2. *Complex Sentences*

Complex sentences are characterised by the substitution of subordinate sentence for either the subject or any complement, direct, indirect or circumstancial. That subordination is a transformation, usually marked by an appropriate conjunction, introducing the semantic notions of nominalisation, cause, aim, manner, time and conditions.

3.3.2.1. *Nominalised Sentences*
The commonest nominaliser in AA continues to be SA *an*(*na*) which, however, is not subject to the CA taxemic rules and is not functionaly distinguished from *inna*, e.g., 2/8/2 ›*nirīd an naqabbal albanān*‹ "I want to kiss the

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[261] Blau 1980:198 quotes some Judaeo-Arabic instances of this idiom, which in SA means "certainly, plus the fact that", in the intermediate nuance of "even", namely, ›*naʿm waya'ūl bih alǧaḍab ilà alkufr billah*‹ "wrath even induced him to blaspheme God", ›*naʿam waḥattà ḥadamhum kānū yafhamūn*‹ "even their servants understood", ›*wamā aḥsan aṣṣamt naʿam walilʿulamā ayḍan*‹ "and how excellent silence is, even for learned men also!", and ›*tawbatuh maqbūlah naʿam walaw taraddad dafʿāt ʿiddah*‹ "his repentance is accepted, even if he had hesitated several times." As for the strange exceptive *çae* of DC 9, *çaé fi huígib* "but in case of need", and 10 *le tanjamaâ çaé maâ amrátaq, huále al mará çaé maaâ zéujeh* "you shall not copulate but with your wife, and the woman but with her husband", it looks like an evolution of OA *siyy* "equal" (through idioms such as *lā siyyamā* "especially"), having become *sayy* in agreement with Philippi's law (see 2.1.2.2).

fingers" (object), 3/2/2 ›*naǧʿal alḥāsid an yaḥsadu*‹ "I shall make the envious envy him" (second object transformed from a predicate), 7/3/1 ›*ṭal ʿalà qalbī an naṣbar liḏulluh*‹ "I have had enough of suffering his humiliations" (subject), 9/1/2 ›*ḥalaf anna lam yuqullī kaḏāk*‹ "he swore that he had not told me so" (object), Alc. 39.21 *nargábu … yne yaâtína* "we pray that he will give us" (object), 41.15 *cunt énte cebéb enne mít ahád* "were you the cause of someone's death?" (nominal complement of predicate), and 43.2 *guígib aâlíq én tezuéja* "you must marry her" (subject of a nominal predicate), Hv 99r20 ›*ḏīk alšī ʿan inna anī qaṭaʿtilak kam taḥṭī*‹ "that matter, namely, that I set for you how much you would pay"; in combination with the negative it becomes *allá*, e.g., IQ 9/37/1–2 ›*nirīd allā numnaʿ*‹ "I would not like being denied entrance", and 19/11/3–4 ›*aḥbas lī ḏā lbiṭāqa rahan allā nansà*‹ "hold this slip of paper from me, as a pledge that I shall not forget". Other times, we come across the frequent *mā* of NA, instead of CA *an*, e.g., IQ 9 /0/1 ›*baʿad mā qāl āhā*‹ "after he said yes", 60/7/2 ›*min aǧli mā hu karīm*‹ "because he is generous", Z 1861 ›*abat mā tudūr*‹ "she refused to turn", MT 378v1 ›*lisabab mā tawaffà baʿd wafāt wāliduh*‹ "because he died after his father's decease". At times, the expected nominaliser has been deleted, e.g., IQ 2/0/2 ›*las naǧǧarrā nisammīh*‹ "I dare not mention him", Z 705 ›*tirīd tarà*‹ "you want to see", Alc. 33.2 *tehtíju tedrú* "you need to know", and 52.26 *cunt énte cádir tigáʿu* "you could save him". As for nominalisation by use of the *maṣdar*, above all in the derived measures of the verb, it does not appear to have belonged to the vernacular (see 2.2.2.5.2), but it happens occasionally in high register, e.g., IQ 7/4/3 ›*qad ḥān inqiṭaʿak*‹ "the time of your departure has arrived", 7/6/2 ›*ṭāb lak ǧulūsī*‹ "my inaction pleases you", Alc. 32.27 *fa teléhi aâlé a niç* "by scoffing people", 36.26–27 *le yaḳbí xéi min içtihá* "he shall hide nothing for shame", DC 15 *cólah … dun eçtifecédu* "say it without alteration".

3.3.2.2. Causal Sentences

As for causal subordination, and besides the classicising *liʾanna, faʾinna, lammā* and *iḏ*, e.g., IQ 4/5/3 ›*liʾanna fīh ḥaṣlatayn*‹ "because he has two qualities", 6/2/4 ›*faʾinna allah lassanhu ġāfil*‹ "because God is not neglectful", 38/24/1 ›*lammā kān muḥibbi fīk*‹ "as he loved you", 18/1/1 ›*iḏ qad kafānī allāh ṣudāʿuh*‹ "since God had spared me its headache", the most vernacular markers are *kamá* (*ánna*), e.g., IQ 88/2/3 ›*sīdī mašġul kamā ṭalaʿ lalruqād*‹ "my master is busy, because he went up to sleep", PES 72/3/2 ›*kamā lis ṯamma infiṣāl*‹ "since there is no separation", Ax 17 ›*kamā lam yiḥabbarūh*‹ "because they did not inform him", and DC 20 *caménna cathár aâléna rráhmato* "because he has multiplied his mercy on us", *ánna*, e.g., IQ 96/14/2

›*anna ‘ād lam yumūt aban quzmān*‹ "because I.Q. is not yet dead", HH 18
›*anna ... lis lī fī al‘ayš maṭma‘*‹ "because I have no desire to live", and the
particular *‘alà yad ḏa anna* in Alc. 53.4–6 *admanéit al inticám ... aliedidí enne
aâmelleq ... xéi* "did you desire revenge ... because he did something to you?",
and *‘ammá* in MT, e.g., 1066.7 ›*ammā alṯaman almundafa‘ kān māl ’bnhā*‹
"as the paid price was her son's money".

3.3.2.3. *Final Sentences*

Final subordination, i.e., the expression of an action as an aim to be reached,
is marked in AA in manifold ways, like the characteristic *bāš* of Western
Arabic, e.g., IQ 78/12/4 ›*rabbà ǧanāḥ baš yiṭīr*‹ "he grew winds to fly", 105/9/2
›*naṭlub ša‘īr baš nimīr alfaras*‹ "I look for barley to feed the horse", Z 422
›*baš tiḥibbu*‹ "so that you love him", PES 96/0/1 ›*hab+lī ... ḥullah baš nalqāk
naqiyyah*‹ "give me a clean gown to go to your encounter", Alc. 47.12–13
bex taharézu "so that you would keep it", 47.17 *bex taláâb* "so that you
would gamble", with the variants *fáš*, e.g., IA 524 ›*fāš yatmatta‘*‹ "in order
to have a good time", and *fi(ya)š*, e.g., Hv 99r4 ›*fiyaš yan‘aṭānī silāḥ*‹ "so
that I am given weapons",[262] HB 363 ›*fīš yabǧuḏ alḥamr*‹ "so that he hates
wine", in addition to characteristically AA *fi ḥáqqat*, e.g., IQ 133/3/5 ›*fī ḥaqqat
an yuqāl liḏā ‘anbarī*‹ "so that it be called amber-like", Alc. 32.20 *fi hácat
nucúnu muztahiquín* "so that we become worthy ...", 46.9 *fihácat yehíbaq*
"so that he loves you", 44.18 *fi hacat qui yeqdér yaqtúl aháde* "so he could
kill someone",[263] *an*, e.g., IQ 88/1/1 ›*qāmat alḥādim an tarà man kān*‹ "the
maid went to see who it was", Z 711 ›*ǧīnā an na‘malū ḫaṣā*‹ "we came to
do a castration", PES 56/6/4 ›*maḍayt an nazūruh*‹ "I went to visit him",[264]
kamá, e.g., Alc. 13.13 *queme yudcáru* "so that they are remembered", and the
matching negative *kam+iš*, Alc. 361.34 *quemíx* "in order not to", *qibál*, e.g.,
Alc 36.14–15 *quibél yeqdér yconfesárhum* "so that he can confess them". We
come also across *ḥattá* and *la‘ál(la)* in IQ, probable classicisms, e.g., 7/16/1–
2 ›*ḥul baynī wabaynu ḥattà lā nalqāh*‹ "stand between us, so that I do not

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[262] This peculiar ›*fiyaš*‹, with other witnesses in MI 201, always in Valencian documents,
suggest an evolution of **fi+aš*, parallel to *bi+aš > bāš* and *f+aš*.

[263] Standard in Alc. and often followed by the eventual marker *ki(n)*.

[264] This final *an* and any other conjunction is often deleted after verbs of movement, e.g.,
IQ 7/2/2 ›*maḍà qirdī quddamī yatqazzal*‹ "my bad luck went away limping in front of me", Alc.
32.10 *yegí yahcúm* "he will come to judge", IA 353 ›*ǧī ya‘mal ḥasanah*‹ "he came to do a good
action", as reported for CA by Fleisch 1979:190, following the trend in SA of treating them as
inchoative verbs optionally needing no conjunction in front of the modified main verb, e.g.,
IQ 26/3/3 ›*tabtadī tirafraf*‹ "you begin to flutter" and, with a connecting pronominal suffix,
and 31/3/3 ›*abtadānī yaḍḥak minnī*‹ "he began to laugh at me".

meet him", 128/4/ 145/9/3 ›ʿannaqnī laʿal nastarīḥ‹ "hug me, so I can have some rest", which is certain in the case of the affirmative and negative li(allā) in, eg., 20/24/2 ›in kāṇ ǧīt litasʾal‹ "if you have come to ask", 79/4/4 ›liʾallā nuǧaddar‹ "so that I am not betrayed".

3.3.2.4. Modal Sentences

Modal subordination in AA is marked with káyf(ma), often pronounced kíf, e.g., IQ 30/6/3 ›yaṣīr kifmā ṣār‹ "it becomes like he did", 30/3/4 ›tiṣībanī kifmā naštahī an tiṣīb‹ "you will find me as I wish it", Alc. 38.28 quif yaâmél fi héḏe al curbén al mucáddeç "as he does in this holy host", typically Western Arabic biḥāl,[265] e.g., IQ 93/1/4 ›biḥāl iḏā bātat fī ṣahrīǧ‹ "as if they had spent the night in a pond", 145/1/4 ›biḥāḷ an yirīd an yimīl‹ "as if it was going to decline", or kamá , e.g., IQ 18/4/2 ›kamā aḫadt lā budd an niḥallī‹ "the way I took, I must let go", 19/10/1 ›kamā lam yukun lī mā naʿmal‹ "as I had nothing else to do", Ax 15.21 ›kamā an kān fawq alǧabl‹ "as he was atop the mountain", or even the classicising ka(an) and miṯl, e.g., IQ 6/4/3 ›kaʾannu mā kān‹ "as if it had not been so", 9/15/2 ›miṯli mā qultu fīk‹ "as I told about you". In addition to this, as in any kind of Arabic, AA makes extensive use of circumstancial phrases introduced with wa+ (wāwu ḥāl) or in simple juxtaposition, e.g., IQ 7/15/3 ›kaḏā nuḏlam wanā bayn alislām‹ "am I wronged like this, being among Muslims?", 5/8/3–4 ›fummī dūn luʿāb qad ǧaff buṣāqu‹ "my mouth is without saliva, its water dried up"; the same effect may, at times, be obtained with the juxtaposition of a peculiar idiom with a circumstancial imperative, e.g., IQ 141/1/1 ›bitnā fī riḏā qabbal aw ʿannaq‹ "we spent the night pleasantly, kissing or embracing".

3.3.2.5. Temporal Sentences

The markers of temporal subordination in AA are manifold, often the same as in SA and NA, namely, lámma, e.g., IQ 11/8/3–4 ›lammā ǧīt ilayk‹ "when I came to you", 76/1/1 ›yuǧūr lammā yirīduh‹ "he is unjust when he wants to", matá (ma), e.g., IQ 20/24/3 ›matà mā qāl tadrī annu yafʿal‹ "when he says something, you know that he will do it", Urz 341 ›matà mā yakūn alkittān walqannam maṭbūḫ‹ "when flax and hemp are ripe", Cen. 346.16 ›lahum manʿ ḏālik matà ḥabbū‹ "they can forbid that, whenever they want to", ḥín, e.g., IQ 119/4/1 ›ḥīn naṣṭabaḥ‹ "when I drink at dawn", Alc. 55.7 hin azvéxt maâ amrátaq "when you married your wife", and 57.18 hin énte tamród "when you get ill", EV 2 ḥína kúnt abadÍ malíḥa "as you were always

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265 Cf. North African bḥāl and Ml. bħal, unknown in Eastern Arabic.

beautiful", *ḥattá*, e.g., Z 858 ›*ḥattà yiǧī man māt*‹ "when the dead come back", DC 15 *haté teḥód al meé* "when you take the holy water".[266]

3.3.2.5.1. More vernacular are *kama*, *ay*(*n*), *wáqt an* and *sá'at an*, e.g., IQ 7/3/3 ›*kamā raytuh badayt an nuqulluh*‹ "when I saw him, I began to tell him", 88/6/1 ›*ay kunt sama'tu hāḏā alkalām*‹ "when I heard these words", 13/5/3 ›*waqtan ra'aytuh*‹ "when I saw him", and 115/3/3 ›*sā'atan taṭla' fī sarīrak*‹ "when you get up in your bed".

3.3.2.5.2. Some temporal markers include additional nuances, like iteration. e.g., *kúllima* "every time", in IQ 20/11/3 ›*kullimā šiḫnā akṯar ṣirnā ṣibyān*‹ "the older we grow, the more childish we become", duration, e.g., *ṭúl ma*, in IQ 17/0/2 ›*ṭūl mā nukūn biǧāhak las naštakí bibūs*‹ "as long as I am under your aegis, I shall not suffer misery", the classicising conjugated *ma* (*dám*) "while", e.g., IQ 17/0/2 ›*mā dumtu ḥay*‹ "as long as I am alive", 18/1/2 ›*mā ḥayayt las naḫlaṭhā mā'uh*‹ "as long as I live, I shall not mix with him", Z 667 ›*ma kabur ḍāq asṭuh*‹ "the older he grows, the thinner becomes his behind"; vernacular *baydám* "while", e.g., IA 315 ›*baydām altamaq ḫusay alrāmī uḫiḏ alḥiṣn*‹ "by the time the bowman H. had put his boots on, the fortress had been taken",[267] immediacy, like (*innama*) *hú ma* "as soon as", e.g., IQ 13/5/2 ›*hū mā fataḥt albāb*‹ "as soon as I opened the door", 90/11/1 ›*innamā hū mā raytu ḏāk assāq*‹ "as soon as I saw that leg", *qabl an* / *iḏ* "before", e.g., IQ 34/0/2 ›*qabl an yaḏallanī*‹ "before he humiliates me", Alc. 43.23–24 *ḳarájt ... acábl yantaláq a çalá* "did you go out before the prayer ended?",[268] previousness, e.g., IQ 19/6/2

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[266] But this marker usually means "until", e.g., IQ 6/4/2 ›*ḥattà tuqūl*‹ "until you say", 11/2/4 ›*ḥattà tadḫul šuffat alkās ... bayn šuffatayya*‹ "until the rim of the glass enters between my lips", even in cases like Z 604 ›*biḥāl ǧawz mā yūkal ḥattà yuksar*‹ "like nuts that cannot be eaten until cracked", 669 ›*biḥāl silbāḥ mā yamūt ḥattà yuḏbaḥ*‹ "like eels that do not die until they are slain", which in OA syntax tend to be understood as "as soon as they are eaten, they crack", "like eels that as soon as they die, are slain", etc. But even in AA it can also mean "unless, without", e.g., in Alc. 34.3–5 *me yeqdér aháde yaqtá fi amr guáhid hattí yaqtá fi jamíá al aguámir* "one cannot infringe one commandment without infringing them all".

[267] This curious item, obviously from OA *bayda* (*mā*) and not so current that lexicographers would not have doubts about its true meaning ("because" or "although"?), appears nevertheless to have survived well in AA, with witnesses in IA, VA (›*baydām*‹ and ›*mindām*‹), Z, AC and Alc. (with the variants *beindém* and *beidemín*, e.g., *beidemín narcú a gecéd* "while we place the body"), but it has been semantically attracted by *baynamā*. It is still used in Naf. dialects, like Mo. *bīdma* "en attendant que ..." (Premare 1993 I: 367); see Corriente 1989c: 443, fn. 115, about its etymon (*bi*+*yadi*+*mā*) and history.

[268] This curious variant, also witnessed in VA ›*aqabal*‹, AC and IW, is not etymologically transparent; it could have derived from **'an qabl*, with decay of /'/ (see 1.2.25.2) and assimilation of /n/ (see 1.2.9.2).

›qabl iḏ rayt alḫawḫah‹ "before you look at the peach", *báʿdi ma* "after",
posteriority, e.g., IQ 16/1/3 ›baʿdi mā kān aššarāb mawǧūd‹ "after being the
wine there", inchoativeness, e.g., *muḏ* and *mimma* "since", in IQ 53/7/1 ›muḏ
ʿašaqt almiṯqāl‹ "since I fell in love with gold pieces", and 15/0/1 ›mimmā
ṣaddanī las yisallam‹ "since he shunned me, he does not greet (me)". As for
time-tied conditions, i.e., "when, if", see the next paragraph.

3.3.2.6. *Conditional Sentences*

Conditional subordination, i.e., the expression of a circumstance (protasis)
which must obtain prior to the completion of the main sentence (apodosis),
is a complex issue in Arabic grammar which involves logemes of time,
aspect and mood, pushing the scarce morphological verbal resources of this
language to the limit. Its solution has been found in the use of an array
of diverse markers, i.e., conjunctions expressing the different situations,
depending on whether the condition is envisaged as probable, or at least
possibly fulfilled in a near future (e.g., SA ***iḏā** ašraqati ššamsu tanazzahnā*
"if the sun shines, we shall go for a stroll", in Arabic considered identical
with "when the sun shines, we shall go for a stroll"), or is a matter of
serious doubt (e.g., SA ***in** ašraqati ššamsu tanazzahnā* "if the sun would
shine, we would go for a stroll") or, finally, the fulfillment of the condition
has become impossible as its allowed time has elapsed (SA ***law** ašraqati
ššamsu **la**+tanazzahnā* "if the sun had shone, we would have gone for a
stroll"). As can be expected from a language with a verbal aspect system,
the finite verbal predicates in both protasis and apodosis must, in principle,
be perfective, since only the completeness of the former allows completion
of the latter and, once that happens, the impending consequence is also
an unavoidable complete process.[269] The situation in AA has remained
basically unaltered, but for a perceptible trend to analyze *iḏā* as a mere
temporal marker, "when", the frequent extension of *in* as *in+kān* (often >
ikká/ín), and the development of an idiom for the expression of eventuality
by prefixing *ka/i(n)* to the imperfective.

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[269] However, the trend towards the introduction of subjective tenses (see 2.2.2 and corre-
sponding fns.) has allowed the appearance in NA of imperfectives in apodosis (e.g., IQ 1/5/4
›yatʿaǧǧab iḏā raʾāhā‹ "he is amazed, if he sees them"), even in protasis (a continuation of
OA jussives, e.g., PES 13/4/4 ›law nasūq lu almaʿnà ... lam yaḏúq mā qultu‹ "if I brought the
concept to him, he would not understand what I said", IA 89 ›ašḥāl tākul ṣāyim tušbiḥ‹ "no
matter how much you eat, you wake up fasting") or, at least, the insertion of an idle auxil-
iary *kān* which, in the long run, has originated the characteristic eventual mood of AA (see
3.2.4.2.1). In the apodosis, of course, it is possible and common to find nominal sentences,
imperatives, futures, optatives, etc.

3.3.2.6.1. The marker *iḏā*, expressing probable or possible conditions, is found in sources of every period and area, e.g., with the classicising variants *iḏ* and *iḏāmā*, in IQ 9/1/4 ›*las niṣaddaq malīḥ iḏā qāl naʿam*‹ "I do not believe a beau when/if he says yes", 63/1/4 ›*iḏā maṭalt ant man yanṣif iḏan*‹ "if you delay payment, who will pay, then?", 21/6/4 ›*wamilāḥ yaḏḏā iḏ yazūl alḥiḏāb*‹ "and beautiful also when/if the make-up disappears", 4/7/3 ›*yaḏkur alinsāṇ alšay iḏāmā aʿǧabuh*‹ "man remember things, if/when they please him", 93/9/3–4 ›*iḏāmā kunta waḥdak … wakaḏāk las ṯamma zaǧǧālan yuqūl ḏā altisʿa asṭār*‹ "if you are unique, … so, neither is there any poet who would compose these nine lines", Z 7 ›*iḏā šāḥ albāz laʿabat buh alʿaṣāfir*‹ "when the falcon grows old, the birds mock him", 686 ›*biḥāl ǧinn iḏā ḥabb qatal*‹ "like a jinnee, when/if he loves, he kills", PES 21/2/5–6 ›*ʿannak yasquṭ altaklīf iḏā lis tūǧad*‹ "your obligations will cease, when you no longer exist", IA 59 ›*iḏā turÍ alakl aqrub wa-iḏā turÍ almaqraʿ ahrub*‹ "when/if you are shown food, come close, when a whip, run away", Hv 100v11–12 *iḏā yakūn anī narsalū* "when it will be, I shall send it", Alc. 58.34 *fayde qui tixequéq fi xéi* "and if you have doubts about something …", and 45.25 *admanéit tanjamáâ máâ mará ydé qui tucún leq máudaâ* "have you wished copulating with a woman if you had a chance?".[270]

3.3.2.6.2. The marker *in*, expressing hypothetical conditions, is not uncommon in IQ, e.g., 2/0/1 ›*in ʿaraḍ lak sa+tadrīh*‹ "if he came into your sight, you would know him", 6/1/3 ›*in qulta luh aǧlas yuqūm hū wāqif*‹ "if you said to him 'sit down', he would get up and stand", combined with negative in 27/7/4 ›*illā yaṭūl ʿalaynā ḏakarnā ḏā alǧuzay*‹ "if it was not too long for us, we would mention this short part", also in IA 188 ›*alṭuruq alkibār waʾin ṭālat*‹ "large roads (are better), even if they are longer", Z 969 ›*ḏuq in ṭāb lak waʾillā abzuq*‹ "taste it, if you like, and if not, spit", MT 51.7 ›*waʾin ʿaǧaz fayaṭwī alʿadad almaḏkūr min alḏahab*‹ "and if he were unable, he should pay double the amount in gold", PES 42/5/1–4 ›*in ḍahar sirruh … tadrū bāš anā mathūm*‹ "when his secret is revealed … you will known of what I am accused". However, it is extended with an idle *kān* most of the time, which provides a more universal conditional marker, above all in later periods, e.g., IQ 122/3/4 ›*in kān yumūt nusarri bi-kfānuh*‹ "should he die, I would be pleased with his shrouding", 130/0/1 ›*in kān ǧafā man hawayt sa+yandam*‹

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[270] This conjunction is rather scarce in Alc., while the proverbs collections of Z and IA contain dozens of items beginning with this conjunction; however, the language of proverbs is always characteristically conservative.

"if the one I love shuns me, he will be sorry", Z 128 ›*in kān maḍat alḥawātim baqat alaṣābi*‹ "if the rings are gone, the fingers are left", IA 174 ›*altiǧārah maḍmūnah ikkān iš tarbaḥ taḫsar*‹ "commerce is guaranteed: if you do not win, you lose", PES 32/0/2 ›*in kān taǧīb ʿan bašarī biʿayni qalbī nabṣurak*‹ "even if you are out of my sight, I see you with the eyes of my heart", Urz 342 ›*in kān turīdū taʿmalū min ḥukm irtifāʿ*‹ "if you want to appeal a sentence", Alc. 42.26–27 *iquín ix taâmélu hu harám* "if you do not do it, it is a sin", 46.30 *yquín çaḳartuhum* "if you took advantage of them" (with 2nd degree *imālah* and assimilation of the nasal).

3.3.2.6.3. The marker *law*, expressing conditions of impossible or unlikely fulfillment was frequently used in AA, e.g., IQ 10/1/3–4 ›*law qadar qalbī yiḥallīk lam yidabbar ḏā alnuǧaymah*‹ "if my heart could have forsaken you, it would not have composed this little melody", 11/7/1 ›*law samaʿt assāʿah minnī kunt tifarraǧ ḏā aldubaylah*‹ "if you would listen to me now, you would put an end to this sorrow", combined with negative in 9/27/3 ›*lawlā ḫawfak waš kān yurà min ʿiwaǧ*‹ "were it not that you are feared, what an extent of crookedness would be seen!", PES 31/163 ›*lawlā ḏā lis kin+nuṣāb*‹ "but for this, I would not have been found",[271] IA 611 ›*law kān falbūm ḫayr mā kiy+yaslam ʿalà alṣayyādah*‹ "if there were anything good in owls, they would not be safe from hunters", PES 19/1/3 ›*law yuʿṭānī alsawm … kān rašīd*‹ "if I had been given the price … it would have been smart", Alc. 66.6 *leu cuntum tihibbúni, leu cúntum tafrahúna* "if you loved me, you would be glad".[272] The expression of eventuality in the apodosis is often obtained by inserting the perfective or imperfective of inflected or, more often in later periods, uninflected *kān* "to be" before the predicate, e.g., PES 13/2/4 ›*law yakūn assummi falkās mā nakūn illā šarabtuh*‹ "if there was poison in the cup, I would just have drunk it", 42/4/1–3 ›*law raʾayt fannī kit+taqūl ʿannī*‹ "if you had seen my skill, you would have said about me …", at times in both protasis and apodosis, e.g., 86/5/3–4 ›*mā kin+nibayyan alʿaǧāyib law kin+niǧad aqwām yanṣifūnī*‹ "I would not expound these marvels, if I had found people fair to me".

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[271] However, the idiom *lawlā*, usually followed by a noun or pronominal suffix, is a classicism in all likelihood, e.g., in IQ 26/1/4 ›*lawlā aliftiḍāḥ*‹ "were it not for the scandal".

[272] It is remarkable that this isolated case in Alc.'s texts, in a passage translated from the Gospel and aiming at CA, though falling very short of its mark, exhibits the marker of apodosis as a second *law* instead of OA *la+*, of which there is another single instance in IQ 2/2/4 ›*law aḫfaytu … law qadar ġayrī yaḫfih*‹ "I would have hidden it, if anyone else could do it", but otherwise absent in AA and most NA. The same happens optionally with Mo. *kūn* = *ku* and *lūkān*, and something similar in Ml. with (*li*) *kieku* (< *law kān yakūn*), e.g., *kieku kont naf,* (*kieku*) *kont niǧi* "If a knew, I would have come"; see Aquilina 1965:224.

3.3.2.6.4. Conditional phrases without marking conjunctions could be occasionally found in OA, and still were in AA, e.g., in the case of imperative or jussive sequences, like IQ 21/13/1 ›*aʿṭī yaʿṭīk alla alnaǧāh*‹ "give, and God will grant your salvation", i.e., "if you give, God will, etc.", and the same effect is obtained with the correlative pronouns *man, mā*, etc. (see 2.1.11.2.4), e.g., IQ 10/8/3–4 ›*man yuqūl lā narmī fī ʿunquh luṭaymah*‹ "whoever says no, I shall give him a little slap on his neck", 132/5/2 ›*kulli mā kān amarri hū aḥlà*‹ "the bitterer it becomes, the sweeter it is", 18/6/4 ›*ašmā yuqūllī an naʿṭī aʿṭayt*‹ "whatever he says that I must give, I shall do it", 26/2/2 ›*ašḥāl ma tahrub lā budd an taqaʿ*‹ "flee as you may, you will fall", IA 80 ›*ašmā katabt anta qarayt anÍ*‹ "whatever you can write, I can read", 38/12/3 ›*aššu yuṭlab min aṭṭaʿan yaʿṭī*‹ "as many spear thrusts as were requested he would throw"; the same applies to the homologous correlative adverbs, e.g., IA 592 ›*kayf mā yabīʿ alsāriq balfaḍl hū*‹ "no matter how the thief sells, it is at a profit", PES 47/10/1 ›*ay mā namšī ṯamma hiyya dārī*‹ "wherever I go, there is my house", and MT 47.8 ›*matá qām qāyim fī almabīʿ almaḏkūr faʿalà dūn biṭruh an yaǵram luh*‹ "if somebody lays a claim on the said purchase, D. Pedro must pay him off". In other occasions, however, it appears that the conditional markers have been just deleted for the sake of brevity, as easily retrievable, e.g., HH 16 ›*kunt tajrī min qabl mā tudbaḥ waʿunayyaqak barī*‹ "had you run before you were slain, your little neck had been safe" (with *wāwu ḥāl*), IA 606 ›*kiy+yukūn ḏā lǵars fī mars kiy+yiǵī abrīl yiṣīb bukayruh*‹ "if this were sown in March, April will come and harvest its first fruits".

3.3.2.6.5. Conditional structures can easily acquire concesive connotations, whether introduced or not with a copulative *wa+*, e.g., IQ 9/29/4 ›ʿ*izzi rūḥak wa+law naqalt alfaḥam*‹ "honour yourself, even if you are a coal carrier", and 15/2/3 ›*las yarṭū … law raʾawh yasūq*‹ "they feel no pity … even if they see him in pain", or else become expressions of wishes (= optatives), e.g., 11/3/2 ›*law annu yabqà*‹ "would that it lasted!", 27/0/2 ›*law anṭaba' šuway*‹ "if only he would yield a little!", occasionally preceded by *láyt*, e.g., 92/3/3 ›*layt law faqadnā hāḏā alǵalā*‹ "would that we got rid of this scarcity!" (see 3.4.3.1).

3.4. Sentence Modalities

Sentences belong to diverse types or modalities of assertion, depending on whether they are affirmative, negative, interrogative, exclamative or emphatic, for which there are special markers and intonational contours.

3.4.1. *Negative Modality*

The system of negative markers in OA was very complex and has been generally simplified in NA, although surviving archaisms and classicisms, popping up in nearly all kinds of texts, still offer a picture far from simple, unmatched by any other NA dialect, as no less than five or six different markers must be considered, namely, the reflexes of OA *mā*, *lā*, *laysa* and *lam*, in addition to the innovated *iš* and *is*.

3.4.1.1
Reflexes of *mā*, usually placed at the very beginning of the sentence, are rare in IQ,[273] e.g., with imperfective, 19/6/4 ›*mā naǧḥad*‹ "I do not deny", with perfective, 21/13/4 ›*mā qaṭ raǧāk aḥaddi waḫāb*‹ "nobody ever begged you and was disappointed", and with a nominal sentence, ›*mā hī qaylah*‹ "it is no nap", as well as in Z, with imperfective in 1316, ›*mā biduʿā alqiḥāb taʿṭab almarākib*‹ "ships are not wrecked by whores' curses", and with a nominal sentence in 1305, ›*mā ṯamma šaǧrah illā wahazzahā arrīḥ*‹ "there is no tree which is not shaken by the wind", and more so in IA, with just one example, in 416 ›*mā yarḍà balbarṣanah*‹ "he does not accept being an informer", but it is more frequent in Alc., e.g., with perfective in 51.27, *me aâtáhum leq* "he did not give them to you", with imperfective in 34.30, *me hu yehíb alláh* "he does not love God", and in the idioms *me fi ḵáir* "badly" of 383.32 and *me gáiru* "no other" in 33.39.

3.4.1.2
The use of OA *lā* "no", the opposite of "yes" as an answer, has remained unaltered in NA, AA included, but it has been drastically curtailed as marker of negation within sentences. It appears in IQ, with imperfectives, e.g., in 9/39/3 ›*lā yastarāḥ*‹ "he does not rest" (narrative), 31/1/3 ›*la taḥramūnī kāsī*‹ "do not deprive me of my cup" (prohibitive), with perfectives with an optative connotation, e.g., /2/1 ›*lā kānū min ṣibyān*‹ "would that those boys never existed! = accursed boys!", or of future purpose with or without an oath, e.g., 137/12/3 ›*wallah lā ḫallaytuh walaw annuh yaqfaz*‹ "By God, I shall not let him go, in spite of his jumping", 58/5/1 ›*la nasayt iḏ zāranī ḥibbī*‹ "I shall never forget when my lover visited me",[274] and in absolute negatives

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[273] Its relative scarcity vs. the frequency of reflexes of *laysa* in AA is a bit surprising, considering that it is the most widespread negation in NA which, in turn, ignores *laysa*, with the conspicuous exception of Modern Yemenite, about which, see fn. 276. Only in Judaeo-Arabic, Blau 1965:87 and 1980:143 has signalled some cases thereof.

[274] In this kind of sentences, NA has often preserved *lā*, even in dialects preferring *mā*, e.g.,

(*lā nnāfiyatu lilǧins* of Arab grammarians), e.g., 35/6/3–4 ›*lā karīm illā abū isḥāq*‹ "there is no generous man but A.I.", all of which is acceptable in SA, unlike the case of nominal sentences, e.g., 104/4/4 ›*lā hū ṣabrī ʿalà faqduh illā šadīd*‹ "my forbearance for his loss is nothing less than painfull", as well as in the idiom *bi+lā*, used as a negative prefix, e.g., 67/13/4 ›*anā bilā muqaṣṣaṣ*‹ "I am unshorn", 68/3/3 ›*alqamar bilā mulaṯṯam*‹ "the moon is not overcast", which is found again in VA 153 ›*bilā musallaḥ*‹ "disarmed", MT 663.3 ›*bilā muġaṭṭà*‹ "uncovered", and Alc. 141.34 *bilé moḳçí* "not castrated", 165.37 *bilé mutuí* "unfolded", 195.26 *bilé muéddeb* "uncouth", etc.[275] Otherwise, is not frequent in Alc., e.g., 34.26 *le tehléf* "do not swear", 37.3 *le yahtíx … yaztahí* "he needs not be ashamed", 36.2 *le yḳallí xéi gua le yaḳbí xéi* "he shall not omit nor hide anything", the first two with jussive connotations and the latter, being a case of double negative. In Z appears attached to *an* in order to convey optative or jussive meanings, e.g., 193 ›*allā tabqà aldunyā bilā walad ḥurrah*‹ "may the world not be left without honest people", and 117 ›*alʿaḍm lā yankasar anna allaḥm yanǧabar*‹ "may the bone not break, for the flesh heels by itself".

3.4.1.3

The negative pseudo-verb *laysa* of OA,[276] mostly used in nominal sentences and reflected in AA as an invariable *la/is*, at times extended with pronominal suffixes, optionally preceded by +*an*+, is one of the most conspicuous conservative traits of this dialect bundle, being frequent in all periods,

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Mo. *lā ḫrežti* "(I swear) you will not go out", *lā dditi əlfinta* "(I swear) you will not take away a single pin", etc.

[275] However, Alc. (193.19 and 25) has also *gáiri xéquir* "ungrateful" and *gáyri mahmúd* "not commendable" in a higher register, in total agreement with SA usage.

[276] Its unquestionable etymon, *lā + ayṯ* (cf. Hb. *yēš* and Ak. *išu*, which excludes the possibility of an original /s/), has long since been signalled as a case of an Arabic irregular correspondance /s/ < /ṯ/, for which no satisfactory explanation has been offered, in spite of Brockelmann 1908 I: 235 who, on chronological grounds, could not avail himself of the evidence of its Ug. cognate *iṯ* "there is". However, that same phonetic shift was characteristic of some South Arabian dialects (cf. Höfner 1943:21–22 and Bauer 1966:40), and its isolated frequency as a vernacular item in Mod.Yem. (cf. Behnstedt 2006:1133 with such phrases as *lēs ma šahabš* "I shall not give at all", *lēs kaʾabūḍi* "no such thing" and *leyseyn* "no way!"), together with the fact of its surprising vitality in AA, where other "Yemenisms" have been detected (see Corriente 1989b), might be a reason to include it among these in it and in OA. Considering the political and economic importance of South Arabia in pre-Islamic days, this could have been one of those linguistic fads which can propagate at an impressive speed and far away; such has been the case of the NA Bedouinism *šāf* "to see", apparently spread everywhere by Muslim pilgrims returning from Mecca in historical times, and having all but evicted the solidly established PS and OA *raʾà*, except in Ml., AA and scattered traces in a few areas.

except in Alc., as an almost universal negation of the perfective, e.g., IQ 13/5/1
›*las kān daraytuh*‹ "I did not know it", impefectives, e.g., 4/4/1 ›*las nisammī
aḥad*‹ "I do not mention anyone", and nominal sentences, e.g., 84/6/1 ›*las
nuḥun ṣibyān*‹ "we are not children", 9/18/3 ›*lassu kaḏāk*‹ "it is not so", 144/1/1
›*ǧawār ... lassum falislām*‹ "girls ... who are not Muslim", 90/16/1 ›*hāḏā ʿālam
lassanhu min šaklī*‹ "these are people of a class which is not mine", 93/9/4 ›*las
ṯamma zaǧǧālan yuqūl*‹ "there is no *zaǧǧāl* who could say ...", 83/14/12 ›*sīrat
aliḥsān yā lassanhā sīrah*‹ "the habit of doing good is no longer a habit". It
is common in Z with the imperfective, e.g., 455 ›*lis talqāh*‹ "you will not find
him", 935 ›*dār lis tabqà ḫālyah wamukārī lis yibīt barrah*‹ "no house remains
empty and no muleteer spends the night in the open", as well as with nomi-
nal sentences, e.g., 1162 ›*lis lalrās anqà min almuss*‹ "there is nothing cleaner
for the head than a razor", which is also the case in IA, e.g., 389 ›*ḫubzan
lissu lak daʿu yaḥtaraq*‹ "let bread which is not yours burn", while for the
imperfective this author appears to prefer the hybrid /*liš*/, about which, see
below (3.4.1.5 and fn. 280). Some inflected examples of this item in MT, e.g.
944v4 ›*lasnā naqdarū*‹ "we cannot", 956v18 ›*lasnā nurīdū*‹ "we do not want",
Alc. 65.36 *alqueléme ... leycét léye* "the word ... is not mine", and 66.4 *léztu
aâtícum* "I do not give you" are outright classicisms.[277]

3.4.1.4

Negative *lam* is everywhere and every time an obvious classicism, alien
to vernacular NA, and as such it pops up here and there in AA sources,
used correctly or pseudo-correctly,[278] e.g., in IQ 2/9/4 ›*lam niǧammaḍ ṭūl
allayl*‹ "I have not slept a wink in the whole night", Alc. 66.25 *lem yuḳláq xéi*
"nothing was created", .33 *lem yatiquebelúhu* "they did not welcome him"
(syntactically correct SA), MT 954.8 ›*lam tarak ibnan*‹ "he left no son", and
PES 67/2/1 ›*lam qaṭṭa haǧarnī ḥabībī*‹ "my lover never forsook me" (infra-
correct usage with perfective in the two last cases).

3.4.1.5

In addition to the foregoing, AA has innovated two negative particles of its
own, *a/iš* and *is*. The first one constitutes a curious case of recurrence of a
process of functional contamination within a lapse of many centuries, as

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[277] The partial conjugation of *laysa* in OA, triggered by its semantic and syntactic kinship
with *kāna* "to be", has a parallel in the development of its Et. synonymous *hallo* from deictic
hl (e.g., in Himyaritic), about which we wrote an article forthcoming in the Proceedings of
the International Congress on Semitic Dialectology (Saragossa 2010).

[278] Blau 1965:106 and 1980:142 offered some instances of pseudo-correct *lam* in Judaeo-
Arabic. About instances of *lam* in early papyri, see Hopkins 1984:153.

the pre-Islamic evolution of the interrogative *mā* into a negative marker
has re-enacted itself with the NA interrogative *aš* (see 2.1.11.2.4),[279] which
appears already in that function in IQ 7/7/4 ›ʾš *wazīr kātib*‹ "there is no vizir
secretary", 19/12/3 ›ʾš *nirīd naḥlaf*‹ "I do not want to swear", 26/3/4 ›ʾš *taḥšà
tarǧāʿ muqarnas*‹ "are you not afraid to fledge?", 27/2/4 ›ʾš *kin+nirīdka ḥay*‹
"I do not want you alive", 40/5/4 ›ʾš *ḏanb alḥadīd*‹ "it is not the fault of iron",
67/6/2 ›ʾš *tasāl*‹ "do not ask", and 73/3/3 ›ʾš *tabkī ḥawlī*‹ "do not weep around
me": the contexts are various and in some cases, the interrogative rendering
would be still possible, e.g., "what? are you afraid to fledge?", "what is the
fault of the iron?", etc. In later materials we have Z 112 ›*iš tanfaʿ alwaṣiyyah*‹
"the advice is not useful", IA 383 ›*iš taǧʿal*‹ "do not put", and this is the
standard negation in Alc., e.g., 30.23 *ix nahtíju nicóla* "we need not say it",
36.17 *ix aní çáleh* "I am not a saint", 48.20 *ix aâtáitu li çáhibu* "you did not give
it to its owner". As for *is*, apparently backformed on *lis*, as if it were a double
negative marker, and with the exception of IQ 90/8/3 ›*issi aǧwad lakum*‹ "it
is not better for you?" and 125/5/5 ›*issi minhā annuǧūm aktar*‹ "the stars are
not more numerous than they" (< *is + hī*; see 1.2.27.1), and EYG 516 *ysnedri*
"I do not know",[280] all its witnesses are from Eastern Spain, from VA ›*i/īs*‹,
rendered by Lt. *non*, to DC *eç hiet el missa matál meuté* "it is not a funeral
mass" and the cases registered in MI 203, ›*is naḥruǧ*‹ "I shall not go out",
›*is kān maḥḥā*‹ "she has not", at times with pronominal suffixes, like ›*isanī
naǧdar naḥṭišī*‹ "I can give nothing", ›*ishum ḥuḍūr*‹ "they are not present",
etc.

3.4.1.6

Any negation in AA could be reinforced, when associated with *qaṭṭa*, e.g.,
IQ 19/9/4 ›*las naḏūq qaṭṭa min laḥam baqarī*‹ "I never eat beef", 88/19/1 ›*las
qaṭṭa māʿī šuġal*‹ "I have no work at all", 2/3/3 ›*lā tuzūl qaṭṭa minnī*‹ "forsake

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[279] The ms. of IQ does not vocalize a single case of these, which might be construed as
proof of early 2nd degree *imālah*, perhaps as a means of keeping both functions apart, as
is witnessed by later AA materials; in Alc., e.g., the interrogative is invariably *ax*, while the
negative is always *ix*. In fact, it makes sense that stressed interrogative **ēš would* evolve into
áš on account of Pihilippi's law.

[280] Only in one of the mss. of the *Libro de Buen Amor*, while the other has *leznedri*, i.e., *lis
nadrí*, according to Corominas 1973:563, also preferred by Montaner 2005b: 144. On the other
hand, it is questionable whether a hybrid *liš* has existed, as it is witnessed only by IA (see
Marugán 1994:63), unlike the case in other Granadan sources of AA: in at least some of the
cases, an initial *alif* might easily have been taken for a *lām*, in others the vocalisation of *sīn*
might have been taken for the dots of *šīn* and in others, finally, there might be an interrogative
laš.

me never", MI 203 ›*lā aḫaḏat alṣaġīr qaṭṭa*‹ "she did not take the little child at all"; cf. also Alc. 248:21 *cátta* "in no way".[281] As for the complementary marker of negation *š(ī)*, so characteristic of North African Arabic, Ml. and Egyptian, its witnesses in AA are either scarce, like the isolated IQ 48/6/3 ›*las yaḫarraq ṯiyāb šī*‹ "it does not rip the clothes", or insecure, because of possible dialectal contamination, as in PES; however, the late examples of IA 781 ›*iš tabitši*‹ "you will not stay overnight", and IZ 5/3/3 ›*mI kínši*‹ "it was not", 8/7/1 *ma tiḥáfši* "do not fear", and 13/1/1 *ma taríši* "you do not see", suggest that this feature might have penetrated the low registers of late Granadan, or even have been always extant in the lowest and most repressed registers of AA.[282]

3.4.2. *Interrogative Modality*

The interrogative modality in AA, unless introduced by the appropriate interrogative pronouns or adverbs, is most of the time marked only by the adoption of the appropriate intonational contour, by changing the terminal juncture into an interrogative mode by introducing higher pitch levels in the final segment of the utterance, with or without any alteration of the word order, e.g., IQ 7/4/2 ›*anta tadfaʿnī biṭāqat ḏirāʿak*‹ "will you push me off with the strength of your arm?", Alc. 48.22 *ceréqt xéi min a gímiê* "did you steal something from the church?", PES 3/2/1 ›*aš naʿmal fi ḏi alqaḍīyyah wanā ʿabdukum*‹ "what shall I do in this matter, being your slave?", MI 204 ›*alaš is tamšī liʿandanā*‹ "why do you not come to us?". The interrogative

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[281] This item should not be mixed up, as it occurred in our previous works, with non-geminated *qaṭ*, a kind of ilative conjunction ("then"), e.g., 9/25/2 ›*way ǧinsi qaṭ min widād*‹ "and what kind, then, of love", 12/6/4 ›*wakaḏā qaṭ yaflat*‹ "and like this, then, he escapes", 68/9/3 ›*arra qaṭ wamuddi yaddak*‹ "come on, then, stretch your hand", and 84/3/4 ›*wakaḏā qaṭ nuqūllak alaḫbār*‹ "and then, like this, I tell you everything". In other instances, it preserves its old meaning, "only, just", e.g., IQ 108/5/3 ›*kilmatayn qaṭ māʿuh alfi miṭqāl taswà*‹ "just two words with him are worth one thousand gold pieces", and 75/9/4 ›*kulli ḫayr in turud lī qaṭ zurnī*‹ "even if you deny me any favour, just, visit me".

[282] At the risk of sounding repetitive with our hypothesis of significative South Arabian influences on Western Arabic, attention should be drawn to the fact that this complementary negation, combined with *mā*, is frequent in Mod.Yem.; see Behnstedt 2006:1136–1138, with examples like *mā ritēš* "I did not see her", *mā katabnūš* "we did not write to him", *mā šahabšilak* "I do not give you", *mā bīš* "there is not", *ma qatalkš* "I did not kill", etc.; as for Naïm 2009:151, she says: "Les particules *mā* et *lā* sont souvent (mais pas obligatoirement) associées à l'élément -*š* qui est sufixé à la forme verbal." However, it is no less likely that this feature had been imported by Andalusi pilgrims returning from the East, as apparently in the case of the verbs *šāf* "to see", in IZ 10/4/4, and *ǧāb* "to bring" in IQ 43/3/5 and 80/5/4, instead of vernacular AA *rá* and *sáq*.

marker *hal*, though registered in VA, GL and Alc., and occasionally used in IQ, e.g., 7/15/1 ›*hal nuḥḥaḏ balaḥkām*‹ "shall I receive sentences?" is an overt classicism, and the same applies to ›*a+mā*‹, ›*a+laysa*‹, ›*a+lam*‹ and ›*a+lā*‹ "verily" in VA and GL, or to the exhortative idiom with *hal+lá* in IQ 27/2/2 ›*hal+lā rafaqta bīh*‹ "come on, treat him gently".

3.4.3. *Exclamative Modality*

The exclamative modality in AA, in addition to the adoption of the appropriate intonational contour, is introduced by such characteristic markers as *áy*, *(w)áš (qadar)* and *kám (ḏá)*, e.g., IQ 6/2/1 ›*ay ḥaḏlah fīhum*‹ "what a disappointment with them!", CD 16.14 ›*ay zamān*‹ "what a time!", IQ 2/3/2 ›*aš yaṭib lī ḥadīṯak*‹ "how pleasant your talk is to me!", 7/19/3 ›*waš ḥabar lā namšī muṭarṭar*‹ "how come I do no walk around wearing a conical cap?", 45/4/1 ›*waš qadar qalbī yahwāk*‹ "and how my heart loves you!", PES 96/6/4 ›*aš kiy+yafráḥ alʿubayyad law ʿuṭat luh ḏi lʿaṭiyyah*‹ "how glad the little slave would be, if he were given this present!", IQ 36/6/3 ›*kam ḏā taʿfū iḏā ʿumil lak ḏunūb*‹ "how often you forgive, when you receive offenses!", AC 367 ›*kam tiṭīr*‹ "how far you fly!". Less vernacular and more classicising are instances of *niʿm(a)*, e.g., IQ 60/7/2 ›*niʿm alwalad*‹ "what an excellent boy!", *biʾs(a)*, e.g., 38/13/4 ›*wabīs almaṣīr*‹ "and what an awful destiny!", not to mention the exclamative *wa+* (so-called *wāwu rubba* by CA grammarians, e.g., IQ 21/4/3 ›*walayālī ǧurriʿtu fīhā ssumūm*‹ "how many nights in which I was made swallow poison!"), *a+mā* (e.g., Z 10 ›*a+mā tarī min alfaḍāyiḥ*‹ "how many scandals you will see!") and *layt(a)*, though not always used in agreement wich CA taxemic rules, e.g., IQ 67/14/1 ›*layt kamā las māʿi luqmah kit+tukūn daqīqa falbayt*‹ "would that there was flour in the house, as I do not have a single morsel!", and having the vulgar variant *ráyt*, e.g., 53/4/2 ›*rayt kulli ham biruṭūbat ḏā alham*‹ "if only all sorrows were as light as this one!".[283] As for the exclamative idioms with elative adjectives, see 2.1.4.

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[283] Since Brockelmann 1908 I: 137, down to Fleisch 1979:482, the conviction has prevailed that the dialectal form would be the original one, with lambdacism and decay of *hamz*; however, on comparative grounds, we would rather derive it from the common Semitic jussive and optative marker *lv+*, plus a deictic element, if not a verb like those derived from the PS {ʾty} (cf. an example of its South Arabian jussive in Höfner 1943:77, *ljʾt* "so komme es") or {nd/tn} (cf. Hb. *mi yitten* "would that …"). If this were so, Egypt is a firm candidate to have produced, as a folk-etymology, and exported the variant seemingly derived from the verb *raʾà* "to see", while it was still current, since in the Cp. local substratum the phonemic status of /l/ had been weak: see Corriente 2008a: 116 and fn. 79.

3.4.3.1. *Optative utterances*

Optative utterances share the intonational contours of exclamative sentences. In OA and SA, their characteristic channel of expression was the perfective, of which there is still much evidence in AA, and not always in mere stereotyped CA phrases, like greetings and social compliments, e.g., IQ 24/5/4 ›*ḥayyāk allāh*‹ "may God give you life!", perhaps 38/40/1 ›*dumta masrūr*‹ "may your happiness last!", Alc. 64.23–24 (classicizing) *imtinén rábbune Yaçóô ... quéna maácum* "the grace of our Lord Jesus be with you", but also in live vernacular expressions, e.g., IQ 2/5/3 ›*ablāk allah biʿišquh*‹ "may God afflict you with his love!", 3/2/4 ›*alqà allāh fī rāsuh ḍarbat šuqūr*‹ "may God send a hatchet stroke against his head", 7/11/3 ›*qaṭaʿ albārī aṯarī in ṭalabtak*‹ "may God cut my steps short, if I seek you!", 21/17/1 ›*ġafar allah luh*‹ "God forgive him!", 26/1/3 ›*lā kān alfuḍūl*‹ "damned inquisitiveness!"; however, the characteristic shift towards an increasing role of tenses in the NA verb is present in AA also, and made of the imperfective the usual way of expressing optatives, e.g., IQ 131/2/4 ›*allah yinaǧǧīk min kulli šar*‹ "may God save you from every evil", 15/9/4 ›*nāran yaḥraquh*‹ "may he burn in fire!", Alc. 61.18 *ylléiq yçál nidéi* "may my calling reach you!", and with the marker *ʿasà*, IQ 9/4/3 ›*ʿasa dawlat alriḍà tarǧaʿ*‹ "may the time of satisfaction return!", Ax 9.20 ›*ʿasà ... lā taqtulnā*‹ "would that you do not kill us", AB ›*ʿasÍ yaqḍī allah ḫayr bayninā*‹ "may God decree the best between us", Alc. 41.20 *ací yaâuáni alláh* "so God help me", and 49.33–34 *aâci maâcór tucún* "may you get killed".[284] This change probably came about through the jussive use of the imperfective, which even in OA could obtain without any conjunctions,[285] in cases similar to that of IQ 2/1/2 ›*ǧī yarāk almuʿallam*‹ "come, let the master see you", 2/6/1 ›*lā yaġurrak salāmuh*‹ "do not let his greeting deceive you", Z 477 ›*almīlād lā yaḥuḏak barra dārak*‹ "do not let Christmas catch you away from home"; in this way, the imperfective may end up being used as an imperative, e.g., IQ 20/13/1 ›*tamšī at barra wanā fī intiḍārak*‹ "go out, while I am waiting for you".

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[284] In the case of AA *ʿasí*, this item was contaminated by Rm. **así**, as given away by the entry in VA, (Lt.) *utinam* = ›(*yā ʿasà*)‹, which is reflected in its semantic evolution from marker of doubt to the expression of the optative, evident in these examples, as well as in his definition (Alc. 361.14) "por aventura en esta manera" *aâcí* (cf, Cs. **así Dios me ayude, así Dios te mate**, from optative Lt. *sic*).

[285] On this, see Fleisch 1979:125–126 and fn. 2.

3.4.4. *Emphatic Modality*

The emphatic modality is a characteristic feature of Arabic syntax, which keeps a neat distinction between emphatic and anodine sentences, phrases and even constituents of phrases.[286] NA, as a rule, is not so keen on such niceties; however, some of the old emphasising devices have survived or reappear as classicisms in higher registers used by speakers of every dialect. In the case of AA, there are instances of the OA subject introductor *inna*, e.g., IQ 2/1/3 ›*innak mutayyah*‹ "you are indeed conceited", though not necessarily following CA taxemic rules, e.g., 9/21/4 ›*inna qabl arramī yurāš assaham*‹ "arrows are indeed feathered before shooting";[287] a very similar function is performed by *aw(wa)ḏá* or *haḏúwwa*,[288] e.g., IQ 93/7/3 ›*awwaḏānī qad qaṣadtak*‹ "lo, I have sought you", and 89/6/1 ›*haḏuwwa warā albāb*‹ "here he is behind the door", while a general emphasising effect can be obtained with the CA focusing construction, diachronically descended from a conditional structure, *ammā ... fa+*, e.g., IQ 18/4/3 ›*ammā anā faḏāba niwallī*‹ "as for me, I am leaving right now". Personal pronouns are emphasised by an attached *annass+* with a pronominal suffix, e.g., IQ 74/5/1 ›*aṣbaḥta sakrān annassak*‹ "you became drunk yourself", AC 1627 ›*fassāʿah annassah*‹ "at the same time of the day", Alc. 311.23 *eneçu* "he himself".

3.5. DELETION

Deletion of easily retrievable items from surface structure is a linguistic universal, above all in cases where markers may be considered redundant. Elision of words, even several words of implied context, was frequent in OA, in cases not different from those of AA, e.g., IQ 9/20/2 ›*wa'iḏā ǧā yatīm fa+wālid waʿam*‹ "and if an orphan came, (he becomes his) father and uncle", while a self-predicative statement like IQ 59/8/3 ›*miṭluhum ammā ziyādah fa+lā*‹ "there can be someone like them, but not better" would be rejected as incorrect by most CA grammarians. The same applies to the deletion in AA of negative markers when followed by an exceptive particle, e.g., IQ 21/17/4 ›*ṭalab minnī illā ḥaqq albāb*‹ "he did not demand from me but the gate dues",

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[286] Thus, e.g., we devoted several pages (242–246) to this modality in Corriente 1980d for CA, and a section (2.3.6.4) in .1992a, for AA.

[287] Its extended variant *innamā*, which already in CA had semantically shifted to a restrictive nuance ("only"), has practically become an adversative conjunction in NA; see 3.3.1.3.

[288] From **hā huwa ḏā* and **hāḏā huwa*, respectively, with a shortened variant in IQ 90/13/2 ›*awḏāhu qad daḫal*‹ "look, it went in".

PES 21/2/2 ›*anta illā fī baḥrak*‹ "you are not but in your sea", 97/1/1 ›*laḏḏat alwiṣāl illā an tukūn ḥabībak*‹ "there is no pleasure in the union, unless you are your own lover", etc.; at times, an interpretation of the sentence as interrogative would make the negative dispensable, and this is probably how the whole process started, e.g., IQ 9/373 ›*maʿnā mawlāʾī falǧazīrah siwāk*‹, which can be rendered as "milord, we do not have other than you in the Peninsula" or "milord, do we have other than you in the Peninsula?"

CHAPTER FOUR

LEXICON

While lexicon is not indeed a part of the grammar of languages, and as
such is not dealt with in most works devoted to their description or their
diachronic aspects, it is nevertheless the semantic substance that fills up
the empty spaces left by the structural skeleton of grammar, and only both
together allow the communication of messages transmitted to and from
human minds. Therefore, and without entering the huge and multifarious
world of lexicology, an introductory work to any language, like this one,
cannot totally ignore its peculiarites in this realm.

4.1. LEXICAL MAIN CORE AND INNOVATION

One of the main differences between OA, less so CA, and NA is the lexical
stock, of which a sizeable body remains in use as the main core of the
new dialects, while a high rate of the old non-basic lexical units has been
forsaken and a number of neologisms and foreign loanwords have become
integrated in the lexica of SA and each NA dialect, eventually propagating
to neighbouring areas. In the case of AA, lexical renewal has taken place in
the following ways:

4.1.1.

By abandonment of a large number of OA words no longer relevant in the
urban and rural civilization of Al-Andalus, far removed from that of the
Arabian desert and small urban centres of caravan trade, in spite of two
factors favouring some preservation of old and Bedouin lexicon, namely, the
Islamic faith, which kept bringing some of it to the ears of later generations
through Qurʾanic recitation and pilgrimage to Mecca, and also the efforts of
the learned to preserve the old literary heritage. However, these two factors
could merely preserve the understanding, rather than the active use of some
religious technical terms and lexica of the nomadic life and livelihood in
the higher registers of learned people, but not make them a part of the
living dictionary of AA. Moreover, and since OA was in truth a bundle of
closely knit dialects, at times offering wide arrays of allomorphs with a

diatopic distribution, even common words and elementary grammatical tools have been haphazardly eliminated in the diverse areas of NA, which in the case of AA meant the elimination of relatively frequent items, e.g., *māḏā* "what?" and *ulāʾika* "those" (registered only once each in IQ and VA, as mere classicisms.), *ḥamāh* "mother-in-law", *mahāh* "wild cow or antelope", etc.

4.1.2.

By semantic or categorial evolution of some items of the lexical inventory, e.g., AA *ṯamára* is "fruit-tree", from OA *ṯamarah* "fruit", while *sáǧra* is "figtree", from OA *šaǧarah* "tree", *šabáb* often means "young man", from OA *šabāb* "young age", *malá* means "full", from OA *malāʾ* "fullness", and IQ 72/11/3 ›*hawlā lʿālam*‹ "this people", from OA *ʿālam* "world", a particular case thereof being that of euphemisms, such as IQ 90/12/2 ›*farḫ*‹ "penis", lit. "chicken", VA ›*bāb alkum*‹ "anus", lit. "door of the sleeve", Z 709 ›*qāʿ*‹, lit. "bottom", for OA *ist* "arse", Z 1908 ›*laṭīf*‹ and Alc. *muqárib*,[289] lit., "nice" and "close", but usually meaning "mean, bad", Alc. *atbedélt maâ áḵar* "you committed sodomy", lit. "to interchange", etc.[290]

4.1.3.

By morphophonemic reshaping of some words, either isolatedly, e.g., VA ›*daymūǧ*‹ for SA *dimāǧ* "brain", IH 153 ›*šaffāf*‹, for OA *ašfah* "big-mouthed", IQ 119/6/2 ›*layt šay*‹, for OA *layta šiʿrī* "if only I knew", 68/5/3 ›*yazhū*‹, for OA *yahzaʾu* "he mocks",[291] etc., or in a host of items within one same grammatical or semantic category, like the *maṣdar*s, which were renewed in cases like VA ›*rukāḍ*‹ "kicking", for SA *rakḍ, a/itmaníyya*, in kindred AA sources, a blend of OA *iṭmiʾnān* and *ṯumaʾninah* "trust",[292] Alc. *curbía*, for OA *qurbah* "kinship", *ûuzbía*, for *ʿuzbah* "celibacy", analogically propagated to *cohbía* "hustling", from SA *qaḥbah* "prostitute".

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[289] Curiously enough matched by Ml. *mqareb* "naughty" (Aquilina 1990:862); in the middle of the road, Dz II 331 has *muqārib* "médiocre", from a source for the Algerian dialect, with the same semantic evolution of English 'mean'. The classical treatment of this subject is Marçais 1906.

[290] On this subject, see Corriente 1993b, with an almost exhaustive list of AA taboo words and the matching short-lived euphemisms.

[291] In both instances, the poet himself declares that they belong to low registers. Pérez Lázaro 1990 I: 108–160 comments IH's list of such deviations in detail.

[292] However, a second instance, *istiḫbíyya(t)* "hiding oneself", in AC 501, reminiscent of Eg. *i/ustuǧummāya* "wearing a bindfold; (playing) hide and seek", suggests a *nomen unitatis* of {isti12āy}, with a phonetic evolution similar to that of OA substantives ending in *alifun mamdūdah*, like *ṯarfāʾ* > NA *ṯarfāyah* "tamarisk".

4.1.4.

By adoption of imported stock in order to express the concepts of the new culture, which included new trades and habits, a different socio-economic structure, a new botanical and zoological environment, in a new country with a different population, climate and geography, all of which had to be assimilated by the new settlers, both Arabs and Berbers.

4.1.4.1. *Berber Contribution*
The Br. contribution to AA lexicon, reputedly scarce,[293] has been tradition-ally treated with supercilious neglect by scholars who, not having deigned to acquire a smattering of that language, dispatched the issue by claiming, as an anachronic article of faith, that the Berber invaders of Al-Andalus, numerically several times superior to their Arab co-religionists, were already linguistically Arabicised. Granting that Br. dialects had no prestige comparable to the official and aristocratic language of Islam, the only pos-sible vehicle of social ascent under the new regime, and that Berbers, above all in the cities, soon tried to pass themselves off as Arabs, which included forsaking their native tongue, the fact remains that they were too many not to leave any linguistic trace of their presence, constantly strengthened by the North African military units summoned by the Umayyads, or introduced by Almoravids, Almohads and Naṣrides, not to mention the steady flow of traders, artisans and scholars who kept crossing from one to another shore, in both directions, depending on the turns of fortune. Among the lexical fields in which Berberisms were most frequent, there are: 1) plant and ani-mal names, e.g., *arǵís* "barberry", whence Cs. **alarguez**, *taqarnína* "carline thistle", whence Cs. and Ct. **tagarnina**, *tafúrma* "serpent eagle", whence Cs. **atahorma** and Pt. **altaforma**, 2) names of clothing articles, trimmings and tools, e.g., *hirkása*, from Br. *arkas* "hemp sandal", *záǵnaz* "clasp of a neck-lace", from Br. *səgnəs*, and *táqra* "bowl", from Br. *təgra*, possibly directly borrowed by Gl. and Pt. **tagra** "an old measure", 3) names of weapons and

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[293] As reflected by the lack of any important research between Lüdtke 1965 and the relatively recent articles by Ferrando 1997 and Corriente 1998. In this, we mitigated previous negative accounts by stating that "indeed, some Berber lexical stock had found its way to AA, although in much lesser numbers than Rm. items, as might be expected on account of demographic rates. Some of them would even come to be borrowed by the Northern Rm. languages of the Iberian Peninsula together and simultaneously with a much larger number of loanwords of Arabic origin, it being noteworthy that recent studies about AA and it relations with the Rm. languages of the Iberian Peninsula, like Corriente 1999, have raised the initial one digit figure of Br. lexical borrowings by Rm. up to about twenty." Presently, the number of witnessed Br. loanwords in AA exceeds of fifty.

military jargon, e.g., *gargíyya* "spear", from Br. *agərgit*, whence Cs. **gorguz** and Ct. **gorgoto**, *agzál*,[294] from Br. *agzal* "spear", whence Cs. **tragacete**, through its Br. diminutive, *zaǧáya*, from an unwitnessed *nomen instrumenti* from Br. *aǧ* "to throw", whence Cs. **azagaya**, and Br. *afrag* "the sultan's tent", for which we either do not have an instance of the AA intermediate loan-word which was the direct source of Cs. **alfaneque**, 4) technical cooking terms, like *tafáya*, from Br. *tfaya* "a certain sauce", whence Cs. **atafea**, and *rafísa*, of which a Berberised *tarfist* is the immediate origin of Ct. **ratafia** and Cs. **ratafía** "a certain liqueur", in addition to other minor semantic fields.

4.1.4.2. *Romance Contribution*

The case of the Rm. contribution to the AA lexicon has been traditionally overstated by nationalistic accounts, like Simonet 1888 and more recent evaluations, in the same way as the Br. contribution was undervalued. As measuring rod of the true proportions of this phenomenon, in Corriente 1992, we reckoned the rate of Rm. borrowings in two lexical repertories, the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (VA), drawn up in Eastern Spain and attributed to the 13th c., and Alcalá's *Vocabulista*, devoted to the Granadan dialect and published at the very beginning of the 16th c.: VA counts about 12.000 lexemes, of which 330 are of Rm. stock, i.e., roughly 2,7%, while Alc. contains 7.500 lexemes, out of which as many as 400 are Rm., i.e., roughly 5,3%; however, the figures in the second case are artificially swollen, on account of the great number of unassimilated Cs. words given by Alc. as Arabic renderings of themselves, either because he or his auxiliaries ignored their true equivalence, or because those concepts were alien to an Islamic society, though necessary for the aims of conversion to Christianity pursued by the author. An educated guess could be that a realistic estimation of that rate would not exceed about 3% of Rm. borrowings in AA, which can be classified according to diachronic, diastratic, semantic and categorial criteria.

4.1.4.2.1. *Substratal, Adstratal and Superstratal Borrowing.*

From a diachronic viewpoint, Rm. borrowings can be classified as substratal, adstratal and superstratal. Substratal romancisms were those necessarily adopted by the first generations of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula, in order to express concepts previously unknown to them, like the names of certain endemic animals and plants (e.g., *lúp* "wolf", and *istípa* "rock-rose", from Lt.

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[294] With a variant *zuǵzal*, through wrong-parsing or metanalysis of the phrase *s+ugzal* "with the spear", see Corriente 1997d: 231.

lŭpus and Low Lt. *stippa*), as well as domestic items for which they could not easily impose Arabic names upon their mostly Rm.-speaking wives and offspring, such as anatomical terms (e.g., *imlíq*, for *surrah* "navel", *múčča*, for *ṯady* "breast", *ničúč ~ čùčt* "to suck", *paččáyna* for *hudbah* "eyelash", *bába* "drivel", etc., from Lt. *umbĭlīcus, mulcta, sūgĕre* and Rm. **PEṢṬÁṈA* and **BÁBA*) or kinship terms (e.g., *šúqr* "father-in-law", *šúqra* "mother-in-law", *šubrín* "nephew" and *šubrína* "niece", from Lt. *sŏcĕr, socrus* and *sōbrīnus*).[295] Other Rm. borrowings, the adstratal ones, resulted from coexistence of both languages in later generations in cities and, above all, rural areas where Arabicisation was slower, e.g., *fašqár* "heap of sheaves", *šuqúr* "axe", *fullár* "puff pastry", *miḥšáyr* "large cup", *šáyra* "frail", etc., from Lt. *fascālis, sĕcūris*, Low Lt. *foliaris* and *mixtarius*, and Rm. *ŚÉRA*. Finally, there are a large number of suprastratal Rm. borrowings, attributable to a milieu in which Arabic had become a dominated language in its way to being lost by Mudejars and/or Moriscos; these items are easily recognised because, unlike the two previous kinds, they do not exhibit thorough morphophonemic assimilation to Arabic, e.g., MT ›*qalūnyah*‹ "fine for slandering", Alc. *calongía* "canonry", MI 205 ›*nifindir*‹ "I defend", etc., from Old Cs. **caloña**, Cs. **canongía** and **defender**.

4.1.4.2.2. Integration and Distribution of Loanwords. From a diatratic viewpoint, loanwords can be also classified according to their degree of integration in the host language, which can be gauged by the aforementioned criteria of morphophonemic assimilation to it, i.e., their capacity of behaving exactly like native items, to the point of not being recognised any more as alien. Thus, for instance, ›*tibirqurār tarraqabar šinṣiyā*‹ "try to obtain a license" in MI 274, in spite of the imperfective prefixes of the Arabic conjugation, is more an instance of code-mixing than a true borrowing, unlike the cases of Alc. 43.8 *xunút* "Saints, feast days", a broken pl. {1u2ú3} of *šánt*, or his item *niparčán ~ parčánt ~ párçana ~ mupárçan ~ mupárçin* "to accuse", with the absolutely regular inflexions of a quadriconsonantal verb, in which it is no longer easy to recognize Low Lt. *perditionem*. As a rule, older borrowings are better adapted, and imperfect assimilation usually betrays situations of bilingualism; however, the coincidental likeness of foreign stock to the morphophonemic patterns of the host language may prove delusive, so that an item like Alc. *lazcóna* "spear", with its broken pl. *laçáquin* (< Cs. **azcona** <

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[295] In the case of kinship terms, it must be taken into account that Hisp. family relations differed considerably from those of a typical Bedouin family, in which relations with in-laws are much weaker; consequently, Arabic *ḥam* was not exactly the same as Rm. *šuqr*, not to speak of Rm. *šubrín* which included the Arabic *ibn ʿamm(ah)* and *ibn ḫāl(ah)*.

Bq. *aizkon* "dart"), perfectly parallel to *azfóra ~ açáfir* "wagtail", i.e., *ʿaṣfúra ~ ʿaṣáfir*, of pure Arabic stock, is not thereby an older borrowing than foreign-looking Alc. *apório* "goad-stick" (< Low Lt. **aporrigium*), with the regular fem. pl. *aporiít*, characteristic of poorly assimilated loanwords: as a matter of fact, the latter item is an early borrowing from Andalusi Rm., and the former, from Cs. in much later days.

4.1.4.2.3. The distribution of Rm. loanwords in AA by semantic criteria, leaving aside some items adopted on account of their onomatopoetic expressiveness, underscored by synaesthetic factors,[296] may firstly be sorted into physical or environmental realms and social facts.

4.1.4.2.3.1. In the semantic field of terms related to physical or environmental realms, we find a number of anatomical items (e.g., VA ›*imlūq*‹ "navel", ›*iškāmah*‹ "scale", ›*bulbah*‹ "vulva", ›*furāṭ*‹ "anus", ›*qanīn*‹ and ›*qanwal*‹ "canine", IQ 20/10/4 ›*balṭār*‹ "palate", 119/7/4 ›*qubṭāl*‹ "elbow", 140/1/2 ›*faǧǧayra*‹ "face", 86/10/2 ›*milliqār*‹ "little finger", Alc. *pullicár* "thumb", *ichimáyl* "bleariness of eye", *mulch* "muscle", *pochón* "nipple", etc., ultimately from Lt. *umbĭlīcus, squāma, vulva, fŏrātus, cănīnus, pălātum, cŭbĭtus, făcĭes, mĭnĭmus, pŏllĭcāris, stigmācŭla, muscŭlus* and *pecciolus*), a few pathological terms (e.g., VA ›*rabyanah*‹ "mange", ›*nilawṭar*‹ "to drive mad", Alc. *porrojón* "chilblain" and *ruçál* "sty", < Lt. *rōbīgĭnem, aura, pernĭōnem* and *hordĕŏlus*), a host of plant and animal names (e.g., VA ›*ballīnah*‹ "whale", ›*bububbah*‹ "hoopoe", ›*qawqanah*‹ "snail", Alc. *táupa* "rat", *chírba* "hind", *xaḵxa* "stock-dove" and *tínna* "moth", < Lt. *ballēna, ŭpŭpa, concha, talpa, cerva, saxĕa* and *tĭnĕa*; VA ›*ablantāyin*‹ "plantain", ›*banīǧ*‹ "millet", Alc. *rúta* "rue", and *yédra* "ivy", < Lt. *plantāgĭnem, pānīcĭum, rūta* and *hĕdĕra*), and a mixed bag of terms related to housing (e.g., VA ›*bilǧ*‹ = Alc. *pílch* "bolt", and *xípar* "dry-stone wall", < Lt. *pestŭlum* and *sēpār*), landscape (e.g., VA ›*burtāl*‹ "mountain-pass", ›*šimṭayr*‹ "path", < Low Lt. **portellum* and **semitarius*), weather conditions (e.g., IQ 7/14/1 ›*ǧirǧ*‹ "northerly wind", 7/14/3 ›*labaǧ*‹ "south-east wind", Alc. *chíca* "fog" < Lt. *cercĭus, lĭbўce* and *caeca*), etc.

4.1.4.2.3.2. In the semantic field of terms related to physical or social facts, we find a remarkable scarcity of terms related to suprastructural concepts, political or religious (only a few adstratal ones, such as VA ›*qumṭ*‹ "count", ›*šunūǧah*‹ "synagogue", from Lt. *cŏmĭtem* and *sўnăgōga* plus some more

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[296] E.g., such verbs as *čawčál* "to whisper", *qašqár* "to crack", and *karkál* "to trample", and substantives like *nánna* "nurse", *zázza* "slap on the neck", *čiflāṭ(a)* "splash on water", etc.

in Alc. of the superstratal kind, like *lapát* "priest", from Cs. **el abad**),[297] in comparison with the infrastructural concepts related to society and economy, such as names of musical instruments and folklore (e.g., VA ›*fāṭah*‹ "fairy", ›*bandayr*‹ "tambourine", Alc. *féxta* "festivity", < Lt. *fāta*, *pandōrĭum* and *festum*), warfare (e.g., VA ›*ǵirrah*‹ "war", ›*ušquṭayr*‹ "squire", Alc. *šannír* "banner" and *šíga* "sword", < WG *werra*, and Lt. *scūtārĭus*, *signālis* and *sāga*), household goods (e.g., VA ›*iškān*‹ "bench", ›*maṭall*‹ "fire-shovel", Alc. *fáyja* "sash", *chánca* "slipper", < Lt. *scamnum*, *bătillum*, *fascia* and Bq. *txangi* "lame"), all kinds of tools (e.g., VA ›*furkah*‹ "pitch-fork", ›*balabrah*‹ "winding-frame", Alc. *barrína* "gimlet" and *rúca* "distaff", < Lt. *forca*, *ălabrum*, *vĕruīna* and Goth. **rukka*), plus the twelve names of the months of the solar calendar.

4.1.4.2.3.3. The categorial distribution of loanwords in AA is not as easy to reckon as in the case, for instance, of Arabic loanwords in Rm.,[298] because the peculiar structure of its morphology makes it often difficult to determine which was borrowed first, a given verb or the substantive of its same root, i.e., to establish whether a particular verb is denominal or a certain substantive is deverbal. Even in cases in which there is only a borrowed verb, but not the matching substantive, like VA ›*nilawṭar*‹ "to drive mad", or Alc. *natparráç ~ atparrázt* "to run aground", we cannot be sure that, in spite of not being registered, Rm. **L+AWRÁT* "madman", and **PRÉSU* "held (in a reef)", from Lt. *aura* "wind (inducing madness)" and *pressus* "held" had not existed beforehand, and the other way around. This much said, nevertheless, it stands to reason and is a linguistic universal that substantives are usually borrowed more easily and faster than verbs, as well as that adjectives are not borrowed as often, and functionals only exceptionally. In the case of AA, the only exceptions to this last restriction are *yá* "already", *makkár* "even", the series *aḍála / aḍáqal / aḍašš* "even; thoroughly",[299] and some interjections, as expounded in 2.3.4.3.

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[297] The same applies to legal terms (of which we merely count the aforementioned *pársana* "accusation", registered by several sources (from Lt. *pĕtītōris persōnam căpĕre* "to lay a claim" and the like), and Alc. *fórça* "rape", possibly a late borrowing from Cs.), not at all surprising, since these realms of social life were regulated by Islamic law in their Arabic technical terms, until the land was taken over by the Christian powers. In Corriente 1992a the number of examples, generally correct, mentioned in each section is considerably larger; they can be checked against Corriente 1997d.

[298] Very aptly dealt with by Kiesler 1994:74 by the last time.

[299] On these curious items see Corriente 1983a.

A PANCHRONISTIC APPROACH

Some aspects of any given language cannot be dealt with in a synchronic description, as they are not an exclusive part of the interrelation between the various grammatical levels, nor even of the lexicon in an ideally given instant; neither can they be the object of diachronic treatment, since they are neither the consequence nor the cause of the unavoidable laws of change inherent to all languages, as a mere result of their being historical, i.e., time-sensitive, as are the people who speak them. These aspects of language demand a panchronistic approach, with a methodology of its own. One of them, which concerns us particularly in the case of AA, is linguistic interference, a phenomenon affecting every living language as long as it remains such.

5.1. Sources of Interference

Every language is subject to interference by any other in contact with it in a greater or lesser degree, depending on sociolinguistic factors. In the case of AA, since its presumable emergence as a well-defined entity in the 10th c., the only languages in effective contact with it were the Rm. dialect bundle still spoken by many segments of the population, and not only the thoroughbred descendants of Hisp. natives, the Br. dialects spoken by the offspring of the first invaders of this nation, the so-called *barbarun baladiyyūn* "native Berbers", and the many North African soldiers recruited by the Umayyad rulers and their successors, and finally, CA, imported from the East, which was nobody's mother tongue, but has to be mastered to the point of speaking and writing it fluently, as a prerequisite for any career requiring solemn performances, or just to be admitted in the best society. Let us review the consequences of this triple interference on AA.[300]

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[300] Strictly speaking, there were other languages practiced at the time in the Iberian Peninsula, like Basque, spoken then in the whole Basque country and most of Navarre, Hebrew, the merely liturgical and scholarly language of a sizeable number of Jews, otherwise native speakers of Rm. or AA; and perhaps some residual Greek in Eastern Spain, which

5.1.1. *Romance Interference*

Rm. interference was the strongest by far, as the Proto-Rm. dialects were the native tongue of the great majority of inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, estimated at five or six million, when the Islamic invasion took place and put them in contact with a few tens of thousands Arabs and a much larger number of Berbers, who are supposed to have known some Arabic also. Under such circumstances, it stands to reason that the Arabic spoken by the first generations of Hisp. people under Islamic rule, above all those who were not the offspring of Arabs or deeply Arabicised Berbers, i.e., the overwhelming majority, necessarily had to go through the stages of pidginisation, creolisation and decreolisation, while the Arabic dialects brought by the conquerors had to undergo some degree of adaptation to their new sociolinguistic situation, until the standards of AA emerged, possibly at the beginning of the 10th c. This linguistic convergence appears to have generated the following consequences on the different grammatical levels:

5.1.1.1

At the phonemic level, the most conspicuous and indisputable effect of Rm. interference was the forsaking by emerging AA of the quantitative rhythm of OA, i.e., the instinctive perception of syllable and vowel length, replaced by the qualitative rhythm of stressed and unstressed syllables (see 1.3.1). As for other effects on the phonemic inventory of OA, it is possible that some cases of infra-correct develarisation or ultra-correct velarisation, as well as some cases of decay, alteration or undue restitution of pharyngeal phonemes might have been a consequence of that learning stage; however, most of these phenomena have been spotted in other areas of NA without a Rm. substratum, possibly by mere drift, so that this case is not entirely beyond question.

5.1.1.2

At the morphological level, in which genetically different languages are not usually prone to exchanging elements of their systems, it is noticeable, nevertheless, that the loss of gender distinction in the 2nd person sg. of AA personal pronouns and verbs, only shared by Ml. and some Naf. dialects,

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had been occupied by the Byzantines between 554 and 616 a.D., not without some linguistic impact (on this, see Lapesa 1980:64–66). However, none of them had a considerable direct influence on AA.

where AA influence is certain, can hardly be explained but as consequence of Rm. interference. Otherwise, AA makes use of a few Rm. derivational suffixes, which were dealt with in 2.1.5.2.

5.1.1.3
At the syntactic level, linguistic interference is always frequent in the case of creoles, because the final phase of decreolisation usually irons out most phonemic and morphemic difficulties, as they tend to impede communication, while mere solecisms are seldom too harmful and, being used by a majority of speakers, are better tolerated and even give their speech an exotic, not altogether socially rejected tinge. As a result, those solecisms can finally become part of the grammar of the new dialect or language, as is the case of most syntactic innovations of NA dialects.[301]

5.1.1.3.1. Gender alteration is a common interference in the case of languages in contact, and happens often in AA in the case of the unmarked fem. substantives of OA, such as double parts of the body, and some other items, listed in the grammars, like *šams* "sun", *arḍ* "earth", etc. The alteration appears to have become established in cases like IQ 87/10/2 ›*ʿaynan akḥal*‹ "black eye", 134/0/1 ›*ʿaynī alzānī*‹ "my lewd eye", 32/6/2 ›*šamsan ḍāhir*‹ "a clear sun", 77/2/2 ›*antašab iṣbaʿī*‹ "my finger was caught", IA 679 ›*ʿaynan lā yarà*‹ "an eye which does not see", Alc. 414.5 *ard guaćíq* "mainland" (a calque of Cs. **tierra firme**), with some occasional hesitations, like Alc. 7.18–19, admitting of both *taláâ a xemz* and *taláât a xems* "the sun rose", or HH 45 ›*kam liʿaynī taqṭaʿ allayl wamā yifīdū*‹ "for how long my eyes have been going sleepless through the nights to no avail!", with a gender incongruence between *taqṭáʿ* (fem. verb) and *yifíd+u* (masc. pronominal suffix), noticed by Alḥillī. Contrariwise, substantives ending in /–á/, mostly by decay of final *hamz*, like *má* "water" and *dá* "illness", or simply being fem. in Rm., have acquired this genre in AA also, e.g., GL ›*aldāʾ alsawdā*‹ "epilepsy", lit. "the black disease", Z 300 ›*alʿašā saḫīnah*‹ "the dinner is warm", Z 177 ›*almā tihabbaṭuh*‹ "the water washes it down", Alc. 35.2405 *al mi almubárraca* "the

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[301] However, the presence of higher and lower registers in Arabic speaking societies can complicate this picture considerably. Thus, for instance, in the Eg. dialect *biyūt kubār* is a lower register than *biyūt kibīra*, but both are acceptable, while for the dual, *bētēn kubār* cannot be replaced by a classicising **bētēn kibīrēn*, which would be understood, but not recognised as vernacular by dialect speakers. Obviously, in the case of AA, in the lack of living speakers, we are often in no position to gauge the extent of current acceptability of the many classicisms interspersed within the extant documents, particularly those produced by the learned or half-learned.

holy water", vs. DC 15b *al meé mouáreq*, MT 970.2 ›*alḥiṣām allatī ğārat*‹ "the quarrel which took place" (cf. fem. Cs. **agua** = Pt. **água** = Ct. **aigua**; Cs. **dolencia** = Pt. **doença** = Ct. **malaltia**; Cs. **pelea**, Pt. **briga**, Ct **baralla, brega**), next to the incongruent ›*ğamī ͨ aldār allatī ṣār luh*‹ "the whole house which became his", etc.; however, in the case of texts produced by bilinguals, caution must be exerted before accepting their phrases as witnesses of grammatical AA.[302]

5.1.1.3.2. Substitution of the definite article for an expected possessive pronoun, as regularly in SA, is another case of possible Rm. interference, e.g. Z 487 ›ͨ*asà yiğīh alminqār fal+asṭ*‹ "so that his beak touches his behind", 769 ›*ğazā alnams bazqah fal+uğ*‹ "the reward of the ferret is to be spat on his face", Alc. 174.1 *naâtî al yed* "to surrender", lit. "give up one's hand".

5.1.1.3.3. Substitution of tense notions for those of aspect has been spotted in texts produced by bilinguals, such as MT 1027.15 ›*anā aġfiruh*‹ "I forgive him" which, in spite of its CA appearance, is a literal calque of Rm. syntax (cf. Cs. **le perdono**), instead of the perfective required by the Arabic verbal system, even by AA.[303] The same applies to the imperfective idioms in Alc. 48.3 *aâtáit catáâ mucáriba gua cunt énte tedrí énne quínet mucáriba* "did you pass bad money knowing that it was bad?", and 49.1 *acharéit xéi min alledí cunt tedrí énne quin maçurúq* "did you buy something knowing that it was stolen?", with the wording required by the Rm. *consecutio temporum*, instead of simple *gua énte tedrí* with *wāwu ḥāl*.

5.1.1.3.4. Use of some functionals in the Rm. fashion, e.g., VA ›*min ͨām*‹ = Alc. 147.26–27 *min céne* "one year old" (cf. Cs. **de un año**), VA ›*muddah min ͨāmayn*‹ "a two year period", Alc. 147.32 *min dirá* "one cubit long" (cf. Cs. **de un codo**), 325.15 *nifóh lalmááç* "to smell like goats" (cf. Cs. **oler a choto**), 54.29

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[302] These changes of gender were already noticed by Colin & Lévi-Provençal 1931:5–6. At times, the ungrammaticality is obvious, e.g., Alc. 43.23 *yantaláq açalá* "the mass is over (lit. dismissed)", with a masc. verb, vs. 43.19 *çalá al quibíra* "mass", with a fem. adjective, as expected. Some of these gender changes are found also in Naf. dialects, possibly introduced there by the numerically and culturally decisive Andalusi immigration: the anonimous *Ğumānah*, simultaneously describing the dialects of Granada and Tunisia (see ͨAbdalwahhāb 1953:35) mentions the cases of the fem. gender of *bayt* "house" and *mawt* "death", which is confirmed in Mo. by Premare 1999 XI: 270 for *mūt*, and for both *mūt* and *bīt* by Singer 1984:444 in Tunisian Arabic.

[303] I.e., CA *qad ġafartu lahu* = AA *qad ġafártuh*. Ferrando 1995:98 comments this item by saying: "Salvo el ejemplo ya recogido en SK de ›*aġfirhu*‹ ... y ›*taġfir lifirnanduh*‹ 1027.19 "perdonas a Fernando", no hay demasiados indicios de la sustitución del sistema aspectual del verbo por un sistema temporal más próximo al del sustrato y adstrato romances."

fal ayím al oḳár min ciam "on other fast days" (cf. Cs. **en otros días de ayuno**),
DC 6a *niémin billéhi … huá fe îiça* "I believe in God … and in Jesus",[304] it not
being always easy to separate mere translators' blunders from idioms that
might have eventually been accepted by average speakers of AA.

5.1.1.3.5. Calques of diverse Rm. idioms in every time, area and register, e.g.,
VA ›*naʿmal lak mawḍaʿ*‹ "I make room for you" (cf. Cs. **hacer sitio**), ›*kif tudʿà*‹
"what is your name?" (cf. Cs. **¿cómo te llamas?**), ›*naḫruǧ liwildī*‹ "I take after
my father" (cf. Cs. **salgo a mi padre**), IQ 2/0/1 ›*sa+tadrīh*‹ "you will know him"
(cf. Cs. **lo conocerás**, not distinguishing 'to know something' from 'to know
or recognise somebody'), 5/2/3 ›*balǧarī*‹ "at once" (cf. Cs. **corriendo**), 101/3/2
›*ḏā lis yukūn akṯar*‹ "this will not happen again" (cf. Cs. **no ocurrirá más**),
IA 543 ›*lā tiṣaddaquh akṯar*‹ "do not believe him ever" (cf. Cs. **no le creas
más**), Z 1790 ›*lis tasaʿ fī balad*‹ "there is no room for her in a town" (cf. Cs. **no
cabe en la ciudad**),[305] 2070 ›*yaʿmal almā*‹ "it leaks" (cf. Cs. **hace agua**), Alc. 51.5
darábt fal guéch li háde alḳáir … alleḍí aâmeltilu "did you throw in someone's
face the favours you did him?" (cf. Cs. **echar en cara**), 54.39 *yeqcér aciám* "he
breaks the fast" (cf. Cs. **romper el ayuno**), HB 36 ›*alyamīn almaʿmūlah*‹ "the
oath sworn" (cf. Cs. **juramento hecho**), SNT 156 ›*matà alibnah ǧā kibīr*‹ "the
girl's one turned out to be too big" (cf. Cs. **le vino grande**),[306] etc.

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[304] The translator has been here doubly negligent and unskilled, by changing the correct
preposition *bi+* of the first complement into *fī*, and by using the Islamic name of Jesus, always
yasūʿ among Christians, as regularly in Alc. He repeats this mistake on every occasion (pp. 5b,
6a, 7b, 16b, 17a/b and 19 a/b), unaware, of course, of the good reasons Christians had not to
adopt *ʿīsà*, unlike the case of other Qurʾānic names of OT prophets, about which see Corriente
2009:41–42 and Monferrer 1998. This proves that, unlike the author of DC, Alc. had access to
some written Christian Arabic sources.

[305] The calque here consists in the swap of subject and object, as in the correct SA idiom
one would say *lā yasaʿuhā lbalad* "the town has no room for her".

[306] It is anecdotically remarkable that ignorance of this last idiom prevented very learned
researchers from correctly understanding the *ḫarǧah* A12, ›*bnd lbšqh ʾywn šnl‹*, until in
Corriente 1993d, upon recognising this Romancism of AA in its source language, the riddle
was solved (*BÉNED LA PÁŚQA AYÚN ŚIN ÉLLE*, i.e., "Bairam without him turns into something
like fasting"; see also Corriente 1997a: 283 and 2009b: 121).

TEXT SAMPLES

It is always difficult to operate a selection of texts aimed at providing even a sketchy view of the appearance of a living language, and much more so when that language is no longer alive, and the samples must be culled from a limited inventory of surviving texts. Acknowledging in advance that our choice could have been better, we shall also this time follow the criteria of Corriente 1977 and 1992, and offer three samples of poetry, all of them *azǧāl*, but from diverse authors, themes and periods. As prose, we offer two samples of proverb collections, both from the Naṣrī kingdom of Granada, but from different times; one peculiar text, the "Elegy for Valencia", and a personal letter, also from a Valencian Morisco, drawn up shortly before the final expulsion.

I

POETRY

1. Ibn Quzmān's *zaǧal* Nº 24[307]

0 /man labás t̠áwban samáwi / min iqámat almaríyyah
la tukún ʿaláyh ǧifára / illa ḫáḍra fustaqíyya.

1 kin+niríd naksáb ǧifára / watukún ʿala+ ḫtiyári,
waʿala+ ṣṣabríyya nabní / lis niríd ana badári,
ínnama niríd raqíqa / waḥulúwwa min šuwári;
bálla,[308] súqha líyya bátil, / lis nirídha muštaríyya.

2 aṭṭurúz tukún naqíyya, wayukún aḍḍáyl ṣuḥáyyaḥ,
wayukún fa+ lláwza itqán / waʿumáyyalan muláyya,
t̠úmma la yaqbíḍ ǧunáyyaḥ / min amám ʿala ǧunáyyaḥ,
ánna id̠ niríd niraddí / lis tiǧíni mustawíyya.

3 ábʿid+ alqaṣíra ʿánni / ínna qámati t̠awíla,
máʿi fa+ ššaṭát ma naʿmál / walqaṣír ma fíh li ḥíla;
wayukún alkáffi mabrúm / biḥiyáṭatan nabíla,
ínna abǧáḍ ma iláyya / alḫiyaṭát arradíyya.

4 dáḫal+ addallál ila+ ssúq / áwil+ almunáda ǧúdwa:
ʿasa ʿíndakum ǧifára / kásiya ṣabríyya ḥúlwa?[309]

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[307] In the AA stress based version of the metre *ramal* (*fãʿilãtun fãʿilãtun*); see Corriente 1997a: 90–121. This facetious and unabashed author, who lived under the Almoravids and decisively innovated the genre *zaǧal*, died in 1160 a.D.; see about him Corriente 1966e. His *Dīwān* was edited by García Gómez 1972, complete, annotated and translated into Cs. for the first time, but yet without the benefits of the dialectological study of AA, partly fostered by that edition in the following decades, which allowed us to publish more reliable annotated editions and translations thereof in 1980, 1984c, 1989, 1995b, 1996 and 1996e.

[308] In cases like this, the editor faces the dilemma of either assuming stress shift as a poetic license, in order to make the words fit into the metre, or positing a case of foot substitution, another licence presently accepted by most specialists in Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry (see Schoeler 2002). This substitution, allowed in all the feet of a line but the last, would in this case imply a reading *ba/illá súqha* (*mafãʿílun*), both possibilities, stress shift and foot substitution, being witnessed in this poetic genre. The same situation occurs again in 3/1, perhaps to read as *abʿid+ alqaṣíra*, 4/1, perhaps *daḫál+ addallál*, 5/3, perhaps *fatán akḥál*, 5/4, perhaps *ḥayyák+ alláh*, 7/1, perhaps *yanḍúru*, unless the mss. has lost a final ›h‹, i.e., *yanḍurúh*, 8/1, perhaps *baní alfarádi*, 9/4, possibly *wahí lis*, 10/12, perhaps *awkád iḍḍáyk, walí alláh, tafdík* ... with foot substitution in every foot but the last, 11/3, with unquestionable substitution, and 11/4, possibly *ʿamál ayyúb*.

[309] Note the classicism, required by rhythm and rhyme, in contrast with the dialectal shape of 1/3.

ṯúmma sáq li tarmidátan[310] / lam yukún li fíha šáhwa;
qálli: lam niǧád siwáha / ʿala kúbr+ alqaysaríyya.

5 hú yuḥúll+ aṭṭáy wayanšúr / wana naḫtár f+ almanáḥis,
   waṣṣiráʿ báyni wabáynu / wanuḥún fi ḥárbi dáhis,
   ḥatta ráytu fatan+ akḥál / wamalíḥ fi ǧánbi ǧális;
   qálli: ustáḏ, ḥáyyak+ alláh / faradádt+ aḥsán taḥíyya.

6 qálli: áwwaḏa ǧifára / kúlli ma ṭalábta fíha,
   ya wazír, law ánna ǧáyrak / lam liʿámri yámḍi bíha;
   qúltu luh: sahhál ʿaláyya / f+ alfaḍál wanaštaríha;
   qálli alqáṣdi nuqúllak, / lak hi +láyk[311] mínni hadíyya.

7 waʿaṭaháli wawallá / wabaqáyt min ámru báhit,
   wattuǧǧár ḥáwli waḥáwlu / yanḍurú min alḥawánit,
   wáš ʿasá nuqúl? sawá hu / qúltu šáy aw kúntu sákit.
   la karím f+ addúnya yuḏkár, / háḏa akrám albaríyya.

8 báni alfaráḍi kiṯír, / wahu awlá lalmakárim,
   iḏ yulám fi ḏa+ lmaʿáni / las yuṣaddáq fíha láyim;
   qad katáb ʿala+ lmaṯáqil: / alkarám wáǧib walázim;
   ínnama yukkúl wayalbás / wayifarráq albaqíyya.

9 man qaṣád iláyh fi ḥáǧa / qad qaṣád ila+ ssaʿáda,
   walláḏí baláǧ limádḥu / qad baláǧ ila+ liráda,
   fa+iḏá waʿád bima šá / falwafá fi wáʿdu ʿáda;
   ínna kám min almawáʿid / wahi lis tukún wafíyya.

10 yá abú ʿalí, haníyya / ḏa+ lmaḥámid walmaʾáṯir,
   waʾaná waššáḥ wazaǧǧál / waʾana kátib wašáʿir;
   áwkad+ iḏḏáyk, wali alláh, / táfdik+ arrúḥ waddanánir,
   wáy murábiṭ kin+nukún lak, / law ḥafáṭṭ+ albirbilíyya!

11 fa+ zzaǧál qad ṣírtu sulṭán / warafáʿtu fíh liwáʾi,
   kúll+ aḥád yaṯní ʿaláyya, / wabiḥáqqi hu ṯanáʾi:
   azǧáli miláḥ qawíyya / wayiǧí matáʿ siwáʾi
   ʿámal+ ayyúb, walquwayfát / la miláḥ wala qawíyya.

Translation

0 Whoever wears a sky blue suit from the Almerian manufacture
   cannot don a cloak other than pistachio-green.
1 I want to get a cloak[312] which will be of my choice;
   I mean second-hand stuff, I do not want a brand new one,
   but I want something delicate and sweet, of my class:
   for God's sake, bring it to me free; I do not want it purchased.

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[310] Item of doubtful reading and interpretation, likely synonymous of *manáḥis* in 5/1.

[311] Note the free option for the sake of rhythm between *hamzatu lwaṣl* and *hamzatu lqaṭʿ* in the same line: *qálli ʾalqaṣdi … hi (i)layk*.

[312] See the description of this garment in Dozy 1845:312–319, it being clear that the meaning of *ǧifārah* in AA was that of *ǧuffārah* in Dozy's sources, supported by a line of poetry. IH 260 explains that Andalusis used *ǧifārah* instead of *burnus*.

2 The embroidery must be clean, and the tail, in good condition,
   the tassel of the hood beautifully tailored and finished with a beautiful job,
   and one flap must not pull the other to the front,
   so that, if I drop them, they do not go on a par.

3 Put the short ones away, for I am of large size;
   I can handle the long ones, but can do nothing with the short.
   The sleeves shall be plaited with excellent seams:
   there is nothing I hate more than bad seams.

4 The dealer entered the market in the morning, at the start of auctions:
   "Would you have a nice cloak, second-hand, of good size?"
   Then he brought me wretched stuff which did not please me,
   saying: "I found nothing else in the entire bazaar".

5 He unfolded and spread them, while I chose among the pitiful items,
   having with him a scuffle, as if we were in the battle of Dāḥis,[313]
   when I saw a beautiful dark youth sitting at my side.
   He said to me: "May God preserve your life, Sir", and I answered in the best
      manner.[314]

6 He said to me: "Here is a cloak having all that you ask,
   o vizier, if it were somebody else, by my life, he would not carry it"
   I said to him: "Cut for me your profit, and I shall buy it";
   he said: "I shall tell you my purpose: it is my present to you."

7 And he gave it to me and went away, and I was left amazed by him,
   while the merchants around us stared from their shops.
   What could I say? It was the same, whether I spoke or not:
   No generous man in the world must be mentioned: he is the most generous
      in the creation.

8 The Banū Alfaraḍī[315] are many, but he is the one who deserves the most
      honours;
   if he was blamed in this respect, the blamer would not be believed.
   He has written on the coins: generosity is an inescapable duty,
   and only eats and dresses, and gives away the rest.

9 Whoever comes to him in need, comes to happiness,
   and those who arrive to praise him, meet their aims:

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[313] Famous tribal pre-Islamic battle on account of a horse and a mare, which became a metaphor of fierce struggle.

[314] An echo of Qurʾān IV-86, which has become one of the pillars of Islamic sociability.

[315] A famous Cordovan family, whose most famous member was the legist and historian ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, nicknamed Alfaraḍī (i.e., specialist in distributing the shares of an estate between the heirs to it) after his father, and himself a judge in Valencia, killed in Cordova during the civil war called "the Berber *fitnah*", which put an end to the Umayyad Caliphate, one or two generations before the date of this poem. As in other examples, the poet having begged and obtained a gift, thanks his patron, by composing a *zaǧal*, in which he recreates the scene in the bazaar, and offers the description of auctions, bartering and bargaining there, with the vivid colours and realism characteristic of this genre, in which IQ excelled.

when he promises whatever, his habit is to deliver,
not like so many promises, which remain unfulfilled.

10 Abu ʿAlī, congratulations for these qualities and glories!
I am the author of *muwaššaḥ* and *zaǧal*, writer and poet:
Move your hands quicker, man of God, worth a ransom of lives and money!
I would be your Almoravid, if only I knew the Berber tongue![316]

11 I have become the king of *zaǧal* and raised in it my banner;
everybody praises me, and that praise is deserved:
my *azǧāl* are beautiful and solid, while those of others
are the work of patience,[317] with rhymes neither beautiful nor solid.

2. AŠŠUŠTARĪ'S *ZAǦAL* Nº 96[318]

0 /háb li min riḍák, ya rábbi / ḥúlla baš nalqák naqíyya:
  kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

1 kin+niríd, ya rábbi, ḥulla / watuqímha líyya min ǧúd,
  wayukún ḥarírha káwni / biḫiláf ma yáǧzal+ addúd,
  waniríd yansáǧha ṣáni / bimaʿún min kúlli maḥmúd,
  watuqám lahá ṣanáyif / min alaʿmál arraḍíyya,
  kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

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[316] Untranslatable pun: *murābiṭ* lit. means "permanently stationed" in a *ribāṭ*, i.e., a border garrison, in defence of Islamic territory. The poet excuses himself of a similar duty in the service of his patron, because he is unfamiliar with Berber, the language of the Almoravids, who, in spite of their military aid against the Christian onslaught, were not much appreciated by the natives of Al-Andalus. With this joke, IQ launches a phatic sign of complicity to this Abū ʿAlī, possibly ʿUmar, of the lineage of the Banū Alfaraḍī, an old stock Andalusi as himself, and as such, a hater of the Berbers. This particular issue was very aptly treated by García Gómez 1972 who, however, was not so fortunate in his negative evaluation (III 467) of the presence of Br. items in IQ: this score was corrected by Bencherifa 1975 I: 280–281 and, following his steps, Corriente 1995b: 496, which counts up to seven instances of Br. items used by this author when addressing Almoravid patrons, although he and most Andalusis had a dim view of that language also. An interesting anecdote to this effect, attributed with some hesitation in *Almusnad* (see Viguera 1981:343–344) to Abū Marwān b. Zuhr, reports that this Andalusi scholar, when called to the court of the Almohads, could only learn two words of the Maṣmūdan dialect in two years, namely, ›ʾwš‹ "give me" (apparently corrupted from *awid*, unless derived from *iwša*), and *ernu* "give me more".

[317] Lit., Job's work, alluding to poems obtained through long tiresome efforts, but without inspiration.

[318] Granadan *ṣūfī* (mystic), who wandered through North Africa and the Middle East, and died in Egypt in 1269 a.D. His *Dīwān* was first published by Annaššār 1960, and then in phonemic transcription and with a Cs. translation by Corriente 1988b. On the surface, this poem is a *muʿāraḍah*, i.e., a metrical and thematic imitation of the famous preceding *zaǧal* by IQ; however, the description of the gown coincides with that of the metaphorical garment which the ascetic "wise fool" Buhlūl b. ʿAmr from Kufa begged from the traditionist Mālik b. Dīnār; see Marzolph 1983:60–61.

2　*wayukún aṯṯáwb matáʿha / min ağálli ma fal+aṯwáb,*
　wabimá+ lwaḍú muṭahhár / aw bidámʿa man yaqad táb;
　ḥáliṣa min aššawáyib / wamin+ arriyá wal+iʿğáb,
　ḥátta iḏ fáḫat waṣárat / binúr[319] alhudá muḍíyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

3　*watufaṣṣál li, ya rábbi, / bimuqáṣ qáṭ+ alʿaláyiq,*
　wayukún ṣáwm attaṭawwúʿ / albadán maʿ albanáyiq,
　watuḫáṭ ʿala ma yalzám / biḫuyúṭ min alḥaqáyiq,
　wayukún lahá waḍáyif / min alaḫláq arraḍíyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

4　*wayukún kúmmi+ lyamíni / fíhi zúhdi maʿ yaqíni,*
　wayukún kúmmi+ ššimáli / húwwa ṣáfwatu[320] amíni,
　wayukún ğíbi muʿammár / battuqá w+arkáni díni,
　watiʿakkáfha li, ya+lláh / mínka b+alṭáfan ḫafíyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

5　*wamin+ admúʿ almaḥábba / yukún alğíb waṭṭuwáyyaq,*
　wayukún násğaha ğáyyid / walğazál ṣáfi ruqáyyaq,
　kay yiğí ʿamálha maṭbúʿ, / mutanásib waduqáyyaq,
　watukún, ya állah, šáṭṭa / wamin+ alʿuyúb naqíyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

6　*wamin+ alḫášya, ya rábbi, / yukún[321] alámri muʾakkád,*
　watuṭayyáb ʿíndi ḏikrak / watiṣír afwáḥ min+ annád,
　wayudúm ʿala lisáni / aṣṣalá ʿala muḥammád;
　áš kiy+yafráḥ alʿubáyad / law ʿuṭát lu ḏi+ lʿaṭíyya!
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

7　*falibás ḏi+ lḥulla ʿíndi / lattuqá afḫár ma yulbás,*
　waʾağálli ma hu yuṭláb / wama yuntaḫáb wayuḫbás:
　náḫša nalqák, a ḥabíbi, / baḏḏunúb aswád mudannás;
　líssu min fíʿli alinṣáf, / ya iláhi, túb ʿalíyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!

8　*líyya múdda nartağíha, / faʿasá nablúğ amáli,*
　wayiṭíb ḫáli wawáqti / biwuṣúli likamáli,
　faʾiláyk, ya rábbi, narğáb, / waʿaláyk hu ittikáli,
　an tinawwár ğísmi bíha / qábli an tatí+ lmaníyya:
　kám li natmanná libásha, / ya karím, labbásha líyya!/

Translation

0　Give me, o Lord, by your benevolence, a clean tunic to meet you:
　I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

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[319]　Note the substitution of *mafāʿīlun* for *fāʿilātun*.

[320]　Here and in 4/3, the metre has required *iʿrāb*, unless a disjunctive *+i* is inserted (see 1.4.4.1.3). Also in 5/3, the metre has required the CA vocalisation *mutanásib*.

[321]　This could be a case of substitution of *mafāʿīlun* for *fāʿilātun*; the same happens in 7/3, however, in the Eastern countries in which Aššuštarī spent the final years of his life, this stress position was normal for *náḫšà*.

1 O Lord, I would like a tunic which You will make for me out of generosity,
   its silk being cosmic,[322] unlike the kind spun by worms,
   and I want it woven by a worker with the tools of every virtue;
   with trimmings made out of commendable deeds:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

2 Its cloth shall be one of the most excellent materials,
   cleansed with water from ablutions, or tears of the already repented,
   free of stains, of hypocrisy and conceitedness,
   to the point of being fragrant, bright with the light of righteousness:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

3 O Lord, it shall be cut for me with the scissors of the severed attachments,[323]
   the voluntary fasting providing its body and gussets,
   sewn, as it should be, with the thread of truth,
   and it shall have braids made out of commendable habits:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

4 The right sleeve of it will be my ascetism and conviction,
   and my left sleeve, my best amen,
   the collar, braided with my piety and the principles of my religion,
   which You, my God, will girdle with Your hidden favours:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

5 The neckline and selvage will be from tears of love;
   it will be well-woven, and the yarn, unmixed and fine,
   so that its handwork be inspired, appropriate and exact.
   Let it be long, my God, and free of blemishes:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

6 O Lord, let the matter be confirmed by my fear of You,
   scented by Your mention, becoming more fragrant than ambergris,
   and the blessing of Muhammad shall be always on my tongue;
   how glad this little slave will be, if he were granted this boon!
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

7 Wearing this tunic is to me the best garment of piety,
   the most excellent request, choice and possession;
   I fear to meet you, o beloved, dirty and blackened with sins;
   since I am not just, o my God, grant me repentance:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

8 I have been longing for it some time; perhaps I shall attain my hope,
   my condition and hours being good, upon reaching my perfection;
   o my Lord, I pray to You, and on You I trust
   that You will illuminate my body with it before my death comes:
   I have so long wished to wear it, o Munificent One, dress me with it!

---

[322] In the original *kawnī*, i.e., related to the entire divine creation.

[323] In the mystical jargon, the ties keeping man attached to earthly concerns and barring his illumination, unless he can sever them.

3. A *ZAǦAL* BY IBN ALḪAṬĪB[324]

0 /áfraḥu[325] waṭíbu:/qad maḍá ʿadú alláh/wanǧabár ḥabíbu.

1   kánat+ albilád w+áhlah/niʿma fíh raǧíba,
     lam tará nahár fih ḍáw/wala báʿdu ṭíba,
     káyfa lah waqad ṣárat/ármula ǧaríba?
   bálla,[326] wáy niṣíbu?/qad rafáʾtu min šáwqi,/lámma ǧáb, naṣíbu.

2   wal+umám min alḥásra/dún šaráb sukára,
     wulʿuyún ʿuyún taǧrí/walqulúb ḥayára,
     walladí ḍafár minhum/biḥárf[327] aw dabára,
   yáǧʿalu fi ǧíbu,/ʿasÍ yanṭafí wáǧdu/wayaskún waǧíbu.

3   ʿátra kÍn haḍa+ lḥadíṯ/f+alfalák waǧálṭa,
     sáqaṭat bíha+ ddúnya/fárdi ummí[328] sáqṭa:
     yastaǧíṯ ḍak almáwla/min suháyl libáṣṭa,
   walá man yiǧíbu:/astawá+ lwaṭán kúllu,/ǧálfu maʿ niǧíbu.

4   wamaráḍ dín alislám/ḥátta qad yuǧammáḍ
     walá man yuḍúq annáwm/walá man yiǧammáḍ
     kull+ aḥád sallám fíha/lalqaḍá wafawwáḍ,
   ḥátta jáh ṭabíbu/fazál alalám walbús/allí kÍn yiṣíbu.

5   bimuḥámmad+ almáwla/ʿázzi dín muḥammád,
     waraǧáʿ bih+ alislám/kama kÍn mumahhád,
     waraʾát bih+ addúnya/miṯli ma atʿawwád:
   wáṣli ǧáb raqíbu/wasaʿádatan tabqá/fi ʿaqíb ʿaqíbu.

6   yanzál alfaráǧ lámma/tantahí+ ššadáyid,
     walalláh fi háwl annás/balǧamíl ʿawáyid:
     áy waṭán raʾá qáṣdu/wamunáh bizáyid?
   anǧabár ǧaríbu/waltaḥáf bisítr+ alláh/baríh maʿ muríbu.

7   láwla šáfqat+ assulṭán,/aliláh yiʿínu,
     ma+ ǧtamáʿ šimál insán/fíha maʿ yamínu
     waman yáʿǧabak dúnya/aw yaʿǧábka dínu:
   faqíh maʿ ḥaṭíbu,/qál l+alfúnšu: NO MATÁR, ya ŠINYÓR, QAṬÍBU.

8   qál lalandalús: ánni/kin+niríd niʿaddád,
     wamin báʿdi ḍa narǧáʿ/lalwiṣál niǧaddád:
     kíf nasáytani, balḥáq, waqadárt tartád?[329]

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[324] Dated in 1362, as it celebrates the recovery by Muḥammad V of his lost throne in Granada at that time. This poem, strongly influenced by the CA poetical habits of its very learned author, was first published by Fāǧyah 1989:244–245, and then in Corriente 1990c, in dialectological transcription and with Cs. translation. The metre is *muqtaḍab* (*fāʿilātu mafʿūlun*/*fāʿilātu faʿlun*, preceded in the refrains by *fāʿilātu faʿlun*).

[325] Again a case of stress shift, rather than foot substitution in this instance.

[326] See the fn. to IQ 24/1/4.

[327] Note the substitution of *mafāʿīlu* for *fāʿilātu*, the same happens again in 4/2 *walá*, 4/4 *fazál alalám* and *allí*, and 6/1 *yanzál*, 6/4 *baríh*.

[328] Apparently a Granadan idiom ("a single mother" = "at once"), appearing also in Ibn Zamrak 15/3/2.

[329] Ms. ›*tarfad*‹, apparently a copyist's mistake.

aliláh ḥasíbu / kúlli man yuḫún ílfu / aw yahǧúr ḥabíbu.

9   *man la yaʿráf anníʾma / fa+zawálha yarqúb,*
         wafalális alkášfa / báyḍ waládah taṯqúb,
         wayandám liʾámran fát / wahu ráddu yaṣʿúb,
     wayiríb ḫalíbu / wayarÍ ma bay wáldu / wama bay rabíbu.

10   *qad raǧáʿ biqaḍa+ lláh / almaǧṣúb limawláh,*
         állah yálhamu šúkru / fallaḏí qad walláh,
         áy haníyya, áy fárḥa, / ya ḥabáyib+ alláh!
     áfraḥu waṭíbu: / qad maḍá ʿadú alláh / wanǧabár ḥabíbu. /

Translation

0 Be glad and feel good: God's enemy is gone and his friend has been restored.
1 The country and its people desired him so much
   as, since he left, they saw no day with light or goodness!
   How would they, after becoming like an exiled widow?
   By God, where could we find him? When he left, I was burdened with his
       share of longings.
2 Out of sorrow the folks seemed drunk without liquor,
   their eyes ran like springs and the hearts were puzzled;
   whoever of them got a letter or a message
   put it in his pocket in order to assuage his longing and calm his throbbing.
3 This story was a slip and mistake of the heavenly spheres,
   from which the world suffered a total collapse:
   That prince asked for help from Fuengirola to Baza,
   but nobody answered, the whole country levelled, the rude and the noble.
4 The religion of Islam fell ill almost to the point of agony,
   no one could taste sleep, not even a wink:
   all resigned and committed themselves to their fate,
   until the physician came, and the pain ended along with the evil they
       suffered.
5 With the Prince Muhammad, the Muhammadan religion is strong,
   Islam with him has again its way paved,
   and the world with him recovers its ways:
   a concord without spies and a happiness which will last for ever after.
6 Consolation has come when the miseries are over,
   because God is given to favour this people:
   which other country enjoyed more of His providence and favours?[330]
   The stranger is restored, and God's protection comprehends the innocent
       and suspect.

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[330] An echo of local traditions attributing to the Prophet, even to God, a special predilection for Al-Andalus and its people, about which see, for instance, Azzuhrī's comments in Bramon 1991:141–142.

7 Were it not for the Sultan's mercy, God help him!,
   some people would not be able to joint hands.[331]
   What do you like better, his religious or his political stances?
   Both an apt legist and speaker, he said to Alfonso: "Sire, do not kill
   a prisoner".[332]

8 He said to the Andalusis: "I intend to rebuke you,
   but then I shall renew the concord:
   How could you forget me, truly, and renege?
   God will call to account those who betray a friend or quit their beloved.

9 Whoever does not value a favour, will see it disappear:
   the chickens of a crazy hen also pick at the eggs of their offspring:
   Such ones shall repent for the lost chance, when it shall be hard to recover;
   their milk will curdle, and they will see the difference between son and
      stepson".

10 By God's decree, the usurpated property has returned to its owner,
   may God inspire him gratititude for such a trust.
   Congratulations and joy, o people beloved by God:
   Be glad and feel good: God's enemy is gone and his friend has been restored.

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[331] In order to beg pardon, a metaphor of fear.

[332] In broken Cs., not Andalusi Rm., in the original. This passage contains a reminiscence
and historical witness of the proverbial savageness of the Castilian king, D. Pedro "the Cruel"
who, having decided to support Muḥammad V, himself killed with a lance the refugee
Muḥammad VI, known as Abū Saʿīd "the Reddish", in Tablada, near Seville. Among Andalusis,
it was customary to call every Castilian king Alfonso, and Ramiro in the case of the Aragonese.

II

PROSE

4. Some Proverbs Culled from Azzaǧǧālī's Collection[333]

3. /iḏá azwáǧ aššáyḫ laṣṣabíyya yafráḥu ṣibyán alqaríyya/
11. /iḏá táb azzaffán tabqá manákibu taḫǧál/
70. /aʕmá, aḥtaráq báytak, qál: ṭubál[334] man ráh/
74. /uqíl lalbáġli: man húwwa wíldak? qál: alfarás ḫáli/
80. /aṣṣalá ḫáyr min annáwm. qál: ǧarrábna ḏá waḏá/[335]
93. /ašḥál báyni wabáyn assamÍ? qál: arfáʕ rásak watarÍ/
104. /aʕṭíni matáʕ ak wallá naksár ḏiráʕ ak/
112. /iš tanfáʕ alwaṣíyya faddámǧa arradíyya/
144. /iblís bilá biṭáqa fa+kífat[336] iḏá buṭṭíq lu/
155. /ášma waǧád alǧabbár yaḥmálu laddár./
175. /albírbiri walfár la tiʕ allámu báb addár/
187. /áš kan+daḫḫálni[337] maʕ alaqrá' namšúṭ rásu?/
192. /allá tabqá alḥáma dún mabṭúl/
204. /arfáʕ ḫírrak, ya múḥǧa, liqábil ḥattá yarḫúṣu alqawábil/
207. /astaǧná ḥimár alwáḥš ʕ an albáyṭar/
235. /ašḥál ma húwwa alʕ áyn alḥáǧib fúqu/
345. /allúbb áy yawí ma yaḏí/
357. /askandaráni, ráni ma ráni/[338]

[333] This author, a native from Cordova, died in Marrakesh in 1294. His collection, excerpted from a lenghty humorous work, *Rayyu l'uwām wamar'à ssawām fī nukati lḥawāṣṣi wal'awām*, was first published by Bencherifa 1971 and then, in phonemic transcription and with a Cs. translation, by Ould Mohamed Baba 1999.

[334] I.e., SA *ṭūbà li*+ "happiness for".

[335] The first sentence is often attached to the morning call to prayer (*aḏān*); therefore, the proverb is one of the not uncommon instances of disrespectful attitudes towards religion and the clergy in this kind of literature, together with scatological and off-colour stories.

[336] A curious instance of addition of *-at* to the interrogative adverb *kayfa* = *kíf*, possibly a demonstrative element; see Fleisch 1979:68, with examples like *kayta*, *ḏayta*, *ṯammata* and *rubbata*. Again in Nº 1551.

[337] This curious idiom is the match of Mo. *māšəkma+ni/k/h*, etc., from a haplological reflex of Br. *səkšəm* "to make enter, to introduce; to stick something (where it should not be"; see Aspinion 1953:211 cf. Kabyle *lḥəlq+inna d ləḥram a t+yəssəkšəm bnadəm s aḫḫam+is* "it is a sin for one to bring such a person into his house", Dallet 1982:394). Apparently its AA translation was already current in Al-Andalus.

[338] See fn. 244 to 3.1.2; the same items reappears in Nº 986.

426. /aqrá súrat yasín ʿala qálban káfir/

534. /asmár³³⁹ húwwa aṣbár húwwa/

558. /parṭál falfúm ḫáyr min wázza falkúm/

559. /baqíyyat ṯúrda aḥyár³⁴⁰ min láwn/

563. /báʿdima šáb ḫutín wawalwálu ʿalíh alaḫtín/

572. /báz alʿaǧúz³⁴¹ yaṣtád min alqafá/

667. /baḥál parṭál addár ma kabúr ḍáq ásṭu/

707. /taráhum aṣfáru³⁴² tuqúl ṭábu/

741. /tará³⁴³ tiǧí watamší wama ṯámma ší/

754. /ṯalátat ašyá hi maḥsúra: albunyán faddár aṣṣaǧíra
     waššáḥmi falmará alqaṣíra waʿašát assikrán/

800. /ḥúrma fassáʿa tamšú fi arbáʿa/

857. /ḥírri píšši,³⁴⁴ aqṭá ḏa+ lwÍd/

924. /ḫáf alláh wattaqíh wala tiʿámal alfaqíh/³⁴⁵

976. /raǧáʿ alaydín³⁴⁶ akmám/

986. /ráhi zúbd: áwilu maṣbúǧ wáḥiru ṭárd/

990. /rábṭ amrá lis yiṣál larraḥál, waʾin waṣál lis yanḥál/

1007. /záwǧi sú ḫáyr min fáqdu/

1011. /zád almál. qál: law šá alláh³⁴⁷ ḫaláṣu/

1020. /zíd waník ḥattá yaṣrúḥ addík/³⁴⁸

1050. /ṭiryána tafták waʾišbílya taǧrám alǧúʾl/

1075. /kám min barí waqutíl/³⁴⁹

1112. /kíf tadríni, ya šubríni?/³⁵⁰

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³³⁹ The first adjective is being used here as its own elative; see 2.1.4.

³⁴⁰ Note the proximity of this dialectal variant to the classical one in the previous proverb.

³⁴¹ Note the decay of the article in the head of the syntagm; see 3.1.1.1.2.4.

³⁴² Note the IX–XI measure, indistinguishable from IV.

³⁴³ The CA non-agentive vocalisation *turà* of this idiom is also witnessed in AA.

³⁴⁴ Lit., somebody having both vulva and penis, i.e., a hermaphrodite; however, as an insult, this item has a long story. It has survived not only in Morocco, though no longer understood (see Corriente 1993:288), but also in low register Cs. **gilipichi**, about which, see Corriente 2008: lxxix.

³⁴⁵ See fn. to Nº 80.

³⁴⁶ Pseudo-dual of the kind mentioned in 2.1.9.3.

³⁴⁷ This is the immediate etymon of Cs. **ojalá** "would that", however, it derives from older *lā awḥaša lláh*; see Corriente 2009:401. Curiously enough, also Aljamiado-Morisco **tamala**, its Pt. equivalent, **tomara** and its Canarian reflex **tomaría**, in spite of their Rm. appearance, are all Arabic loanwords; see ibid. 457. The auspicious personal name *Zād almāl* ("the property grew") for female servants was commented by García Gómez 1972 II: 102, in connection with IQ 19/4/3, as identified by Littmann 1956.

³⁴⁸ This recommendation to bridegrooms was inscribed in platters full of fruit presented to them on their wedding-night, as can be seen in the pottery sections of some museums.

³⁴⁹ Note the *wāwu ḥāl* as temporal marker (3.3.1.1 and fn. 101).

³⁵⁰ Note the Rm. semantic calque in the verb (5.1.1.3.5) and the Rm. loanword in the kinship term.

1202. /lis alqárdi ší[351] walaw labás waší/

1259. /man akrá ástu ma yaġlás ʿalíh/

1343. /ma lalbáz illá ma ḥáz/[352]

1356. /m+ashál[353] alḥárb ʿind+ annaḍḍára/

1394. /man akál sábʿa min albullúṭ akál šárri min ʿúd/

1445. /man mát min šábʿa la aqámu[354] alláh/

1461. /márra manḥarúṭ[355] wamárra aftás, kíf alḥaláṣ?/

1510. /ma[356] yabás alʿúd aḥtaráq/

1548. /madǧ allís[357] ḫidáʿ balbáṭn/

1551. /náḥnu naqráw walis nafláḥu kífat law ġannáyna/

1606. /ṣáḥib káʿbatan wáḥda la tiláʿabu/

1618. /ḍárya hi aṣṣáḥra balqaṣṣára/

1644. /ʿuṭí lalbírbiri šíbri ṭaláb ḍiráʿ/

1818. /quláng̃ assuqayqát[358] muʿáwwaǧa/

1881. /šatámt mawláy táḥti kisáy/[359]

1903. /šáḥsaw[360] yaḥtamál annúṣṣi má/

1908. /šáḥṣan laṭíf min sulálat sú/

1925. /hámman taġláq f+účču báb addár ma hú hám/

1950. /wala yáwm aṭṭín/[361]

2019. /la tanḍúr alqíṭṭi fi ṭulúʿu waʾinnama anḍúru fi hubúṭu/

2070. /yaʿmál almá baḥál qárib sú/

2125. /ya tará, ya kábši, áy tarʿá aw áy tamší?/

2143. /yaʿṭí alláh alfúl liman ma ʿindu iḍrasáyn/[362]

Translation

3. When an old man marries a girl, the boys of the village rejoice.

11. Even if the dancer repents, his shoulders keep swinging.

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[351] The rhyme supports the diphthong contraction; see 1.1.4.2.

[352] In IQ 105/9/4 ›*lā lalmilān illā mā yaḥtaṭaf* ‹, with a Rm. loanword for the animal name.

[353] This contraction of the exclamative elative (›*mā ashal*‹, see 2.1.4) is common.

[354] Classical negative optative, see 3.4.3.1.

[355] Rm. augmentative suffix, see 2.1.5.2.

[356] Uncommon use of the temporal marker *mā* (see 3.3.2.5.2); there might have been an instance of deletion of *illā* before the second verb, or a copyist would have suppressed *min* before *al ʿūd*. But Nº 667 is similar.

[357] This expression became the surname of the famous *zaǧǧāl* Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Alḫāǧǧ; see Corriente 1994:63, fn. 1.

[358] See about this peculiar diminutive 2.1.2.10.4.

[359] The annexation of the possessive suffix in both instances follows the rule of 2.1.11.2.1.2 and fn. 187.

[360] An uncommon instance of word composition (*naḥt* in Arabic lexicology), < *šaḥṣ saw* "a wicked person" or perhaps *šayḫ saw* "a wicked old man".

[361] This phrase became famous by its literal inclusion in the Cs. fable collection **El Conde Lucanor** by D. Juan Manuel.

[362] Pseudo-dual of the kind mentioned in 2.1.9.3.

70. Blind man, your house has burnt down.—Happy those who could see it!
74. The mule was asked: who is your father? He said: "The horse is my uncle".
80. "Prayer is better than sleep." He said: "We have tried this and that".
93. How far is the distance between the sky and I? He said: "Raise your head and look".
104. Give me what is yours, or else I shall break your arm.
112. Advice is of no use for a bad brain.
144. He is a devil without licence, imagine if such he were given.
155. Whatever the dustman finds, he takes home.
175. Do not show the door of your house to Berbers and mice.
187. What got me to comb the bald man's head?
192. May Alhama[363] never be without cripples.
204. Keep your vulva, M., for another time, when midwives are cheaper.
207. Wild asses do without blacksmiths.
235. No matter how high the eye may be, the eyebrow is above it.
345. Wolves do not prey where they dwell.
357. As an Alexandrian,[364] I am what I am.
426. Recite the sura Yāsīn to an unfaithful heart.[365]
534. The blacker he is, the sturdier.
558. A bird in one's mouth is better than a goose in your sleeve.
559. A rest of soup is better than any dish.
563. After getting grey hair, he was circumcised and his daughters-in-law uttered cries of joy.
572. An old falcon hunts with its back turned.
667. Like sparrows, the older he grows, the thinner his behind.
707. When you see them become yellow, they are ripe.
741. You see them come and go, but nothing happens.
754. Three things are bound to be lost: building in a small house, fat on a short woman, and the dinner of a drunkard.
800. In order to save one hour, you walk four.
857. You, manly one,[366] cross this river, (if you dare).
924. Fear God and respect Him, and have no deal with the ulemas.
976. He got utterly mixed up (lit., "His hands turned into sleeves").
986. Some butter indeed: the top is dye, and the bottom, dregs.
990. A woman's knot does not reach the hamlet done, and if it does, there is no way to undo it.

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[363] Famous spa in the province of Granada, as proclaimed by its Arabic name (*alḥāmmah* "the thermal spring").

[364] The people of Alexandria had a reputation for strong character.

[365] I.e, waste your time in a useless endeavour, as only Muslims believe in the efficacy of Qurʾānic recitation. Egyptians say in the same meaning: *biyaddan fi malṭa* "he calls to prayer in Malta".

[366] Lit., "hermaphrodite", apparently an insult used in the quarrels between women in public baths, daring each other to come near within reach.

1007. A bad husband is better than none.
1011. Zād almāl! He said: "Would to God it just lasted!"[367]
1020. Keep making love, until the rooster crows.
1050. Triana commits the crime, and Seville pays for it.
1075. How many innocents have been killed!
1112. How come you know me, my nephew?
1202. A monkey is nothing, even dressed in brocade.
1259. Whoever rents his arse cannot sit on it.
1343. Falcons have only what they catch.
1356. How pleasing is war for the onlookers!
1394. Whoever eats seven acorns has eaten worse than wood.
1445. May God not raise from the dead those who die from surfeit!
1461. One time, big-nosed, and snub-nosed the next: what is the solution?[368]
1510. When wood is dry, it burns.
1548. Chewing wads of cotton is staying hunger (lit. "fooling the belly").
1551. We are literate and have no success, imagine if we were singers!
1606. Do not gamble with a man who has only one die.[369]
1618. The slab is accustomed to the washers.
1644. The Berber was given a span and he asked for a cubit.
1818. The colic of the twisted legs.[370]
1881. I insulted my lord under my coat.
1903. A wicked old man suffers (wine) with its half of water.[371]
1908. A mean fellow from a bad family.
1925. A sorrow on which one can close the door of the house is no sorrow.
1950. Not even the day of the mud?[372]
2019. Do not look at the cat on its way up, but on its way down.
2070. It leaks like a bad boat.
2125. My ram, where will you graze, where will you go?
2143. God gives beans to those who have no teeth.

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[367] Untranslatable pun. The name, common among female slaves and meaning "the property has increased", contrasted at times with their clumsiness, resulting in the ruin of utensils. Her owner woulds hope to merely keep his possessions, far from expecting any improvement.

[368] Probably allusive to the objections made by marriable daughters regarding prospective husbands of whom they did not approve.

[369] Lit., the astragalus used as dice most of the time; see Corriente 2008:274, s.v. **dado**.

[370] Allusion to any serious illness, since NA *qūlanǧ* was a generic name for internal diseases.

[371] Old people were given wine mixed with much water.

[372] Allusion to the famous anecdote of Almuʿtamid with his wife Iʿtimād, included in **El Conde Lucanor** with nearly the same Arabic words; see Nykl 1946:141.

5. Proverbs from Alonso del Castillo's Collection[373]

9. /tíd[374] tanḍúr waládak? anḍúr aṣḥábu/

18. /aḫdámu waʾaʿṭú lassús wala tallásu[375] ǧulús/

26. /amÍ+swádu[376] man yaltaǧí liʾawládu/

28. /man asráq wíldu iš yuqṭáʿ yáddu/

44. /kull+ aḥádda[377] yiʿíq li ḥásbu/

49. /mÍt waǧurís fi súwwatu kurmÍt/

60. /man ḫadám addúnya[378] yatʿáb/

66. /taḫḫú[379] bilisÍnak ma la taḫḫú bisikkínak/

71. /azziwÍǧ baḥál ḥút assálla: allí hu bárra kiy+yíd yikún dáḫil waʾallí hu dáḫil
    kiy+yíd yikún bárra/

76. /iḥnát[380] fi ḏÍ illÍ warrás ḫiḏÍ/

84. /man ḫallá šúǧl+ alyám[381] liǧadÍ ma yafqúd hám abadÍ/

96. /arrás all+ íššu[382] lak dáʿu yaḥtaráq/

133. /šáwka maʿ ʿurúǧa yináḍ mannah buṭlán/

142. /ḫúbzi ma la hú lak dáʿu yaḥtaráq/

148. /aqdár+am+ma[383] hu alkálb ḫin yantaqáʿ/

162. /úmmu rrána wawíldu ṭayr almurúǧ: alwalád liman yaḫrúǧ?/[384]

166. /ma taḥmár alḥaddáy illÍ ʿala láʿnat alwalidáy/[385]

184. /abrúd, a+bárid,[386] ʿala sahríǧ min ḫal/

205. /áynu ḥabíbak fámma hu ʿadúk/

230. /ʿadÍwat albaṭán hi tidúm arbaʿín yám/[387]

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[373] This famous Morisco intellectual, who became the official Arabic interpreter of the Spanish king Philipp II, died between 1607 and 1610, and he informs us that he was still working on this book in 1587. However, as it often happens in proverb collections, many of these items are probably much older and belong to diverse diachronic, diatopic and diastratic layers of AA.

[374] See 1.2.10.3 about the decay of /r/ in this item.

[375] See 1.4.1.1 about this case of assimilation.

[376] See 2.1.4 about the exclamative elative and 2.3.4.1 about the vocative markers.

[377] See 2.1.11.2.4.1 and fn. 177 about the peculiar shape of this indefinite pronoun.

[378] Apparently, an adverb innovated in Granadan AA.

[379] See 1.2.13.2 about the decay of /ḏ/ in this item.

[380] See 2.1.11.2.1.1 about the allomorphs of this pronoun. The same proverb is more obvious in Nº 536.

[381] See 1.4.2.1 about this peculiar dissimilation of /aw/.

[382] Contraction of iš+hú. In 142, however, the relative and the negation are different.

[383] A peculiar structure in which the elative is separated from the relative by the connective tanwīn +an+.

[384] Note the Rm. loanword rrána "frog" and the calque at the end of the sentence (see 5.1.1.3.5).

[385] Note the typically Granadan dual ending +ay.

[386] A low register vocative marker a+; see 2.3.4.1.

[387] The spelling ›baṭān‹ reflects an idiolect in which the disjunctive vowel has become phonemic (see 1.3.1.4.1), which is uncommon in AA, but standard in Mo. bṭǝn. As for yam, see .1.4.2.1.

232. /alaḥdáb iššu yarÍ ḥadúbbatu ḥattÍ tawrí+lu bipál/[388]
235. /ʿayyárat aššabáka f+alǧirbÍl waqálat+lu amÍǧállak biʿaynín/[389]
236. /baḥál musmár ǧuḥá/[390]
242. /húzz almaḥásssa fi báyt alḥáyl yiqúm almadbúr bazzáǧ/[391]
254. /áy síffa iblís yuqál+lu áššu ḏÍ alʿár?/[392]
275. /alyád alwáḥid yaǧsál aláḫḫar wazzáǧ yanǧamáʿu falwáǧh/[393]
331. /iḏá addaffÍ alḥumáyyam ḫaráǧu alballát/[394]
366. /áy síffa hu aswád yuqál+lu sídi?/
376. /alʿašÍ aṭṭáyyiba min biḥín taḏhár/[395]
384. /arqí[396] bÍlak min alkálb ánnu yanqaláb/
409. /in salámt min háḏa ma naḥḍár aktár[397] ʿúrsi fi samÍ/
431. /alamrát aḫú[398] ṯuʿbÍna falqabú/
433. /mÍ+mláḥ ma hi fúsḥa báʿdi náw aw ṣúḥba báʿdi ʿadáwa!/[399]
470. /iḏa fÍtak aṭṭaʿám qúl šabáʿt/

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[388] The negative is compounded with a pronominal suffix, iš+hu, the verbs arÍ "to see" and awrÍ "to show" exhibit both 2nd degree imālah and peculiar shapes, in the first case, contamination of I and IV measures and, in the second, metanalysis of OA yūrī as {wry}. The proverb ends with the Rm. loanword páll "stick" (cf. Cs. **palo**), not witnessed before AC and Alc., but possibly older.

[389] Note the exclamative elative, introduced with the vocative marker, < *a+mā+aǧall+ak, and the pseudo-dual ʿaynín, although these "eyes" are metaphorical for the mesh of a net.

[390] This proverbial nail or peg, the property of which Ǧuḥā excepted from the sale of his house, had a long sequential story in Spain, surveyed by Granja 1984, and still surviving in Cs. as **el clavo del jesuíta**. Its moral is to alert people against the presence in deeds of easements that might diminish the value of properties. Even the name of Ǧuḥā might have survived in Iberian lands, as Pt. **Joãzinho**, which became Cs. **Jaimito**, both witnessed in this folkloric role, through Ct. **Joanet** > **Jaumet** (witnessed as diminutives of the proper names, but not as folkloric links of this motive).

[391] Another instance of this variant of záwǧ.

[392] OA ṣifah, from {wṣf} has been metanalyzed as {ṣff}, and the velarisation of /ṣ/ has been inhibited, unless the case in Nº 366. The item functions as an interrogative adverb "how?".

[393] Note the masc. gender of yád "hand", the curious shape of SA āḫar, with a gemination aimed at restoring triconsonantism and a transparent elative pattern {a12a3}, plus the aforementioned záǧ.

[394] Only witness to the survival in Andalusi Rm. of Lt. blatta "moth" (whence Pt. **barata** "roach", but necessarily through the former), together with a gloss in a ms. of Dioscorides, mentioned in Simonet 1888:48. The semantic shift appears to have taken place in Al-Andalus.

[395] Note the fem. gender of SA ʿašāʾ "dinner" (5.1.1.3.1), and word composition of bi+ḥín "soon", lit. "on time", which in Alc. even exhibits a comparative abḥán.

[396] Note the rhotacism in {lqy}; see 1.2.11.1.

[397] Note the Rm. calque aktár "more", for "again" (5.1.1.3.5). This is the fable of the turtle invited by the eagle to a wedding in the sky.

[398] Word composition preceded by the article (see 3.1.1.1.2.4); as for aḫú, it exhibits its long shape (2.1.2.10.1).

[399] In this instance the exclamative elative is followed by a nominaliser mā, introducing the subject, and a displaced anaphoric pronoun functioning as copula. The last word does not exhibit 2nd degree imālah as in Nº 230.

491. /qúrqi waʾiltimáq ma yattafáq/[400]
501. /istihbíyyat qíṭ wará palábra/[401]
519. /rámi albúrǧ armá ʿala+ lbáḥri aṣdáq muṭárraf/[402]
531. /ṭúlma[403] hu arrúḥ f+alḥulqúm arráb yaḥkúm/
535. /rízqi ǧadÍ yatí ǧadÍ/[404]
536. /iḥán[405] fi ḏÍ illÍ wazáwǧah/
540. /mi+bdáʿ ma hú rawáḥ alʿíz!/[406]
628. /faqí biǧáya yaqrá alkitÍb b+alamríyya warÍ alwalád ʿala arbaʿín míl/[407]
668. /ṣánʿat iblís yaḫḫú[408] mita annÍs wayaʿṭí l+annÍs/
677. /ḥumáyyam bišúqra[409] wanazÍha biʾúm/
692. /iḏa mút anÍ la+ḫḍárat[410] addúnya báʿdi/
694. /qálat annámla l+alčiqála:[411] ḥin kúnt anÍ nišúq ḥaṣáyid kunt+ ánta tiǧanní
       qaṣáyid/
714. /iš yalzám ši[412] kálbi liʾáḥḥar/
719. /walláh kiy+yikún[413] alʿábdi ṭáyr/
762. /a+mÍ+márri ma hi alǧúrba/[414]
792. /árra[415] báḫti waḥú zúǧla/

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[400] Both substantives of Rm. stock bear witness to the importance of the substratum in some trade jargons, such as that of shoemaking. In the case of *iltimáq* (see Corriente1997:23 and 2009:448), this item propagated through North Africa up to Turkey, to the point that Dz I 33 believed that the true etymon was Turkish *tomak*; a similar case is of another "winged word" AA *ṭápya* "adobe wall", whence Turkish *tabya* "redoubt", in Corriente 1997:325.

[401] About this peculiar *maṣdar*, see 4.1.3. The Rm. loanword *palábra* exhibits a strange addition at its onset, perhaps resulting from wrong-parsing. "with a winding-frame", as in the case of the Br. loanword *zuǧzal* (see 4.1.4.1).

[402] The verb *armá* is a clear instance of confusion between I and IV measures. As for the proper name ending the proverb, an evolution of OA *muṭarrif* with neutralisation of voice in the participles (see 2.2.2.5.1), this is the true origin of Cs. **Mudarra**; see Corriente 2009:389.

[403] See 3.3.2.5.2 about this temporal marker.

[404] Note the 2nd degree *imālah* in the pausal *ǧadā*, for *ǧadan*, with adverbial *tanwīn*.

[405] See 2.1.11.2.1.1 about the allomorphs of this pronoun. The allusion of this proverb is clearer than in Nº 76.

[406] Same structure as in Nº 433.

[407] Again an accusation, in this case of pederasty, levelled against the clergy. Also a witness to the use of lenses in the Islamic West.

[408] See 1.2.13.2.

[409] Note the Rm. loanword for a kinship term.

[410] Note the IX–XI measure and the negative optative of the classical type (see 3.4.3.1).

[411] Note the Rm. loanword for a local animal name, the cicada of the classical fable.

[412] See 3.4.1.6 about this reinforcement of the negative.

[413] Peculiar optative marker, not witnessed in 3.4.3.1.

[414] Same structure as in Nº 433.

[415] A peculiar interjection, etymologically unclear, possibly onomatopoetic, as stated by Corominas, who pointed to is presence in all the languages of Southern Europe (Cs., Pt., Italian, Occitan, Bq., etc., as well as in Naf. Mo., to which we can add Br. and Ml.), with or without gemination, in the meaning of "give me", or "gee up" (to a beast).

827. */iš yisáʿu záǧ mitÍ arrús fi fárdi qádra/*[416]
842. */la bišaṭáṭ ʿazíza wala biqiṣár abánt+ah/*[417]
856. */alláh alláh falḫáyr!/*[418]
870. */tanbírat mirmád aḫyár*[419] *min bássat muǧdím/*
920. */allí f+alquláyba*[420] *taḫríǧu aššuráyba/*
1009. */ǧúzr+ alwaṣíyya min qíllat aliṭmaníyya/*
1100. */ʿudr+ abánt annaqqála: kÍnat taqḫúb ḫúrma an*[421] *kÍn wíldah yaḫráq*
      aṭṭawáǧin/

Translation

9. Do you want to see what your son is like? Look at his friends.
18. Work and give it to the worms, but do not stay idle.
26. Poor he who must take shelter with his sons.
28. He who steals from his father is not punished with the amputation of his
    hand.[422]
44. Everybody defends his parentage.
49. He died and vines were planted on top of his arse.[423]
60. He gets tired who works a lot.
66. You reach with your tongue what you cannot with your knife.
71. Marriage is like fish in a trap: those outside want to get in, and those inside
    want to get out.
76. There we were when the head (appeared) in front (of us).[424]
84. He who leaves today's work for tomorrow will never be without sorrow.
96. If the head (in the oven) is not yours, let it burn.
133. A thorn plus limping ends up in being crippled.
142. Bread which is not yours, let it burn.
148. Dogs are dirtiest when soaked.
162. His mother is a frog and his father a wading bird: to whom will the son take?

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[416] See Nº 242 about *zaǧ*, 5.1.1.3.5 about the Rm. calque in {*wsʿ*}, and note the peculiar use of *fárd* "just one".

[417] Peculiar AA shape of OA *bint = ibnah*.

[418] Exclamative marker not reflected in 3.4.3.

[419] See fn. to 2.1.4 about this peculiar elative.

[420] Addition of fem. marker to the diminutive of a masc. substantive; see 2.1.3 and fn. 122.

[421] This marker is causal in this case.

[422] Allusion to the *ḥadd*, i.e., the punishment specified in the Qurʾān V-38, for thieves, applied to amounts exceeding of a fourth of a dinar or three dirhams on certain conditions, which is the amputation of the right hand for first offenders.

[423] Although the immediate meaning is that, once a man dies, he loses all consideration, the theme of vines planted in tombs connects with IQ 90/5 and 6 and his pre-Islamic and Et. antecedents, about which, see Corriente 1995b: 286 and fn. 1, and 1996e: 245. However, the mystic imitation found in Aššuštarī's *Dīwān* has also been attributed to Abū Madyan, according to its first editor, Annaššār 1960.

[424] Allusive to being caught by the husband of a woman in a compromising situation, cf. Nº 536.

166. Cheeks blush only when accursed by one's parents.
184. Refresh yourself, nasty man, in a pool of vinegar.
205. Where your friend is, there is your enemy.
230. The enmity of the belly lasts forty days.
232. The hunchback does not see his hump until you show it to him with a stick.
235. The net upbraided the sieve and said to it: how big your eyes are!
236. Like Ǧuḥa's nail.
242. Shake the curry-comb in the stable, and the horse with sores will rise on his hind legs.
254. How can one say to the devil "what is this shame"?
275. One hand washes the other, and both together the face.
331. When the bath gets warm, the roaches come out.
366. How can one say "milord" to a coloured man?
376. A good dinner comes early.
384. Watch out for the dog, for it turns round.
409. If I live to tell this, I shall never again attend a wedding in the sky.
431. The sister-in-law is a snake in the flue of the chimney.
433. How nice clear weather is after the storm, and friendship after enmity!
470. If you miss the meal, say you are full.
491. Shoes and boots do not match.
501. Like a cat hiding behind a winding-frame.
519. Like the bowman of A., who aimed at the sea and hit M.
531. As long as the soul is in the throat (i.e., as man is alive), the decision belongs to God.
535. Tomorrow's sustenance will come tomorrow.
536. There we were when her husband showed up.
540. How excellent is the scent of glory!
628. Like the clergyman of Bougie, who read with glasses, but could see a boy 40 miles away.
668. The devil's job is taking from some people and giving to others.
677. A bath with one's mother-in-law and a picnic with one's mother.
692. If I die, may the world never be green again.
694. The ant said to the cicada: when I was busy with the harvest, you were singing poems.
714. A dog does not bite another.
719. Would that man were a bird![425]
762. How bitter is to be a foreigner!
792. Give me luck and take bravery away.
827. Two heads do not fit into one pot.
842. Neither as tall as A. nor as short as her daughter.
856. How good is goodness!
870. A pauper's sign is better than a leper's kiss.
920. Whatever is in the little heart, liquor takes it out.

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[425] Reminiscent of IQ 131/1/1.

1009. Excessive advice means lack of trust.
1100. The excuse of the daughter of the baker's wife, who (said she) hustled
      because her father burnt the stewing-pans.

6. The Elegy for Valencia (14th c.?)[426]

1. Balencia, Balencia, geyt[427] aleyc quezra quebira, anta fi huach tanmumit,
   fayinquen yachtum çagdach an taflet min ede yocun ageban quibir limen
   yeric = /balánsiya balánsiya, ǧÍt ʿaláyk kásra kibíra, ánta fi wáqtan mumít,
   faʾin kán yaḥtúm sáʿdak an taflít min háḏa yukún ʿaǧában kibír liman
   yarÍk.[428]/

2. Bueyn arad hu en yamel hayr limauda haçe en yerich angeyt an yamelhe
   yleic hina cunt hebedi malaha hua maçorora hue bayge fex que aztarahu
   elmuzlemin hua yanxato = /waʾin arád hú an yaʿmál ḫáyr limawḍáʿ
   ḫáṣṣ an yirid[429] ʿan ǧáyd an yaʿmálha iláyk, ḥína kúnt abadÍ malíḥa[430]
   wamasrúra wabahíǧa fiš kiy+yastaráḥu almuslamín wayanšáṭu./

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[426] See Corriente 1987b about this problematic text, unlikely attributed to the pen of the
scholar Alwaqqašī during the siege of the city by El Cid in 1094, which would give it title
to being the oldest AA document of some extension, after the much shorter proto-*zaǧal* of
913 a.D. (with only three lines; see Corriente 1992d about its historical importance). While
every hypothesis on this matter by Dozy, Ribera and Nykl is presently in need of radical
overhauling, the fact remains that this text is appears to be a valid sample of AA, presumably
from the Valencian area and, in its recorded shape, at least a couple of centuries younger than
Alwaqqašī, about whose person and work see Nykl 1946:308–309. The text, indeed pregnant
with CA features pointing to a learned pen (e.g., the high-register terms *ḥatám* "to prescribe",
sáyṭara "haughtiness", *fariǧ* "pleasant", *ḥína* "when", *yakún*, *yaqáʿ*, *taǧid*, *yaṣíl*, etc.), side by
side with many low register items (e.g., frequent 2nd degree *imālah*, more like Granadan than
Valencian texts, e.g., *ebedí < abadan* "ever", *hami < ḥamaʾ* "mud", *hauil > ḥawāl* "around",
marcic > marsāk "your harbour", *dihuy < dawāʾ* "remedy", *huquemi < ḥukamāʾ* "physicians",
ayz < iyās "being past recovery", *amim > amām* "before", relative *me* in 15, invariable *allaḏí*,
imperfectives in the apodosis of *in* in 1, 3, 16, or typically AA *lu yemxi* "he must go", *in kān* "if",
and *yā qad* "already") is a version undoubtedly translated from the preserved Cs. version, by
somebody with a good native command of AA (proven by such idiomatic phrases as *qaṭáʿu
alayÍs min maráḍak* "they declared your illness past recovery"), but bent on being as literal
as possible. Here it is reproduced from the *Primera Crónica General de España*, accompanied
by our interpretation of its phonemic shape.

[427] A strange transcription of AA *ǧát > OA ǧāʾat*, possibly ultra-correction of *imālah* (see
1.1.1.6).

[428] 2nd degree *imālah* in the imperfective of this verb, found in all AA sources, although
IQ has only one instance of rhyme-supported *tarÍ* in 5/2/1 and the rest without *imālah*.

[429] A doubtful passage, in the ms. *yerich*, but the graphic confusions between ›c(*h*)‹ and
›*th*‹ were frequent in that Cs. script, while the context suggests a servile translation of Cs.
touo por bien, closer to **yerith* than to **yerich*.

[430] Apparently, the translator has ultra-corrected 2nd degree *imālah* upon uttering *maláḥa*
instead of *malíḥa*, as demanded by the context.

3. Bueyn arath hu huleynch amlach en quitahaçar min ade almarra yacun an
zunubac alquibar gua an aliaçar alquibir alledi quen maac biçaetaratac
= /wa'in arád hú hawlínk[431] amlák an kit+taḥsár min háḏa almárra yakún
'an ḏunúbak alkibár wa'an alǧasár alkibír allaḏí kán má'ak bisayṭáratak/.

4. Avil arbaat hijar quebar alledi cunt haleyha mubnja hiheridu yastamao an
yamelu huzn hanc hue liz yagdaru = /áwil arbá'at ḥiǧár[432] kibár allaḏí
kúnt 'aláyha mubníyya yirídu yaǧtamá'u an ya'málu ḥúzn 'ank walis
yaqdáru/.

5. Açor alahadim mataac alledi buni ale hole alarbaa hijar ya yartax[433] huat
huayrid yaca yna cad haçar athaca matao = /assúr al'aḏím matá'ak allaḏí
buní 'ala háwla alarbá' ḥiǧár ya yartá'áš húwwat wayiríd yaqá' inna qad
ḥasár aṭṭáqa matá'u/.

6. Alabrach alalya mataac almilah alledi tadhar min bayt tiçelli annufoz mata
ahalec xuay xuay thirit tiqa = /alabráǧ al'álya matá'ak almiláḥ allaḏí
taḏhár min ba'íd tisallí annufús matá áhlak šuwáy šuwáy tiríd tiqá'/.

7. Axararif albit mataac alledy min bayt quitaxarac cad haçarat xaracaha
alledy quitadhar lixua ixems = /aššarárif albíḏ matá'ak allaḏí min ba'íd
kit+tašráq qad ḥasárat šaráqaha allaḏí kit+taḏhár lišu'á' iššáms/.[434]

8. Alued almaleh mataac alquebir huet alujar ma alemi alohar alledy cunt
anta menha gid magdum cad harach min hadu hue yamxi ay liz quen lu
yemxi = /alwád almalíḥ matá'ak alkibír wád albiyár ma' alamyá+luḥár
allaḏí kúnt ánta minha ǧíd maḥdúm[435] qad ḥaráǧ min ḥáddu wayamší áy
lis kán lu yamší/.

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[431] That *huleynch*, hardly appropriate for an irrational pl., would be a mistake for *heulynch*,
for which Alc. has *háulinq* (p. 13, penultimate line in the fns.). The position of the object
before its verb and the taxemes and congruence of its constituents are all striking, and must
be attributed to a servile translation of Cs.: in this register of the language, one would expect
en quitehaçar dic alamlach; however, he has again *hole alarbaa hijar*, instead of *di*, in 5. The
transcription of /ḏ/ as ›z‹ in *zunubac* is anomalous, as elsewhere we read simple ›d‹; unless
it is just an infelicitous attempt at transcribing the foreign phoneme (see 1.2.12.1, for /ṯ/), an
urban Eastern influence brought by a pilgrim returned to Al-Andalus cannot be excluded.

[432] The ordering of this phrase, with both adjectives before the substantive, is abnormal
and must be attributed to literal translation of Cs.

[433] Another ms. has *yarcayd*, which suggests a synonymous *yarta'id*.

[434] This palatalisation of the /a/ in the definite article is a hapax in the whole body of our
AA documents, although registered frequently in loanwords; see 1.1.1.4.

[435] The position of the adverb before the predicate is a mere consequence of literal trans-
lation of Cs. **tu te muy bien servies**. The same applies in 9, *kiṯír kit+tantafá' ánta bíha*, Cs.
de que te mucho aprovechauas. The identification by Terés 1986:312–318 of *huet alujar* with
modern **Guadalaviar** as "river of wells", and not "white river" ([*al*]*wád alabyaḏ*) is decisively
corroborated by this passage, and by the presence of the AA pl. *abyár* not only in VA, but
also in IH (see Pérez Lázaro 1990 I: 189); that so widely accepted mistake must have spread
as a result of its adoption by the prestigious Covarrubias, who took it from Tamarid, one of
those interpreters of Arabic whose etymological fancies were absolutely intuitive and pre-
methodological, as we have surveyed in the case of his contemporary Guadix (see Corriente
2005b).

9. Çauaquic açafia alledi quitir quitantafa anta biha quet rajahat mongadara[436]
   hua an nocçan atanquia hi tamxi meli min hami = /sawaqík aṣṣáfya
   allaḏí kiṯír kit+tantafáʿ ánta bíha qad raǧáʿat munkadára waʿan nuqṣán
   attanqíyya hí tamší malÍ min ḥamÍ/.

10. Agennatac almilah alfarija alledi min hauilac açaba almaçaor hafar leh
    aloçol hue liz tecdar taati nahuar = /aǧánnatak almiláḥ alfaríǧa alladí
    min ḥawílak assabáʿ almasʿúr ḥafar lah aluṣúl walis taqdár taʿtí nawwár/.

11. Morojac almilah alledi quen fiha annahuar alquetira almilah alledi
    quiahado[437] fiha ehlec çoror anquevir yaquet yabecet = /murúǧak almiláḥ
    alladí kán fíha annawwár alkiṯíra almiláḥ alladí kiy+yaḫúḏu fíha áhlak
    surúran kibír yaqad yabásat/.

12. Marcic almaleh alledi que tegit anta menha carama en[438] quibira yacat
    nacas minnu almalaha alledi quenet tigic menhe = /marsík almalíḥ alladí
    kit+taǧíd ánta minha karáma an kabíra yaqad naqáṣ minnu almaláḥa
    alladí kánat tiǧík minha/.

13. Bahuezac min atoya anquibar[439] alledi quitencemi çultana min cadim
    anar[440] ahracaha huaquet yacil yleic adohan = /waḥwázak min aṭṭawáyaʿ
    alkibár alladí kit+tansamí sulṭána[441] min qadím annár aḥráqaha waqad
    yaṣíl iláyk adduḫán/.

14. Buamaradac alquebir les yuget lu dihuy hualhuquemi cad catao alayz min
    maradach liz yagdaru yidauc = /wamaráḍak alkibír las yuǧád lu diwÍ
    walḥukamÍ qad qaṭáʿu alayís min maráḍak lis yaqdáru yidawúk/.

15. Balencia, Balencia heda alcaul alledi colt alleyc coltaha biquezra annadima
    me fi calbi = /balánsiya, balánsiya, háḏa alqáwl qúlt ʿaláyk, qúltaha
    bikásra an ʿaḍíma ma fi qálbi /.

16. Bin mexayt ximel yaacarni el mi alquitir bin maxayt yamin yeculni allacet
    bin mexayt amim nimut falbahar bin rajaat lehalf yaharagni annar.
    Valencia heda cullu nocullac anny liz tegdar tefelit leat aledy ahrab ...
    = /win mašáyt šimál yaʿárni almÍ alkiṯír, win mašáyt yamín yakkúlni
    alasád, win mašáyt amÍm nimút falbaḥár, win raǧáʿt laḥálf yaḥráqni
    annár. balánsiya, háḏa kúllu nuqúllak anni lis taqdár taflít laʿád alladí
    aḫráb ...[442]/

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[436] Note the voice merger (see 2.2.2.5.1).

[437] Apparently a mistake for imperfective *quiahodo*.

[438] Curious instance of fem., with connective *tanwīn*, but without /t/, which happens again in 15, *biquezra annadima*. Such a linguistically unlikely sequence betrays a clumsy manipulation to make the text appear older by inserting the archaic connective *tanwīn*; see 3.1.1.1.1. In this line also, *marsá* is treated first as masc., in the agreement with *almaleh*, and next as fem., in *menha/e* (twice); see 5.1.1.3.1.

[439] One would expect *atoaya alquibar*, with the definite article or, better, *toaya anquibar*, with connective *tanwīn*, possibly garbled by copyists. The division of provinces (*kūrah* pl. *kuwar*) in districts (*ṭā'ah* pl. *ṭawāyi'*) is a well-known feature of Andalusi administration.

[440] See 5.1.1.3.1 about the masc. gender of *nár* "fire".

[441] The translator has omitted the marginal syntagm required here by the relative, *bíha* or something similar.

[442] The final portion is garbled, and some words are lost.

Translation

1. Valencia, Valencia, great affliction has befallen you; you are in a deadly hour, and if your lucky star decrees your escape from this, it will be a great wonder to those who see you.
2. If God wanted to do good to a place, he chose and preferred to do it to you, as you always were beautiful, happy and lavish towards the comfort of the Muslims.
3. If God wanted that you should forsake all these possessions, it would be because of your enormous sins and your haughtiness on account of your power.
4. The first four stones on which you were founded want to meet and mourn you, but cannot.
5. Your great wall built on these four stones is already shaking and about to fall, because it has lost the strength it had.
6. Your very high and beautiful towers, looming from afar and comforting the souls of your people, are collapsing little by little.
7. Your white merlons shining from afar have lost their brightness, which looked like sunrays.
8. Your beautiful great river, the Guadalaviar, and the other watercourses which gave you such good service have overflowed and gone where they should not.
9. Your limpid irrigation canals, which were so useful to you, have turned turbid and, in the lack of cleaning, run full of mud.
10. The rabid wolf has cut off the roots of your beautiful and pleasant gardens around you and they cannot blossom.
11. Your beautiful meadows with so many flowers, with which your people were so happy, have already dried up.
12. Your beautiful harbour, in which you found great honour, has lost the beauty which it gave you.
13. The important districts in your surroundings, for which you were called a queen in the old days, have been set afire and smoke is reaching you.
14. There is no remedy for your grave illness; the physicians have declared you past recovery, as they cannot heal you.
15. Valencia, Valencia, these words which I told you, I said them in great sorrow of my heart:
16. If go left, the flood will kill me; if I go right, the lion will devour me; if I walk ahead, I shall die in the sea, and if I go back, the fire will burn me. Valencia, I tell you all this; you can no longer escape from this one who ruined ...[443]

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[443] The final portion is garbled and some words are lost. As for *leat*, it could also reflect *liháḏ(a)*, considering the weak articulation of /h/, which is proven by *ade = háḏa* in 3.

7. Personal Letter by Lluís AlĠázi (1595)[444]

1ʳ ›sayidi šuqrī ʿazzak allah. anī qabattu alkarīm kitabuka[445] al'awal wa'aṯṯanī
    wafahath.[446]

2ʳ sayiḏī fa'immā[447] qawluka in kin anī nid silaḥ fā alyam aḫtar min qaṭ.

3ʳ fayā iḏa siyadatika antā ʿazim lālamšī allah yaktublak assalām wayirudak[448]

4ʳ lidar.k fiḥayri. siyadatika taʿmal alburšiblī[449] fiyaš yanʿaṭanī ṣilaḥ

5ʳ makmul yuʿnī sayfi waḥidmī w.biḏrinyal wa'in kin yaǵdār[450]

6ʳ armā dibinšaṭibā[451] inna hiyat zarad aw mā ašbahā ḏalika faʿalà

7ʳ ḥayri wa'in lā fattalaṯah matah alḥawīǧ, wa'in là fā assayfī[452]

8ʳ wa'alḥidmī wa'immā[453] min alṯaman fā fi assilaḥ kulū taḥṭī ḥatī limiyat

9ʳ riṭlan[454] wafī sayfi waḥidmī ḥatī liḥamsin riṭlan, wa'in kin

10ʳ takūn almasalà taqrub litafqā[455] ʿalī ʿašrā walī ʿalī ʿšryn

11ʳ fa'iḏā hiyat iṭur[456] lalbidāya. wa'immā min šuǵli alqaṭaʿā alaḏī arsaltilī

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[444] One of the last documents of AA, written few years before the expulsion of the Moriscos, offered here in graphemic transcription. First published by Harvey 1971, then by MI 374–376, and included as text sample in Corriente 1992a.

[445] This item and the previous optative are failed classicisms, for aʿazzaka llāhu and karīma kitābika.

[446] Sic, either by mistake or by idiolectic assimilation of the nasal in AA fahámtu.

[447] Infra-correct classicism, for ammā, in contrast with dialectal nid (see 1.2.10.3), alyam for alyáwm (see 1.4.2.1), and the calque of Rm. in the last phrase, cf. Ct. **més que mai** = Cs. **más que nunca**; the Rm. interference in this text may proceed from Cs. or the local dialect of Ct., as both languages were simultaneously brought to Valencia by Aragonese and Catalan conquerors, respectively. The velarisation of /ṣ/ in ›silaḥ‹ suggests a suprasegmental feature affecting the whole word, then repeated in this letter, except in 8ʳ, while the spirantisation in aḫtar < aktar was commented in 1.2.21.1.

[448] The strange sequence ›yā iḏā‹ (cf. Ct. **ja que** = Cs. **ya que**) is an instance of code-shifting introduced with the item translated into the target language, like yāqad and yābaʿad "already": this subject was surveyed by García Gómez 1972 III: 49–60. As for the CA item siyādatuka "your Lordship" (again in 4ʳ), it is followed by words in agreement with anta; ›lah lamší‹ is a poor spelling of lalmaší, and the absence of gemination in yiruddak is a mere oversight, frequent in this letter in instances requiring gemination and other graphemes.

[449] A case of code-mixing, from Ct. **el possible** or Cs. **lo posible**. As for the final conjunction ›fiyaš‹, see 3.3.2.3.

[450] The correct vocalisation of both verbs should be yaʿní and yuqdár; as for ›biḏrinyal‹, it is an unassimilated Rm. name of a primitive shotgun, cf. Cs. **pedreñal**.

[451] A case of code-shift, cf. Ct. and Cs. **arma defensiva**, which he has distorted in a malapropism; mā ašbaha ḏālika is the CA aim of the final segment.

[452] The text has been stricken out after a failed first attempt at writing the next word. As for ›ḥawīǧ‹, see 1.1.4.4.

[453] See 8ʳ, with a next min, possible a calque of Rm., which is sure in ›ḥatī li‹, cf. Ct. **fins a**.

[454] Infra-correct accusative.

[455] This derivate of {wfq} is known from other sources, beginning with VA.

[456] Barceló suggested laṭiron lalbiḍāʿ as a conjecture, explained by Cs. **a tirón a la mer-**

12ʳ *narsallak, sayidi, huwāt ḏibāza*[457] *min inna ḥinat naḥtiǧū nanṣifū*

13ʳ *laniṣ, innahī tamšī karamatnā fihā waʾisanī*[458] *naġdār naḥtišī māʿ*

14ʳ *inna fihaḏa alayim ṣirṭarti*[459] *fariġ min qaṭaʿā. sayidi sayidatika*

15ʳ *tibirqurār tarraqabar šinṣiyā*[460] *liṣilaḥ waʾin kin yarziq allah man*

16ʳ *taʿbī albarṭiḏa*[461] *ʾṭaybā ʿalī manirā aw ʿalī uḥrā faʿalà assalam waʾillā*

17ʳ *fatarsal qurriw abuštā falī*[462] *yakūn fihā wakam lahā tanʿaṭà*

18ʳ *wafi aṣṣaʿā narsalah lak aw naġʿalah fī aṭṭablà matā balansiyā wanar-*

19ʳ *sallak siḏulà min bihā*[463] *litifasar inna aquštiš*[464] *mataʿī yakūn kulišī*

20ʳ *waʾin kin yakun fihā bib maftuḥ liḏik alšī ʿan inna*

21ʳ *anī qaṭaʿtilak kam taḥṭī siyadatika taʿmal ḏik allaḏī*

1ᵛ *tarī inna yakun yanbaġī waʾanī nifindir kullū alaḏī taʿmal ʿannī f.šuġli*

2ᵛ *aṣṣilaḥ waʾaḥbas hiḏa albara ʿan iltihim. anī maʿī mafhum*[465]

3ᵛ *inna aṣṣulṭan ʿamal mirṣī min šuġli aṣṣilaḥ ilà aššaqriṭarī*[466] *ifra-*

4ᵛ *nqizzā. ṭamma takūn: aʿbī allaḏī taġdār. ḥamil haḏā huwa yaḥmallak*

5ᵛ *waḥdā buṭizza min ʿasal min šurubad wa waḥdā furaymā*[467] *min ṣukar fī*

6ᵛ *mitaḥmal laṭariq: aqbaḍah maʿ albunā bulunṭad*[468] *wʾaṣī allah yaḥṭik*

7ᵛ *ṣafar ṭayib wayirudak lidarik biḥayrī kamā taḥib walazayid illā*

8ᵛ *assalam ʿlykm ǧmyʿ waraḥmatū allahi wabarakatuhu. min banī riḍā*

9ᵛ *fī 19 min fibrayri ʿām 1595 min duṣā assuwat aḥnā.*

10ᵛ *waqalulī inna assū ʿad*

11ᵛ *ʾlquṭun mazbuġ iḏā yakūn*

12ᵛ *anī narsalū in šāʾa ʾllh*

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cancía, i.e., "scramble for the goods", which is ingenious, but paleographically remote. We have suggested Ct. **atura** "stop", but the word and its meaning remain conjectural.

[457] I.e., Ct. and Cs. **divisa** "motto", with ultra-correction of *imālah*.

[458] This is the characteristically Valencian negation *is+*, followed by a pronominal suffix; see 3.4.1.5.

[459] Another case of code-mixing, in which Cs. **acertar** or Ct. **encertar** "to happen to / on", receives a verbal suffix of perfective, without having morphophonemically become a regular quadriconsonantal stem.

[460] Again code-mixing with Cs. **procura recabar licencia**, the two initial verbs having received the verbal prefixes of Arabic imperfectives, without being morphophonemically regular verbal stems; on the other hand, Cs. **licencia** = Ct. **llicència** has lost its first syllable, metanalyzed as the Arabic definite article.

[461] Rm. item, from Cs. and Ct. **partida** "shipping".

[462] Totally Rm. item, Cs. **correo** = Ct. **correu a posta** "post haste mail", followed by *falī*, which appears to be a mistake for *ballí*.

[463] Note Rm. Cs. **cédula** = Ct. **cèdula**; next, read ›*munbihā*‹ "notifying".

[464] Ct. **a costes** "at the expenses".

[465] In the text ›*mabhum*‹, easy graphical confusion.

[466] Two Ct. items, **mercé** "grace, attribution of jurisdiction" and **secretari** "secretary".

[467] Three more Rm. items: ›*buṭizza*‹, a close relative of Cs. and Ct. **botella** "bottle", but with a different suffix. Ct. **eixaropat** "syrup", and Rm. *FÓRMA* "mould" = Ct. **forma**, from which an Arabic diminutive has been easily obtained, with the pattern {1u2áy3a}.

[468] Rm. phrase with Arabic article: cf. Ct. **bona voluntat** "good will".

13ᵛ *ilà ʾldy tumuranī.*
14ᵛ *ḫadimuka: liwiš ʾlǧāzī.*[469]

Translation

1ʳ My lord and father-in-law, may God strengthen you. I received your
   gracious first and second letters and understood them.
2ʳ Sir, as for what you said, whether I want weapons, today more than ever.
3ʳ If your Lordship has resolved to go, may God grant you safety and bring you
   back
4ʳ well to your home. Your Lordship do everything possible so that I am given
5ʳ a complete set of weapons, that is, sword, dagger and a shotgun; if it were
   possible (also)
6ʳ defensive armour, which is a coat or something similar, it would be better;
7ʳ otherwise, the three items, or else, the sword
8ʳ and the dagger. As for the price, for the complete set of weapons you will
   give up to one hundred
9ʳ pounds, for the sword and dagger, up to fifty pounds, and if
10ʳ the affair were close to a deal for about ten or twenty,
11ʳ hold onto the principle (?). As for the matter of the money which you tell
   me
12ʳ to send you, my lord, it is our motto that we must repay
13ʳ people: our honour it at stake in this, but I cannot give a thing, as
14ʳ I happen to be penniless. Sir, your Lordship
15ʳ should try to secure a license for the weapons and, if God provides some-
   body who
16ʳ can bring the shipping in order, one way or another, excellent, and if not
7ʳ send a post haste mail with indication of its contents and how much must
   be paid
18ʳ and I shall send it to you at once, or deposit it in the bank of Valencia, and
   send
19ʳ you a notification explaining that everything is at my expense,
20ʳ and that there is an open door for that matter
21ʳ of my fixing the amount you can pay. Your Lordship do what
1ᵛ you consider convenient, and I shall support everything you do in the
   matter
2ᵛ of the weapons, and hold this slip as memorandum. I understand
3ᵛ that the king granted (the concession of licenses for) weapons to the
   secretary Fran-
4ᵛ queza. You will be there: take what you can. The bearer of this letter
5ᵛ brings you a bottle of syrup and a little sugar loaf
6ᵛ to take for the road; receive them as a token of good will, and may God
7ᵛ give you a good journey and bring you back home well, as you wish. Nothing
   more but

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[469] The signature is decorated with a flourish of the kind still used by Spaniards, making it
difficult to read the family name *alǧāzī*.

8ᵛ peace on you all and God's compassion and His blessings. In Benirredrá
9ᵛ February 19th, 1595. Mendoza is not here;
10ᵛ I have been told that
11ᵛ the cotton is not yet dyed: when it is
12ᵛ I shall send it, God willing.
13ᵛ Until you order anything,
14ᵛ Your servant, Lluis Gāzī.

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